

NAACP
1940 - 55

GENERAL OFFICE FILE

Housing-General
1953
Feb. - Sept

II-A-311

ACID FREE
OF
ALL PAPER AND CARDS
AND ALL RECORDS



Division of
Slum Clearance and
Urban Redevelopment

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • Washington 25, D.C.

re: Racial Minority Groups

February 2, 1953

LOCAL PUBLIC AGENCY LETTER NO. 16

SUBJECT: Living Space Available to Racial
Minority Families

Transmitted with this letter is a copy of the procedures which have been developed in carrying out (1) the slum clearance and community development program, and (2) the low-rent public housing program, to assure that such programs will not result in decreasing the total living space available in any community to Negro or other racial minority families. These procedures are being mailed by the Division in order to present them to the Local Public Agencies in a single document.

N. S. Keith
N. S. KEITH
Director

Attachment

PROCEDURES WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED IN CARRYING OUT (1) THE SLUM CLEARANCE AND COMMUNITY REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AND (2) THE LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM, TO ASSURE THAT SUCH PROGRAMS WILL NOT RESULT IN DECREASING THE TOTAL LIVING SPACE AVAILABLE IN ANY COMMUNITY TO NEGRO OR OTHER RACIAL MINORITY FAMILIES.

Many of the slums and blighted residential areas which need to be cleared and redeveloped are occupied by Negro or other racial minority families. In many communities, however, the living space available to such families is limited. The large-scale clearance of such slums and blighted residential areas which is made possible through two types of Federal financial assistance made available to local communities by the Congress in the Housing Act of 1949 could result in a worsening, instead of the desired improvement, of the housing conditions of Negro and other racial minority families if the administration of these programs resulted in decreasing the living space presently available in any community to such groups.

Both the local community agencies and the Federal agency carrying out these programs have given constant attention to this special problem with the result that, in the course of operating experience, general procedures have developed from the joint efforts of these agencies to assure that, in carrying out these programs, the total living space presently available in any community to Negro and other racial minority families is not reduced and, wherever possible, is increased.

Slum Clearance and Community Redevelopment

The Slum Clearance and Community Redevelopment title of the Housing Act of 1949 authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to make loans and grants to local communities to assist them in clearing their slums and blighted areas and in providing maximum opportunity for the redevelopment of such cleared areas by private enterprise. It is one of the most important of the several methods of assistance which the Congress has made available to carry out the national housing policy which it established in the Housing Act of 1949 -- "housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family".

The Slum Clearance and Community Redevelopment title of the Housing Act of 1949 is directed not merely at the elimination and redevelopment of unsightly slums and blighted areas -- its primary and principal objective is the improvement of the housing conditions of American families.

It seeks the accomplishment of that objective in two ways -- the elimination of slums and other inadequate housing, and an increase in the supply of good housing. To be eligible for financial assistance, therefore, a project must result either in the elimination of slum housing or in the production of good housing in a well-planned, residential neighborhood. Thus, under the provisions of the title, financial assistance may be made available for clearing a slum area, or a blighted residential area, whether it is to be redeveloped for either residential use, or commercial or industrial use, or a combination of such uses. However, if the area is not presently predominantly residential in character, financial assistance may be made available only if the area is to be redeveloped for predominantly residential uses.

Also, the title contains a specific provision that all contracts for financial aid require that, for the families displaced from any area to be cleared and redeveloped, there are or are being provided (in the project area or in other areas in the community not generally less desirable and at rents or prices within the financial means of such displaced families) decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families. This requirement also serves to emphasize that the primary and principal objective of the title is the improvement of the housing conditions of American families, and, in general, is designed to afford assurance that the clearance and redevelopment of any slum or blighted residential area will result in an improvement of the housing conditions of the families displaced from the area.

The general procedures developed in the course of actual operating experience from the joint efforts of the local and Federal agencies to assure that the living space available in a community to Negro and other racial minority families is not decreased are based upon the following:

A slum or blighted area presently occupied in whole or in part by a substantial number of Negro or other racial minority families may be cleared and redeveloped if:

1. The area is to be redeveloped as a residential area and the housing is to be available for occupancy by all racial groups (at rents or sales prices within the financial capacity of a substantial number of Negro or other racial minority families in the community), or
2. The area is to be redeveloped as a residential area and a proportion of the housing bearing reasonable relationship to the number of dwelling units in the area which were occupied by Negro or other racial minority families prior to its redevelopment

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

is to be available for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families, or

3. The area is to be redeveloped as a residential area but the housing is not to be available for occupancy by all racial groups or for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families, and

A. Decent, safe, and sanitary housing available for occupancy by Negro, or by other minority group, families (in an amount substantially equal to the number of dwelling units in such area which were occupied by Negro or other racial minority families prior to its redevelopment) is made available (at rents or sales prices within the financial capacity of a substantial number of Negro or other racial minority families in the community) through new construction in areas elsewhere in the community or in adequate existing housing in areas elsewhere in the community not theretofore available for occupancy by Negro or by other racial minority families, which areas are not generally less desirable than the area to be redeveloped, and

B. Representative local leadership among Negro or other racial minority groups in the community has indicated that there is no substantial objection thereto, or

4. The area is to be redeveloped for non-residential use, or, because of clearly demonstrable special or unusual requirements (i.e., the housing is required to serve special personnel, such as the professional staff of a hospital or university, or there is a limited market among Negro or other racial minority families in the community at the rents or prices required for the housing to be constructed), only a limited supply of the housing to be constructed in the redevelopment of the area could be available for occupancy by Negro or by other racial minority families, and --

A. Decent, safe, and sanitary housing available for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families (in an amount substantially equal to the number of dwelling units in such area which were occupied by Negro, or by other racial minority families prior to its redevelopment) is made available (at rents or sales prices within the financial capacity of a substantial number of Negro or other racial minority families in the community) through new construction in areas elsewhere in the community or in adequate existing housing in areas elsewhere in the community not theretofore available for occupancy by Negro or by other racial minority

families, which areas are not generally less desirable than the area to be redeveloped, and

B. Representative local leadership among Negro or other racial minority groups in the community has been afforded adequate opportunity for consultation by the local public agency.

Low-Rent Public Housing

The United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, and as perfected by title III of the Housing Act of 1949, authorizes the Public Housing Administration to make loans and annual contributions to local communities to assist them in remedying unsafe and insanitary housing conditions and in providing decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income. Its primary and principal objective is the improvement of the housing conditions of American families of low income. Many of the low-rent public housing projects assisted under this Act, however, are constructed on slum sites. In such cases (as in the case of the large-scale clearance and redevelopment of slums and blighted areas assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949) such clearance of slum areas occupied by Negro or other racial minority families could result in a worsening, instead of the desired improvement, of the housing conditions of such families, because of the limited living space generally available to such families as well as their inability to pay the rents required for decent, safe, and sanitary housing.

Accordingly, in the course of actual operating experience, general procedures (similar to those growing out of the experience with large-scale slum clearance and redevelopment projects assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949) have developed from the joint efforts of the local and Federal agencies to assure that, in the selection of sites for low-rent public housing projects assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, the living space presently available to Negro and other racial minority families is not reduced. These general procedures are based upon the following:

A slum or blighted area presently occupied in whole or in part by a substantial number of Negro or other racial minority families may be cleared and redeveloped with low-rent public housing if:

1. The low-rent public housing is to be available for occupancy by all racial groups, or
2. The low-rent public housing available for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families is to be constructed in the area in an amount substantially equal to the number of dwelling units in

such area which were occupied by Negro or other racial minority families prior to its redevelopment, or

3. The low-rent public housing is not to be available for occupancy by all racial groups or for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families, and

A. Low-rent public housing available for occupancy by Negro or other racial minority families (in an amount substantially equal to the number of dwelling units in such area which were occupied by Negro or other racial minority families prior to its redevelopment) is made available through the construction of low-rent public housing in areas elsewhere in the community, which areas are not generally less desirable than the area to be redeveloped, and

B. Representative local leadership among Negro or other racial minority groups in the community has indicated that there is no substantial objection thereto.

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.
January 15, 1953

re: Open Land Proj.

RACIAL MINORITY FAMILIES
and
TITLE I PREDOMINANTLY OPEN AND OPEN LAND PROJECTS

The Housing and Home Finance Agency's Requirements

While Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 does not expressly require that Federal financial assistance to local public agencies in connection with public acquisition and disposal for development of predominantly open or "open land" be conditioned on the use of such land only as an adjunct of slum clearance activity, such a requirement has been laid down administratively. In its Guide to Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, the Housing and Home Finance Agency has stated that:

"With respect to a project area consisting of open land, the local public agency must submit evidence satisfactory to the Administrator that the development of such open land area for predominantly residential uses is an adjunct to or a necessary part of an over-all slum clearance program of the community then being undertaken or contemplated."

"Similar evidence will be required in the case of a project area consisting of predominantly open land in which, at the date of its acquisition, less than ten per cent of the area is being used for dwellings and other buildings. Such evidence will be required also in connection with any other predominantly open land project if, in the determination of the Administrator, the project area is not sufficiently blighted to justify financial assistance under Title I without relationship to an overall slum clearance program."

The HHFA requires that open land or predominantly open land be used in connection with rehousing families displaced from slum clearance areas for the reasons that:

(1). The legislative history of the Act leaves clear the intent of Congress that the power with respect to open land was needed and granted only in connection with, and incidental to, effective slum clearance and (2) In connection with state enabling legislation, if the authority granted local agencies to undertake open land projects is granted as a separate and unrelated power, without regard to the major and primary objective of the state enabling legislation - slum clearance - the risk of having such legislation declared unconstitutional would obviously be materially increased.

In the latter regard, successful test litigation in most states is a necessary preliminary to establish the sufficiency of authority in a local agency to acquire open land for the purpose of a Title I project.

"Predominantly open land" has reference to vacant or partially built up land which has been developed at least to the extent of having streets, utilities, site improvements, or other structures, as in the case of many defunct subdivisions---remains unused or undeveloped for an unduly long period because of such factors as obsolete platting, diversity of ownership, deterioration of structures or site improvements, poor drainage, topography, restricted accessibility, or bad highway pattern."

Racial Minority Families and Title I Predominantly Open and Open Land Projects

- 2

Their Importance to Racial Minorities

It is obvious that the acquisition and disposition of open land for the development of housing as an adjunct of slum clearance activity is of critical importance to racial minority families. Most of the slum areas to be first cleared are of excessive racial minority congestion. These slum areas, under Title I, can be and are to be in a number of instances cleared and redeveloped not for residential re-use at all but, instead, for industrial, commercial, or public re-uses. In such a situation, all of the displaced families will have to be rehoused elsewhere. But, even where housing is for re-use and the housing is to be largely occupied by Negroes, there may remain a need for open land for new construction open to Negroes. This is because (1) generally fewer dwellings will be built than the number of families displaced (to effect lowered density); and (2) the particular displaced families often will not be financially able to either rent or purchase the new housing.

Judicial Progress

In two states it is now clear through judicial decisions that local public agencies conducting slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs can proceed with predominantly open land or open land projects. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court so ruled in *Oliver v. City of Clairton*, Pa. _____; 98 A. 2d 47 (1953). The Illinois Supreme Court ruled similarly in *People ex rel Gutknecht v. City of Chicago*, 414 Ill. 600, 117 N.E. 626 (1953).

Related Local Programs

Each state, Illinois and Pennsylvania, has large cities badly in need of predominantly open and open land projects. In Philadelphia thousands of Negro families being and to be displaced from their homes because of slum clearance activity will not be properly rehoused without such projects. The same situation exists in worst degree in Chicago where many thousands of Negro families have been displaced and last September 17 the city's Plan Commission pointed out that "15,700 families and single families are already subject to future displacement by authorized slum clearance and public works projects." Most of the latter families will be Negro.

In Philadelphia there is in planning a great predominantly open land project called Eastwick. Here perhaps as many as 15,000 new homes would be built, including moderate-priced sales and rental as well as the familiar low-rent public dwellings. All of this housing will be open to Negro families on a non-segregated basis, under requirement of state law and subject to the stated intention of local public officials.

The Chicago Problem

In Chicago, however, no predominantly open land proposal similar to the Eastwick project (and to provide housing admitting Negroes) is being shaped up, though (1) the need therefor is more critical than in Philadelphia, (2) HHFA has specifically insisted with Chicago officials that

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Racial Minority Families and Title I Predominantly Open
and Open Land Projects

- 3

such projects should be forthcoming and (3) thousands of acres of partially vacant and vacant land fit for residential use are to be found in the city.

On the contrary, Chicago is now moving rapidly ahead with its 79th and Western Ave. project, 40 acres of predominantly open land, to be developed with housing but such housing apparently not to be open to Negro families.

An Illinois statute applying to housing built in cleared areas does contain a requirement that "The execution of the development plan will not displace the predominant primary racial group of the present inhabitants of the development area." However, it is not clear that this requirement would necessarily apply to a predominantly open or partially built up area, as distinguished from a built-up slum housing area. Moreover, the prohibition is against displacing the predominant primary racial group of the present inhabitants and Negroes do not now live in the 79th and Western project area.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

X filed N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

107 West 43RD STREET

NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM TO: Lawyers and other specialists invited to attend the conference in New York on March 13, 14, 15, 1953.

RE : Racial discrimination in housing.

FROM : Constance Baker Motley.

In preparing for participation in discussion of the problems of racial discrimination in housing, consideration should be given initially to the total housing picture. In this connection, reference should be made to federal legislation designed to expand the availability of housing, particularly the Housing Act of 1949; the role of federal housing agencies; population trends and the problems involved in the relocation of displaced families. Consideration should then be given to the specific nature of the racial discrimination problem with a view to arriving at clear and precise definition of the problem as it relates to public housing, publicly-assisted housing and private housing. In this connection, reference should be made to state and federal legislation designed to protect minorities, particularly Title 8 United States Code, Section 42 and the compilation of state statutes distributed by the Housing and Home Finance Agency; administrative rules, practices and policies affecting minorities, especially the Public Housing Administration's Racial Equity Formula and the Federal Housing Administration's Amendments to its Rules and Manual following the decision in the covenant cases in 1948; and the resistance of both public and private enterprise to open occupancy.

The major portion of time at the conference shall be devoted to discussion of those problems which may best be resolved by resort to the courts--to developing the legal theories upon which such actions may be predicated and to determination of the preferable procedure and forum.

In order to assist you in preparing for participation in the conference, I have outlined here some of the problems which we must consider so that you can be giving advance consideration to whether and how they are subject to attack in the courts. I have also summarized decided and pending cases in the field of housing which may aid in developing the legal theories upon which court tests may be made of new problems. Finally, I have indicated possible attack upon a few of the problems which I hope you shall be prepared to criticize or enlarge upon.

THE PROBLEMS

I. Public Housing

- A. How are we to challenge the racial segregation policies of public housing authorities? Granted that we have done something on that score, are our present theories and procedures adequate? Is there a preferable forum?
- B. How are we to challenge the use of federal funds for racially segregated public housing?

II. Publicly-Aided Housing

- A. How are we to challenge the practices of large scale builders and developers who construct the Levittowns, the Lakewood Parks and similar F.H.A. insured developments which are kept lily-white through selling and leasing policies?
- B. How are we to challenge the use of federal assistance in the form of F.H.A. mortgage insurance which makes these lily-white developments possible?
- C. How are we to challenge discriminatory policies of private developers who will construct similar large scale housing developments on land made available to them through the federal slum clearance and urban redevelopment program?
- D. How are we to challenge the use of federal and state subsidies for slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects--whether housing or business districts--from which Negroes are excluded?
- E. Can we and should we challenge the displacement of Negroes from a segregated site to make way for the redevelopment of the area for lily-white housing for a higher income group or commercial purposes?
- F. How can we compel the local public agency to accept its responsibility for relocating displaced families. Many local public agencies are presently farming out this responsibility to private real estate agencies.
- G. How can we challenge the discriminatory policies of private housing developments such as Stuyvesant Town which receive limited public assistance in the form of tax exemption, use of the power of eminent domain, donations of streets, agreements to furnish community facilities and services, etc?
- H. How are we to challenge the granting of such limited state-aid to these private housing developments which discriminate?

- I. How are we to challenge the discriminatory policies of private builders of F. H. A. mortgage insured housing provided for by the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act of 1951?
- J. How are we to challenge segregation in defense housing developments constructed by the Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency pursuant to the provisions of the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act of 1951?

III. Private Housing

- A. How are we to challenge the current devices which have replaced the unenforceable racial restrictive covenants such as; 1) the refusal of title insurance where there is a race restrictive covenant in a deed or existing mortgage, 2) cooperatives, 3) reversion clauses, 4) leasehold system, 5) escrow agreements, and 6) the Van Sweringen covenant?
- B. How are we to challenge the practices of Realators in refusing to show properties for sale or rent in so-called restricted areas to Negroes.
- C. How are we to challenge the practices of agents, managers, and owners of large scale rental developments (assuming no F.H.A. mortgage insurance or other public aid) who refuse to rent to Negroes.
- D. How are we to challenge the discriminatory policies of banks, mortgage companies, and building and loan companies.

SUMMARY OF DECIDED AND PENDING CASES

I. Public Housing

We did not have public housing to any appreciable extent until the passage of the Housing Act of 1937. In federally-aided low rent public housing projects built pursuant to this Act, in both northern and southern communities, Negroes have been either denied admission or segregated into separate wings or projects. Open occupancy was the exception rather than the rule. The Negro community generally accepted the segregation pattern and in many instances asked for segregated units. The federal agency, which in numerous instances actually operated and controlled projects for the federal government, introduced and enforced racial segregation and has steadfastly refused to compel local authorities to adopt an open occupancy policy. Attempts to get an anti-discrimination provision into the Act at the time of its amendment in 1949 proved futile when it was revealed that the enemies of public housing were the sponsors of the minority group safeguard.

These facts may account for the paucity of court tests, until very recently, of the constitutionality of segregation or discrimination in this area.

A. Federal Court Decisions

The United States Supreme Court has not yet considered a case involving the constitutionality of segregation or exclusion of a racial group in public housing. However, there are now several cases pending in federal district courts involving this question which may eventually reach the high court. On the other hand, there is apparently only one federal court decision squarely upholding racial segregation in federally-aided public housing and appears to be the first court action ever brought to enjoin such segregation.

The case of Favors v. Randall ^{1/} was brought in a federal district court in Philadelphia in 1941 against the Philadelphia Housing Authority and the United States Housing Authority for an injunction restraining the defendants from certifying tenants for occupancy on the basis of color or race. Upon denying a motion for preliminary injunction, the court rendered a decision upholding the constitutional validity of segregation in public housing. In doing so, the court relied primarily upon the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, ^{2/} an early United States Supreme Court decision upholding state enforced racial segregation in intrastate travel and which has formed the basis for many subsequent decisions upholding state enforced racial segregation in education.

The court, in the Favors Case was probably influenced primarily by the peculiar facts existing at the time which tended

^{1/} 40 F.Supp. 743 (1941)

^{2/} 163 U.S. 37 (1896)

to contradict the allegation of discrimination against Negroes and which, in the opinion of the court, tended to favor Negroes rather than to discriminate against them. The Authority's original program contemplated the construction of six projects, but the city council refused to approve three of the projects which were planned for other than low income groups, leaving the Authority with approval for the construction of only three projects for low income families. A Federal Census conducted by the W.E.A. in 1940 revealed that the need for housing among low income groups showed sixty percent white families and forty percent colored families. Because of the failure of the city council to approve the other three projects, the Housing Authority decided that two projects would be limited to Negro occupancy because located in predominantly Negro neighborhoods and that the third project, located in a predominantly white neighborhood, would be limited to white occupancy. This decision was apparently made by the Authority after several months of debate and was based on the theory that the existing neighborhood pattern should be followed. The suit was brought to enjoin the discrimination against Negroes with respect to the third project.

The court, after noting these particular facts, decided that since Negroes would, by virtue of the decision of the Authority to follow the existing housing pattern, receive a greater proportion of the available units than their need determined by the census, that the assignment of tenants on the basis of color in this instance did not result in "unlawful discrimination" against Negroes and that the distinction based solely on color did not tend to destroy that "legal" equality, as opposed to "social" equality, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The court rejected the argument made by attorneys for the plaintiffs that equal rights could be secured only by "an enforced commingling of two races." This case was never appealed.

In June, 1950, suit was filed in a federal district court in Detroit against Detroit's Mayor and members of the Common Council; the Detroit Housing Commission; the Detroit Field Office Director of the Public Housing Administration; John T. Eagen, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration; and Raymond M. Foley, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, seeking a declaratory judgment and injunction enjoining the policy of racial segregation in all public housing in the City of Detroit. The Court thus far has ruled that it does not have jurisdiction over Eagen and Foley, and when the Detroit Field Office closed, it ruled that the Director of the Chicago Field Office could not be substituted as a defendant in place of the Detroit Field Office Director over whom the court had jurisdiction. The local defendants answered admitting segregation. Summary Judgment was denied. This suit is still pending awaiting the setting of a trial date by the court. At a pre-trial conference in February, 1952, the court said that in his view the plaintiffs must prevail and advised the corporation counsel to advise the city to change the policy voluntarily. In the meantime, two new projects which have opened recently have a non-segregated occupancy pattern. Existing projects are still segregated.

Suit was filed in June, 1952, modeled after the Detroit suit, in a federal district court in St. Louis against the St. Louis Housing Authority. ^{3/} A declaratory judgment and injunction is sought enjoining the Authority from refusing to admit Negroes to the new federally-aided low rent John J. Cochran Project which the Authority has announced would be limited to white occupancy. The Authority has a policy, presently enforced, of segregating Negroes into separate projects and has announced that it intends to build a separate project for Negro occupancy in the future. The defendant Authority has answered admitting segregation, and alleging that Negroes in St. Louis want segregation and that same is necessary to preserve the peace.

In September, 1952, suit was filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia against the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its Administrator and the Public Housing Administration and its Commissioner. ^{4/} The complaint in this case seeks a declaratory judgment and an injunction enjoining the federal government's public housing agency from giving federal financial assistance to the Housing Authority of Savannah, Georgia for the construction, maintenance or operation of a public housing project from which the plaintiffs, otherwise qualified Negro applicants, and, in this case, evictees from the site of the project, will be denied admission solely because of their race and color. This is the first suit in which the action is brought solely against the federal government's public housing agency and its officials. The defendant federal officials have moved for Summary Judgment. They admit segregation, but allege that this is the sole determination of the local authority. Their chief attack, which we anticipated, is upon the standing of plaintiffs to bring this kind of suit. The complaint alleges that: 1) Plaintiffs under the Housing Act of 1949 have a priority for public housing as evictees; 2) defendants specifically approved the local determination and have given assistance with full knowledge of this fact; 3) defendants are violating the laws, Title 8 United States Code 42, the public policy of the United States and the Fifth Amendment.

A suit was filed in the latter part of 1952 in a federal district court in Michigan against the Hamtramck, Michigan Housing Authority to enjoin its refusal to admit Negroes to federally-aided projects. ^{5/} This suit is modeled after the Detroit suit and comes as a result of the failure to get further relief in a state court action begun in 1946 and discussed supra.

B. State Court Decisions

The constitutionality of racial segregation or exclusion has not yet been squarely passed upon by the highest court of any state although it appears that the highest court of the State of California will soon have the opportunity to review a lower court decision squarely holding segregation in public housing violative of the Fourteenth Amendment and the public policy of that state. ^{6/}

-
- ^{3/} Davis v. St. Louis Housing Authority
 - ^{4/} Heyward v. Housing and Home Finance Agency
 - ^{5/} Jones v. City of Hamtramck
 - ^{6/} Banks v. San Francisco Housing Authority

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

This decision was rendered by the Superior Court of San Francisco County on October 1, 1952 upon a preliminary hearing for a writ of mandamus to compel the San Francisco Authority to accept Negro applicants for the new North Beach Project, a federally-aided low rent project, and generally to admit them to any available unit in any permanent low rent housing development under the control and management of the local authority. The local authority has appealed to the Supreme Court of the State. If the State Supreme Court should affirm on the ground that segregation in public housing is violative of the Fourteenth Amendment, an appeal by the local authority to the United States Supreme Court will probably not materialize for the reason that the Public Housing Administration will undoubtedly pressure the local authority to prevent it from taking the appeal on the ground that if the United States Supreme Court should review the case it must pass on the constitutional question and if it should affirm this would end the federal public housing program. P.H.A. would argue as it always has that Congress would not make any further appropriations, would probably cut back on the present program or even abolish it. Unless the local authority is determined to wreck the entire public housing program in the rest of the country, it will probably succumb to this pressure. The Public Housing Administration will undoubtedly point out to a cooperative local authority that the state supreme court's decision will apply only to California whereas a United States Supreme Court decision will apply throughout the country.

In 1946, a suit was filed in a state court in Michigan against the City of Hamtramck, its Housing Commission, and the National Housing Agency, seeking to enjoin the refusal to admit qualified Negro veterans to a federally-aided public housing project. ^{2/} The city defended on the ground that it would build a separate project for Negroes. In view of this the court denied the injunction, but retained jurisdiction of the matter to permit the Negro plaintiff to return for additional relief in the event that the separate project for Negroes was not built. The separate project for Negroes has never been built and within the last two years the City of Hamtramck has applied again to the Public Housing Administration for federal financial assistance for the construction of another project limited to white occupancy. The original Negro plaintiff in 1952 reapplied for the issuance of the injunction. The case was dismissed on technical grounds with the suggestion that a new suit be filed. A new suit has now been filed in the Federal District Court modeled after the Detroit suit.

In 1949, a suit was filed in a state court in East Orange, N. J., in which an injunction was granted enjoining the local Housing Authority from refusing to admit qualified Negro veterans to a state-aided housing project which the Authority had determined would be limited to occupancy by white veterans. A separate project was planned for Negro occupancy. The court, in issuing the injunction, ruled that segregation is prohibited by the equal protection clause of the

^{2/} White v. City of Hamtramck

Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.^{8/} The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey and reversed on another technical ground. The project was subsequently taken over by the State public housing agency and a non-discriminatory policy obtained. This was probably the first case which ruled segregation in public housing is violative of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Superior Court of San Francisco followed this decision, expressly rejecting the federal district court's reasoning in Favors v. Randall.

In 1950, suit was filed in a state court against the Housing Authority of the City of Schenectady, New York, seeking to enjoin the Authority from refusing to admit Negroes to a new state-aided public housing project which opened in June of that year.^{9/} After the Authority's motion to dismiss the suit, on the ground that no cause of action was stated, was denied, it admitted all of the plaintiffs with the exception of one who appeared not to be qualified for admission. Several others qualified for admission. Several other qualified Negro families were also admitted, making a total of approximately twenty-five Negro families admitted to a project containing 210 units. The Housing Authority then announced that it would integrate the other projects and, in accordance with this, has admitted Negroes to the other previously all white projects. There was one project which was all Negro. The Housing Authority has recently admitted two white families to this project.

An unusual consent decree was entered in a suit filed in a state court in Sacramento, California in January of this year.^{10/} The suit sought to enjoin segregation within a federally-aided public housing project known as River Oaks. The consent decree stated that the local Authority would "make a faith effort to carry out a policy of racial integration and no person would be segregated nor discriminated against solely because of his race, or color, or creed, or identification with any particular ethnic group." After making this broad anti-discrimination statement, the decree in another part states, "that in assigning housing units in such projects said (Authority) may limit the occupancy of said housing units by 'non whites' to a percentage of the total housing units determined in accordance with the housing needs of the area served by such projects, as determined by the last United States Census," thus authorizing a discriminatory quota system.

Suit against the Housing Authority of Long Branch, New Jersey, also ended with the entering of a consent decree on July 3, 1952.^{11/} A project which the Authority had determined would be limited to white occupancy was about to be fully tenanted with white tenants when suit for injunction was filed. The case came to trial in the Superior Court, Monmouth County on July 3, 1952 and after a day of

^{8/} Sewell v. McWhitty, 163 A(2d) 542

^{9/} Griffin v. City of Schenectady, Supreme Court of New York, Schenectady County

^{10/} Franklin v. Housing Authority of the City of Sacramento, Superior Court, Sacramento County March 23, 1952.

^{11/} Crawford v. Maher

trial the Authority capitulated and agreed to end discrimination against Negroes. The consent decree enjoins all distinctions based on race, with respect to selection and admission to public housing projects. Since all but two units had been assigned and no order directing admission of the plaintiffs was issued, the two remaining vacancies were assigned to white families. It was then easy for the local Authority to fill the new project with Negro applicants.

Another state court case is pending in Fresno, California.

There may have been unreported cases and may be presently pending other state or federal court cases not handled by N.A.A.C.P. attorneys. At the pre-trial conference in the case pending in Detroit the judge said, and he had the court stenographer to write it down, that as he sees it the United States Supreme Court has held that we cannot have state-enforced racial segregation in private housing, therefore, pursuant to what authority may the state enforce segregation or discrimination in public housing? The court undoubtedly had in mind the United States Supreme Court's decision in Buchanan v. Warley and the Restrictive Covenant Cases.

II. Publicly Assisted Housing

Like public housing, public aid to private housing is a recent development which accounts for the almost complete absence of decided cases involving racial discrimination in such housing. An attempt was made to get the courts in New York to hold exclusion of qualified Negroes from such housing violative of the Fourteenth Amendment in the case of Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town 299 N.Y. 512. The Stuyvesant Town development was built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company under a N. Y. state redevelopment statute. The City of New York granted a twenty-five year tax exemption on the improvements. It also aided in the assembling and condemning of land. Despite this, the Court of Appeals ruled four to three that the racially discriminatory tenant selection policy of the Stuyvesant Town Corporation was not subject to attack on constitutional grounds. The Court ruled that the public assistance which Stuyvesant Town received did not so alter the private nature of the project as to bring it under constitutional guarantees of equal treatment.

The United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision and, in accordance with its usual practice, gave no reason for this refusal. When the case reached the high court legislative enactments had cured the situation.

This issue may, of course, be raised again in a similar case and will most certainly have to be raised with respect to private housing developments built on land made available under the Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment provisions of Title I of the Housing Act of 1949.

III. Private Housing

A. City Ordinances

The only area affected by United States Supreme Court decisions involving housing has been the area of private housing. As

early as 1917, the high Court in Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 was asked to hold unconstitutional an ordinance of the City of Louisville, Kentucky which decreed residential segregation by prohibiting Negroes from moving into blocks predominantly white and vice versa. A white man contested the constitutionality of the statute when he sought to sell to a Negro. The Court held the ordinance unconstitutional on the ground that it was in direct violation of the "fundamental law enacted in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law." The question which the Court said it was required to answer in this case was: "May the occupancy, and, necessarily, the purchase and sale of property of which occupancy is an incident, be inhibited by the states, or by one of its municipalities, solely because of the color of the proposed occupant of the premises?" After reviewing the Civil War Amendments and the federal legislation enacted pursuant thereto, the Court concluded that: "The Fourteenth Amendment and these statutes enacted in furtherance of its purpose operate to qualify and entitle a colored man to acquire property without state legislation discriminating against him solely because of color." The defendant urged the separate but equal doctrine adopted by the court in Plessy v. Ferguson which the Court expressly rejected on the ground that that decision did not interfere with the right of any person to acquire or dispose of property. The Court also expressly rejected the argument that the ordinance was necessary to control the feeling of race hostility in the community on the ground that this problem could not be resolved by depriving citizens of constitutional rights and privileges. The Court also rejected the argument that the ordinance was an attempt to maintain the purity of the races. It likewise rejected the argument that the ordinance would promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts again on the ground that such a desired objective cannot be obtained by denying rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Finally, the Court rejected the argument that the acquisition of property by Negroes in white areas would depreciate property value. In reply to this, the Court said: "But property may be acquired by undesirable white neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results."

In Harmon v. Tyler, 273 U.S. 668 the highest court in Louisiana upheld a similar statute which prohibited a Negro from establishing a home on property in a white community and a white from establishing in a Negro area except in the written consent of a majority of persons of the opposite race inhabiting the community. When asked to review the case, the Supreme Court simply reversed citing Buchanan v. Warley.

In City of Richmond v. Deans, 281 U.S. 704, a Negro brought an action to enjoin the enforcement of a similar ordinance which prevented him from using as a residence a building in an area where the majority of the residences were occupied by persons whom he was prohibited from marrying by a state statute. The enforcement of the ordinance was enjoined on authority of Buchanan and Harmon.

These decisions were followed in holding unconstitutional a similar segregation ordinance in City of Birmingham v. Monk, 185 F. 2nd 859, certiorari denied, 341 U.S. 940, which made it a misdemeanor for the Negro plaintiff to live in a white residential area.

B. Private Racial Restrictive Covenants

1. Injunctive Enforcement

The Court's decision in Buchanan and the other city ordinance cases was the basis for its holding that private agreements barring Negroes from white neighborhoods could not be enforced by state courts in the Restrictive Covenant cases, Shelley v. Kramer, and Sipes v. McGhee, 334 U.S. 1. The Court held in these cases that when such agreements are enforced by the state courts the discrimination ceases to be that of private individuals and becomes that of the state. Since the discrimination is directed against third persons solely because of their race or color, such discrimination becomes state action violative of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court said, in addition, that the right to acquire, enjoy, own and dispose of property was one of the civil rights protected by the Fourteenth Amendment from discriminatory state action, and that even before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Congress regarded this right so basic that it enacted Title 8, U.S. Code, Section 42, which guarantees to all citizens the same property rights in every state and territory. One other pronouncement which the Court made which it had not made before was that: "The Constitution confers upon no individual the right to demand action by the State which results in the denial of equal protection of the laws to other individuals. And it would appear beyond question that the power of the State to create and enforce property interests must be exercised within the boundaries defined by the Fourteenth Amendment. Cf. Marsh v. Alabama, 326 U.S. 501..."

In deciding that such private agreements would not be enforced by federal courts either, the Court ruled in Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 that such enforcement by federal courts violated the express terms of Title 8, U.S.C. Section 42 and violated the public policy of the U.S.

The Supreme Court's decision in Shelley and Sipes has been consistently applied by state courts since the time of that decision.^{12/}

^{12/} Trustees of Monroe Ave. Church of Christ v. Perkins, 334 U.S. 813; Amer v. Superior Court of California, 334 U.S. 813; Kemp v. Rubins, 298, N.Y. 590; Tobey v. Lewy, 401 Ill. 393; Goetz v. Smith and Saunders v. Phillips, 191 Md 707, cert. den. 336 U.S. 967; Clifton v. Puente, 218 S.W. 2d, 272; Cummings v. Hohr, 31 Cal 2d 844.

2. Suits for Damages

There was one aspect of the private racial restrictive covenant and its relationship to the courts which remained undecided in the cases before the Supreme Court, i.e., whether an award of damages may be made by a court to a party suing for breach of such an agreement. Those interested in making such covenants effective were therefore compelled to have this question decided.

The first suit brought to test this question arose in Missouri where in 1949 the state's highest court ruled that monetary damages, if proved, are recoverable and are not barred by the Supreme Court's decision in Shelley and Sipes.^{13/} This decision was not appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and the recovery of damages was never pursued in the trial court.

The next year the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled precisely to the contrary.^{14/} It ruled that the Supreme Court's decision in Shelley and Sipes barred action for damages even where the covenant itself specified that damages were assessable for breach thereof.

The following year, a damage suit was dismissed by the Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan.^{15/} There the court said that, "since it is the policy of the courts of this state under the law of this state not to take direct action in enforcing adherence to racial covenants, it should be the policy of the state not to do indirectly what it is forbidden to do directly."

In Barrows v. Jackson, presently pending before the U.S. Supreme Court on petition for writ of certiorari, the California courts reached the same result as in the two preceding cases. The California District Court of Appeals ruled that the action for damages required state participation barred by the Supreme Court's reasoning in Shelley and Sipes and that an award of damages would result in the state's denial of the equal protection of the laws to third persons solely because of race and color. The defendants urged upon the court and urged as respondents on petition of certiorari before the U.S. Supreme Court that such an award would violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by denying to the white seller his right to dispose of his property to a Negro citing Buchanan v. Warley, supra.

The Supreme Court of Oklahoma in 1951 in Correll v. Early ruled that the trial court properly refused to nullify the sale of a house to a Negro in violation of a restrictive covenant which provided that a conveyance to a Negro shall be void and may be set aside on the petition of one or more of the parties. But the same

^{13/} Weiss v. Leason, 359 Mo. 1054

^{14/} Roberts v. Curtis, 93 Fed. Supp. 604

^{15/} Phillips v. Knaff, Civil No. 260, 031, Jan. 30, 1951

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

court ruled that the trial court improperly refused to allow plaintiffs suit for damages against defendants in tort for conspiracy to injure plaintiffs property by selling to a Negro in violation of the covenant. The court said, "...if the court requires a white owner of real estate to pay damages, which he intentionally and purposely caused, in direct violation of a written contract, of which he had knowledge and to which he was or became a part, that act or judgment of the court would not constitute any act of discrimination by the state against a Negro citizen. None of the defendants had any legal right to conspire to knowingly injure the value of the property of another citizen."

The United States Supreme Court in Barrow v. Jackson should hold as was held by the California courts that its decision in 1948 precludes judicial assistance of any kind with respect to racial restrictive covenants. It should probably adopt the ground for holding damages not recoverable which the respondents have urged, i.e., such actions result in denial of the right of the white seller to dispose of his property in violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

But if the Court should rule damages recoverable, the question still undetermined is whether any such damages can in fact be proved by such evidence as a court of law may receive. In those cases holding damages recoverable, recovery of such damages was never actually pursued. Was it because no legal damage could be shown? In Buchanan v. Warley, supra, the United States Supreme Court expressly rejected the argument that Negro purchases in white residential areas depreciate property values by noting that property values may also be depressed by undesirable white purchases and even by putting property to perfectly lawful uses. There is now evidence that non-white purchasers in white residential areas do not necessarily depreciate values. "New 'Gresham's Law of Neighborhoods'---Fact or Fiction" by Charles Abrams in The Appraisal Journal for July 1951; "Values in Transition Areas: Some New Concepts" by Belden Morgan in The Review of the Society of Residential Appraisers for March 1952; "Effects of Non-white Purchases on Market Prices of Residences" by Luigi M. Laurenti in The Appraisal Journal for July 1952.

3. Suits to Prevent Transfers to Negroes

In 1950, the District Court of Hennepin County, Minnesota, denied cancellation of a sale of a house to a Negro. The plaintiffs sought cancellation on the ground that the real estate broker, who was plaintiffs' agent was guilty of fraud in not informing that the purchasers were Negroes. The Negro purchasers and the real estate broker were made defendants. The Court ruled that the white sellers could have the sale cancelled only if they could show that they had suffered monetary damages because of their agent's misrepresentation. Since plaintiffs failed to show any such monetary loss the case was dismissed and plaintiffs required to transfer title in accordance with the terms of the contract of sale.

A suit brought by a Negro for specific performance of a contract of sale pends in New Haven, Connecticut, having been sent back for a new trial by the Supreme Court of Errors. The Negro plaintiff is the contract assignee of the original vendee, a white man who could not get the vendor to give a deed in accordance with the contract when the vendor learned that he sought to transfer interest to the Negro plaintiff. The vendor, defendant in this suit, filed a cross complaint for reformation of the written contract to include an alleged contemporaneous oral agreement that the vendee would not transfer his interest in the contract without the prior "consent and approval" of the vendor. Upon the first trial the court found that there was such an oral agreement and ruled that the contract should be so reformed and then rescinded. The vendor testified that the purpose of such agreement was to prevent transfer to Negroes and other undesirables. Upon appeal the highest court of the state ruled that there was no evidence in the record to support such a finding and sent the case back for a new trial. It refused to rule on the race discrimination question argued on appeal on the ground that it was not raised by the pleading. NAACP attorneys did not come into the case until the appeal was filed. Therefore, before proceeding to the new trial the original complaint has been amended to allege that the refusal to give the deed in accordance with the contract is solely because of the race and color of the assignee. The argument made on appeal was that even if the alleged contemporaneous oral agreement be proved, the trial court is without power to aid the defendant by reforming the contract to incorporate same and then to rescind since the avowed purpose is to prevent the transfer of the property to third persons solely because of race as this would be prohibited state action. Shelley v. Kramer and Sipes v. McGhee, supra.

PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING AND
BROADENING THE LEGAL ATTACK UPON DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

I. Public Housing

A. How are we to challenge the racial segregation policies of public housing authorities?

As indicated by the summary of decided and pending cases, we have successfully challenged the racial segregation policy of public housing authorities in state courts in California and in New Jersey. As the summary further indicates, similar challenges are made in suits pending in federal district courts in Michigan and Missouri.

The California suit was filed and decided within a short time by the initial state court in 1952, whereas the Detroit suit pends in a federal district court in Michigan since June, 1950. In both the California and New Jersey cases, the lower state courts ruled that segregation in public housing was violative of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the California case the court also ruled that such segregation violated the public policy of the state. The California case has been appealed to the District Court of Appeals by the housing authority where it is presently pending. A further appeal undoubtedly lies to the state Supreme Court. It is quite possible that the state Supreme Court may affirm the lower courts on the state law ground rather than on the federal ground. It would then not be possible for the defendant housing authority to appeal to the United States Supreme Court since no federal question would then be involved.

In the suits pending in the federal courts the complaints allege that the segregation violates the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment and the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. In deciding these cases the courts will find it difficult to avoid passing upon the constitutional question. However, they could rule that the segregation is not authorized by the federal statute pursuant to which the public housing is made available or that there is a duty imposed upon those acting pursuant to the statute not to discriminate.

The questions which we must therefore decide at the conference are: 1) Which of these theories should be urged in these cases in the future, and 2) Under what circumstances the state court is preferable to bringing action in the federal court.

As a result of my experience in the Detroit suit, I would draw the following conclusions for consideration by the Conference:

In northern states such as New York, Illinois, Michigan, California, Pennsylvania and New England states, I think that in the future action should be brought as in the California case in the state court on behalf of qualified applicants for admission for a writ of mandamus compelling the local authority to act upon the plaintiffs' application and to admit the plaintiffs. This procedure is preferable in these states for the reason that since the United States Supreme Court has not yet passed upon the constitutionality of racial segregation in public housing and probably will not for

some time, at least two years, I think that these courts would be inclined to enjoin the segregation as violative of the public policy of these states. In addition, many of these states have state statutes specifically prohibiting discrimination in public housing in which case an action could be brought under the statute. In addition, since actions for mandamus usually have priority over other actions, it is possible to get a decision within a relatively short time and thus avoid the delay which has been experienced in actions pending in the federal courts. Finally, if the United States Supreme Court should again avoid the question of constitutionality of state-enforced racial segregation in the school cases presently pending before it, or if it should hold public school segregation permissible under the Fourteenth Amendment by the states, the impact of this would be avoided if the state public policy theory were pursued rather than the theory of constitutional invalidity.

In the South where no favorable decision is possible in a state court, it is, of course, preferable to bring such an action in a federal court. If the United States Supreme Court should hold in the school case from the District of Columbia pending before it that the Congressional Appropriation Statutes in question do authorize racial segregation in the public schools and that Congress may constitutionally authorize racial segregation in public education, it would obviously be difficult to get a lower federal court to rule out segregation in federally-aided public housing. But since such a result is highly unlikely we can assume that this will not be the case and that there are two decisions possible only one of which would help us. The first possible decision, which would not aid us, is one merely holding that the statutes in question do not authorize segregation, without reaching the constitutional issue. The other possibility, which would aid us, is a decision holding not only that the statutes do not authorize segregation, but indicating that if they did they would be unconstitutional. If for some reason, the Court should hold that Congress has the power to authorize racial segregation, our only hope, of course, would be an attack based on the theory that the federal public housing act does not authorize segregation. However, since, as pointed out above, this is unlikely, I think that all cases filed in federal courts should squarely raise the constitutional issue and the theory that segregation is not authorized by the statute and the theory that officials acting pursuant to the statute are under a duty to administer the act fairly because this is what Congress intended should not be urged. In support of the constitutional issue, the only cases upon which we should rely in the future are Buchanan v. Warley, supra, and the other city ordinance cases and the Restrictive Covenant Cases of Shelley v. Kraemer, supra and Sines v. McGhee, supra. (Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge, supra, can be relied upon only in support of the public policy of the United States) If the California decision is upheld on constitutional grounds, this case can also be relied upon.

In order to speed a decision on the merits in a federal court suit, I would suggest early application for a temporary injunction. This motion was not made in any of the cases presently pending in federal courts, although motions for summary judgment were made after Answer. No attempt should be made to join any federal housing official as a defendant. The attempt to do so in Detroit was primarily responsible for the delay. The experience in that case indi-

cates that it is sufficient to sue the local authority and local executive director of the authority.

B. How are we to challenge the use of federal funds for racially segregated public housing?

This challenge is made in the suit which pending in the District Court for the District of Columbia. A copy of the complaint in that case will be available at the conference for study and criticism. The complaint brought on behalf of Negro residents of Savannah, Georgia, who are being evicted from the site of their residence to make way for a federally-aided public low rent housing project limited to white occupancy, challenges the use of federal funds for such a project on the following grounds:

The use of federal funds for the construction of segregated public housing violates the public policy of the United States, Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24.

The use of federal funds for segregated public housing violates the laws of the United States. Title 8 U.S. Code, Sec. 42, Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge, supra.

The use of federal funds by the defendants for such a project violates the duty imposed upon the defendants by the Housing Act of 1949 to administer the act for the benefit of all eligibles fairly and without discrimination because of race. Steelev. Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 323 U.S. 192; Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U.S. 768 (1932).

The complaint alleges that the defendant federal agencies specifically approved the determination made by the local authority that occupancy of the project for which federal assistance has been given and will be given in the future will be limited to white occupancy and that defendants have given federal financial assistance to the local authority with full knowledge of the fact that the plaintiffs would be denied admission solely because of their race and color. Under the statute federal assistance is contingent upon approval by the defendants. The defendant federal officials are therefore parties to the discrimination against the plaintiffs in violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. Betts v. Easley, 161 Kan. 459.

Under the Housing Act of 1949, the plaintiffs, as evictees have a preference for admission to any federally-aided low rent public housing project in the City of Savannah. When the local authority denies the plaintiffs admission to the project to be built on the site from which they are evicted this will be in violation of the statute and will deprive the plaintiffs of their statutory preference. This is also in violation of the duty imposed upon the defendant federal officials to administer the statute as written by Congress and their act in permitting the plaintiffs to be deprived of this statutory preference solely because of race is violative of the duty imposed on defendants to administer the statute fairly without discrimination. Steelev. Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 323 U.S. 192. In this case every possible theory was intentionally thrown in on the theory that use of federal funds for segregated public housing must somehow be enjoined. The difficulty we

anticipate is with the standing of plaintiffs to seek this kind of remedy. The court will probably take the position that the plaintiffs' remedy is a suit for admission brought against the local authority. This will, of course, be done if this action fails to remedy the situation by the time the project is ready for occupancy. But in the meantime, this suit should, in my opinion, be pressed if for no other reason than the fact that it puts pressure on the federal agency to exert greater influence on local agencies to adopt open occupancy policies. It also embarrasses the federal government, especially in view of its position in the restrictive covenant and other cases.

In answer to the question whether plaintiffs can enjoin the expenditure of federal funds for public housing, it should be argued that plaintiffs do not seek to enjoin the expenditure of federal funds for public housing, they merely seek to enjoin its expenditure in an unconstitutional manner. They will be injured by this since they will be denied a unit for which they are otherwise qualified, solely because of race, in violation of rights secured to them by the federal constitution. In other words, an injunction in this case would not enjoin the use of federal funds for public housing open to all qualified applicants without racial discrimination. It would enjoin such expenditure for the construction of racially segregated housing which would preclude otherwise qualified persons solely because of race in violation of rights secured to such persons by the federal constitution against both the state and federal governments or secured to such person by the laws of the United States or in violation of the public policy of the United States.

II. Publicly Aided Housing

A. How are we to challenge the practices of large scale builders and developers who construct the Levittowns, Lakewood Parks and similar FHA insured developments which are kept lily-white through selling and leasing policies?

The method of attack here must obviously be similar to the approach used in the Stuyvesant Town case, Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town 299 N.Y. 512, i.e., an attempt must be made to show that the FHA mortgage insurance which inures to the benefit of the builder in this case is such governmental assistance as to impose upon the tenant selection policies of such a builder the same constitutional restrictions as would be imposed upon a federal housing development. The FHA mortgage insurance which is given in these cases is an insurance given to the lender or the mortgagee. In the event of default in the payment of the mortgage, the mortgage is paid by the FHA up to that amount guaranteed against loss and the FHA succeeds to the rights of the mortgagee with respect to the property. FHA can then foreclose and then continue to operate the development itself. It seems that the first allegation made in an action brought against such a builder would be that the construction of the development would not have been possible without the federal participation in the form of insuring the mortgages. Banks, etc., do not make large loans for construction unless insured to some extent by FHA.

These developments are constructed on such a large scale that the construction of same requires simultaneous construction of

necessary community facilities and services. In many instances these facilities and services have included the construction of school buildings subsequently turned over to the local public school authorities, shopping and commercial centers, public recreational parks and playgrounds subsequently supervised by public recreational directors. Contributions are often received from the local public authority in the form of streets and highways or contributions in the form of amendments to the local building codes to facilitate construction of the type desired or amendments to the local zoning ordinances to permit the construction of that particular kind of development in the area.

There may also be agreements as to construction of schools and playgrounds by the builder to be later turned over to public authorities. These developers are in many cases so large that the physical area covered is greater than that of many smaller incorporated villages and houses a population several times in excess of the population of numerous incorporated villages throughout the United States. Levittown, New York, for example, has approximately 16,000 homes and houses approximately 70,000. In other words, the end result is an unincorporated village or township with, as in the case of Levittown, a federal post office.

The combination of federal and local governmental assistance in these cases should amount to such governmental assistance as to overcome the hurdle posed by the decision of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York in *Stuyvesant Town* case. The other major hurdle, however, is that the courts frown upon the idea that a private individual may be made to sell or rent to Negroes. Thus the need for showing such governmental assistance to such a development as to take it out of the area of purely private housing and to establish in the law an area of publicly assisted housing which, if it is to receive public assistance, must be subjected to the constitutional restrictions imposed upon governmental action.

In many isolated areas the builder of such housing may actually have a monopoly upon the available housing. In such a case, an action should be brought in a state court on a common law-public policy theory that one cannot have a monopoly on housing in what amounts to a town and racially discriminatory selling and leasing policies as well. Cf. James v. Marine Ship Corp., 25 Cal 2d 721; Cameron v. International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, 118 N.J. Eq. 11, 176 Atl. 692; Wilson v. Newspaper and Mail Deliverer's Union, 123 N.J. Eq. 347.

The FHA mortgage insurance program is provided for by federal statute. The purpose of the program is to aid builders by enabling them to get the necessary financial assistance in the form of loans insured by the federal government. Those who would seek to take advantage of this federal assistance are under a duty to make the housing construction which results available to all without discrimination because of race Steele v. Louisville and Nashville, supra; Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, supra.

B. How are we to challenge the use of federal assistance in the form of FHA mortgage insurance which makes these lily-white developments possible.

With respect to how we can enjoin FHA from giving mortgage

insurance where the developer refuses to agree to a non-discriminatory tenant selection policy, I think that this can best be done by the same method used when we accomplished amendment to FHA Rules and Manual following the Supreme Court's decisions in the Restrictive Covenant Cases, i.e., by preparing a memorandum on the problem for presentation to the president.

I feel that it would be too difficult for a person discriminated against to enjoin FHA mortgage insurance by suit against FHA. In this case his remedy would clearly be against the developer.

C. How are we to challenge discriminatory policies of private developers who construct large scale housing developments on land made available to them at substantially reduced cost through the federal slum clearance and urban redevelopment program.

The discriminatory tenant selection and selling practices of private developers of urban redevelopment housing must be subject to attack on the theory that such housing is publicly aided to such an extent as to make the tenant selection policies of the developer subject to the constitutional restrictions enjoining both federal and state discriminatory action. Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library, 149 F(2d) 212 (CA 4th 1945)

Joint Memorandum

Housing
Joint Jewish Org.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

343 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.

212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: April 16, 1953

SUBJECT: Developments Since the Supreme Court Decisions on Restrictive Covenants
in Shelley vs. Kraemer and Hurd vs. Hodge *

It is now five years since the United States Supreme Court ruled in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer (334 U. S. 1) and Hurd v. Hodge (334 U. S. 24) that neither a state nor the federal court could compel compliance with a racial restrictive covenant. An informal survey conducted by the Associated Press revealed that as a result of these meetings, thousands of Negroes have been able to purchase homes in areas previously barred to them. It is of interest to review the impact of the Supreme Court's history-making rulings on real estate practices and on recent cases involving restrictive covenants which have reached the courts.

One week after the Supreme Court established the new rule of the Shelley case, it applied it in reversing decisions of the Supreme Courts of Ohio and California which had held racial restrictive covenants enforceable. (Trustees of Monroe Avenue Church of Christ v. Perkins, 334 U.S. 813; Amer v. Superior Court of State of California, and Yin Kim v. Superior Court of the State of California, 334 U. S. 813)

Several restrictive covenant cases were pending in various state courts at the time of the Shelley v. Kraemer decision. On July 16, 1948, some two months after the Supreme Court ruling, the New York State Court of Appeals, by memorandum opinion which simply referred to the Shelley decision, reversed a lower court which had upheld a suit for an injunction against violation of a restrictive covenant. (Kemp v. Rubin, 298 N.Y. 590). In November of the same year, the Supreme Court of Illinois rendered a similar decision in the case of Tovey v. Levy (401 Ill. 393).

In December 1948, the Court of Appeals of Maryland had before it two cases involving applications for injunctive enforcement of restrictive covenants (Goetz v. Smith, and Saunders v. Phillips, 191 Md. 707, cert. denied 336 U. S. 967). The plaintiffs argued that the rule of the Shelley case did not apply to them because in that case, Negroes had occupied some of the property in question for

* This is a revision bringing up to date our joint memorandum of August 15, 1951 on the same general subject.

periods of over twenty years despite the covenants. They also pointed out that in the Shelley situation, the Negro purchaser had had no actual knowledge of the restrictions at the time he made his purchase, while in the cases before the Maryland court, the Negro defendants knew of the restrictions at the time they bought the property.

The Court of Appeals of Maryland rejected all these contentions and stated that the United States Supreme Court decisions barred the court from granting the injunctions requested.

In the same month, a Texas appellate court in the case of Clifton v. Puente, 218 S.W. 2nd 272, followed a similar course of action. The covenant involved barred sale or lease to "persons of Mexican descent" and provided that the land should revert to the original owner in case the covenant was violated. In December 1947, the property had been sold to Puente, a person of Mexican descent. Thereupon the original owner, claiming that the land once more belonged to him because of the terms of the covenant, sold the same piece of land to the plaintiff, Clifton, who joined with the original owner in bringing an action against Puente for a declaration that Clifton was the rightful owner of the land. Puente countered by asking the court for an order granting him possession of the property. While the matter was under consideration in the trial court, the Shelley decision was handed down. Despite this decision, the plaintiffs pressed their demand that the court cancel the deed by which the property had been transferred to Puente.

The trial court, on the basis of the Shelley case, dismissed the plaintiffs' action and instead ordered possession of the land to be given to the defendant, Puente. The Texas Court of Civil Appeals affirmed the decision of the trial court. It rejected the claim of the plaintiff that there was a distinction between cases where the plaintiffs were seeking to enforce a racial restrictive covenant by means of an application for an injunction and the case before the Texas court in which the plaintiff was seeking merely to have the court declare that the covenant was valid and therefore by its provisions entitled him to possession. In rejecting this contention, the Texas Court of Civil Appeals said, "It is as much an enforcement of the covenant to deny a person his legal right to which he would be entitled except for the covenant as it would be to expressly command the judicial order that the terms of the covenant be recognized and carried out. No valid distinction can be predicated on the position of a party (alleged to be an ineligible grantee) as a plaintiff or as a defendant. Under the decision of the Supreme Court above referred to (Shelley v. Kraemer) judicial recognition or enforcement of the restrictive covenant involved here is precluded by the "equal protection of the law" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

When those interested in maintaining the effect of restrictive covenants found that state courts would refuse to issue injunction orders to enforce them, they were forced to search for other legal technicalities. One of the first such devices was a suit for damages for violation of a racial restrictive covenant. The case of Weiss v. Leason (359 Mo. 1054) which arose in Kansas City, Mo., and was decided by the highest court of the State of Missouri on December 12, 1949, had originated as a suit for both an injunction and damages brought by a group of white signers of a restrictive covenant against other white signers, who were planning to sell to Negroes. The plaintiffs,

seeking enforcement of the covenant, also made the prospective Negro buyers co-defendants. The trial court rejected the request for an injunction on the basis of Shelley v. Kraemer. It also rejected the plaintiff's request for damages. The Supreme Court of Missouri, on appeal, ruled that the trial court's refusal to enforce the covenant by injunction was proper, but that a suit for monetary damages brought against the white sellers for breach of a restrictive covenant was not barred by the Supreme Court ruling in the Shelley case.

The Supreme Court of Missouri, in so holding, said, "The fact that another remedy, specific performance, is ruled out because of constitutional reasons, need not necessarily affect the remedy by way of damages unless it, too, is unconstitutional under the circumstances." The case was sent back to the trial court for a determination of the damages, if any, suffered by the plaintiffs.

The plaintiffs, apparently satisfied with the Missouri Supreme Court's ruling that a damage suit could be brought, have not returned to the trial court for an assessment of these damages. It is possible, of course, that the plaintiffs fear that they may be unable to prove that they suffered any monetary damages, in which case much of the effect of the Missouri Supreme Court's decision allowing a suit for damages would disappear. (The unproved claim that the presence of Negroes depresses property values is effectively answered by Charles Abrams in an article called The New "Gresham's Law of Neighborhoods", Fact or Fiction, which appeared in the Appraisal Journal of July 1951. Reprints are available.)

A somewhat different device to evade the impact of Shelley v. Kraemer was used successfully in Oklahoma. An owner of land subject to an anti-Negro restrictive covenant sold the land to a white person who in turn sold it to Negroes. White owners of other lots covered by the covenant sued to have the sale set aside. They alleged a conspiracy to damage them by destroying the restrictions, charging the original white sellers and the white intermediary seller who was described as financially irresponsible and a catspaw and the Negro purchasers as co-conspirators. Plaintiff's claim for damages was thus based on conspiracy which under some state laws constitutes a tort giving rise to an action for damages. Plaintiffs claimed as damages the costs they had incurred in connection with the conclusion of the restrictive covenant and the alleged depreciation of their land due to the sale to a Negro.

The trial court dismissed the action in its entirety on the authority of Shelley v. Kraemer. The Oklahoma Supreme Court upheld the trial court's refusal to set aside the sale, but reversed the ruling that there could be no claim for damages based on conspiracy. The Supreme Court argued that Shelley v. Kraemer had ruled a restrictive covenant a valid contract and that, therefore, an agreement entered into by two or more people to bring about a violation of such contract could constitute the tort of conspiracy giving rise to an action for damages. Hence the Supreme Court of Oklahoma ordered the trial court to uphold that portion of the complaint claiming damages for conspiracy. (Correll V. Earley, 237 Pac 2nd 1017).

Despite the different basis of the damage claims in both cases (breach of contract in Missouri, tort for conspiracy in Oklahoma) the rationale of both decisions is very similar. Both courts ruled that a restrictive covenant

was a valid contract - though not specifically enforceable - and that therefore the damage resulting from its breach or an agreement to breach it was recoverable. Both courts ignored the obvious fact that its award of damages to a person "aggrieved" by the breach of a restrictive covenant constituted a judicial action enforcing the covenant which Shelley v. Kraemer had declared a violation of the XIVth Amendment.

On the other hand, the United States District Court in the District of Columbia ruled, on October 5, 1950, (Roberts v. Curtis, 93 Fed. Supp. 604) that Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge barred an action for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant, even though the covenant itself, as in this case, specified that damages were assessable in the event of breach.

In dismissing the action, Judge Holtzoff stated that he construed "the holdings of the Supreme Court (in Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge) as withholding any judicial assistance for enforcement of such restrictive covenants."

On January 30, 1951, the Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan, granted a motion to dismiss a suit brought to collect \$5,000 damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant (Phillips v. Naff, #260,031). The plaintiffs and defendants in this case were owners of adjoining lots subject to the covenant. The defendants had sold their property to Negroes in disregard of the covenant.

In dismissing the complaint, Circuit Judge Frank B. Ferguson referred to the Shelley v. Kraemer decision and ruled that, under it, racial restrictive covenants could not be enforced by state courts. The court also cited a number of Michigan cases holding that, where two persons enter into a contract based upon certain assumptions as to their legal rights, and are mistaken in those assumptions, the contract is void and will be set aside upon application to the courts. Pointing out that the restrictive covenant involved in this action was a contract based on the assumption that an injunction could be obtained against its violation, the court held that the racial restrictive covenant upon which the suit was based was unenforceable and that the suit must, therefore, be dismissed.

The judgment of the Circuit Court was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Michigan, 332 Mich. 389 on the authority of Shelley V. Kraemer on the ground that suits for damages of restrictive covenant constitute an indirect method of enforcement. Said the court:

If the sale of property subject to a reciprocal restrictive covenant cannot be made without rendering the grantor liable to suits for damages, such fact, it may be assumed, would operate to inhibit freedom of purchase by those against whom the discrimination is directed and also to place a burden on the right of an owner to sell to a purchaser of his own selection.

The next court to rule on this question was the Superior Court of the State of California on March 26, 1951 (Barrows v. Jackson), which held that

Shelley v. Kraemer barred an action for damages for violation of a racial restrictive covenant.

The plaintiffs in this action contended that the rule laid down in the Shelley case should be limited to actions for injunctive relief and should not apply to suits for damages. The Court ruled that that decision was "broad enough to contemplate an action for damages for breach of the covenant as coming within the scope of 'judicial enforcement' as referred to in that opinion." It cited Roberts v. Curtis to support this conclusion and dismissed the precedent of Weiss v. Leason on the ground that that case proceeded upon "an ill-founded premise that the agreements are legal." This, the court stated, "certainly was not the holding of the Supreme Court in Shelley v. Kraemer."

On appeal, the District Court of Appeals affirmed, holding that the covenant was not one which could be enforced by state courts in view of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer and Sipes v. McGhee. It stated that "the admonition of these cases is that a state may not by judicial process enforce private rights derived from consensual agreements of private individuals where to do so would result in the infringement of civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States." Since the granting of damages for violation of a racial or restrictive covenant would be a type of judicial enforcement, and since judicial enforcement of racial or restrictive covenants was a violation of the "equal protection" requirement of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court ruled that the trial court had been right in dismissing the complaint. (112 Cal. App. 2nd 534, 247 Pac (2nd) 99). The Supreme Court of California denied a petition for a hearing. However, the United States Supreme Court recently granted certiorari thus opening the way for a final determination of the question whether or not a damage suit may be brought for violation of a racial or religious restrictive covenant.

The question of the validity of racially restrictive agreements had also been presented to the courts in other ways. In Roanoke, Va., a restrictive covenant barred sale or occupancy of certain property to persons who observed the Sabbath on a day other than Sunday and provided that in case of any breach, the land was to revert to the person who had originally burdened the land with the covenant. A Jewish purchaser, after taking title, brought an action in the Virginia courts for a declaratory judgment establishing his ownership of the land. The defendant in the action was the original corporate seller who had subdivided the area and sold it as home building lots. The plaintiff in this action won a default judgment.

On September 7, 1950, the Minnesota District Court of Hennepin County decided a case involving a suit for cancellation of a sale of a house to a Negro on the ground that the plaintiffs - the white owners of the house - had been induced to sell through fraud. They claimed that the real estate operator, their agent and one of the defendants, had not informed them that the purchasers - also defendants in the case - were Negroes. In ruling for the defendants, the Minnesota court held that the seller could have the sale cancelled only if he showed that he had suffered money damage because of the agent's alleged misrepresentation. Since the plaintiff could show no such monetary loss, the court dismissed the case and later granted judgment to the Negro purchasers compelling the sellers to transfer title to them in accordance with the signed contract of sale.

* * * * *

Thus, the trend of decisions involving racial restrictive covenants has been to interpret the Supreme Court decisions so as to bar damage suits, suits based on fraud and similar actions which seek, directly or indirectly, to compel compliance with such covenants.

The State of Wisconsin is the only state which had a law specifically validating racial restrictive covenants. This provision is, of course, unconstitutional. Nevertheless, the law has remained on the books until the 1951 session of the Wisconsin Legislature. On June 6, 1951, a bill was passed which provides that restrictions based upon character, race or nationality cannot be included in covenants on land.

Even outside of the courts, there has been an increased awareness of the costs of segregation and, to a certain extent, a more favorable attitude toward integrated living.

The action of the National Association of Real Estate Boards at its annual convention in November 1950 is, perhaps, a reflection of this. In the past, realtors had been expelled from local real estate boards for selling property to persons barred by a racial restrictive covenant. The NAREB convention, however, voted to eliminate from its Code of Ethics the provision making it an unethical practice to introduce into a neighborhood "members of any race or nationality ... whose presence will be detrimental to property values."

Mention should be made, however, of the fact that persons seeking to maintain the restricted character of certain neighborhoods have on occasion resorted to violence. In some cases, the police have done little to prevent the outrages and have made no effort to apprehend the wrongdoers.

An instance of this kind of violence occurred in Birmingham, when a Negro property owner purchased a home on a block which had formerly been exclusively white. The home was bombed on at least two different occasions and the police have shown an amazing inability to prevent such acts or to find the perpetrators. Ironically, the house was first blasted just thirty-six hours after a federal court had ruled that a racial zoning ordinance which had prevented the Negro family from occupying their home, was unconstitutional.

In South Dallas, a suburb of Dallas, a virtual reign of terror has existed for the past year due to attempts on the part of Negroes to build homes in this community.

This type of overt racism was not confined to the South. Cicero, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, provided the most shameful recent example of violence used to exclude a minority racial group from a community. Residents of this all-white city gutted an entire apartment building, forcing nineteen white families to flee, in order to prevent a young Negro couple from moving into an apartment they had rented in the building. Laxity on the part of local police necessitated calling out the National Guard.

In one case where an effort at intimidation came to the attention of a court, it quickly enjoined such action. The Wayne County Court of Detroit

1951,
Michigan, on January 11, granted an injunction to a plaintiff who had sold property to Negroes in defiance of a racial restrictive covenant. The injunction was directed against a group of persons who had picketed the plaintiff's home and office denouncing him for selling "white" property to Negroes. In granting the injunction the court ruled that the picketing was unlawful interference with the property rights of the plaintiffs (Brock v. Murphy, opinion by Circuit Judge Chester P. O'Hara).

These are merely examples of the lengths to which some persons will go in order to maintain the "purity" of their neighborhoods. There is a trend, however, toward a gradual breakdown of enforced racial segregation in housing.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

LONGACRE 3-6890
HENRY LEE MOON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR RELEASE: April 23, 1953

NAACP PROTESTS BAN
ON PUBLIC HOUSING

April 23, 1953

NEW YORK, April 23.-- Senate leaders of both parties and members of the Senate Appropriations Committee were today urged by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, to restore the provision for 35,000 public housing units cut from the Independent Offices Appropriations bill by the House of Representatives.

Rejecting a White House recommendation for the development of 35,000 new public housing units in the next fiscal year, the House, on April 22, voted 198 to 106 to halt all further federal aid to the construction of new low-rent public housing. The House also cut by 40 per cent the budget of Housing and Home Finance Agency's race relations service, headed by Frank S. Horne.

The House vote, Mr. White said in his telegram to the Senators, "dooms the vital public housing program and sharply curtails efforts to assure non-discrimination in public and private housing through drastic cut in the budget of the race relations service in the HHFA." The NAACP, he asserted, "strongly urges" restoration of the Administration proposal for 35,000 units and a full budget for the race relations service.

The NAACP executive also sent a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him "to use the influence of the White House to restore the public housing program and the full budget requested for the race relations service." Meanwhile the national office called upon branches of the Association throughout the country to write to their senators urging them to vote to continue the public housing program, to restore the race relations service budget, and to eliminate provisions in the House bill designed to cripple slum clearance and urban redevelopment.

In Washington, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington Bureau, has requested an opportunity to appear before the Senate Appropriation subcommittee to present the NAACP position.

NAACP TO APPEAL DECISION
UPHOLDING HOUSING BIAS

April 23, 1953

NEW YORK, April 23.-- A decision handed down in the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia upholding the right of the federal government to segregate on the basis of race will be taken immediately to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said here today.

The ruling, based on the "equal but separate" doctrine, was made by Judge Alexander Holtzoff on April 21 in a case brought by the NAACP on behalf of thirteen Negro families in the "Old Fort" area of Savannah, Ga., who are being forced out of their present homes for a federally-financed public housing development for low-income white families. The NAACP asked the court to enjoin the Public Housing Administration from giving financial aid to and participating in the construction and operation of the segregated project.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, NAACP attorney, argued that the federal government is prohibited by the Constitution, laws and public policy of the United States from enforcing racial segregation and from taking part in or encouraging racial segregation in public facilities. The New York attorney was assisted in the case by Frank Reeves, NAACP legal representative in Washington.

Brushing aside all technical legal objections raised by the Department of Justice attorneys, who argued for the government agency, Judge Holtzoff ruled that the federal or state government has the right to segregate the white and colored race.

"Under the so-called 'separate but equal' doctrine, which is still the law under the Supreme Court decisions," Judge Holtzoff said in his opinion, "it is entirely proper and does not constitute a violation of Constitutional rights for the Federal Government or for any public utility subject to Federal regulation or state regulation to require people of the white and colored races to use separate facilities, provided equal facilities are furnished to each."

Answering this argument, Mrs. Motley said: "There is no decision by the United States Supreme Court upholding the right of the Federal Government to segregate on the ground of race."

Mr. Marshall expressed the opinion that the decision of Judge Holtzoff was contrary to the law as established in the Louisville segregation case and the restrictive covenant case.

PUBLIC HOUSING SLASHED

House Appropriations Committee members singled out the racial relations service of the housing agencies for a cut when funds for the agencies were under consideration. However, the Senate reversed this action.

The Banking and Currency Committees of the House and Senate extended the time limit for purchasing of mortgages by the Federal National Mortgage Association in order to benefit housing open to minority groups. However, the Appropriations Committee of the House dealt a deadly blow to minority groups by slashing public housing.

The House Committee led a successful fight to reduce the number of units authorized for construction from 35,000 to 20,000. It also obtained congressional approval of a stipulation that no new units in excess of 20,000 could be built or planned without the consent of Congress.

This has the effect of halting construction of most of 55,000 public housing units the government already has under contract. One-third of all existing public housing units in the country are occupied by colored people.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Department of Branches

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Longacre 3-6890

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

April 23, 1953

IMMEDIATE ACTION NECESSARY

TO SAVE HOUSING PROGRAM

MEMORANDUM FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO THE BRANCHES:

By the time you receive this memorandum, the House of Representatives of the United States will probably have voted to kill this country's Public Housing program, to cripple fatally the Urban Redevelopment program and to reduce by 40% the HHFA Racial Relations Service. This supine surrender to the real estate lobby will condemn thousands of low income families to permanent slum living.

The 40% budget cut of the Racial Relations Service of the Office of the Administrator is venal. This tiny staff of men and women has probably done more to broaden and democratize the basis for minority participation in Federal housing programs than any other group in the country. This service is a national yardstick for the operation of government racial relations services on all levels.

It is no accident that the Racial Relations Service was one of the few divisions explicitly singled out for decimation. Its existence is a constant threat to the real estate lobby and its racist colleagues.

ACT NOW. Every senator on the Senate Appropriations Committee (their names are enclosed) should be contacted. When the bill comes up for Senate debate, each vote will count. Make sure that your senators hear from you.

ACTION.

1. WRITE, WIRE AND VISIT your senators, urging them to

restore appropriations in the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill so as to provide for at least 35,000 low rent housing units in 1954;

eliminate all crippling provisions affecting Title I (Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment of the Housing Act of 1949);

restore budgetary cuts affecting the Racial Relations Service.

2. GET YOUR ORGANIZATIONS BEHIND THIS DRIVE.

We are asking you to do a lot. Many letters will have to be written; many meetings called. If you are to save America's housing program, you must do all this and more. There is no time to lose.

*Housing
re: Low rent Housing
bill*

*x filed
Pills - Housing*

A
C
T
I
O
N

L
E
T
T
E
R

FACTS ON HOUSING CUTS IN INDEPENDENT
OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL OF 1954

This is what the House can be expected to do to the housing program:

- A. The Public Housing Administration's budget will be cut from \$11,300,000 to \$4,948,000, a cut of \$6,352,000. This eliminates:
1. All new public housing for the fiscal year 1954. The National Housing Act authorized 135,000 units per year. The budget director of HHFA had requested funds for 35,000 units.
 2. Development staff, regional offices and vastly reduces management services with probable elimination of the PHA racial relations field service.
- B. An amendment has been added stating, "That no housing shall be authorized by the Public Housing Administration, or, if under construction, continue to be constructed, in any community where the people of that community, by their duly elected representatives, or by referendum, or by any other legal method, have indicated they do not want it." That springs from the Los Angeles fight where the City Council voted to abrogate its contract, an action that was found to be illegal by the California Supreme Court. This action to destroy the sanctity of contracts alone could bring irreparable damage.
- C. The so-called Gwinn amendment would be reenacted, providing that no public housing unit shall be occupied by a person who is a member of an organization designated as subversive by the Attorney General, to be enforced by the local housing authority.
- D. Under Title I (slum clearance) of the Housing Act of 1949, the Bill would specifically exclude expenditures for parks, playgrounds, public buildings, or similar facilities from being credited to local grants-in-aid. In other words cities must meet their portion of redevelopment costs in cash and land and demolition. The whole program would thus be thrown in jeopardy.
- E. Appropriations for administration of the HHFA which coordinates all major Federal housing programs have also been cut to the point of emasculation. Specific attention was given to the Race Relations Service which suffered a cut of 40%, meaning the elimination of half of the professional staff and the reduction of essential services.

INDEPENDENT OFFICE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Republicans:	Leverett Saltonstall	Massachusetts (Chairman)
	Styles Bridges	New Hampshire
	Homer Ferguson	Michigan
	Guy Cordon	Oregon
	Edward J. Thye	Minnesota
	Joseph R. McCarthy	Wisconsin
	Henry C. Dworshak	Idaho
	Everett M. Dirksen	Illinois
Democrats:	Burnet R. Maybank	South Carolina
	Lister Hill	Alabama
	Allan J. Ellender, Sr.	Louisiana
	A. Willis Robertson	Virginia
	Harley M. Kilgore	West Virginia
	Warren G. Magnuson	Washington

April 30, 1953

WASHINGTON, April 30.-- More than 60 per cent of the families who will be displaced by current slum clearance programs in 53 community redevelopment projects are Negro, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a Senate Appropriations sub-committee.

Testifying on April 25, Mr. Mitchell urged the committee, headed by Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, to restore funds for 35,000 public housing units to the Independent Offices appropriation bill. He also asked for restoration of the full budget for the race relations service in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which had been cut by 50 per cent. These funds were cut by the House in an economy move.

At least half of the families displaced by slum clearance programs will need public housing, Mr. Mitchell said, and even if the Congress approved 35,000 public housing units it will not be enough to meet the needs of these families alone.

The NAACP representative cited a survey which revealed that more than "one-third of public housing program is now occupied by 85,000 Negro families, affording some 350,000 Negroes their first chance for wholesome living. Negro construction workers," he said, "have received more than \$107 million in wages from public housing construction and over 5,000 additional Negroes are employed in the administration, management and maintenance of public housing projects all over the country."

According to Gunnar Myrdal, author of "An American Dilemma," and internationally famous sociologist, Mr. Mitchell asserted, "one of the basic reasons for the fair treatment of racial minorities in governmental housing programs has been the utilization by these agencies of specialized personnel known as the racial relations service...This service has been recognized as one of the most distinctive contributions in the government to the promotion of interracial understanding and good will."

In the meantime, NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White received favorable replies from several senators and representatives whom he wired urging restoration of appropriations for the public housing program.

Press Releases--April 30

-3-

Senator Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.) wrote: "I share your concern in this matter and as a member of the subcommittee shall do everything possible to secure the funds to cover the administration's request for 35,000 new units and for the slum clearance and redevelopment program."

Senator Burnet R. Maybank (D., S.C.), sent Mr. White a copy of his statement taking issue with the House Appropriations Committee for eliminating money for the public housing program. Calling the committee's action "shocking," Sen. Maybank said: "My wholehearted support will be offered to restore the cut."

Rep. Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.) said he did all he could to stop the slash, and added: "These people are cutting and slashing here, without much program and, it seems to me, many times without much thought, and I do not know what the effect of their actions will be."

Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) said he "will look into this immediately when it comes over to the Senate."

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

to mrs. motley

april 30, 1953

*Housing publ.
Journal of Housing*

Would you check with TM as to whether
or not Inc. Fund can pay for subscription to
the Journal of Housing, published by the
National Association of Housing Officials.

ww/erb

attach. (application card)

April 24, 1953

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. Walter White
FROM: Mrs. Constance Baker Motley
RE : Subscription to Journal of Housing

We should have a subscription to the Journal of Housing, published by the National Association of Housing Officials.

Attached hereto is the subscription blank. I do not know whether you want this charged to the Inc. Fund or N.A.A.C.P.

CBM/gr

*Please check
with
Fund
T.M. if
can't pay.
MWS*

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION
The Journal of Housing

National Association of Housing Officials

1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET • CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

Chicago Telephone: FAirfax 4-3408
Washington Telephone: STerling 3-2540

John D. Lange, Executive Director
Mrs. Dorothy Gazzolo, Associate Director

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
BROWN NICHOLSON
Executive Director,
The Housing Authority of the City of Columbus, Georgia

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
RAMSEY PRODLER
Director,
Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
A. GILBERT SCHUB
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of New Orleans

BOARD OF GOVERNORS, REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

NEW ENGLAND
MRS. HELEN S. HADPHERSON
Manager, Elm Haven Project,
Housing Authority of the City of New Haven

MIDDLE ATLANTIC
LOUIS DANDGO
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Newark

OLIVER C. WINSTON
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of Baltimore City

NORTH CENTRAL
JAMES S. JOHNSON, Jr.
Executive Director,
Alexander County (Illinois) Housing Authority

RUSSELL C. TAYLOR
Director,
Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority

SOUTHEASTERN
R. E. CHIDGOSTON
Executive Director,
Chattanooga Housing Authority

NICHOLAS H. DOSKER
Administrator,
City of Louisville Municipal Housing Commission

SOUTHWEST
MRS. MARIE C. MCGUIRE
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of San Antonio

W. W. STEWART
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Austin

PACIFIC SOUTHWEST
HUGO F. ALLARD
Executive Director,
Housing Authorities of the City and County of Fresno, California

EDWARD H. WERNICK
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Oakland

PACIFIC NORTHWEST
HOWARD KIDLEY
Assistant Director of Redevelopment,
Housing Authority of Portland, Oregon

S. FRANK SPENCER
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Everett, Washington

BOARD OF GOVERNORS, MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

R. A. BEHMER
Assistant Executive Director,
The Housing Authority of the City of Dallas

LAWRENCE M. COX
Executive Director,
Harris County Redevelopment and Housing Authority

PHILIP J. CRUSE
Chairman,
New York City Housing Authority

HENRY J. DANIEL
Commissioner,
Housing Authority of Portland, Oregon

PAUL S. FRIEDMAN
Commissioner,
Chicago Housing Authority

L. WALTER HENSLER
Executive Director,
The Housing Authority of the City of Galveston

ALBERT H. LAFFAYE
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Bessie, California

BENJAMIN E. LOHMEYER
Deputy Director (Community Development),
Technical Cooperation Administration for India
New Delhi, India

JOSEPH H. LYONS
Executive Director,
The Housing Authority of the City of Providence

WALTER B. MALL, Jr.
Executive Director,
Greater Oklahoma (Alabamian) Housing Authority

KENNETH A. PARNELL
Executive Director,
The Housing Authority of the City of Gary, Indiana

JAMES B. RICHARDSON
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Vallejo, California

JOHN I. ROBINSON
Chairman,
Springfield (Massachusetts) Housing Authority

CHARLES W. ROSS, Jr.
Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Seattle

WALTER M. SHAMONS
Assistant Executive Director,
Housing Authority of the City of Seattle

BUTCHER SLAGTER
Director, Operations Engineering Branch,
Public Housing Administration

NICHOLAS L. STUBBS
Executive Director,
Baltimore Redevelopment Commission

JESSE H. SWANSON
Administrative Officer,
Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles

BOARD MEMBERS EX OFFICIO

The Officers
The Immediate Past President,
CLARENCE C. KLEIN
Administrator,
Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh

GENERAL COUNSEL
ALAN WILSON H. TROTTER
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

In reply, please refer to:

April 6, 1953

Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. White:

This Association has in recent months been concerning itself with ways and means of bringing into closer relationship those local officials and citizen groups working in the related fields of housing, health, and welfare. We feel sure that your organization will share with us the conviction that these three groups have much in common and, for that reason, we have thought that you will want to keep in touch with activities in the housing field.

For this purpose, you may want to subscribe to our monthly JOURNAL OF HOUSING, copy of which is enclosed--or you may want to affiliate with us as an associate member, in accordance with the terms described in the attached folder.

We should be most pleased to welcome you in either capacity and to work with you on any joint programs that you might be developing in the next year in which we might be helpful.

Sincerely,

John D. Lange
John D. Lange
Executive Director

JDL:jd
Enclosures

Yes we should have a subsc. I received a copy CPM

Rec'd May 15 1953
CAB

City-Wide Tenants Org.
of Low Income

May 14, 1953

Memorandum to Mr. Current from Mrs. Motley:

I have your memorandum of May 7th concerning the City-Wide Tenants Organization of Low Income Housing and the letter attached thereto from the organization.

From the letter it looks like the Organization is one which is just getting under way. No sponsors, officers or other participants in the Organization are listed. It, therefore, is not possible to determine whether it is advisable to participate in this meeting. I think that it is advisable to wait and see what persons identify themselves with the Organization.

CBM/gr

Kausing

May 7, 1953

MEMORANDUM TO MRS. MOTLEY FROM MR. CURRENT:

Will you kindly let me know what you think about this request to attend a meeting of the City-Wide Tenants Organization of Low Income Housing, May 14.

Is this something we should be interested in?

GBC/cs
Attachment

7870 APR 23 53

CITY WIDE TENANTS ORGANIZATION
OF LOW INCOME HOUSING
853 Broadway
N.T.C.

April 21, 1953

National Ass'n for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York City,

Gentlemen:

Our organization is calling a Mass Meeting on Thursday, May 14th, 8:30 P.M. at the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church, 737 East 6th St., New York, to protest the imposition of the Loyalty Oath on tenants of Federal Low Income Housing, as embodied in the Gwynn Amendment, and to fight the Rent Increase passed recently in Albany.

We know that your organization is dedicated to fight any infringements on the constitutional rights of all people, and therefore ask you to designate a speaker to address our meeting. Will you please let us know at your earliest convenience what your decision is, and if favorable, give us the speaker's name.

Thanking you in advance, we are

Sincerely yours,

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

June Guilmet
June Guilmet
Sec'y

JG:RR

to mrs. motley

may 18, 1953

Thank you for letting me see the
article in HOUSE AND HOME re housing. Will
you take up with Bob Weaver the matter of
drafting an answer?

ww/erb

*Housing
House & Home Mag
"Non-white Housing"*

MEMO FROM CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY

May 15, '53

To: Mr. White

Beginning on page 44 of the attached copy of House and Home for April is an article re: Non white housing.

Frank Horne brought this to our attention and suggests we comment.

After you have read it, I'm sure you'll agree that it needs answering in terms of our policy and program re segregation.

I think Bob Weaver is the one to answer it for us.

CC

house+home

PUBLISHED BY TIME INC.

ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

*will
Drinks etc
I have article
WAT*

*Housing
Housing & Hope Mag.
re: "Non-White Housing"*
9014 MAY 11 '53

May 7, 1953

Mr. Walter White, President
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. White:

I thought you might be interested
in seeing the attached tear sheet of the
"Non White Housing" article which appeared
in our April issue.

Sincerely,

Gurney Breckenfeld

Gurney Breckenfeld
News Editor

enclosure

April 23, 1953

Housing
House & Home Mag.

708 APR 23 1953

Note to Key People

House and Home magazine for April 1953 carries a rather extensive news article on "Non White Housing". While there are several items marked in which you might not concur -- including an alleged "admission" by one Frank Horne regarding Levitt -- we do believe that the extent of the treatment by this type of publication is significant.

We urge you to read it and write the editors no matter how critical you see fit to be in your appraisal. Reaction of varied types will help their continuing interest. If you wish, we'd like a copy of the bouquets and the brick-bats you heave.

Frank Horne

NON WHITE HOUSING:

in the postwar housing boom, most builders shied away from Negro housing; now with homes harder to sell, the big untapped market beckons

To many a thoughtful builder, one of the shameful facts of the postwar housing boom has been private industry's comparative lack of building for nonwhite citizens. Nobody disputes that their need is the greatest. But building minority housing involves extra problems ranging from tedious to awesome. In the years when the white market clamored to buy almost anything with four walls and a roof, only a handful of homebuilders produced for nonwhites.

This spring, as farsighted builders eye the coming drop in family formation and ponder how they can keep selling the million homes a year that mean prosperity, interest is turning to the untapped market for minority housing.

One sign was a rush of oratorical eloquence. Perhaps Philip M. Klutznick, the former FPHA chief who is now president of Chicago's American Community Builders, posed the problem most forcefully. Said he:

"There was a time when a person who discussed this problem was considered a 'do-gooder' or 'leftist' or even worse. Now it is no longer a matter of political ideology. Our treatment of this aspect of our housing concern may well determine our ability to save many of our cities from central deterioration and decay physically. . . . Honesty compels the admission that we have failed miserably. . . . We need to recognize the fact and move forward."

New crop of customers? Most of the basic moving forward has already been done by the nation's preponderant nonwhite minority, the Negro. In the words of Gunnar Myrdahl, world-famed Swedish economist, the last ten years have seen "a dramatic movement upward in the entire plane of living of the Negro people in America." In less scholarly terms, that means thousands of prospective customers with better jobs, higher incomes, and more education clamoring for housing to replace the hovels they now call home.

The emergence of the nation's newest middle class is spelled out in census figures:

► Between 1940 and 1950, annual earnings of nonwhite workers trebled, while earnings of white workers rose only 158%. While the median Negro income now is only \$1,295 a year—about half of the median white income of \$2,481—the middle income group of Negroes has expanded so enormously (see graphs, p. 47) that it has created a whole new market for private housing where none existed before. In 1939, a negligible 0.1% of Negro families earned over \$5,000 a year. In 1950, that important able-to-buy group had grown to 5.4%. Still more significant, the median 1950 income of nonwhite families whose

chief source of cash was nonfarm salary was \$2,047.

► Not only were more Negroes employed, but they were working at better jobs, which made them better mortgage risks. From 1940 to 1950, the number of nonwhite clerical workers tripled. Nonwhite salesmen and craftsmen doubled.

► The past decade saw both a higher rate of housing improvement and a larger increase in home ownership for nonwhites than for whites. In 1940, only 717,771 Negro homes were owner-occupied. By 1950 their ranks increased 66.2% until Negroes owned 1,196,000 of the 3,508,000 homes in which they lived.

► Disparities between market values of white and nonwhite homes narrowed. Relatively more mortgages were assumed by nonfarm

nonwhite property owners than by white.

Urban migrants. The rise of the Negro was in great part caused by migration spurred first by war and then by Korea mobilization. Negroes moved from farms to better-paid jobs in cities, both in the South and elsewhere. They flocked to industrial centers, particularly in the West and Southwest. Southern states, from 1940 to 1950, showed a 17% population rise for whites, but only a 3% gain for nonwhites. By contrast, the eight major industrial states (Calif., Mich. Ill., N. Y., N. J., Ohio, Penna. and Mo.) experienced a 1.5 million jump in nonwhite population. The result: their nonwhite population rose from 4.8% in 1940 to 6.4% ten years later. In Michigan and California, the nonwhite population doubled.

Except for the deplorable farm shanties which neither the building industry nor the government is now prepared to erase, the Negro's 1953 housing problem springs from his vast migration.

The simple truth is that the nation's urban whites have resisted giving their cities' new Negro populations as much living space as their money would buy. The Census Bureau figures that any housing occupied by 1.01 to 1.50 persons per room is crowded (that allows five persons in a three-room house). It considers anything over 1.51 persons per room "overcrowding." Only 5.5% of the nation's city and rural nonfarm dwellers live in overcrowded conditions. But 18.2% of Negroes do.

For all races, only 9.2% of US homes are classified as "dilapidated" by the Census Bureau. But 31.3% of Negro homes are. Among Negro homes, 58.4% have no bathtub or shower, against a national average of 27%. Outdoor privies are the only toilet for 47.8% of all Negro homes, compared with a national average of 22.5%.

A dual market. Over-all statistics on income, population shifts and overcrowding give only a partial picture of the Negro housing market. For if the average Negro's home life is even lower than that justified by his pay level, it is also true that the active fringe of Negroes is closing the gap between its own and the white standard of living, while the lower levels of Negro life remain relatively untouched. So the Negro housing market is two markets: one for low-rent (under \$30 a month) housing (which there is still little evidence private enterprise can reach); the other for sale

TRADE SECRETS FOR NEGRO MARKET:

From builders who have built successful projects for the Negro market, here are some pointers on sensitive items to watch and follow:

Build the same quality house you would build for the white market, particularly in northern cities.

Before you commence, be sure your site will not involve you in a civic hassle. Go quietly to the planning commission; check with important industrial groups in your area.

Try to get to know Negro families—not the leaders of militant organized groups, but the kind of people you will be doing business with.

Smooth the way with wide publicity—even before ground-breaking. Have a big dedication ceremony. Advertise nonsegregation if this is the case.

Choose a management or sales staff (if you can) which is racially integrated (if you are in the North) from top to bottom.

Form a tenant council to take unnecessary worries off your hands.

and rent homes among the growing middle and upper income groups.

One of the first to capitalize on the new Negro market was Atlanta Attorney Morris Abram, a crew-cut ex-Rhodes scholar. Says he: "Three years ago, I suddenly woke up to the fact that Negroes' incomes had radically changed—not in expanding to new fields, but in a general upgrading of wages. Many were making \$50 to \$60 a week, but remained slum dwellers. There was no place for them to go." Abram's answer was to help sponsor Highpoint Apts., the South's first big (452-unit) private Negro housing project. It has rents \$45 to \$55 a month. Yet about 20% of Highpoint's tenants (schoolteachers, doctors and nurses, postal clerks and carriers, and some laborers) came from public housing. Another 20% graduated directly from slums.

A few other builders who have overcome the knottiest problems of building for Negroes, land and financing (see p. 47), have found easy sales.

► Earl "Flat Top" Smith erected a 425-home development, "Parchester Village," on unincorporated land just outside Richmond, Calif. (a San Francisco industrial suburb) three years ago, advertised its open occupancy with the smooth phrase: "This is a home community for all Americans." Says Smith: "We had no idea whether we'd get integration (of white and nonwhite families) or not." He wound up with a 100% Negro community of his \$6,500 to \$8,000 homes (VA-guaranteed). Today, less than half a dozen show signs of disrepair, and Smith is so pleased with the civic pride of Parchester's residents he says "I'd build another 1,100 houses there if I could get the financing" (he has the lots). Until recently, Smith's was the only postwar subdivision near San Francisco where Negroes were welcomed as customers.

► In Philadelphia, Developer Daniel Gervinson recently reported that his Flamingo Apartments, the city's first privately operated biracial apartment, had 100% occupancy. The 15-story, 300-unit building was built a year ago, despite advice that such a venture was "financial suicide." Gervinson says maintenance costs are lower, and rent collection prompter (average rent: \$26 a room) than in four all-white projects he also operates.

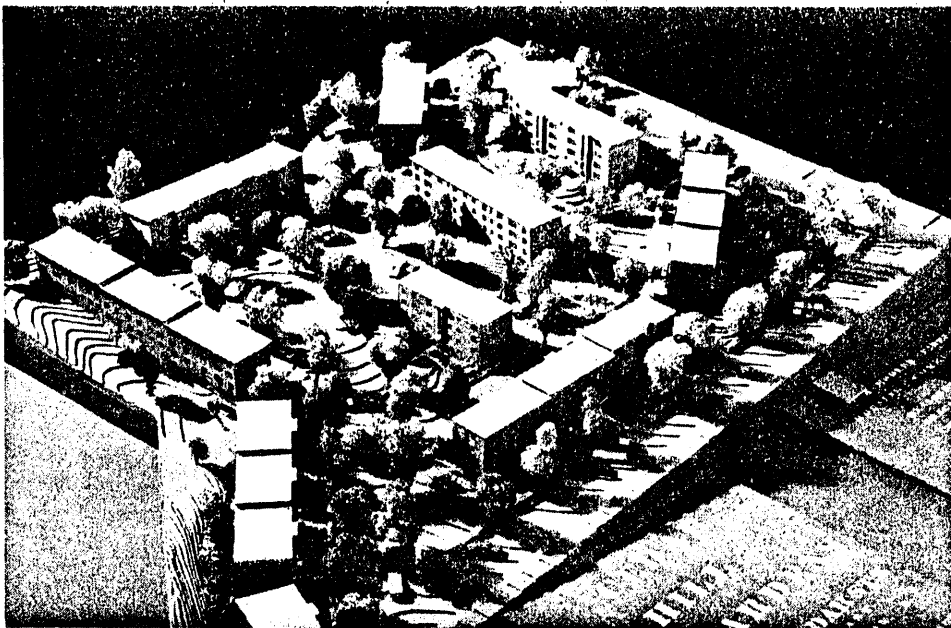
► In Houston, Builder Melvin A. Silverman found that mortgage payments from Negroes in the 236 single-family homes in his Pleasantville development "come in far more promptly than any of [his mortgage company's] other subdivisions." Pleasantville's 2-bedroom homes sold for \$7,075 (FHA), the 3-bedroom models for about \$1,000 more. The \$10.50-a-week rent in Pleasantville's 300 apartments, Silverman adds, is "no greater" than in many of Houston's Negro slums. Says he: "Tenants taken from slums take far greater care of their apartments and the general premises than many families living in the finer sections of town."

► In Miami, Investors Diversified Services, Inc. found the foreclosure rate on its 1,001-house Bunche Park less than 2%, which it calls "extremely low for colored home buying in the

South." Bunche Park two-bedroom homes (see cut) sold for \$5,725; three-bedroom homes cost \$6,325 on 75' x 100' lots.

Outskirt vacancies. Not every project built with Negro occupancy in mind has been an unqualified success, even in some cities where overcrowding in central city

slums is worst. In one eastern seaboard city, for instance, a 260-unit development renting for \$62.50 a month had 40 vacancies two months ago. But the project lay some 5 mi. from the heart of town and was not served directly by mass transit. The *Miami Herald* recently reported: "There



ONE OF THE HANDSOMEST of the FHA Sec. 608 projects for Negro occupancy is Washington's 152-unit Cedar Hill Gardens, designed by Architect Hilyard Robinson and now under construction on a site overlooking the Potomac. The three-story brick walk-ups cover only 30% of the land area.

Lewin & Miller



MEMPHIS BUILDERS have one of the nation's leading records at serving the Negro housing market, say HHFA sources. The typical development pictured is Clark and Fay's Chelsea Gardens, a 426-unit Sec. 608 project built in 1950. Two-bedroom units rent for \$41 a month. Vacancies have been nil.

McKay Aerial Photos

MIAMI'S Bunche Park homes, built by the Gaines Construction Co., were sold with the aid of down payments as low as \$25 and monthly payments of \$37.



Clay & Green

NONSEGREGATED homes like this one are being planned under FHA 203.6 2 (D) in Portland, Ore. by Home Builder President Ed McClellan and Herman Plummer, the city's largest Negro real estate broker. The 720 sq. ft. two-bedroom house sells for \$7,000. A beam-plank floor improves appearance by getting house closer to the ground.



are still vacant houses for sale in Richmond Heights, Bunche Park, Eleanor Village and other [Negro subdivisions], but a lot of Negro Cadillac families seem to prefer to live in Miami's downtown slum." In Chicago, Negro realty sources say Negroes generally decline to move from near-in slums to modern homes in the outskirts. Outlying projects on Long Island and in Savannah, Ga. have suffered vacancy problems, too.

What is the explanation for the seeming paradox? One of the men who knows the Negro market and its problems best, Frank S. Horne, HHFA expert on minority housing, says lagging occupancy in suburban projects "nearly always is the result of not doing something quite right." Usually, the trouble is faulty construction, or bad site planning, or a bad transportation set-up. "Up to now," Horne notes, "the Negro market has never had the same know-how applied to it that has been applied to other housing."

Land and financing. One reason for disinterest in Negro housing, Horne admits, has been lack of knowledge of the market. But he ranks that as the No. 3 problem of nonwhite housing. The first two, land and financing, loom far bigger.

Simply put, the land problem is segregation. Says Chicago's Builder Klutznick: "More than anything else [the Negro housing problem], is the search for space in our urban centers on which to build homes. . . . We cannot pretend to mean what we say about abolishing slums and still continue to force large groups of people into tight geographical pockets of poverty where we compel them to increase at their own peril and simultaneously deny them the opportunity to expand into space that is a prerequisite for decent living."

Most builders and realtors, if they might agree with Klutznick in general terms, find few ways of translating a nonsegregation approach into action. Public sentiment, they say with much justification, is not yet ready for it. Thus, around Boston there is not a single community with a private development for Negroes, not one which accepts Negro buyers. Explain developers: "You have to be practical. Nobody would be happy." In Denver, lack of land where he could build for Negroes without controversy has led Builder Franklin Burns to put aside thoughts of serving the nonwhite market. Militant Negro groups have criticized William Levitt for keeping Levittown, Pa. on a white basis (it may become the biggest all-white community in the US). But, as HHFA's Frank Horne admits, Levitt's explanation that any other course would create sales trouble is perfectly true.

Against segregation: law. In housing as with other aspects of Negro life, the principal blows being struck against segregation are in the realms of law and legislation. The biggest one, probably, was 1950's Supreme Court ruling that race restrictive covenants are not enforceable in court. But in many a less spectacular way (in the North where nonsegregation is a political possibility), Negroes have been gaining ground. Samples:

► San Francisco's supervisors adopted a non-segregation policy for urban redevelopment in 1949. If present plans are carried through, this will enable Negroes to compete for housing in some of the city's finest residential areas.

► The nonsegregation line for public housing is moving South. Last month, Washington's National Capital Housing Authority voted for nonsegregation in all projects built in the future.

► HHFA, disturbed by complaints that many an urban redevelopment project was shrinking the already restricted residential areas available to Negro families, forbade displacement of minority groups unless other homes are made available to them "either through new construction or in existing housing that heretofore was not available to Negroes."

Slum clearance crisis? As HHFA's Horne sees it, "the problem of ethnic ghettos is being brought to a head by the slum clearance program." It is possible, he thinks, that race problems may slow it down. Often half the residents in an area marked for redevelopment prove eligible for public housing, but if public housing is cut back by Congress more or less permanently there may be nowhere else for them to go.

The problem is all the more acute in northern states because the movers and shakers among Negroes are strenuously resisting segregation. In the South, the basic acceptance of segregation at least limits the problem of rehousing Negroes. "In many northern towns," says Horne, "you can't talk of a Negro FHA community. Negroes object."

The biggest practical result of the struggle for land has been the expansion of ethnic ghettos into adjacent white areas. This trend has brought bombings of Negro homes in both the North and South—Atlanta, Miami, Kansas City, Los Angeles. In the most celebrated instance, it led to the riot in Cicero, Ill. which was finally quelled by state militia. In Chicago, property owners' leagues of five years ago, which worked passionately against Negro move-ins, are virtually dead. In their stead have risen community councils dedicated to harmony. But Kansas City had another bombing March 31—its third in a year.

Even the efforts of such groups as Chicago's commendable Hyde Park-Kenwood

Community Council do not prevent white people from moving away. And it is still true that the Negro buying into a white neighborhood must often pay exorbitantly for his property. Frequently, the white seller will use his profit to move to the pleasanter environment of the suburbs, in effect subsidized by his nonwhite purchaser.

An arresting but still insufficiently known fact is that Negroes who buy homes in transition neighborhoods do not depreciate their value. The first few sales to Negroes often depress market values temporarily. But after the wave of scare-selling sub-

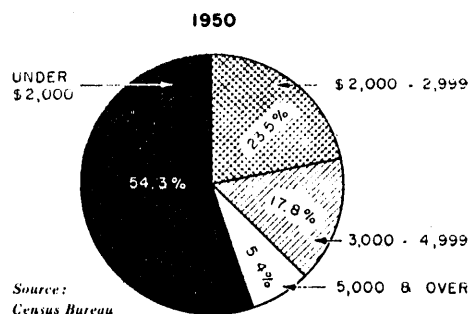
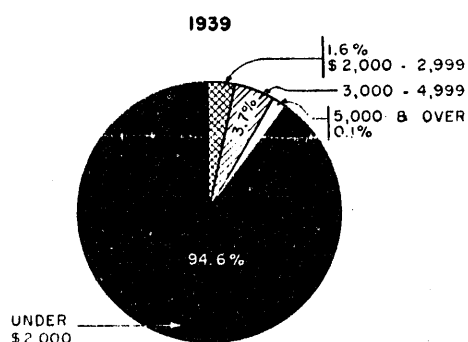
THE RISE IN NEGRO INCOME . . .

(median incomes, US population)

Year	Total	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite as a percent of white
1950	\$2,133	\$1,295	\$2,481	52.2
1949	2,016	1,064	2,350	45.3
1948	2,017	1,210	2,323	52.1
1947	1,865	863	1,980	43.6
1939	877	364	956	38.1

Source: Census Bureau.

... HAS WIDENED POTENTIAL MARKET



RIISING INCOMES have dramatically swelled the percentage of nonwhite US families whose annual income is enough to buy homes. (FHA says a family with \$2,000 a year income is the bottom limit of eligibility in some cities.)

NOTE: 1939: family income for nonwhites, 1940 census, includes wages, salaries, and "other income" (from roomers and boarders, business profits, professional fees, receipts from the sale of farm products, rents, interest, dividends, unemployment compensation, direct relief, old-age assistance, pensions, annuities, royalties, regular contributions from persons other than members of immediate family, and income received in kind from sources other than the immediate family). 1950: Census Bureau's "Current Population Survey of 1951" gives total money income of nonwhite families (excluding unrelated individuals).

sides, prices generally climb past where they were before.

Lender education. The basic problem of financing Negro housing, the more candid lenders say, is "relative unattractiveness." Lenders would simply rather do business with white projects, if for no other reason than because they know far more about the white market. Amid the postwar competition to buy mortgages, which ended abruptly two years ago when the Federal Reserve stopped supporting government bonds, builders found financing for nonwhite projects much more easily than they do today.

Probably the gradually growing list of successful Negro projects will become the most convincing evidence for lenders the nonwhite market can be sound. Says Chicago's Mortgage Banker Ferd Kramer: "I think the main obstacle to lenders putting their money into (Negro) loans is that many of them have never done it. I believe the educational program has not gone far enough to date." Says a Texas mortgage banker: "Investors tell me they have had trouble with projects in the North, that defaults have been larger and payment records poorer. I have heard one big New York bank say it will take non-white mortgages in the South in preference to the North. But I have not found Negro loans are any more trouble than others."

Another difficulty is that many a lender finds he must collect rents weekly in Negro projects if he is to avoid delinquencies. That raises servicing costs. Discussing that problem recently, Vice President John J. Scully of New York's Chase National Bank remarked: "We must recognize that this is a different type of mortgage and probably should have a 1½% service charge. I don't know what else to suggest to bring out the funds." (The conventional market already recognizes this in many cities.

Boost by FHA. One of the major forces working to steer both lenders and builders into nonwhite housing is FHA. Once, the agency pooh-poohed Negro housing as a social problem. But that attitude has long gone. Last fall, FHA doubled its staff of race relations officers from five to ten. Their job, as described by Madison Jones, New York race relations adviser, is to act as catalysts between the nonwhite housing need and the desire of builders to fill it. Says Jones, a former executive assistant to Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "There is very little room here for sociological implications. The builder wants to make a buck and we have to help him."

FHA is providing builders with statis-

tical aid, too. In 18 metropolitan areas, it has compiled available statistical data on Negro incomes, jobs and housing conditions which shed the kind of detailed light on market conditions that builders need. Four more studies are underway. Unfortunately, fear of becoming involved in racial controversy leads FHA to keep its conclusions secret. But the factual data (which will be the subject of a forthcoming article) it gladly makes available to interested builders.

Sec. 207 amendments. On a policy level, FHA has taken two recent steps to boost construction of Negro housing. By tacking a 1½% service charge onto Title I, Sec. 8 loans (H&H, Jan. '53, News), it perhaps anticipated suggestions like John Scully's. Prefabber Peter Knox Jr. thinks there is a big market in Georgia and South Carolina for a stripped-down prefab under Title I. Already, he has two 25-house projects underway at Thomson and Waynesboro, Ga.

By administrative adjustments in Sec. 207, FHA may have paved the way for a sizable volume of Negro rental construction. Builder Wallace Johnson of Memphis says FHA, by permitting him to figure on a 5% vacancy rate instead of the normal 7% and by allowing a 6¼% capitalization rate, unblocked a 400 unit project which can rent at about \$46 a month, tap a market so big Memphis builders have not even bothered to map it.

In the broad picture, HHFA's Frank

Horne may be right in saying the most promising way in sight for attacking the Negro housing problem is with "a little of everything." That means some public housing, some redevelopment and some scattered private developments both in big cities and their environs. As Builder Ted Kimbrough said recently in urging more builders to serve the Negro market: "We've got to have some altruism. It's a profit spread over a long period of years."

Lumbermen worry over rise in Canadian imports

Not only were lumber prices drifting down, but US producers were worried by soaring imports from Canada. Cried H. V. Simpson, executive vice president of the West Coast Lumbermen's Assn.: "A flood of Canadian lumber poses a serious threat to our Atlantic coast market . . . and the effects will be felt by lumbermen in other softwood producing areas. In the six months ended March 1, 1952, British Columbia coastal mills shipped only 2.6 mbf by water to our Atlantic coast, but in the six mos. ended Mar. 1 this year shipped 245 mbf. Drying up of United Kingdom demand for Canadian lumber is the main reason they have turned to US market."

Three things helped the Canadians: 1) they can charter ships of any nationality, gain a \$5 to \$10 water differential, 2) wage scales in Canada's woods and mills are 20% to 30% below US levels, 3) their stumpage and supply costs are less.

Planned town of 30,000 near Toronto to 'insist' on modern design, Canada-style

Six years ago Toronto Industrialist E. Plunket Taylor and his general assistant, Karl C. Fraser, decided that the rolling countryside between the forks of the Don River eight miles northeast of downtown Toronto would be perfect for a planned residential and light industry community.

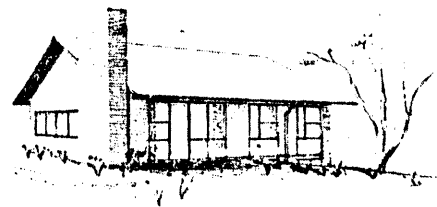
Quietly, they acquired control of 3,000 acres, engaged town planners, architects, engineers. Last month, they confirmed the news (H&H, Mar. '52, News) that their \$200 million Don Mills development would be launched this year with construction of about 525 single-family \$10-\$12,000 houses, plus 350 garden apartments offered for rent or sale under \$10,000.

The complete town will be built in stages over five to eight years, eventually have 30-35,000 population, houses costing up to \$100,000, a \$7.2 million shopping center. For automobile safety, all intersections but one will be T-shaped.

Controlled contemporary. Staff Planner Macklin L. Hancock explained how the developers will control architecture, setbacks, land use and general design by deed restrictions requiring their approval for all structures. "If builders don't conform . . . [or] don't build in a certain time the land reverts to us," said Hancock.

Considering local marketability, said Fraser, "we will veer as far as we can to

Albert A. Milne



TYPICAL HOUSE in Don Mills development will look like this sketch, say architects. No more than 30 homes of same design will be allowed.

STATE OF ILLINOIS

WILLIAM G. STRATTON, GOVERNOR

ILLINOIS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

160 NORTH LA SALLE STREET

CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS



CHAIRMAN
ERWIN W. ROEMER
CHICAGO

VICE-CHAIRMAN
DR. G. CECIL LEWIS
DANVILLE

SECRETARY
MRS. ORVILLE N. FOREMAN
JACKSONVILLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
RUSSELL B. BABCOCK

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
OLIVE M. DIGGS

INFORMATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE
ALICE GORMAN

August 10, 1953

Dear Friend:

We are enclosing a copy of
Non-White Housing in Illinois and hope
you will find it informative and helpful.

Cordially, yours,

Olive
(Miss) Olive M. Diggs
Assistant Director

LUTHER FENDERSON
EAST ST. LOUIS
PATRICK GORMAN
CHICAGO
REV. RICHARD PAUL GRAEBEL
SPRINGFIELD
ROBERT S. HAMMOND
CHICAGO
DR. CHARLES E. HOWELL
DE KALB
MRS. ROBERT S. JOHN
WAUKEGAN
DR. PERCY L. JULIAN
CHICAGO
HENRY L. KOHN
CHICAGO
ELIZABETH J. KUCK
CHICAGO
GRAHAM K. MCCORKLE
CHICAGO
DR. E. G. ROBERTS
ROCKFORD
EMANUEL ROSENBERG
DECATUR
WILLIAM D. SALTIEL
CHICAGO
DR. CLIFTON F. FOLSE
URBANA
RABBI JACOB J. WEINSTEIN
CHICAGO
JOHN L. YANCEY
CHICAGO

*Thanks for all
the help and
encouragement.*

MAY 19 1953

Mem
ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE

(To Save Public Housing and the Racial Relations Service for Housing)

J.W. Dobbs, Chairman of Committee
Vice Chairman of the Ga. State
Republican Committee

C. A. Scott, Editor and Publisher
of the Atlanta Daily World

W.H. Aiken, President
National Assn. of Real Estate Brokers

W. J. Shaw, Assistant Secretary of
the Republican State Central
Committee of Georgia

J. B. Blayton, President of Radio
Atlanta Incorporated (Station WERD)

A. T. Walden, Chairman of Georgia
Citizens Democratic Clubs

Wm. M. Boyd, President
Ga. State Conference of Branches, NAACP

Forrester B. Washington, Director
Atlanta University School of Social
Work

22 Butler Street, NE.

May 2, 1953

Dear

We are sending you the enclosures contained herein because your position with regard to the economic welfare of minority groups and all low-income families assures us that you will give them your careful attention. PLEASE READ THEM CAREFULLY NOW. When you have done so, you will appreciate that TIME IS IMPORTANT. You have been chosen to do this job in your city and WE ARE DEPENDING UPON YOUR ENTHUSIASTIC COOPERATION.

Since the facts, the implications, and the possibilities are clearly outlined in the FACT SHEET; procedures and courses of action are suggested in other enclosures, we shall not attempt to repeat them here. However, we should like to emphasize to you that this action is being duplicated in many communities throughout the South where civic minded leaders like yourself have been spurred into immediate action. This is our appeal to you for action.

Inasmuch as here in our Southland we have had greatest need and received the greatest benefits from the program which is now endangered, we believe that the powerful VOICE OF SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP should now be raised in its defense.

Your cooperation is urgently requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Dobbs

J. W. Dobbs, Chairman
Atlanta Bi-Partisan Citizens Housing
Committee

EFFECT UPON GOVERNMENTAL HOUSING OF THE REPORT OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE ON H.R. 4663

1. Stop any new Federal-aided low-rent public housing for low-income families while continuing the housing aids for middle and upper-income families from which most Negroes are excluded.
2. Slash \$17,450 off HHFA budget for Racial Relations work.
3. Stall the Slum Clearance and Community Redevelopment Program.
Cities would have to pay all cash for a third of the land cost write-downs and would get no credit for any donation of land or expenditures for schools, playgrounds and parks to serve the project.

Slums cannot be cleared unless low-rent public housing is provided for displaced low-income families, over four-fifths of whom are Negroes.

4. Wreck chances of some 60,000 more Negro men, women and children to get decent homes in low-rent public housing projects.
Over one-third of this entire program is now occupied by 85,000 Negro families affording some 350,000 Negroes their first chance for wholesome living.
5. Halt employment opportunities for thousands of Negro workers in the construction, administration and management of public housing projects.
Negro construction workers have received more than \$107 million in wages from public housing construction.

Over 5,000 additional Negroes are employed in administration and management of public housing projects.

6. Curb racial relations work.

This Service:

Informs people about the Federal aids available to them -

Tells private builders about the housing market among racial minorities -

Helps to find BUILDING SITES and FINANCING -

Fights all forms of racial discrimination in administering Federal housing aids -

Sees to it that racial minorities receive employment opportunities in all phases of housing development and administration.

SUGGESTED LINE OF ACTION

Interested individuals, national, state and local organizations should immediately wire or write to the President of the United States and the two Senators from their own states and the Senate leadership regardless of the political parties concerned and urge that the United States Senate amend H.R. 4663 to:

- (a) restore the authorization of 35,000 new public housing units as recommended by President Dwight Eisenhower;
- (b) restore the \$17,450 cut from the HHFA budget for the Racial Relations Service to help advance President Eisenhower's expressed desire for fair treatment of all racial groups wherever Federal funds are involved.

LEADERSHIP THAT SHOULD BE CONTACTED

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER - WHITE HOUSE, Washington, D. C.

SENATE LEADERS - (Address: Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.)

Chairman Majority Policy Committee - William F. Knowland (R. California)
Majority Leader - Robert A. Taft (R. Ohio)
Majority Whip - Leverett Saltonstall (R., Massachusetts)

Minority Floor Leader - Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Texas)
Minority Whip - Earle C. Clements (D., Kentucky)

Partial List of Senate Committee on Appropriations

Republicans

Styles Bridges, New Hampshire (Chairman)
Homer Ferguson, Michigan
Margaret Chase Smith, Maine

Democrats

Richard B. Russell, Georgia
Burnet M. Maybank, South Carolina
Allen J. Ellender, La.
Lister Hill, Alabama
Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia
A. Willis Robertson, Virginia

HOUSE LEADERS - (Address: House Office Building, Washington, D.C.)

Speaker - Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (R., Massachusetts)
Majority Leader - Charles W. Halleck (R., Indiana)
Majority Whip - Leslie C. Arends (R. Illinois)

Democratic Leader - Sam Rayburn (D., Texas)
Democratic Whip - John W. McCormack (D., Massachusetts)

Partial List of House Committee on Appropriations

Republicans

John Taber, New York (Chairman)
Gordon Canfield, New Jersey
John Phillips, California
(Chairman, Sub-Committee)
Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., New York
Fred E. Busbey, Illinois
Edward T. Miller, Maryland
Harold C. Ostertag, New York

Democrats

Clarence Cannon, Missouri
Albert Thomas, Texas
Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi
George W. Andrews, Alabama
J. Vaughan Gary, Virginia
Robert L.F. Sikes, Florida
Prince H. Preston, Jr., Georgia
Otto E. Passman, Louisiana
Sidney R. Yates, Illinois
John J. Riley, South Carolina

National Party Chairman

Leonard W. Hall, National Chairman, Republican National Committee,
923 - 15th Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

Stephen Mitchell, National Chairman, Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Be Sure That the Congressmen and Senators From Your State Are Contacted.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

TIME IS IMPORTANT

-

IMMEDIATE ACTION IS NECESSARY

-

DO THIS NOW

THE ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE

"To Save Public Housing and The Racial Relations Service for Housing"

In order to accomplish the goals being sought, the following action is needed immediately:

1. Contact immediately at least five or more representative community leaders to form the nucleus of your action group. Select a chairman and organize THE _____

BI-PARTISAN COMMITTEE TO SAVE PUBLIC HOUSING AND THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE IN HOUSING.
2. Prepare for widest possible contacts by selecting for action a cross-section of representation, preferably associated with national and state organizations, such as: Veterans organizations, Fraternal Orders, Labor Unions, Women's Clubs and Church, Business and civic groups, etc.
3. Explain thoroughly what is at stake in terms of losses to minorities - and to Negroes particularly - and the necessity for immediate action. (See attached Fact Sheet).

PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS ACTION IS INTENDED TO REPRESENT THE VOICE OF SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP - REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC, NEGRO AND WHITE, CHURCH, FRATERNAL, CIVIC, BUSINESS, LABOR, ETC.

FURTHER STEPS

1. The enclosed proclamation should be reproduced and signed, with the various entitlements of the signees; and, at the earliest possible moment, should be sent by the _____ BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO SAVE PUBLIC HOUSING AND THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE FOR HOUSING, to the attached list of Senate and House Leadership which is concerned with this program.
2. Give notice of your action to the local papers (Negro and white).
3. Let your Atlanta Committee know the moment your mission has been accomplished.

TIME IS A MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR in this undertaking. You are urged to STOP NOW and give your immediate attention to this emergency.

IMMEDIATE ACTION IS VITAL

DO THIS NOW

A STATEMENT FROM SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP

The recent action of the House of Representatives in voting to discontinue the public low-rent housing program for the coming year, if sustained by the Senate will have a most tragic effect on the low income families of our country and will be, in truth, the death knell to the housing hopes of thousands of these families. This action hits Negro families throughout the country and particularly in the South, and will have serious consequences. The President's modest request for 35,000 units of public housing should be met.

The 1950 Census data graphically reflects the dire housing picture of Negro families. It shows that:

- (a) the rate of doubling among non-white families was three times greater than for white families
- (b) the proportion of overcrowding among non-white families was almost four times greater than among white families
- (c) while one out of every twenty houses occupied by white families was dilapidated, the figure for non-white families was one out of every four.

The construction and occupancy of units in public housing based upon need in each locality has given Negro families greater opportunities to live in standard housing. Although one-tenth of the population, Negro families occupy approximately one-third of the public housing units throughout the country and in the Southeastern area they occupy approximately 58% of the public housing units.

THIS IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE APPROPRIATION FOR HHFA AND CONSTITUENT AGENCIES IS ALLOWED TO STAND AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE.

- 1. No new Federally-aided low-rent public housing for low-income families.
- 2. The cutting in half of HHFA budget for Racial Relations work.
- 3. Stalling of the entire SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM because of its dependence on public housing.

(Over 80% of the families displaced from slums are Negro.)

- 4. Halting employment opportunities for thousands of Negro workers in the construction, administration and management of public housing projects.

(Negro construction workers have received more than \$107 million in wages from public housing construction.)

(Over 5,000 additional Negroes are employed in administration and management of public housing projects.)

- 5. Destroying hope for the poorest housed.

It is generally recognized that Negroes and other minorities experience special difficulties in acquiring decent housing, beyond those which confront other groups. Restrictive practices, involving land use and lending policies, community attitudes and other related factors, have operated generally to constrict the supply and quality of housing available to minority groups and thus to induce disproportionate overcrowding, often under deteriorating slum conditions. Extremely difficult, complex and delicate problems of minority group participation are to be faced in long range programs such as slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects. Usually a higher proportion of the families to be relocated from slum redevelopment project areas are Negroes or other racial minorities, and frequently there is inadequate housing available to them elsewhere in the community.

In the past decade, the effort to expand the volume and improve the quality of housing available to racial minorities has increasingly become recognized as a major area of housing stress. This stress should continue until housing opportunity to all becomes more nearly equalized. A prime objective is to secure more extensive effort on the part of private capital and enterprise in expanding and improving the supply and quality of housing available to minority groups - an area of the market most generally neglected in the past - and, thus to enlarge the production of decent housing available to such groups at prices and rents more nearly suited to their needs and ability to pay.

A Racial Relations Service, with a small staff headed by an Assistant to the HHFA Administrator, is responsible for advising on racial implications and considerations in the development and execution of Agency policies and programs and for maintaining liaison with minority and other group leadership and organizations interested in minority group aspects of the Agency's programs and operations. This service is maintained to provide specific assistance to the Agency and its constituents in carrying out the Federal policy of non-discrimination in employment and in mobilizing private and public planning, financing, and construction resources at local, state and national levels to overcome the added housing difficulties faced by racial minorities and provide expanding opportunity for racial minority groups to attain standard housing in accordance with their needs and ability to pay.

The Racial Relations Service is the finest example of a career service in government with emphasis on problems of minorities. This Service with trained personnel and by virtue of more than 15 years of top-level experience working with the problems of minorities throughout the country, has acquired skills and developed techniques unique in government. It has acquired nationwide contacts and respect through the years.

In the minds of Negro leadership throughout the country, there has never been the slightest question of doubt concerning the basic integrity of this Service and its willingness to serve the best interests of minority groups without partisanship.

* * * * *

ON THE BASIS OF THE VALUE OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM
TO SOUTHERN NEGRO AND WHITE LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND THE
CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE, SOUTHERN
LEADERSHIP IS REQUESTING THE SENATE AND HOUSE IN THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLICAN AND
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO INSURE THE RESTORATION
OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM AS RECOMMENDED BY PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER AND SENATOR TAFT AND TO RESTORE THE CUTS IN
THE APPROPRIATIONS OF THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE TO HELP
INSURE THE EXPRESSED DESIRE OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE FAIR
AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ALL RACIAL GROUPS IN PROGRAMS
WHERE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AIDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE.

* * * * *

Atlanta Bi-Partisan Citizens Housing Committee

"To Save Public Housing and the Racial Relations Service for Housing"

22 Butler St., N. E.

J. W. Dobbs, Chairman of Committee
Vice Chairman of the Ga. State
Republican Committee

C. A. Scott-Editor and Publisher of
the Atlanta Daily World

W. H. Aiken, President
National Assn. of Real Estate Brokers

W. J. Shaw-Assistant Secretary of the
Republican State Central Comm. of Ga.

J. B. Blayton-President of Radio
Atlanta Incorporated (Station WERD)

A. T. Walden-Chairman of Ga. Citi-
zens Democratic Clubs

Wm. M. Boyd-President
Ga. State Conference of Branches NAACP

Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director
Atlanta Univ. School of Social Work

Dear

THE ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE with full knowledge of the need for better housing for all low income families here and throughout the country is gravely concerned over the recent action of the House of Representatives in stopping the public housing program for next year. The House also cut the budget of the Administrator's office, Housing and Home Finance Agency, including a fifty percent slash for the Racial Relations Service. The Senate, which concluded hearings before its Appropriations Committee, this week, will take an early vote on the bill.

You, as a representative leader in your locality and state, are concerned with and interested in the welfare of all families. For that reason, THE ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE has prepared this attached draft of a statement from Southern leadership which will be sent to the President, the majority leadership and the minority leadership of the Senate and the House of Representatives. We would appreciate your careful review of this statement and your permission to use your name and affiliation as one of the co-signers.

TIME IS IMPORTANT. Kindly send your endorsement of the statement in the self-addressed envelope as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Dobbs

J. W. Dobbs, Chairman
THE ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN
CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE

TEAR HERE

ENDORSEMENT

I am in accord with the statement regarding the current housing situation as submitted by THE ATLANTA BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE and hereby agree to the use of my name as endorsing same.

NAME _____ Exact Title _____

National or State Affiliation _____

Address _____

SOUTHERN BI-PARTISAN CITIZENS' HOUSING COMMITTEE

22 Butler Street, N. E.

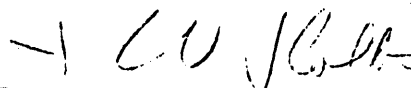
Atlanta, Georgia

The impending threat to the nation's housing program posed by action of the House of Representatives on the First Appropriations Bill (HR 4663) is viewed with alarm by the millions of families in the south.

In our Southland, we have the greatest need and have received the greatest proportionate benefits from the program, which is now endangered, we believe therefore that the Voice of Southern Leadership should be heard in its defense. We are firmly convinced of the merits of the Public Housing Program, the Racial Relations Service, and the need for their continuation.

The attached list of southern leaders is in agreement with the statement, herein submitted, and respectfully requests your active support in bringing about the restorations necessary to make our national housing program effective by meeting the needs of all American families.

Very truly yours,


J. W. Dobbs, Chairman
SOUTHERN BI-PARTISAN
CITIZENS' HOUSING COMMITTEE

A STATEMENT FROM SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP

The recent action of the House of Representatives in voting to discontinue the public low-rent housing program for the coming year, if sustained by the Senate will have a most tragic effect on the low income families of our country and will be, in truth, the death knell to the housing hopes of thousands of these families. This action hits Negro families throughout the country and particularly in the South, and will have serious consequences. The President's modest request for 35,000 units of public housing should be met.

The 1950 Census data graphically reflects the dire housing picture of Negro families. It shows that:

- (a) the rate of doubling among non-white families was three times greater than for white families
- (b) the proportion of overcrowding among non-white families was almost four times greater than among white families
- (c) while one out of every twenty houses occupied by white families was dilapidated, the figure for non-white families was one out of every four.

The construction and occupancy of units in public housing based upon need in each locality has given Negro families greater opportunities to live in standard housing. Although one-tenth of the population, Negro families occupy approximately one-third of the public housing units throughout the country and in the Southeastern area they occupy approximately 58% of the public housing units.

THIS IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE APPROPRIATION FOR HHFA AND CONSTITUENT AGENCIES IS ALLOWED TO STAND AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE.

1. No new Federally-aided low-rent public housing for low-income families.
2. The cutting in half of HHFA budget for Racial Relations work.
3. Stalling of the entire SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM because of its dependence on public housing.

(Over 80% of the families displaced from slums are Negro.)

4. Halting employment opportunities for thousands of Negro workers in the construction, administration and management of public housing projects.

(Negro construction workers have received more than \$107 million in wages from public housing construction.)

(Over 5,000 additional Negroes are employed in administration and management of public housing projects.)

5. Destroying hope for the poorest housed.

It is generally recognized that Negroes and other minorities experience special difficulties in acquiring decent housing, beyond those which confront other groups. Restrictive practices, involving land use and lending policies, community attitudes and other related factors, have operated generally to constrict the supply and quality of housing available to minority groups and thus to induce disproportionate overcrowding, often under deteriorating slum conditions. Extremely difficult, complex and delicate problems of minority group participation are to be faced in long range programs such as slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects. Usually a higher proportion of the families to be relocated from slum redevelopment

project areas are Negroes or other racial minorities, and frequently there is inadequate housing available to them elsewhere in the community.

In the past decade, the effort to expand the volume and improve the quality of housing available to racial minorities has increasingly become recognized as a major area of housing stress. This stress should continue until housing opportunity to all becomes more nearly equalized. A prime objective is to secure more extensive effort on the part of private capital and enterprise in expanding and improving the supply and quality of housing available to minority groups - an area of the market most generally neglected in the past - and, thus to enlarge the production of decent housing available to such groups at prices and rents more nearly suited to their needs and ability to pay.

A Racial Relations Service, with a small staff headed by an Assistant to the HHFA Administrator, is responsible for advising on racial implications and considerations in the development and execution of Agency policies and programs and for maintaining liaison with minority and other group leadership and organizations interested in minority group aspects of the Agency's programs and operations. This service is maintained to provide specific assistance to the Agency and its constituents in carrying out the Federal policy of non-discrimination in employment and in mobilizing private and public planning, financing, and construction resources at local, state and national levels to overcome the added housing difficulties faced by racial minorities and provide expanding opportunity for racial minority groups to attain standard housing in accordance with their needs and ability to pay.

The Racial Relations Service is the finest example of a career service in government with emphasis on problems of minorities. This service with trained personnel and by virtue of more than 15 years of top-level experience working with the problems of minorities throughout the country, has acquired skills and developed techniques unique in government. It has acquired nationwide contacts and respect through the years.

In the minds of Negro leadership throughout the country, there has never been the slightest question of doubt concerning the basic integrity of this Service and its willingness to serve the best interests of minority groups without partisanship.

*

ON THE BASIS OF THE VALUE OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM TO SOUTHERN NEGRO AND WHITE LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE, SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP IS REQUESTING THE SENATE AND HOUSE IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO INSURE THE RESTORATION OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM AS RECOMMENDED BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND SENATOR TAFT AND TO RESTORE THE CUTS IN THE APPROPRIATIONS OF THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE TO HELP INSURE THE EXPRESSED DESIRE OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE FAIR AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ALL RACIAL GROUPS IN PROGRAMS WHERE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AIDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE.

* * * * *

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP ENDORSEMENTS

Oscar W. Adams, Jr., Attorney
National Conference Republican
Workers
310 N. 18th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

W. H. Aiken, President
National Association of Real
Estate Brokers, Inc.,
239 West Lake Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

M. J. Andrews, Editor
San Antonio Register Newspaper
Box 1598
San Antonio, Texas

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
President Emeritus
National Assn. of Negro Women
Bethune Cookman College
Bethune Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

J. B. Blayton, President
Radio Atlanta, Inc., (WERD)
274 $\frac{1}{2}$ Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

J. R. Booker, Attorney
Former President
National Bar Association
Century Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Rt. Rev. J.W.E. Bowen, Bishop
The Methodist Church
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

William M. Boyd, President
Georgia State Conference of
Branches, NAACP
604 Beckwith Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

James P. Brawley, President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Aaron Brown, President
Albany State College
Albany, Georgia

Mrs. E. C. Burnett, Grand Secretary
Order of Eastern Stars
Box 229
Fort Worth, Texas

Mrs. St. Julien Childs, Secretary
Charleston Interracial Committee
73 King Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Haydel Christopher, President
Peoples' Insurance Company
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. Mary Clark, President
Texas Beauticians Association
3805 Kenilworth
Dallas, Texas

J. H. Clauser, Grand Knight
Knights of Peter Claver
1415 36th Street
Galveston, Texas

A. J. Clement, Jr., President
Charleston, S.C. Branch, NAACP
Station "A", Box 36
Charleston, South Carolina

T. W. Culpepper, President
Atlanta Division Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
942 Parsons Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. I. P. Davis, Commander
American Legion
P. John Griffin Post No. 165
1036 N.W. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Ernest Delpit, President
Carpenters' Local 2039
New Orleans, Louisiana

Attorney E. S. D'Antignac,
Judge Advocate
American Legion Post No. 508
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. J. L. Dickey, President
Lone Star Medical Association
Box 269
Taylor, Texas

Hon. John Wesley Dobbs, Grand
Master
Prince Hall Grand Lodge
Free and Accepted Masons
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Roscoe Dungee, Editor
Black Dispatch Newspaper
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

W. Don Ellinger, Regional Director
C.I.O. (PAC)
2906 Cleveland Street
Dallas, Texas

Rt. Rev. W. A. Fountain (Ret.)
Senior Bishop
African Methodist Episcopal Church
242 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. E. B. Goode
Alabama State Medical Association
20 S. Hallett Street
Mobile, Alabama

Dr. H. D. Goode
Republican Executive Committeeman
Escambia County
642 W. Wright Street
Pensacola, Florida

Percy Greene, Editor & Publisher
Jackson Advocate
406 $\frac{1}{2}$ N. Farrish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Rt. Rev. S. L. Greene, Bishop
African Methodist Episcopal Church
1212 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Hon. Amos Hall, Grand Master
Masons of Oklahoma
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Andy Hardesty, Southern Regional
Director
C.I.O.
503 Hermann Building
Houston, Texas

J. K. Haynes, President
Louisiana Education Association
Ruston, Louisiana

Hon. R. A. Hester, Supreme
Chancellor
Knights of Pythias
2526½ Elm
Dallas, Texas

W. S. Hornsby, President
Pilgrim Health & Life Insurance Co.
1143 Gwinnett Street
Augusta, Georgia

Rev. J. R. Hurley, President
African Methodist Episcopal
Ministers' Union
200 Howell Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Melvin R. Jackson, President
Adelphian Club
363 N.W. 11th Street
Miami, Florida

Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

John J. Jones, President
Texas Conference of Branches, NAACP
Box 801
Texarkana, Texas

J. P. Kennedy, President
North Carolina Mutual Life
Insurance Company
P.O. Box 201
Durham, North Carolina

H. H. King, President
Louisiana Embalmers and Funeral
Directors' Association
P.O. Box 421
Ruston, Louisiana

H. Daniel Lang, Executive Director
Greater Miami Urban League
340 N.W. 13th Street
Miami, Florida

Lt. George W. Lee, Member
Republican State Central Committee
390 Beale Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

J.H. Lemons
Nat'l. Alliance of ~~Protestant~~ ~~Reformed~~
1275 Sleepy Hollow
Dallas, Texas

J. Leonard Lewis, Executive Vice-
President
Afro-American Life Insurance Com-
pany, and First Vice-President
National Negro Insurance Assn.
105 East Union Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Hon. John G. Lewis
Grand Master of Masons
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Hon. L. L. Lockhart, Grand Master
Masons of Texas
401 East 9th Street
Fort Worth, Texas

Herman H. Long, Director
Racial Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

E. M. Martin, First Vice-President
and Secretary
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Henry Menefee, Commander
V.F.W. - Post 7612
82 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Alexander F. Miller, Southern
Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
D'rith
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Johnnie Moore, Editor
Dallas Star Post
3313 Oakland Avenue
Dallas, Texas

H. M. Morgan, President
Texas Democratic Progressive
Voters League
212 Erwin Street
Tyler, Texas

Alonzo G. Moron, President
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Rev. A. P. Patterson, President
THE HUB
714 West Broad Street
Savannah, Georgia

F. D. Patterson, President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Sam Price, Dallas Editor
Texas Call
2527 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas

F. H. Purnell, President
Independent Funeral Directors' Assn.
1015 Dowling
Houston, Texas

John W. Rice, Executive Secretary
Texas Negro Chamber of Commerce
814½ N. Good Street
Dallas, Texas

H. A. Sayles, Secretary
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators,
and Paper Hangers, Local 102
40 Jephtha Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

C. A. Scott, Editor & Publisher
Atlanta Daily World
143½ Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Charles A. Shaw, President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
and Vice-President of the Texas
Commission on Interracial
Cooperation
P.O. Box 2097
Houston, Texas

William J. Shaw, Secretary
Georgia State Republican Committee
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attorney A. D. Shores, President
State Negro Democratic Association
510 Masonic Building
Birmingham, Alabama

J. S. Simmons, President
Virginia State Association
IBPOEW

L. B. Toomer, President
Carver Savings Bank
County Chairman,
Republican Organization of
Chatham County
Member, State Central Committee
Republican State Central
Committee (First Congressional
District)
810 Montgomery Street
Savannah, Georgia

C. V. Troup, President
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

A. T. Walden, Attorney
President, Georgia Association
of Citizens' Democratic Clubs
Walden Building
Atlanta, Georgia

J. E. Walker, President
Tri-State Bank of Memphis
390 Beale Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Maceo A. Walker, President
Universal Life Insurance Company
480 Linden Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Forrester B. Washington, Director
Atlanta University School of
Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Carter Wesley, Editor
Informer Chain Newspapers
2418 Leeland Street
Houston, Texas

Dr. L. A. Williams, Vice-
President
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dr. H. W. Williamston, President
Oklahoma Conference of Branches,
NAACP
Idabel, Oklahoma

June 5, 1953

*Handing
Branch*
VIA AIRMAIL

Mr. N. P. Dotson, Jr.
Racial Relations Officer
Federal Housing Administration
10-166 Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois

Dear "Nap":

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 3rd requesting a list of NAACP Branch officers in Illinois.

I am enclosing for your use a complete list of Illinois officers, as well as partial list of officers for our Branches in Georgia, Indiana and Iowa. We do not generally make such information available to outside sources, but I am sure you will use your discretion.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs
Enc.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
10-166 Merchandise Mart

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

June 3, 1953

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:

gmc

11153 JUNE 15 '53

Mr. Gloster B. Current
Director of Branches
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Gloster:

I am about to make a trip into Southern Illinois and would appreciate from you the names and addresses of Presidents and Secretaries of local branches there. I would like particularly those for East St. Louis, Springfield, Danville and Decatur. If you can send these right off with perhaps some indication of whether or not the branch is active, I would certainly appreciate it.

With best regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

N. P. Dotson, Jr.

N. P. Dotson, Jr.
Racial Relations Officer

Regards to Lucille

October 29, 1953

*Housing
South Bend, Ind. B.*

VIA AIRMAIL

Mr. F. Douglas Coker, President
Indiana State Conference NAACP
128 North Walnut Street
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Mr. Coker:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter advising that the South Bend Branch is calling a meeting on housing for November 8 and requesting, if at all possible, that a member of the National Office staff be present.

We regret that none of the National Officers will be in your vicinity to attend the above meeting. However, we are asking Mrs. Constance Baker Motley of our legal staff who handles housing, to forward information she may have which may be helpful to the local group. You will be hearing from Mrs. Motley within a few days.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

October 30, 1953

Housing

To: Mrs. Motley

I am attaching a letter received from Mr. F. Douglas Coker of South Bend along with a copy of my reply. If at all possible, will you kindly forward advice as to how this housing situation should be handled.

GBC/cs
Attachment

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Housing?

April 30, 1953

Dear Mr. Sternberg:

The following are the officers of our Bergen County Branch. However, as I told you, the NAACP is opposed to segregation in any form and particularly in housing.

I am sure you will keep this in mind.

President: Rev. Isaiah Goodman
283 Rosemont Place
Englewood, N. J.

Secretary: Miss Helen Washington
282 Jane St.
Hackensack, N. J.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Mr. William H. Sternberg
152 W. 42 Street
New York, N. Y.

ww/mdj

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Bergen County, New Jersey

President

Rev. Isaiah Goodman
283 Rosemont Place
Englewood, New Jersey

Secretary

Miss Helen Washington
282 Jane St.
Hackensack, New Jersey

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Division of
Slum Clearance and
Urban Redevelopment

9596 MAY 18 53

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • Washington 25, D. C.

May 15, 1953

Anne M. Roberts

Mr. Gloster Current
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Gloster:

Thank you for the prompt response to my
request for the names and addresses of NAACP Branch
Offices in a portion of the area in which I work.

Best of luck, both professionally and
personally. Hope the new "little Current" arrives
safely, well and without difficulty. Please give
your wife our best regards.

Sincerely,

Anne

Anne M. Roberts

Housing Committee

May 11, 1953

Mrs. Anne M. Roberts
Relocation Specialist
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Anne:

It was certainly a pleasure to see you again also and to have the opportunity of working with you in connection with our Region IV Leadership Training Conference which was held in Des Moines.

We are always glad to be of service to government agencies in connection with their work in cities where we have branches. Enclosed is a list of the Branch Officers in the following cities: St. Louis, Kansas City, Missouri; St. Paul, Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Denver, Colorado.

On checking the files I noticed that none of these cities have listed the name of housing committee chairmen. I do know that St. Louis has an excellent Housing Committee and possibly the others also. You will have to correspond with the President or Secretary and as soon as we receive the names of the chairmen, we will forward them to you. Perhaps in your correspondence with the Branch President or Secretary, you might ask for the name of the Housing Committee Chairman.

We are very glad to know that you are still in Washington and are functioning with the Housing Agency.

Keep up the good work and remember me to your family. As a personal note, perhaps you have heard that we are "expecting" again.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs
Enc.



Division of
Slum Clearance and
Urban Redevelopment

AIR MAIL

Mr. Gloster Curreant
Director of Branches
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Gloster:

It was a pleasure to see you again and to participate in the Region IV Conference in Des Moines.

As a follow up of the discussion I would like to drop a note to the Presidents and Chairmen of the Housing Committees of the Branches in those cities which are located in the Area in which I work. If possible I would like to have the names and addresses of these two officers in the following cities:

St. Louis, Missouri
✓ Kansas City, Missouri
St. Paul, Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota
✓ Denver, Colorado

I realize that in the past your office has been reluctant to release information of Branch officers but I assure you that I shall not misuse the list. In addition to forwarding copies of Agency publications I would like to inform the Branches in advance of any field work which I undertake in these communities. I do hope you will be able to comply with this request.

Please give my best to your wife; Stanley asks to be remembered also.

*Dear
Delighted to comply
with your request*

Sincerely,

Anne

Anne M. Roberts
Relocation Specialist

8715 MAY 15 '53

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • Washington 25, D. C.

Pres. Mr William Cotic
3724 5th So.

Secy Miss Althea T. Ballard
3604 Clinton Ave, So.

NAACP BRANCH OFFICERS

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

President - Mr. Henry Winfield Wheeler
4454 West Belle Place, St. Louis

Secretary - Miss Harriet M. Doss
3149-a School Street, St. Louis

Branch Office: 11 N. Jefferson, St. Louis

KANSAS CITY, MO:

President - Mr. Carl R. Johnson
231 Lincoln Building
18th & Vine Streets, Kansas City

Secretary - Mrs. Joyce Dotson
1811 E. 9th Street, Kansas City

ST. PAUL, MINN.

President - Mr. Frank Smith
914 Carroll Avenue, St. Paul

Secretary - Mr. C. W. Peters
662 Iglehart Avenue, St. Paul

MINNEAPOLIS

President - Mr. William Cratic
3724 5th Avenue, South, Minneapolis

Secretary - Miss Althea T. Ballard
3604 Clinton Avenue, South, Minn.

DENVER, COLORADO

President - Mr. W. F. Turner
2603 Welton Street, Denver

Secretary - Mrs. Mildred Stevenson
2733 Humboldt, Denver

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Housing Committee Chairman

FILE NO.

DATE

May 20, 1953

REMARKS:

*Pres. H. F. Turner - no. to HBC's
letter dated May 11, 1953
Branch has no standing Committee*

SEE

Denver, Colorado Branch.

NAME OR SUBJECT

FILE NO.

DIRECTIONS:

FILE THIS SHEET UNDER NAME OR SUBJECT AT TOP.

DESCRIBE PAPERS FULLY UNDER "REMARKS".

FILE PAPERS FOR WHICH THIS FORM IS TO BE SUBSTITUTED, UNDER NAME OR SUBJECT LISTED UNDER "SEE".

*x filed
Ans. May 20, 1953*

May 11, 1953

Denver, Colo

Mr. W. F. Turner, President
Denver Branch NAACP
2603 Welton Street
Denver, Colorado

Dear Mr. Turner:

We have been asked by Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Relocation Specialist, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C. for the name and address of the Chairman of the Housing Committee of your Branch.

On checking the files, we note that you have not submitted the name of this Committee Chairman to us. Won't you immediately send us the name of the Housing Committee Chairman and forward a copy of your letter to Mrs. Roberts in Washington?

Mrs. Roberts participated in our Region IV Leadership Training Conference in Des Moines in the session on housing. She is connected with the Race Relations Division and is a very good consultant on housing problems.

Please let me hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

cc: Mrs. Constance B. Motley

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

May 11, 1953

Minneapolis, Minn

Mr. William Cratic, President
Minneapolis Branch NAACP
3724 5th Avenue, South
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Cratic:

We have been asked by Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Relocation Specialist, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C. for the name and address of the Chairman of the Housing Committee of your Branch.

On checking the files, we note that you have not submitted the name of this Committee Chairman to us. Won't you immediately send us the name of the Housing Committee Chairman and forward a copy of your letter to Mrs. Roberts in Washington?

Mrs. Roberts participated in our Region IV Leadership Training Conference in Des Moines in the session on housing. She is connected with the Race Relations Division and is a very good consultant on housing problems.

Please let me hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

cc: Mrs. Constance B. Motley

May 11, 1953

St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. Frank Smith, President
St. Paul Branch NAACP
914 Carroll Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Smith:

We have been asked by Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Relocation Specialist, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C. for the name and address of the Chairman of the Housing Committee of your Branch.

On checking the files, we note that you have not submitted the name of this Committee Chairman to us. Won't you immediately send us the name of the Housing Committee Chairman and forward a copy of your letter to Mrs. Roberts in Washington?

Mrs. Roberts participated in our Region IV Leadership Training Conference in Des Moines in the session on housing. She is connected with the Race Relations Division and is a very good consultant on housing problems.

Please let me hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

cc: Mrs. Constance B. Motley

Kansas City, Missouri Branch
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

CARL R. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT
REV. PRESTON ALLEN
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. ETHER B. ECKELS
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. JOYCE DOTSON
SECRETARY
MRS. ZULA BUTLER
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MARGARET WILLIAMS
TREASURER

(N. A. A. C. P.)
231 LINCOLN BLDG.
PHONE VICTOR 5819

KANSAS CITY 8, MISSOURI

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
20 W. 40TH ST., NEW YORK
LONGACRE 3-6890

NATIONAL OFFICERS
THUR B. SPINGARN
PRESIDENT
WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
ROY WILKINS
ADMINISTRATOR

wmc
May 12, 1953

Kansas City, Mo.
9505 MAY 15 1953

Mr. Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Gloster:

I have your letter with reference to the name and address of the chairman of our housing committee to be sent to Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Washington.

I regret to say that our branch committee set up as is on file in your office does not contain a permanent housing committee. While housing is a great problem in this community, we have not felt adequately prepared or qualified to develop a committee in connection therewith. We have relied heavily on the Urban League facilities and special committee assignments for this purpose.

Very sincerely yours,

Carl
Carl R. Johnson,
Branch President

CRJ:wmc

cc:

Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts
Mrs. Constance B. Motley

May 11, 1953

Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. Carl R. Johnson, President
Kansas City Branch NAACP
231 Lincoln Building
18th & Vine Streets
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Carl:

We have been asked by Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Relocation Specialist, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C. for the name and address of the Chairman of the Housing Committee of your Branch.

On checking the files, we note that you have not submitted the name of this Committee Chairman to us. Won't you immediately send us the name of the Housing Committee Chairman and forward a copy of your letter to Mrs. Roberts in Washington?

Mrs. Roberts participated in our Region IV Leadership Training Conference in Des Moines in the session on housing. She is connected with the Race Relations Division and is a very good consultant on housing problems.

Please let me hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

cc: Mrs. Constance B. Motley

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

May 11, 1953

St. Louis, Mo

Mr. Henry Winfield Wheeler, President
St. Louis Branch NAACP
4454 West Belle Place
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

We have been asked by Mrs. Anne Mason Roberts, Relocation Specialist, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C. for the name and address of the Chairman of the Housing Committee of your Branch.

On checking the files, we note that you have not submitted the name of this Committee Chairman to us. Won't you immediately send us the name of your Committee Chairman and forward a copy of your letter to Mrs. Roberts in Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Roberts participated in our Region IV Leadership Training Conference in Des Moines in the session on housing. She is connected with the Race Relations Division and is a very good consultant on housing problems.

Please let us hear from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT
Director of Branches

GBC/cs

cc: Mrs. Constance B. Motley

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

RESOLUTION ON HOUSING

ADOPTED BY THE 44TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI -- JUNE 23-28, 1953

HOUSING: Enforced residential segregation and restriction of racial minorities are at the core of the whole racial segregation issue in all phases of American life. The eradication of every vestige of racial segregation or racial restriction in housing that receives any form of public aid or support must be our prime goal. No federal subsidies, funds, credits or powers should be used to aid any housing, whether public or private, unless there is assurance against any type of racial or religious discrimination or segregation in such housing. This applies to all public or private housing, slum clearance and urban redevelopment that benefit from any federal aids, whether loans, grants, subsidies, credits, loan-insurance or guaranty or other federal powers.

We condemn the practice under Federal-aid programs -- for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, public housing, FHA-insured mortgages, financing of government-insured lending institutions, defense housing, and GI home guaranty -- of permitting private builders and lenders and local communities to utilize federal funds, credits, and powers to restrict or exclude Negroes and other racial minorities from entire communities and suburban developments, change racially integrated neighborhoods into new patterns of segregation, and thus generally to negate the effect of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions barring legislative zoning by race and judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants. Such federally sponsored or supported residential segregation and restriction by race induces racial segregation in schools, playgrounds, health centers, transportation, and other public facilities.

The chief force and sanction now in support of the maintenance and extension of racial ghettos come from the Federal government itself through the operations of federal housing agencies. It is ironic today to find that racial minorities enjoy far more freedom and success in competing for housing which is unaided by the Federal Government, and least freedom where Federal aids are involved. We believe that the time has come for the Federal Government to remove and withhold its support and sanction from private builders and lenders as well as local public agencies that develop housing with Federal assistance in which members of any specified racial or religious group will be excluded or restricted. This is especially so in view of the reiterated statements by the President of the United States regarding his intent to prohibit racial discrimination including segregation in Federally supported institutions and wherever public tax funds are used and Federal responsibilities are clear.

The Convention commends the action of the National Office in accordance with its Resolution of 1952 for its presentation to the new Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and other Federal housing agencies, a memorandum requesting the abolition of discrimination and segregation for all housing receiving any form of public assistance. When response to this memorandum is received we would urge that on any points necessary a further memorandum be presented to the President of the United States. Meanwhile, we strongly support current steps being taken by the Legal Division of the NAACP to insure through legal action that Governmental housing agencies are enjoined from extending and supporting racial restriction and segregation through Federal assistance.

Resolution on Housing -- Page 2

Further, this 44th Annual Convention directs that the full resources of the National Office, regional offices and local branches be mobilized to oppose federal housing legislation, programs and agencies that permit racial segregation, restriction or exclusion. This mobilization is to be carried out through a coordinated program of legal, public relations, and community action at local and national levels. To give coordination and direction to this all-out attack, the National Board of Directors of the NAACP is hereby instructed to set up -- as soon as practicable -- in the National Office a specific Housing Department or qualified Housing Director whose duty it will be to organize the plan of attack, direct strategy and timing, and assist local branches to attack local housing problems and residential segregation or restriction by race.

REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

*Housing
NY Times*

July 7, 1953

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In one form or another the discussion on government in business proceeds apace, as it undoubtedly will for years to come, whether it be about public power plants, public housing, synthetic rubber plants, ocean shipping, river barge lines, or other activities.

In The New York Times for July 7 Charles C. Platt has a comparatively mild letter in which he commends the recent decision to allow private real estate firms to manage public housing projects, and in which, also, he sets down a provocative assertion: "...the principal and paramount reason for the Government to eschew business ventures is not necessarily the competition with private business, but the competition of the problems of these ventures with the full time and energy needed for governmental problems exclusively."

Immediately this raises the question of what are "governmental problems exclusively." In all the inveighing against what are termed excursions by government into non-governmental fields, few if any persons have ventured to advance their definition of purely governmental functions. We are all aware of the hue and cry that arose when the government—federal, state and local—began regulating working hours for women and children, and setting minimum wage levels. This was regarded widely and fiercely as government interference with the "rights" of the employer. It was said the government ought to attend to its business and permit the employer to attend to his. Although this comes under the heading of regulation, rather than actual business competition, it is related to the general argument.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Is it a proper function of government to concern itself with housing decently the millions of its citizens whom the profit-seekers have refused to house? Or to guarantee the mortgage money (with an infinitesimal percentage loss) which private lenders stubbornly refused to make available through the regular channels in the regular manner? The old Farm Credit Administration's farm purchase program which saw many ambitious and industrious small farmers paying off their forty-year obligations in ten years indicated clearly that the privateers did not possess all the acumen and daring supposedly inherent in the private enterprise system, to say nothing of the social consciousness supposedly inherent in the democratic system.

It is superfluous to state again that the procedures, machinery, and simplicity of the original governmental structure have expanded and changed enormously under pressure of population growth, industrialization, urbanization, world conditions, and other factors. It is generally recognized, also, that a democratic republican form of government is supposed to be dynamic, responsive to the needs of the citizens through the years, and that, therefore, concepts may be altered, with either existing machinery expanded or new machinery developed to take care of new situations.

Where, in the complex form now confronting us, shall the line be drawn between governmental and non-governmental functions? What are "government problems exclusively" in the mid-twentieth century in America? If we can formulate an answer, as free as possible from the influence of any special interest, yet grounded surely on the American ideal of equality of opportunity as well as responsibility for the individual (and for the individual business) we shall, perhaps, be rid of the recurring (and often hysterical and inaccurate) charges of "socialism."

ROY WILKINS

147-15 Village Road
Jamaica 35, New York

NEWS

FROM

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER INC.

80 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5700

In view of the fact that the New York State Court of Appeals has upheld the petition of the Superintendent of Insurance for liquidation of the International Workers Order, Inc., this press release is, pursuant to court order, sent solely upon the responsibility of the Executive Committee of the IWO.

.....

STATE SUPREME COURT RULES AGAINST TENANT OATH

The officers of the International Workers Order today announced that the Order and their attorney, Mr Royal W. France, representing the IWO, and Mr Thomas Russell Jones, representing individual members of the Order, and associated with Mr Paul L. Ross, won a resounding victory in the State Supreme Court by having the Gwinn Amendment declared unconstitutional.

By this decision the New York Housing Authority was forbidden to require tenants in the Federally aided low rent housing projects to sign pledges of non-membership in organizations designated as subversive by the United States Attorney General.

In his decision Supreme Court Justice M. Henry Martuscello stated that the Gwinn Amendment and the Housing Authority resolution implementing it "depart radically from our prevailing concepts of fairness and do not afford due process of law" guaranteed by the Federal and State constitutions. He further declared that, since Congress passed an unconstitutional requirement as a condition for occupancy in these low rent housing projects, it would seem that the Resolution is "arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable."

In view of this decision, the injunction against the New York City Housing Authority continues in full force and effect, forbidding the Authority to comply with the provisions of the Gwinn Amendment.

#

ftul

QUEENSBRIDGE TENANTS LEAGUE

Official Publication

HOME NEWS

Queensbridge Houses
Long Island City, New York

mem

Housing
re: Gwinn Amend.
2272 FEB 16 '53

February 3, 1952

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

We enclose a copy of a statement adopted by the Queensbridge Tenants League concerning the Gwinn Amendment passed by Congress in 1952.

We feel this issue is of concern to all the American people because the law violates the Bill of Rights.

We are certain that after studying the facts you will support our position.

We would sincerely appreciate a reply giving your views on this issue.

Very truly yours,

QUEENSBRIDGE TENANTS LEAGUE

Ruth Washington

(Mrs.) Ruth Washington
President

41-04 Vernon Blvd.
LIC, NY

PRESS RELEASE

We 60 tenants present at the January 29th meeting of the Queensbridge Tenants League go on record to condemn the Gwinn Amendment to Public Law 455 - Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1953. The Gwinn Amendment is illegal. It is a violation of the freedoms guaranteed under the United States Constitution and is an insult to all tenants of Federal Housing Projects.

The Gwinn Amendment does the following:

1. The Act demands that all tenants of Federal Housing Projects sign statements denying membership in any of 200 organizations listed by the Attorney General as "subversive".
2. The Act demands the head of the household must investigate and be responsible for the activities of all persons living in his apartment regardless of their ages.
3. The Act demands that any tenant who stands on his Constitutional rights and refuses to sign is automatically subject to eviction from Federal Projects.
4. This Act encourages informers, stool pigeons and false accusers.
5. This Act threatens any tenant who does sign and denies membership to be liable to perjury charges fine and imprisonment.

The Gwinn Amendment must be fought in the Courts, Congress and the Press because:

1. No landlord (government or private) has the right to demand information concerning the private lives of his tenants (except on matters of income in government projects).
2. No landlord (government or private) has the right to evict a tenant because the tenant does belongs to an organization of which the landlord does not approve.
3. No Attorney General has the right to label an organization "subversive" and further to condemn all people associated with such organization as "subversive".
4. No Congress has the right to destroy Public Housing by basing eligibility of a tenant on his political views rather than on his need for a place to live.

(continued on next page)

This Act is outrageous!

It says, "Ask the government's permission before you join an organization or else you will live on the street!"

This Act says, "Freedom to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances is be torn out of the pages of the Constitution."

This act says, "FREEDOM TO THINK IS ONLY ALLOWED TO THE HOMELESS!"

We tenants of Queensbridge answer: This Act must be abolished. If the United States is to be a "land of the free and home of the brave" we must have freedom from fear and freedom of speech and assembly.

THE GWINN AMENMENT MUST GO!

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

AARON FELLMAN

LAW OFFICES

428-30 NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

WOODWARD 1-3040

Aaron Fellman
Frank S. Horne

53

August
26th
1953

Housing and Home Finance Agency,
Washington, 25, D. C.

Attention: Frank S. Horne, Assistant to the Administrator.

Dear Mr. Horne:

I have refrained from replying to your letter of July 30th until I could continue my efforts in obtaining mortgages on clients' property; to date I have failed. Whether for all colored or white and colored occupancy, I got turned down. It just seems that locally, no lending institution will make single residence project mortgage loans unless one has a connection with a lending source.

Immediately adjoining clients' project, the Practical Home Builders and its affiliates have been, and are building single homes. These people are directly or indirectly connected with American Savings and Loan Association here - this has resulted in obtaining all the "G.I." mortgages they want, and have been informed that these mortgages have all been sold to "Fannymae."

On our Grocery Super-market Building in this project, we just obtained a commitment for a mortgage. This mortgagee too was not interested in the residence mortgages of any kind.

Have you any further suggestions?

Thanking you for your kind interest, I remain

Sincerely,

Aaron Fellman
AARON FELLMAN

AF:ATF

L.C.-Mr. Walter White.

*Housing
Nat'l. Urban League*

C O P Y

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
Incorporated
New York, N. Y.

R E S O L U T I O N

Adopted by the Delegates to the National Urban League's Annual Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., September 6th to 11th, 1953; and Recommended to the Board of Trustees, National Urban League.

: : :

While the problems of housing are important to all Americans, they have a special meaning to minority groups, involving as they do not only a place to live, but also the orderly and peaceful relations of the many segments of the community, one to another.

In recognition of these facts and the special problems faced by minorities, the Federal Housing agencies established a Racial Relations Service many years ago to concern itself solely with efforts to overcome the added problems of minority groups in the area of housing. Over the years, the National Urban League and its sixty local affiliates have utilized the services and assistance of this Federal Service and have been constantly impressed by the effectiveness, the integrity, and the high devotion to its task that it has consistently shown.

It is, therefore, with a feeling of deep apprehension that the Delegates to this Conference have noted reports in the press of a contemplated dismissal of the devoted and experienced head of this Service and his replacement for reasons other than the best interest of the Service. The dislocation in a Service that has such a direct relationship to one of the areas of greater need in the Negro community has naturally aroused our deep concern.

In the hope that such reported action will be averted, this 43rd Annual Conference of the National Urban League, in Philadelphia, Pa., wishes to appeal to the President of the United States to prevent this threatened disruption of this Service at this time when there is such special need for proven leadership and guidance in this sensitive area. We feel that such an appeal to the President should be made in view of his oft-expressed concern for the needs of the Negro Citizens, and we urge him to use his authority to prevent this threatened danger.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

7HA

Excerpts from transcript of Hearing before the House Banking and Currency Committee on H. J. Res. 160 to increase Title I loan insurance authorization of the FRA from \$1.25 billion to \$1.75 billion. Time: 10:30 a.m. Tuesday, 17 September 1953

MR. MULTER. Mr. Foley, can you venture an opinion as to why the private insurance companies have not grasped the opportunity of extending their credit risk insurance to this type of insurance?

MR. FOLEY. No, sir.

MR. MULTER. Did any representative of yours attend the Fifth Annual Conference in New York State of the Committee on Discrimination in Housing, held in Albany on February 10?

MR. FOLEY. I do not recall with respect to that particular meeting. We have attended meetings of theirs. I think likely not, unless somebody from Washington headquarters attended.

MR. MULTER. I would like to make a part of our record the newspaper report of that conference, as it appeared in the New York Times of February 11, 1953.

THE CHAIRMAN. How long is it?

MR. MULTER. Just part of a column. It indicates that the minorities are victims of bias in rehabilitation of housing and new housing in the New York area.

THE CHAIRMAN. We might have trouble by way of an amendment being offered on the floor if that is made a part of the record. We would like to avoid that.

MR. OAKMAN. I do not see how that has anything to do with this resolution.

MR. MULTER. I think it has a bearing. We like to believe this program is for the benefit of all of our people, and we in New York State have been kidding ourselves that these Federal loans have been helping the situation, while in New York State it has made it worse.

THE CHAIRMAN. Might we assume that in the administration of the law on the Federal level there is no race discrimination? Do you want to chance the amendment you might expect if your article were inserted? Might it not inspire a racial amendment? We would like to avoid that.

MR. FOLEY. May I make a comment?

MR. MULTER. I will take our Chairman's suggestion on the subject and withdraw the offer at this point. I did think this was the proper time to call it to your attention, because I think what is happening in my State is happening in other States, and we should not close our eyes to it.

NEWS CLIPPING

New York Times - 2/11/53

SEGREGATION RISE ON HOUSING CITED
Minorities Are Victims of Bias, Conference Is Told and City Pattern Spreads
Upstate

ALBANY, Feb. 10--Housing segregation is on the increase despite a reduction in racial discrimination in education and employment, the fifth annual conference of the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing was informed today.

While the worst discrimination in the state and the greatest compression of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities into segregated, unsafe housing is in New York City slums, the same pattern is spreading rapidly upstate. Negro population has doubled while housing has remained static, 150 delegates to the conference were told.

Algernon D. Black, Chairman of the Committee, said the former "democracy of the slums" upstate, where poor whites and Negroes lived next door to each other, was no longer true.

"These slums are following the New York City pattern of black belts and segregated districts with all their ugly implications," he declared. "The effect has been a disturbing increase in racial tensions that can erupt into violence and physical strife."

Ira S. Robbins, executive vice president of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York City and former acting State Commissioner of Housing, said the failure of the city to face squarely the problem of providing decent housing for minorities was rapidly reaching crisis proportions.

Continued discrimination and segregation, he predicted, will bring large-scale slum clearance to a halt. He asserted that exclusion policies were partly responsible for the accelerating rate at which neighborhoods were deteriorating. He cited the Manhattan West Side from Seventy-second to 110th Street as one of a dozen similar neighborhoods "struggling for survival."

Mr. Robbins criticized the Mayor's Committee on Unity and similar groups as "convenient repositories where troublesome issues can be bottled up."

Clarence Livermore, director of Buffalo's Board of Community Relations, said research had proved that the worth of property in mixed neighborhoods tended to increase when not accompanied by an initial wave of "distress selling."

The conference endorsed the Metcalf-Jack Bill proposing a joint legislative committee to investigate the extent and dangers of segregated housing.

COPY

WALL STREET JOURNAL - MARCH 3, 1953

Housing Nominee

COLE INSISTS HE WOULD BE UNBIASED AS CHIEF OF PROGRAM HE OPPOSED

Washington -- Former Rep. Albert M. Cole went before the Senate Banking Committee yesterday to defend his fitness to run a Federal housing program he doesn't believe in.

The former Kansas lawmaker, who was defeated last fall, was picked by President Eisenhower to head the Housing and Home Finance Agency, a post held under the Truman Administration by Raymond M. Foley.

Though Mr. Cole admittedly doesn't favor much of the existing Federal housing program, he insisted he will try to administer the law without bias.

The committee put off until today a vote on the Cole nomination in deference to Sen. Lehman (D., N. Y.) who could not attend yesterday's session. The Senators questioned Mr. Cole sharply on his housing views--and some of them didn't agree with them--but there was no sign enough opposition developed to threaten seriously his nomination.

Questioning by Sen. Sparkman (D., Ala.) brought out that Mr. Cole voted against the Housing Act of 1949. This law set up present programs for slum clearance, public housing, research and farm housing.

"Did Right," He Says

In fighting that measure, Mr. Cole insisted, "I think I did the right thing. I still think so."

Senator Ives (R., N. Y.) asked Mr. Cole whether, as a House member, he opposed the housing program out of personal conviction or because of the sentiments of his rural district. Mr. Cole replied that he thought he did so out of personal conviction.

However, Mr. Cole told the Senators he has only one directive from the White House -- "to study the existing program with an open mind." As of now, he said, he wouldn't advocate abolishing any one of the major programs but that he has some ideas of revising the public housing slum clearance scheme.

He argued that he believes there are ways for private enterprise--not the Federal Government-- to provide even more housing for low-income families. A study of that question, he added, "is the number one project which I have in mind."

Under committee questioning, Mr. Cole declared he believes "when conditions permit, the Government should gradually get out of the housing business."

Higher Mortgage Rates?

Of immediate concern was the question of raising or not raising the interest rates on housing mortgages insured by the Federal Housing and Veterans Administrations. Mr. Cole reported the Treasury and Federal Reserve Board are studying this issue and he expects a decision within 30 days.

On the interest rate question Mr. Cole took the position that the decision should be made as part of the Government's overall fiscal policy, not dictated by FHFA alone. The Administration has embarked on a policy of tightening up on credit and increasing interest rates. Thus, it might follow that higher VA, and FHA rates would be required to bring them into line.

Chairman Capehart (R., Ind.) commented, "We're all hopeful that interest rates can remain as they are." But no one, he added, would want to see a slump in the housing industry because no mortgages were available.

Associated Press

220 COLE

Washington-(AP)--Former Rep. Cole (R-Kan) came under fire from several Democratic Senators and one Republican today at a hearing on his nomination as the Government's top housing administrator.

Searching questions were asked Cole about his past opposition to public housing and other aspects of the Federal housing program.

However, Chairman Capehart of the Senate Banking Committee told reporters afterward he was certain the nomination would be approved.

The committee did not vote today because Sen. Lehman was ill and unable to be present. Lehman said he wanted to be there when the nomination was acted on.

President Eisenhower sent up Cole's name last Wednesday for the \$17,500-a year job as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. (6:16PM)

222 WASHINGTON--ADD COLE

Cole gave these answers to queries directed at him:

1. He would administer "fairly and honorably" the housing programs enacted by Congress, including the parts with which he disagreed.
2. He wants to get more housing which low-income families can afford, but hopes it can be done under private enterprise.
3. He is not apologizing for his House speeches or votes against public housing but is not unalterably opposed to it in all forms.
4. He is against racial segregation in public housing projects personally but feels it is a very complicated question to handle.
5. He does not plan to take any immediate action on raising interest rates on FHA loans but acknowledges the question would come under study.

Senators Ives, Maybank, Sparkman, Frear and Douglas were the ones asking questions.

However, no Senator at the hearing indicated he would vote against the nomination. Sparkman, who served with Cole in the House, and other Senators praised Cole as a man of sincerity, integrity and high reputation.

239 WASHINGTON --ADD COLE

Two Negroes were the only other witnesses at the hearing. Neither flatly opposed the nomination but they asked the committee to make a most searching inquiry into it.

The two were Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Elmer W. Henderson, Director of the American Council of Human Rights.

Cole told the senators he had been given only two directives by Eisenhower--one, to approach all housing problems with an open mind; the other, to order a complete study of all of the problems confronting his agency before taking any action.

The former Congressman assured the committee he would comply with both.

Sparkman told Cole he was seriously concerned about the nominee's house vote against the Housing Act of 1949 as well as Cole's strongly-worded speech against it on the floor.

239 (cont'd)

The Alabama Senator said this act embodied most of the housing program which Cole would have to administer.

The Alabaman said he interpreted the speech as in flat opposition not only to the public housing feature of the act but also to three other provisions: a research program aimed at more efficient housing construction, a farm home program, and slum clearance.

Cole strongly denied he was against slum clearance. He said he considered slum clearance had been used as a cloak for some undesirable things, however.

242 WASHINGTON--ADD COLE

Cole said his opposition to the 1949 bill was based on some of the methods used to put it through which he considered unfair to the then G.O.P. minority.

Sparkman pointed out the program had been in operation four years and asked if it "has been operated in such a way as to exert any control over anybody."

"NO, but I think it could," Cole answered. "I think men of good will have been operating this program."

He went on to say that he felt Federal housing agencies should not have any power to dictate to local communities about housing projects. Sparkman and Maybank insisted the 1949 act granted such autonomy.

The Alabaman then asked if Cole at this time intended to recommend elimination of any feature of the 1949 act.

"As of today, definitely no," Cole answered. "But don't pin me down for too long a time, Senator."

He then spoke of the housing study which the White House had ordered him to make.

Cole said he "would not want to scuttle any law" Congress has passed, adding:

"Congress is the boss."

Sparkman then pointed out that Cole had voted in 1951 and 1952 to limit public housing construction to 5,000 units a year.

"I think 5,000 units is virtually scuttling it," the Alabaman declared.

Sen. Bricker put in that the entire house voted for the 5,000 limitation.

"Yes, but those other members of the House are not being asked to administer this housing program," Sparkman shot back.

251 WASHINGTON--ADD COLE

Ives was the first to ask Cole flatly if he was still opposed to public housing.

Cole replied that he was against "some aspects of it" but did not consider his personal views "particularly material" because he would try faithfully to carry out the intent of Congress.

He added that he was confident "this country can make great strides in providing low-rental housing for people of low incomes" through programs other than public housing.

251 (cont'd)

One of his objections to public housing, he said, is that some persons are admitted and many others equally eligible cannot be.

Cole said the total need for low-rental housing might be six million families and that the present government programs would not meet this in 100 or 200 years.

However, Ives insisted that it would be necessary to meet some of the need through direct government programs.

"That might well be," Cole conceded.

After Cole had told Ives he personally opposed segregation in public housing, Maybank demanded to know if the nominee would try to violate local ordinances that might favor segregation.

Cole said he would not.

Ives commented he did not think the housing administrator should be a man opposed to public housing, but he told Cole "you have some great champions in the House who say you are a man of great integrity. I believe you are man of honor and I am going to vote for you." (7:33 PM)

261 WASHINGTON--ADD COLE

Bricker asked if, when the country catches up in the demand for housing, Cole believed government should get more and more out of housing work and the financing of home construction and "leave it to free enterprise?"

"When conditions warrant it," Cole answered, "The Government should gradually get out of the housing business."

Douglas told Cole some cities such as Chicago had huge and growing blighted areas that must be taken care of through slum clearance. He said it was essential that Government handle at least part of the job of re-housing low-income families from these areas.

Cole commented he thought "it is possible for private enterprise to do the entire job." But if Government must step in, he said, local Government should do the most.

The Kansan added that it would be his "no. 1 project to develop housing for low-income people and that he had "some definite plans" in mind. (8:10PM)

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Cole Promises Not to 'Scuttle' Housing Law as HHFA Chief

Albert M. Cole, who voted against the Federal Housing Act of 1949 as a Republican Congressman, yesterday declared he would not "circumvent" or "scuttle" the law as Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator.

The youthful appearing 51-year-old Kansan had his congressional voting record tossed at him at a confirmation hearing before the Senate Banking Committee. President Eisenhower nominated him for the Government's top housing job.

Cole made these points at the hearing:

1. He "definitely" has not changed his "personal" opposition to public housing, but will administer the law as written.

2. He has been given a directive by the White House to make a study of the Government's housing program and make recommendations. He already has "some very definite plans."

3. He "definitely" would not raise the FHA interest rate in the next 30 days. If he does change the rate, it will be in concert with other Administration fiscal policies.

4. He is "unqualifiedly opposed" to segregation in Government financed housing, but believes local communities have the right to set their own policies.

5. He believes "the Government should support the housing industry, not supplant it."

6. He does not have an "agrarian bias" against big city housing projects aided by the Government.

7. He believes wholeheartedly in the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program of HHFA.

8. He will not go around the country putting pressure on Congress on behalf of his views.

Sen. John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.) read from the Congressional Record parts of a speech Cole made on the House floor before voting against the 1949 Act, now the major responsibility of HHFA. In it Cole said he saw the threat of Government control "so strong as to strangle the people of America." This and other Cole statements were also brought up by Sens. Irving Ives (R-N. Y.) and Paul Douglas (D-Ill.).

Cole declared he had acted

of several Senators both on and off the Banking Committee. A committee vote was delayed by the illness of Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.) until today or Wednesday.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Tuesday, March 3, 1953

By Drew Pearson

Appointment Fight

WITH BIG CITY SLUMS one of the chief contributors to juvenile delinquency, the question of slum clearance and public housing is getting hot on Capitol Hill again.

Bob Taft, Mr. Big of Senate Republicans, has estimated that public housing should comprise 10 percent of all new housing construction each year, in order to keep abreast of the slum problem. On this basis, a minimum of 100,000 low-rent, public housing units should be built this year. Yet Congress has provided funds for only one-third this amount—35,000 units.

What's really stirred up back-stage debate, however, is the appointment of former Congressman Al Cole of Kansas as boss of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Cole is the only Republican Congressman defeated in the rock-ribbed Republican State of Kansas in many years, and he was defeated in an election which went overwhelmingly for General Eisenhower.

While in Congress, Cole was such a bitter foe of public housing and such a friend of the real estate lobby, that even such Eisenhower Senators as New York's Irving Ives will probably vote against his confirmation. In June, 1949, Cole delivered a bristling speech against the Taft Housing Act, which launched the same program of slum clearance and public housing which Cole is now supposed to administer.

That bill, he declaimed, "tends to destroy private homes and private business . . . it tends to destroy our form of Government . . . It's a step toward Government control of individual family life . . . May become so strong as to strangle the people of America . . . Today the Soviet government has in its constitution a provision that the homes of the laboring people shall belong to the state."

Senator Taft, however, who authored the Housing Act, seemed to think that crowded, unhealthy big-city slums are even worse breeders of communism than the Communist political platform.

Note—While the battle over Housing Administrator Cole gets hotter in Washington, another political public housing battle rages in Los Angeles—to defeat Mayor Fletcher Bowron, long-time champion of slum clearance and foe of the real estate lobby.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

COPY

3-2-53

SEN. TAFT, AN ADVOCATE OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM COLE OPPOSED, JOINED CAPEHART IN PREDICTING COLE'S CONFIRMATION. BUT HE QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR CONTINUING THE AGENCY.

TAFT SAID HE HAD RECOMMENDED TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER THAT AN ADMINISTRATOR BE CHOSEN WHO HAD NO RECORD ON HOUSING ISSUES BUT WAS SATISFIED THAT COLE WOULD DO A GOOD JOB.

"I SUGGESTED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT HE APPOINT SOMEONE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING HE WOULD HAVE SIX MONTHS TO STUDY THE SITUATION AND RECOMMEND WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE HOUSING AGENCY," TAFT SAID.

HE NOTED THAT PUBLIC HOUSING, FINANCE AND LOAN DIVISIONS OF THE OVER-ALL AGENCY ARE SELF-OPERATING. HE SAID IT MIGHT BE WELL TO TRANSFER SOME OF THEM UNDER THE WING OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS, ADDING:

"I DON'T THINK WE NEED A HOME AND HOUSING ADMINISTRATION AT ALL," TAFT SAID.

ALTHOUGH TAFT INDICATED HE DOESN'T BELIEVE COLE HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO MAKE SUCH A SURVEY AS THE OHIOAN SUGGESTED, THE SENATOR SAID EISENHOWER HAS RESERVED TO HIMSELF AND CONGRESS THE DECISION ON THE FUTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER
FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

1001 VERMONT AVE. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PH
FOR YOUR INFORMATION

From: ~~Roland McGraw~~ George W. Swarden
Minority Group Housing Advisor

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

7.H.A.
NO. 53-35
EX.3-4160-EXT.603
IMMEDIATE RELEASE
AUGUST 10, 1953

Commissioner Guy T. O. Hollyday has announced the appointment, effective August 3, of Reuben A. Clay to be Racial Relations Officer for the Federal Housing Administration.

Mr. Clay will be stationed in Richmond, Virginia and he will be responsible for assisting in the production of private housing available to minority groups in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Mr. Clay comes to the FHA following a period of 12 years of service as Racial Adviser with the Public Housing Administration. Previously Mr. Clay was with the Bureau of Employment Security for four years. He is a native of Virginia and was educated in the public schools at Richmond, later receiving a Bachelor's Degree from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania and a Master's Degree from New York University.

In making the announcement, Commissioner Hollyday noted that, with the addition of Mr. Clay, the Federal Housing Administration has since December 1952 doubled its staff of Racial Relations Officers. The FHA's 10 field Racial Relations Officers are located in strategic parts of the nation where the need for housing which can be made available to minority groups is greatest.

Mr. Hollyday stated that the minority group housing program will receive active attention and every effort possible will be put forth to see that the total supply of housing units available to minorities will be increased. The Housing Commissioner stated that Region II, consisting of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Puerto Rico, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia leads all others in the production of new housing for minority groups.

Mr. Hollyday noted that among recent amendments to the National Housing Act there are at least three which will tend to increase the amount of housing for minorities. One of these which provides for purchase of mortgages on cooperative projects by the Federal National Mortgage Association should make approximately 1,500 new units available to minority groups prior to the FNMA deadline date of September 1, 1953.

Another amendment to the National Housing Act which should add several thousands of new homes available for minorities is the increase in the maximum mortgage amount under Section 8 of Title I from \$4,750 to \$5,700. The Commissioner mentioned particularly that in this program a major advantage lies in the extremely small down payment or cash investment of the borrower being as small as 5% of the purchase price of the property and the small monthly payments made possible by the 30 year maturity.

The construction of rental housing for moderate income families under Section 207 will also get a boost from new provisions designed to encourage larger family units and lower cost construction which should be especially advantageous to minority groups. The increase in interest rate from 4 to $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ made possible by these amendments should also make these loans more attractive to lenders.

#####

Negroes Acquire Housing under Section 213

By Madison S. Jones, Jr.

FHA Racial Relations Officer, Region I

Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, N. Y., is owned by a cooperative organization consisting largely of Negroes, but is open to occupancy by qualified members of any race. This is the first project undertaken by a Negro group under Section 213 to be completed and in operation

One of the problems constantly challenging the imagination of builders is that of providing efficient, quality housing for families of modest income. The problem presents an even greater challenge when it concerns the provision of housing available to Negroes.

With the advent of Section 213 of the National Housing Act in 1950, builders soon realized that they had a logical answer to the problem of satisfying the requirements of many families who could afford modest down payments and reasonable carrying charges. In the first 3 years after the enactment of this section, the FHA Commissioner received 673 applications for mortgage insurance under its provisions on projects involving 82,855 dwelling units. Of this number, 431 projects covering 42,253 units were withdrawn or rejected, mainly for lack of mortgage financing, leaving an active case workload as of June 1, 1953 of 242 projects involving 40,601 dwelling units. Mortgages have been insured on 114 of these projects with a total of 20,950 dwelling units, which are either completed or under construction. A number of the projects have been developed by Negro groups; but Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, N. Y., with 116 units, is the first of these to be completed and occupied.

Under Section 213 the FHA insures mortgages, including advances during construction, on cooperative housing projects of 12 or more units. The project may be either a "management type," in which the mortgagor is a nonprofit cooperative ownership housing corporation or trust and permanent occupancy of the dwellings is restricted to members of the corporation or beneficiaries of the trust and no releases from the blanket mortgage may be granted; or a "sales type," in which the mortgagor is a nonprofit corporation or trust organized for the purpose

of building homes for its members and provision is made in the mortgage for the release, when the project is completed, of the individual properties from the blanket project mortgage to the individual members, who assume individual mortgages on them. When all properties have been released from the blanket mortgage the cooperative corporation is dissolved.

Merrick Park Gardens is a "management type" project. It provides a number of economies as well as other advantages to members of the cooperative organization. The mortgage, for example, calls for amortization over a term of 40 years, with interest at 4 percent per annum, resulting in monthly charges that are lower than rents would be for comparable living accommodations. The cooperative enjoys further economies through mass purchasing power in connection with management requirements. The fact that over 65 percent of the members are veterans makes possible, under the provisions of Section 213, a higher mortgage amount in relation to the FHA estimate of replacement cost than would otherwise be obtainable. The member's initial cash investment is small, because he and other obligors, and not the builder, are providing the entire capital investment; therefore, the speculative profit ordinarily taken by a builder is eliminated, and this, when combined with a substantial mortgage loan ratio, materially reduces the equity requirements.

The direction of the cooperative corporation is in the hands of a board of directors elected by the stockholder membership. Active management of the project has been undertaken by a real estate property management concern. All such management contracts must receive the prior approval of the FHA and the mortgagee.

Section 213 authorizes the FHA to furnish tech-

nical advice and assistance in the operation of the project as well as in its planning, development, and construction. The members are their own landlords, and their occupancy is not disturbed by changes in ownership or by fluctuating rent levels.

Merrick Park Gardens was initiated by Mr. William Brafman, who is an attorney as well as a builder with many years of experience in the construction of single-family development and commercial properties.

A site 200,000 square feet in area was selected in Jamaica, Long Island, 100 feet off Merrick Boulevard. The property originally was farm land owned by the parents of Homer and Langley Collyer, recluses who insisted on living amid junk and rubbish in their house in New York. Popular legend has it that the brothers used to walk from the Harlem area to Jamaica once a month to find out whether the city of New York was encroaching further on their land. The cooperative leased the land for a period of 99 years with an option to renew for an additional 99 years. The ground rent, payable to the landowner, is based on a 4 percent per annum return on the FHA valuation of the land. Had the cooperative corporation purchased the land in fee simple, a substantial

increase in each individual's equity payment would have been required.

The two-story garden-type apartment development, turned over to the shareholders in February 1953, comprises 116 family units and 43 garages. The architect was Erwin Gerber of Newark, New Jersey. The project has four fully equipped playgrounds, several off-street parking areas, and lattice-enclosed drying areas. Coin operated washers and dryers are located in the basements. The apartments feature living rooms 11'9" x 17'4", and the shareholders had a choice of many colors for decoration. The kitchens are equipped with electric refrigerators and gas ranges.

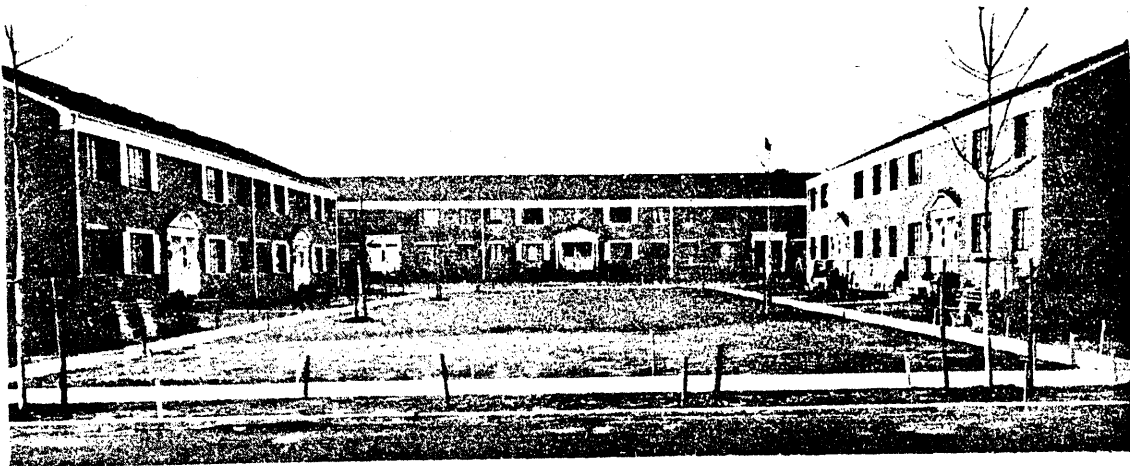
The down payments and monthly carrying charges for units of various sizes were as follows:

Number of units	Number of rooms	Equity payment	Monthly carrying charge
12.....	31 1/2	\$675	\$70
86.....	41 1/2	850	92
18.....	51 1/2	1,150	113

In addition to debt service, operating reserve, reserve for replacements, and management fees included in the monthly charges there are charges for gas and electricity, water, heat, janitor service, and

Merrick Park Gardens cooperative apartments, before fencing, landscaping, and play and clothes drying areas were added





Merrick Park Gardens cooperative apartments, looking west from 172nd Street toward the mall

grounds maintenance. Interior decorating of the units will be the obligation of the individual co-operators. Monthly charges average approximately \$20 per room per month, and the down payment requirements averaged approximately \$889. The total cost of the project was \$1,127,821.

The 82d Congress enacted Public Law 243 permitting the Federal National Mortgage Association to issue prior commitments on \$30,000,000 of Section 213 projects and not exceeding \$3,500,000 for any one State. Mr. Brafman immediately applied for a mortgage loan of \$1,040,300, and a commitment contract, the only one in Region I under this procedure, was issued. The Chemical Bank and Trust Company of New York City supplied the construction financing.

The development was sold to the public on an open-occupancy basis: that is, although it was planned primarily for Negro occupancy, the apartments were available to anyone who could qualify regardless of race or creed. The 116 shareholders represent an interesting occupational cross-section. They include Federal Government employees, small-business owners, salesmen, engineers, school teachers, labor union officials, bus drivers, social workers, real-estate salesmen, department store employees, nurses, clerical workers, transportation employees, musicians, and State and municipal workers.

A stockholder board of directors has been elected, consisting of the following five members: J. Carlton

Yeldell, chairman of the board, employed by the National C. I. O. as labor representative in its Community Service Commission; Leonard Morgan, treasurer, who is employed as a salesman, and who had accounting and financial experience in the United States Army; Mrs. Ruth W. DeFossett, secretary, employed as a teacher in the New York City school system; Allen James, an electrical engineer; and Theodore A. Reeves, employed by the United States Government. The shareholders have had two meetings with the board of directors, and the development is well organized. Hugo R. Heydorn and Co., of Jamaica, is the real estate managing agent. An advisory council of 14 shareholders responsible to the board of directors has been chosen by the members.

Merrick Park Gardens is a sound financial investment. The present schedule of carrying charges is considered adequate to meet all budgeted expenses, including provision for a reserve for replacements and a general operating reserve. At the last meeting of the shareholders, indications were apparent that the group was going to try to reduce costs eventually so that if substantial savings were made these would be reflected in lower monthly carrying charges. With each member accepting his full responsibility as a part owner of the property, it is hoped that such savings can be effected by careful use of utilities and maintenance of the property.

The shareholders of the project are enthusiastic over their development.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

MEM

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

No. 53-22
EX. 3-4160-EXT. 603
FOR RELEASE
SATURDAY AFTERNOON AND
SUNDAY MORNING PAPERS
June 27 and 28, 1953

On June 27, the Federal Housing Administration will begin its twentieth year of service to the American people. In an anniversary statement made public today, FHA Commissioner Guy T. O. Hollyday said:

"The astonishing progress that has been made in this field of our economy since the FHA was established in 1934 encourages us to look forward to greater achievement in the coming years.

"The problems confronting us most insistently today are not the ones that faced us with the greatest urgency nineteen years ago. Then the whole machinery of home building, home repair, and home financing had slowed almost to a standstill, and our chief problem was to get it in motion again. Today's major housing problem as I see it, is one of orderly, coordinated development. As we open up new residential areas we must also look to the preservation and improvement of the existing inventory -- the protection of neighborhoods against decay, the rehabilitation or conversion of structurally sound but functionally obsolete housing to make it suitable for present-day requirements, and ultimately the reclamation of blighted areas and slums."

Two factors, according to the FHA Commissioner, are giving special impetus to efforts toward the goal of improvement in the total housing picture. One is the interest on the part of citizens throughout the country who are beginning to see that concerted action can lead to real achievement. The other is the fact that businessmen are coming to realize that unless something is done to reverse the downward trend of real estate values in metropolitan communities the ability of those communities to provide sufficient taxation to make them self-supporting will gradually decline.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Mr. Hollyday pointed out that the experience gained by the Federal Housing Administration in working with private industry to solve many critical housing problems of the last 19 years places it in a unique position to be of service to the industry and the public in improving the quality, neighborhoods, location, and financing of the kind and volume of housing needed.

The FHA insurance systems are firmly woven into the pattern of real estate financing. Acceptance of the agency by the building industry and the general public can be ascribed to a number of factors, including the following:

1. Its insurance programs are carried on through voluntary co-operation by private enterprise, and assist lenders, the building and allied industries, and borrowers.
2. Through these programs, the hazards of investment in mortgages on residential properties have been greatly reduced.
3. Because its operations are nation-wide in scope, it has been able, within its designated field, to demonstrate the application of modern lending principles.
4. It has been instrumental in effecting improvement in housing standards and in standards of community planning.
5. It is soundly administered, and self-supporting.

When the first FHA loans were insured in 1934, the whole system was considered a bold experiment. The first FHA-insured loan was a property improvement loan insured under Title I of the National Housing Act. This loan, in the amount of \$125, was made by the First National Bank of Cloquet, Minnesota, in August 1934 to Mr. John P. Powers of Cloquet, who used the money to pay for painting his comfortable frame house and to repair the roof and install a water tank.

The first house built with FHA financing was at Pompton Lakes, New Jersey, and the photographers were called in when the commitment was signed on December 21, 1934 because the procedure was a new departure in mortgage lending. The Prospect Park National Bank made the loan of \$4,800 to Mr. and Mrs. Warren Newkirk of Pompton Lakes.

Those insured loans in quiet American communities were the starting points of programs that were to give better housing to millions.

In the nineteen years since the FHA began its operations, it has played a vital role in stabilizing the economy, in providing good housing, and in improving and repairing American homes. It has done all its work through private enterprise and with private capital. In every county in the forty-eight States and in Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico and Guam, the FHA has worked efficiently and with lasting benefits to nearly 17 million families in thousands of communities.

FHA expenses are paid out of fees, premiums, and income on investments in Government obligations. The earned surplus and statutory reserves of the agency on April 30, 1953 (not including the contribution of the Government) amounted to about \$305 million. These reserves include 65 million dollars available for distribution to mortgagors who complete payments on mortgages assigned to mutual mortgage group accounts with favorable loss experience.

Perhaps one of the most unusual requests to be made of the Congress was contained in Commissioner Hollyday's testimony this month before the Senate and Housing Banking and Currency Committees, when he asked that a new section be added to the National Housing Act to provide that the Federal Housing Administration recognize as a debt and repay to the Treasury, with interest, the money that has been contributed to FHA insurance funds at the instruction of the Congress.

This repayment would amount to over \$80 million, including several millions in accrued interest. With these contributions repaid, the FHA, which has been entirely self-supporting for the last 13 years, would have the distinction of operating as a public service, a mortgage and property improvement loan insurance program that has not cost the public a cent.

The extent of FHA influence on housing in the United States may be judged to some degree from the large volume of its operations. Over the 19 years in which it has been active, the agency has written insurance aggregating nearly \$31 billion which has been reduced through terminations and amortization, leaving in force insurance on mortgages and loans with outstanding balances estimated at \$16.5 billion.

In addition to mortgage insurance the Federal Housing Administration has a consumer credit insurance plan for property improvement loans. Last year over 1 billion dollars of these loans were reported for insurance.

Most of the property improvement loans covered by FHA insurance have been used to improve single-family homes. The average loan insurance in 1952 had net proceeds of \$567 and a term of 31 months.

FHA.

NEGRO HOUSING

MADISON S. JONES, JR., FHA racial relations officer for region 1, writes an informative article in the summer 1953 issue of *FHA Insured Mortgage Portfolio* on "Negroes Acquire Housing Under Section 213." The greater part of the article describes Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, New York. "A number of the projects (under Section 213 of the National Housing Act of 1950) have been developed by Negro groups; but Merrick Park Gardens in Jamaica, N. Y., with 116 units, is the first of these to be completed and occupied."

This description is given of the project:

Merrick Park Gardens was initiated by Mr. William Brafman, who is an attorney as well as a builder with many years of experience in the construction of single family development and commercial properties.

A site 200,000 square feet in area was selected in Jamaica, Long Island, 100 feet off Merrick Boulevard. The property originally was farm land owned by the parents of Homer and Langley Collyer, recluses who insisted on living amid junk and rubbish in their house in New York. Popular legend has it that the brothers used to walk from the Harlem area to Jamaica once a month to find out whether the city of New York was encroaching further on their land. The cooperative leased the land

for a period of 99 years with an option to renew for an additional 99 years. The ground rent, payable to the landowner, is based on a 4 percent per annum return on the FHA valuation of the land. Had the cooperatives corporation purchased the land in fee simple, a substantial increase in each individual's equity payment would have been required.

The two-story garden-type apartment development, turned over to the shareholders in February 1953, comprises 116 family units and 43 garages. The architect was Erwin Gerber of Newark, New Jersey. The project has four fully equipped playgrounds, several off-street parking areas, and lattice-enclosed drying areas. Coin operated washers and dryers are located in the basements. The apartments feature living rooms 11'9" x 17'4", and the shareholders had a choice of many colors for decoration. The kitchens are equipped with electric refrigerators and gas ranges. . . .

The development was sold to the public on an open-occupancy basis: that is, although it was planned primarily for Negro occupancy, the apartments were available to anyone who could qualify regardless of race or creed. The 116 shareholders represent an interesting occupational cross-section. They include Federal Government employees, small-business owners, salesmen, engineers, school teachers, labor union officials, bus drivers, social workers, real-estate salesmen, department store employees, nurses, clerical workers, transportation employees, musicians, and State and municipal workers. . . .

living space as their money would buy. The Census Bureau figures that any housing occupied by 1.01 to 1.50 persons per room is crowded (that allows five persons in a three-room house). It considers anything over 1.51 persons per room 'overcrowding.' Only 5.5% of the nation's city and rural nonfarm dwellers live in overcrowded conditions. But 18.2% of Negroes do.

For all races, only 9.2% of US homes are classified as 'dilapidated' by the Census Bureau. But 3.13% of Negro homes are. Among Negro homes, 58.4% have no bath-tub or shower, against a national average of 27%. Outdoor privies are the only toilet for 47.8% of all Negro homes, compared with a national average of 22.5%. . . .

One startling fact is that "around Boston, Massachusetts, there is not a single community with a private development for Negroes, not one which accepts Negro buyers." The developers explain: "You have to be practical. Nobody would be happy."

THE CRISIS

INCIDENTALLY, it might be mentioned that *House & Homes* devotes four pages of its April 1953 issue to "Non White Housing." Here are a few excerpts:

The simple truth is that the nation's urban whites have resisted giving their cities' new Negro population as much

OCTOBER, 1953

HLM.
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator

Racial Relations Service
August, 1953

SEP 1 1953

**SPECIAL PROBLEMS AND APPROACHES IN HOUSING OF MINORITIES
AND THE ROLE OF THE RACIAL RELATIONS SERVICE ***

The Problem

In acquiring decent housing, Negro and other racial minorities experience special difficulties beyond those which confront others. Census data of 1950, while indicating significant improvement in the housing conditions of nonwhites since 1940, reveal that 26.6 percent of nonfarm homes of nonwhites were dilapidated as compared to 5.4 percent for whites. Not only was the proportion of overcrowding in dwellings occupied by nonwhites four times as high as that for whites in 1950, but the extent of overcrowding among nonwhites had actually increased in 1950 over 1940. Meanwhile, annual incomes among nonwhites trebled, according to Census data, and their economic and cultural status improved substantially. Census data also attest that nonwhites have usually received less housing value and less home financing service per dollar spent by them for shelter than do whites and also less favorable home financing terms. These are the inevitable results of practices which have differentiated local housing markets and supplies on the basis of race and have tended generally to restrict or exclude nonwhites from the better housing and newly developed neighborhoods and thus constrict them generally into the poorer housing and largely within the more crowded, blighted, and slum areas.

These factors and their consequences are intensified wherever, and to the degree that, housing is in short supply. In the defense program, for example, employment practices often shift under pressing requirements of defense mobilization and thus render it extremely difficult at the time of programing defense housing to foresee the extent of racial minority need that will later appear for such housing by the time it is ready for occupancy. Also, in the typical local slum clearance program, Negroes and other racial minorities usually constitute the larger proportion of the families to be displaced; housing available to them in the community needs improvement in both quantity and quality for the local relocation plan to be carried out in conformance with the statutory requirement for "decent, safe, and sanitary housing."

Concerted effort to expand and improve the housing and home financing available to racial minorities has increasingly become recognized as a major area of housing stress during the past decade, as well as one of the most complicated problem areas. A prime objective of this effort is more nearly to equalize housing opportunities to all groups by securing more extensive efforts of private enterprise in expanding and improving the supplies of housing and financing available to minority group families commensurate with their effective market demand—an area of the market most generally neglected in the past.

* Source: Sixth Annual Report, Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1952, pp. 91-98.

Racial Relations Services

To meet these special problems and assure equitable distribution of benefits to all racial groups, the housing agencies of the Federal Government have utilized the skills of specialized personnel experienced in intergroup adjustment and the application of sound planning and economics. In the central offices, some of this specialized personnel serve as integral parts of the top administrative office; other elements of it assist the field office staffs to carry out agency policies. This activity maintained in the Washington and field offices of HHFA and constituent agencies has come to be considered as the racial relations services.

How Such Services Function

Generally headed by an assistant to the top official of the agency or unit, a racial relations staff in the central office assists in the formulation and execution of the basic policies, procedures, and operations of the Agency to assure equitable participation of minority groups. This staff participates in top-level administrative meetings where policies are formulated, reviews policy and procedural revisions to improve operations, implements the Federal nondiscrimination employment policy, assembles and disseminates facts and experience in the housing of minorities, interprets Agency activities to minorities, and reflects the minority group considerations to Agency personnel.

In the field offices, racial relations specialists assist in the execution of the Agency programs in a manner to achieve equitable participation of minorities. They supplement and evaluate analyses of local housing markets and pertinent economic and social data; review and pass upon the selection of sites, and evaluate employment in the planning, construction, and management of federally aided projects, appraise plans and advise in carrying them out for the relocation of families displaced by slum clearance; as requested, assist local officials, builders, lenders, and community leadership in the planning and distribution of housing; identify needed revisions in Agency policies and procedures; anticipate and preclude the rise of racial problems and overcome them when they do arise.

Racial Relations Services in Constituent Units of HHFA

In HHFA, the Office of the Administrator, the Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, the Federal Housing Administration and the Public Housing Administration, respectively, maintain their own racial relations staffs as integral parts of their own administrative structures and operations.

From experience since the late 1930's in the public housing program, there has developed an extensive body of policy, procedure, principles, and techniques in the field of racial relations which constitute integral components of overall Agency operations. The purpose of the racial relations function in the central and field offices of HHFA and its constituents is to adapt and apply the principles and techniques so developed and to assure equitable participation by minorities in Agency programs and operations. As of December 31, 1952, for example, Negro families occupied 84,869 of the 222,487 permanent public housing dwellings—or some 38 percent of the total program completed. Another estimated 50,000 of such dwellings, then under annual contribution contracts, will be avail-

able to Negro families. Further, as of December 31, 1952, Negroes employed at both skilled and unskilled trades in the construction of these projects have been paid over \$107 million in wages, largely due to the implementation of specific nondiscrimination employment policy and procedures adopted by the Agency in the 1930's.

Acting as the Agency liaison with the Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance, the OA Racial Relations Service is able further to facilitate employment gains of minorities in the various operating units. There are, for example, some 5,000 Negroes employed now at all levels and types of positions in the administration, management, and maintenance of public housing programs all over the nation.

Initiated in public housing, racial relations personnel in housing have gradually been augmented and such services extended in the central and field offices of FHA, as well as OA and DSCUR. In these units the emphasis is upon mobilizing private financing, planning, and building resources to meet the housing needs of the expanding middle-income market among Negroes and other racial minorities and increasing the employment of other qualified nonwhites in all levels and types of positions throughout the operating staffs. Stimulated by the Federal agencies, assisted by racial relations services, private capital and enterprise have stepped up investment in and production of homes available to Negroes. In fact, *more new private housing has been built for sale and rent to Negroes in the past 4 or 5 years than in an entire generation before.*

Specialists in racial relations in DSCUR participate in the review of applications for Federal assistance and aid the Division field staff in advising local public agencies on the preparation and execution of plans for relocating displaced persons in housing meeting the statutory requirements.

Cooperation With Industry and Consumer-Group Organizations

One of the chief functions of the racial relations services is to interpret the potentialities of the Government housing programs to national organizations and their affiliates interested in minority group aspects of housing and to reflect the problems and viewpoints of these organizations to the Federal housing agencies. Among both industry and consumer groups, there has resulted an increasing understanding of the techniques and efficacy of coordinated attack upon the housing needs of racial minorities as an integral part of the total locality needs and of the proper role of Federal agencies in supplementing local and private resources as part of this unified attack. In many instances these organizations have undertaken specific financing and production programs calling for closely coordinated activity by their local affiliates and the racial relations personnel in the Federal housing agencies.

Coordinating Functions and Activities

In the Office of the Administrator, HHFA, the Racial Relations Service, comprising a small specialized staff headed by an Assistant to the Administrator of HHFA, is responsible for coordination of racial considerations in assisting the Administrator with his overall supervision and coordination of programs operated by the constituent

units of the Agency. It also maintains close coordination with the counterpart services in constituent units, as well as liaison with organizations and leadership interested in minority group aspects of Agency activities.

The very nature of its operations in aiding to assure equitable participation of minorities throughout all phases of Agency activities causes the Racial Relations Service to exemplify coordination in the housing field. Among the more significant examples are the following:

1. The OA Racial Relations Service (a) meets regularly with the professional racial relations personnel from DSCUR, PHA, and FHA in joint discussion and consideration of major problems, policies, procedures, and activities; (b) assists DSCUR and the operating constituents in the recruitment and training of racial relations personnel, without regard to racial or religious identity, and shares with them the extensive cumulated experience of the specialized OA staff in the operation of the various HHFA programs in the different regions and localities of the nation; (c) cooperates in coping with complicated problems relating to racial aspects of the several Agency programs in specific localities, such as Detroit, Chicago, and Richmond (California); (d) collaborates in coordinated field visits and review of program operations and interrelationships by racial relations personnel of DSCUR, PHA, and FHA in a number of communities—for example, New Orleans, Kansas City, St. Louis, and New York—to seek practical solutions to interrelated problems, such as how to obtain the increased private production of suitable housing available to minorities as required for proper relocation of families displaced from Title I and Title III project areas.

2. Assisted in developing and the issuance of statement of uniform Agency personnel policy requiring nondiscrimination and fairness in employment of personnel throughout the Agency and establishment of regular reporting and reviewing machinery for implementing this policy throughout the Agency, including the constituents.

3. Spearheads consideration and definition of common or related problems and implications for minorities, pursuant to the Housing Act of 1949, leading to closer coordination of PHA and FHA with DSCUR programs as reflected in (a) joint statement on "The Relationship between Slum Clearance and Low-Rent Public Housing"; (b) establishment of closer coordination in relocation policy and requirements for Title III low-rent public housing programs and Title I slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs; (c) joint statement on "The Use of Federal Aids in Relocating Families Displaced by the Clearance of Slum Areas," applied to complicated locality programs as in Chicago and Detroit; (d) development of specific working machinery for exchange of information and detailed cooperation between DSCUR and FHA; and (e) announcement of supplementary procedures to govern Title I and Title III programs affecting the living space available to racial minorities.

4. Provides active organizational liaison, such as with the National Urban League, leading to (a) its establishment of a Department of Housing Activities; (b) development of specific cooperative working relationships between the League, its 60 local affiliates, and FHA toward expanding the supply of adequate housing and home financing available to racial minorities; and (c) its sponsorship of a New York conference on mobilizing sources of home financing available to minorities, attended by important mortgage lenders, the FHA Commissioner, the League's Housing Department officials and national president.

5. Offers cooperation with FHA in its efforts to expand production of housing available to minorities—as described in the FHA section of the Annual Report.

6. Advises and assists the Division of Housing Research concerning relevant minority group implications and considerations in Agency-sponsored research, analyses, and reports; collaborated with the Division in the preparation and publication of HHFA bulletin on *Housing of the Nonwhite Population, 1940 to 1950*; and prepared, from the combined experience of the racial relations services, the bulletin on *Open Occupancy in Public Housing*, published by PHA, to serve the repeated requests from scores of local housing authorities for information and guidance based on administrative experience.

October 23, 1952

F. H. A.

412-46 OCT 31 1952

File

5/15/53
eq

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Walter White

FROM: Clarence Mitchell C. M.

SUBJECT: Meeting with Commissioner Walter H. Greene of the Federal Housing Administration.

I attended the meeting with Commissioner Walter H. Greene of the Federal Housing Administration on October 10, 1952. The following are my conclusions:

1. At the National Urban League conference in Cleveland, Commissioner Greene stated that the "FHA policy is to insure projects for open occupancy." Dr. Robert Weaver asked specifically what steps the FHA has taken to implement this policy. Commissioner Greene was unable to point to anything specific that had been done to see that this policy is translated into more houses open to buyers and renters without regards to race.

2. The FHA has always emphasized that even though a lender and a borrower openly admit that FHA insured houses will be for whites only, it (FHA) will not withhold approval of insurance on the loan. In response to a direct question from me Mr. Greene stated that this policy has not changed.

A number of other items were discussed, but, in my judgment, these are the important things that came out of the meeting. It is clear that FHA will continue to discriminate and to encourage discrimination unless we are able to bring pressure from the White House or the Courts.

At sometime in the near future I think that you, Bob Weaver, Thurgood, and I should discuss what is our next step. I do not believe that discussions with FHA itself produces anything other than fringed benefits.

CMM:gs

June 3, 1952

7H A

MEMORANDUM TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FROM THE SECRETARY

RE: F. H. A.

One of the most important problems faced by Negroes in the United States at the present time is the matter of a decent and adequate place in which to live. The matter of home building, sale and rental units has been one in which the United States Government has been an active participant since 1934. This participation has taken the form of the government being an insurer of mortgages in the field of privately financed housing. As such, it has controlled the pattern of living in America to an unprecedented degree. The matter of site selection, type of house, quality of materials, room size, sales prices, rental scales, valuation and appraisal of the property, etc., have all been set forth or administered by this agency.

During the period 1935-1950, approximately 2,761,000 dwelling units were built under the FHA insuring program and probably no more than 50,000 of these units were available to non-whites*. In the New York area alone in the field of rental and cooperative housing, 91,936 units were built for whites as against 919 units for open or minority group occupancy**. The present policy of the FHA with regard to occupancy is one which leaves the builder and sponsor free to choose his own tenants or buyers. He may build for whites, he may build for Negroes, or he may build for open occupancy. The agency states since its program is entirely voluntary, engaged in by private enterprise, it has no control over the manner in which the sponsor or builder chooses the occupants

*Address by Robert C. Weaver at National Conference on Discrimination in Housing at Hotel McAlpin, New York City, May 20, 1952.

**As of March 1952.

for the dwellings. However, the agency has stated further that when a property is taken over due to default on the part of the mortgagor, the policy of occupancy, while it is the property of the government, is one which is open, and the defaulted parcels are rented and sold on an open occupancy basis. In defense of its position regarding occupancy patterns pursued by builders and sponsors, FHA has stated that in order to control the occupancy, as an insurer of mortgages, it would have to have authority delegated to it by act of Congress. The only non-discriminatory mention in the present housing act is one which states that there shall be no discrimination against families with children. However, the agency did not ask for Congressional authority when it made the ruling regarding occupancy after property has reverted to it due to default and foreclosure.

As a result of this vast insuring program, we have seen the extension of racial discrimination and segregation abetted and furthered by a government agency backed up by billions of dollars of insurance secured by tax payers' money. FHA insures on a vast scale. Large multiple dwelling units containing hundreds of apartments are being built which are not available to Negroes; vast one-family home developments are being constructed all over the country which are not available to Negroes; entirely new communities which have become towns comprising thousands of families have been built, insured with public funds which have barred Negro occupancy. This is seen in the Levittown community in Hempstead, Long Island which is an FHA insured project of some sixteen thousand one-family homes complete with swimming pools, shopping centers, churches, and community facilities from which Negroes are barred. The same pattern is being pursued by this builder in an FHA insured project in the

Morrisville area in Pennsylvania which, upon completion, will be a much larger community than Levittown, N. Y., and from which Negroes are being barred from purchasing homes.

With the failure of the agency to insist that everyone be allowed to avail themselves of all FHA insured housing, some small amount of building has been done for Negroes with a slight part of this housing available to anyone. Therefore, it is seen that the immense housing needs reflected among Negroes have not been taken care of and as a result of the undemocratic practices formulated by FHA, there have been small islands here and there of all Negro housing or a small amount of housing that has been open to all people but almost entirely occupied by Negroes. Those builders who will construct on an open basis will openly state they know that while they have no policy as far as occupancy is concerned, they will end up with almost 90 percent or more Negro occupancy. It is usually the builder who is willing to construct for Negroes who will have a more open mind on an equitable occupancy pattern. Therefore, it is seen that the spread of segregation and discrimination is being furthered with the aid and help of the FHA and such discriminatory patterns of living are being carried into areas of our country which heretofore did not embrace such discrimination.

This is happening 35 years after the Supreme Court outlawed residential segregation by city ordinance and four years after the same court outlawed judicial enforcement of racial restrictive housing covenants. The irony of this is that the legal decision wrought by the NAACP, particularly in the restrictive covenant cases, are resulting in the entrance of Negroes into desirable sections of American cities. We are breaking down the ghetto in old housing only to see federal funds being used to establish impregnable ghettos in new, desirable suburban developments and negating the Supreme Court decisions with federal funds extracted from tax monies.

June 3, 1952

The following are suggestions which can be used as a yardstick by groups going in to talk with the local insuring offices of FHA:

A. It is important that the spokesman of the group be one who is thoroughly informed on the rules and practices of the agency. He should acquaint the District Director with the aims and purposes of the NAACP and should state simply the housing policy of the Association. In indicating why the group has asked for the conference, he should express disagreement with the policy of the agency when it is announced to him. He should state that the Association does not agree with the policy and as a community organization will do all in its power to see to it that it is changed. He should be able to have some basic facts on the status of the Negro in the community, his income, what he is paying for rent, new units that have been available for his occupancy, the amount he is making as down payment on used homes, etc. He should ask the Director for information regarding those builders who possibly would be interested in building on an open occupancy pattern.

Similarly, information should be sought regarding financial institutions who may be interested in making mortgage loans in this kind of building program. The Director should be queried closely on the office's use of the Racial Relations Adviser assigned to his zone. Is he being brought in periodically; are conferences being arranged by the office with interested builders and financial organizations; has he asked the housing market analyst to make a survey of the community; has the Adviser been asked to participate in this survey; is the Adviser asked to spend a certain amount of time each month in the community? He should ask whether the office would be interested in calling a conference of builders, contractors, mortgage people, etc.

These meetings will have reverberations in Washington and will further augment the overall drive in bringing the procedures and policies of the agency to the attention of the general public. It will put the local office on notice. It is felt at the present time most of the local offices are oblivious to the matter of open occupancy housing and some, to a lesser degree, are completely uninterested in the matter of minority group housing.

While it has been an announced policy of the agency to further availability of housing for minority groups, this activity is not being pursued on an all out basis. It has come to my attention that there are a few offices who have been trying to do something about the problem in getting minority group housing in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the FHA, but on the whole, the program has only been one of lip service.

B. Local NAACP branches should endeavor through the cooperation of the FHA Racial Relations Advisers in their respective communities to have interested builders and financial institutions call conferences on a community-wide basis in order to thoroughly discuss the matter of open occupancy housing. Local FHA officials should be invited to these meetings. Similarly, the national office of the NAACP should hold a meeting in New York with some of the top builders in the community. Heads and assistants of the larger financial institutions should also be invited. The NAACP could call for other organizations who have cooperated on related issues in the past, labor unions, church groups, fraternal organizations, social welfare organizations, etc., to have similar programs and while they could cooperate on community programs as far as builders and financial institutions are concerned, they could similarly, as separate organizations, ask for meetings with local FHA offices. This will

be strategic since it will make a far greater impression on the agency to have repeated requests for conferences on the part of many groups instead of one conference composed of representatives from several organizations.

C. The NAACP should call a national conference in Washington on the private housing situation similar to the Civil Rights Mobilizations held in the last three years. It is felt that if this kind of marked attention by the Association is given to this matter, a great impact can be made on what is now being totally ignored either overtly or through indifference.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

June 3, 1952

The following are some thoughts and suggestions on a program of action by the NAACP against the FHA regarding its discriminatory policy in the matter of occupancy patterns:

A. White House conference with the President comparable to the meeting held with the late Franklin D. Roosevelt regarding the FHA Handbook in 1942.

B. There should be a systematic and organized program throughout the entire country on the part of branches in holding conferences with the District Directors of the various FHA insuring offices. These should be well organized, thoroughly oriented groups of three or four persons who should be able to sit down and talk with the Director and Chief Underwriter in the various insuring offices regarding the matter of open occupancy housing and the FHA program. A careful factual presentation should be made. It is understood that they will be told of the present policy of FHA and that nothing can be done about it administratively until Congress changes the Act and things will have to stand as they are. The group, of course, will have been apprised of this policy and their main objective in holding this conference is to let the local FHA office know that the community is in disagreement with it and that this is a protest on the part of the community to the local office.

The group should offer its services as a community organization to the local insuring offices. It should offer the services of a subcommittee perhaps of one or two people to work closely with the Director and his staff acquainting him with every phase of the community life of minority groups in that city or section. Periodic meetings should be asked for to report on progress in this regard. Similarly, the group should bring the matter of this participation to the attention of the community itself through the public forum, newspapers, radio and other media.

C. Meetings and conferences of top NAACP staff and Board officials with Administrator Foley of the HURA and similar conferences with Commissioner Franklin D. Richards of the FHA. There have been meetings held between the NAACP and Administrator Foley, but there have been no conferences with FHA officials.

While it is important we confer with Administrator Foley, it is equally important that the impact of what is going on be brought directly to the head of the constituent agency which is actually practicing the acts with which we are taking issue.

Property
C. S. Bass

September 30, 1953

Dear Mrs. Bass:

Mr. White has been out of the city for some time and has just returned to find a crowded schedule of out of town speaking engagements. However, he has asked me to tell you that, unfortunately, the Association does not have funds for such a project as you suggest, and, in fact, as a non-profit organization would be prohibited from participating.

Unfortunately, we are not able to suggest anyone who would be interested in this matter. The Association has found as a matter of principle and practice that segregated facilities are not wise or advisable.

Possibly Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, 631 Pearl Street, Daytona Beach, can advise you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Earlene R. Bollin
Office of the Secretary

Mrs. C. S. Bass
Route 1
Lakemont Lodge
Avon Park, Florida

erb

Lakemont Lodge, Rt 1,
Avon Park, Fla.
June 4th, 1953.

Mr. Walter White, Secretary,
National Assn. for
Advancement of Colored People,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

Re: Establishment of Retirement Center,
Motel Units, Trailer Park, Recreation
Spot, and other non-conflicting business
Projects.

The writer, an elderly widow, has decided to sell her property located on Highway 27-98, halfway between Avon Park and Sebring, Florida. I have here approximately forty acres, part of a Townsite laid out by my husband during the "Boom". The land has been cleared and platted into residential lots with 50' streets; about 1000' facing Present Highway, the remaining acreage fronts on OLD H'way (now a paved county road). My twelve room home, with two baths, and lavatories in bedrooms (14'x16' each) is now used to accomodate seasonal Tourists, and Convalescents. House sits back over 200' from Highway, thereby enjoying complete privacy as well as freedom from noise of traffic. There is a dilapidated old Filling Station building with water and toilet connections and 200' x 35' concrete frontage, with 60' wide white clay road around building (which faces OLD unused Highway) that could be converted into commissary, recreation spot, toilets and showers for Trailer Park, and one Block of land would make ideal place for Amusement center for children. Other land with creek running thru it would make lovely homesites, and be place for raising of bulbs. Other land south of the Seaboard Crossing here suitable for any manufacturing concerns that would require railroad siding. Land between Tourist Home (or rather Motel) ideal for establishing Motel Units.

It has been my desire to contact some group of Blind or disabled Veterans, or otherwise deserving persons who could work together in harmony here, they to landscape the remaining acreage and dispose of that to some Fraternal or Industrial group as a Retirement set-up. In a talk last winter with Mr. Roger Babson, who lives near here and who owns Bonds of Sebring and many adjacent towns, he told me that such a plan was ideal for this property, and that, in view of the fact that people all over the country were becoming more Florida conscious with a view to establishing Retirement spots, I should have no trouble in so disposing of it.

After reading the disgraceful article (enclosed herewith) in today's Tampa Tribune, and being so shamed and disgusted by the vicious and reprehensible actions of that class of whites that bring disgrace upon our entire race, it occurred to me that I might be able to do something to bring comfort and contentment to many good and deserving colored people. I immediately phoned Judge Harry Lee (Sebring) and asked his opinion of disposing of this land to colored people, and inquired his opinion as to the feasibility of Motel accommodations for Colored people here. It was his opinion that such an enterprise could be made into a worthwhile and money making project; this land is 1/2 miles from the city limits of Sebring, with farmland and homes on other side of Highway. If for any reason a Motel did not prove satisfactory, the units could be turned into permanent living accommodations, however the Judge agreed with me that if properly advertised in the North, colored tourists would be only too glad to know of such a comfortable place to stay.

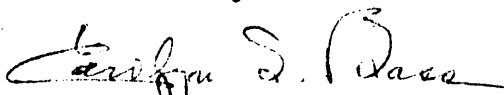
There is talk of another Highway going straight thru to Miami, by-passing Sebring and this present Highway, but owners of Motels south of here recently purchased their Motels with knowledge of the proposed new Highway, and they are of the opinion that they can establish year-round visitors, as well as Guests who wish to spend most of the Tourist season here, and get calls for reservations well in advance.

There is no lake frontage here now, but the creek running thru property could be made into a swimming spot, and would enjoy complete privacy.

Prof. Nixon, Principal of Douglas School, Sebring, is to give me address of your Tampa Branch Manager, but since talking with him I learned your address and thought it best to address this matter to you, with the suggestion that if the proposition appeals to you, and if you know some Philanthropist or Fraternal Order that would back this worthy cause, you so advise me, and arrange for an Agent or Committee to meet me here to go thoroly into the matter. A very fair price of \$30,000 for the entire property, including the Ranch style, cypress, one story, small hotel, is being asked.

Trusting I may receive a favorable and early reply, I am,

Yours sincerely -


Mrs. C. S. Bass.

(Phone
Sebring: 4983)

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Nearly every trailer has a flower garden

From November's 52 issue of
Buick Magazine
 Retired Folks

PARADISE

Oldsters enjoy life in a
 big trailer park in Bradenton, Florida

By MARJORIE and GRANT HEILMAN

"TROUBLE with most people," said Harry Schurfield as he relaxed in the canvas deck chair in front of his house trailer, "is that they don't retire early enough to enjoy life. By the time they quit work they're so worn out they don't have any fun."

There's at least one group of people that heartily agrees with Mr. Schurfield. They're his neighbors at the world's largest trailer park, in Bradenton, Florida.

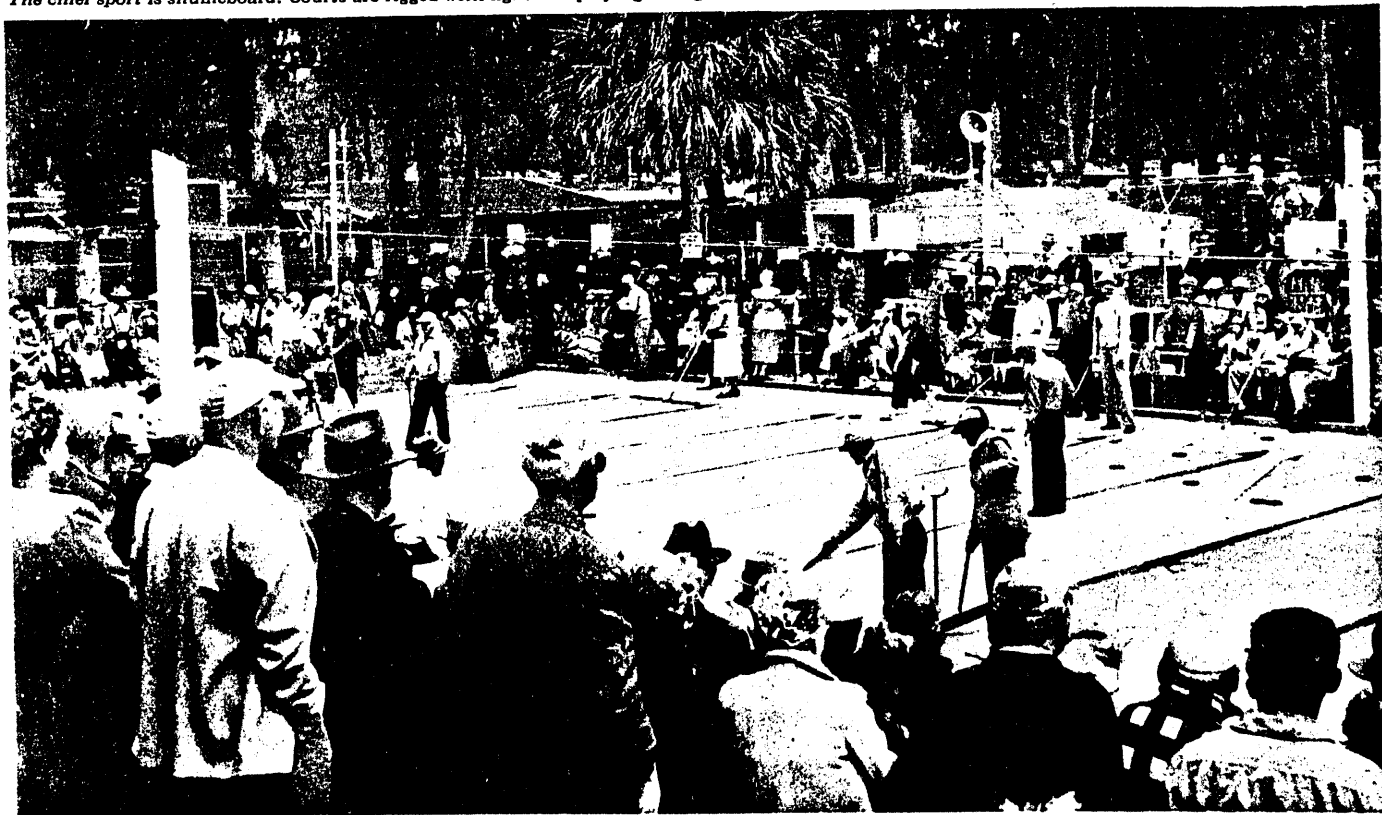
The park, which covers forty acres and houses more than a thousand trailers, has nothing but retired people as residents. A

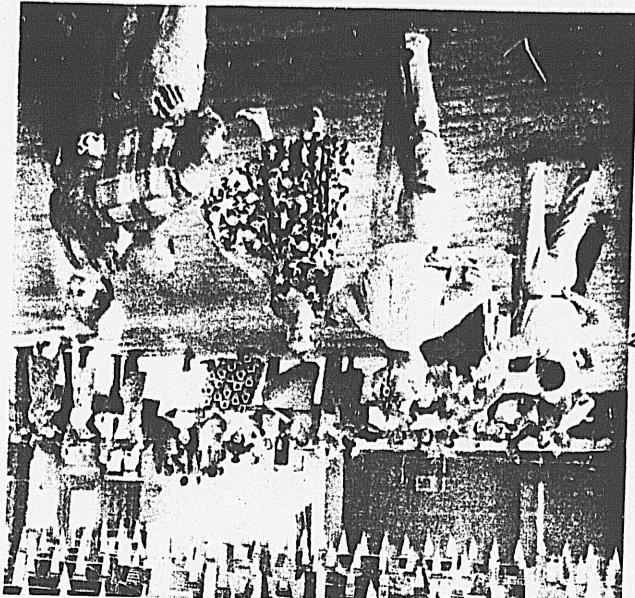
park rule forbids any resident to have a job. Yet everyone in the place manages to keep busy all day long—busy having a good time.

There are shuffleboard, horseshoes, and a large playground for children. And the huge auditorium resounds with voices from morning until night. There's always something on the recreation schedule: square dancing, canasta, movies, a theatrical production, or bingo. And, of course, the park is only a few miles from the famous gulf beaches.

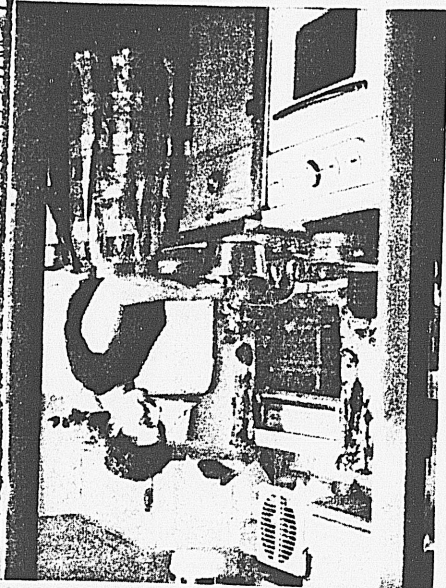
The forty-voice choir made up of park residents not only sings

The chief sport is shuffleboard. Courts are rigged with lights for playing at night

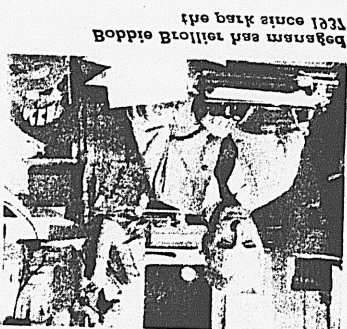




Folk dancing is one of the most popular activities. There's something going on in the auditorium every day.



compact, efficient trailer interiors are



the park since 1931 Bobbie Brockett has managed

they're enjoying "the best of life" for which the park was made."

But they all have two things in common: They're retired, and doctors, dentists, ministers, and many and many others. They are all sorts of professions. There are farmers, fishermen, engineers, to Bradenton in the winter. The men in the park have retired from jobs in Washington, and drive 4,100 miles to get

Park residents come from all over the United States. One day the Kiwanis.

park's observation to toward longer service work which is sponsored been held every year for the past five years. All brought from the jobs until it now has space for over one thousand trailers, and it has

As a result, the park has expanded from its original one hundred trailers but it "The site was a natural."

Some answers, and landscaping were already in. As Camp Manager Bobbie

room-time real estate development which had failed. Streets was begun back in 1930, and was located on the site of a Florida

The Bradenton Kiwanis Club owns and operates the park. It

traveling. most home in the park, and the other, usually a small one, for more than one resident owns two trailers, one located as a permanent home, but there are also many who still own homes up North. are plenty of trailers who have made the Bradenton Park their park. They're really small houses rather than mobile trailers. There

The majority of the trailers are located permanently in the do live for \$100 a month. *Some live 1 year*

dressing up for park activities. Many couples claim they can't and upkeep. Rent and food bills are reasonable, and there's no fancy from \$3,000 to \$2,000, after the initial investment there's little

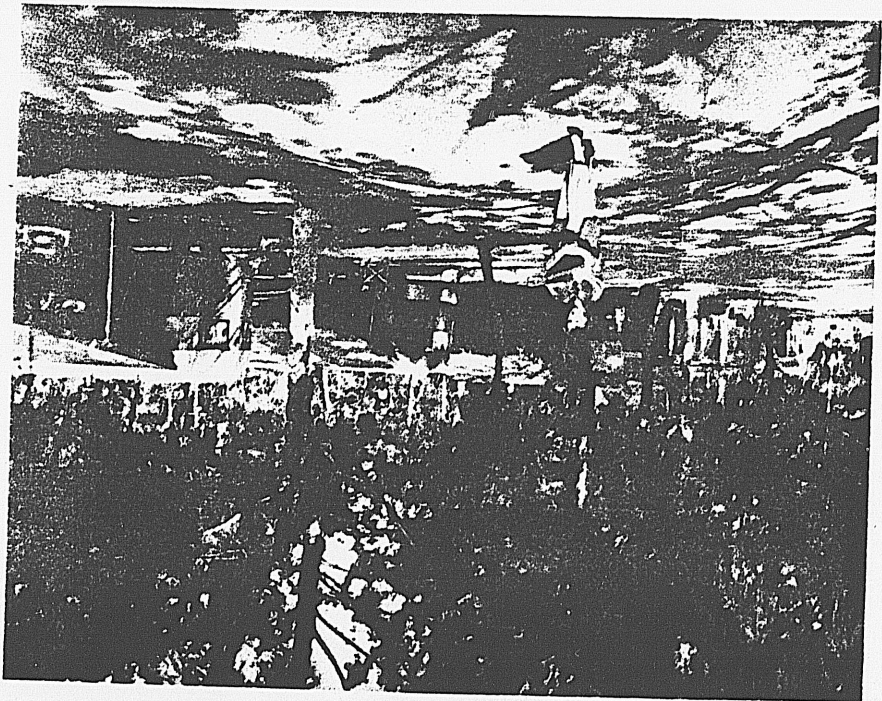
Living is inexpensive at the park. Although a trailer costs of compactness and efficiency.

Many have toilets and showers. The tiny kitchens are a miracle kitchen, and living room. All have running water and electricity. trailer living is much simpler. Most of the trailers have a bedroom,

Homesites are accustomed to keeping up a real house and that conducting church services in the park.

conquering areas. And ministers from near-by churches take turns at weekly services in the auditorium but also at churches in sur-

Park streets are broad and pleasantly shaded



alcohol

I still own all land Blocked in yellow on RIGHT of inked line showing present H'way 27-98. Old H'way, now a County Road is well paved & is almost a Private road thru the property. X marks spot of Home and old Filling Station. The home was built originally as a small Hotel ~~which~~ when this property was first laid out as a Townsite. Bank failures in community vetoed that project. With the lay o' the land so arranged as to give complete privacy, this is considered an ideal spot for some active or retired Group, with possibilities for establishing numerous non-conflicting businesses, or a place for elderly folks, crippled children, and/or a Private, Retirement Trailer Town; land for gardens has water already piped under it; 5' sidewalk extends one block. Several blocks with creek running thru it lovely site for residences, private swimming pool, Private Trailer Park. Old Filling Station Bldg. suitable site for recreation room, toilets, showers, commissary for Public Trailer Park if desired. The 200x35 concrete frontage for Shuffle Board Games, etc. Land parallel with S A L Rd. suitable for Businesses requiring Rd. siding. Other land GOOD for Citrus Raising of Seedlings for re-setting a money making project. For further information write owner

Mrs. C.S. Bass,
Lakemont Lodge, Rt 1,
Avon Park, Fla.

June 4, 53

Phone Sebring: 4983

POST CARD



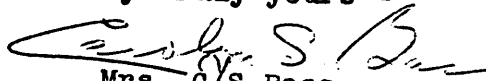
Howdy Mr. White:-

What I cant understand is how anyone as well known as yourself, and your organization, could not be located promptly.

I do hope that the address just given me is correct, as I am most anxious for your reply.

For the good of many, I trust you will give careful consideration to letter enclosed herewith.

Very truly yours -



Mrs. C/S. Bass,
Lakemont Lodge, Rt 1,
Avon Park, Fla.

June 15,

12281 JUN 18 '53

FLORIDA GROWER PRESS, INC.
PHONE 8-1885 / / / TAMPA

Lumber

Rough
Surfaced
Mouldings
Special Sizes

"IT'S A DILLEY"
Dilley Wholesale Distributors

IN THE BLACK HILLS

Custer, South Dakota 12/10/53

Steel

Channel
Angle
I-Beams
Plates

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York City

22587 DEC 15 53

Gentlemen:

I am taking the liberty of informing you of a nice piece of property 62 acres with 1900 feet of highway frontage, a nice modern 8-room home located in The Heart of the Black Hills $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Hill City, So. Dak. on Highway 16A, a beautiful location indeed with timber and hills, an abundance of good, clear, cold, soft water from the mountains electricity, etc.

The reason I am contacting your organization is there are no hotels, motels, and so on that I know of that take care of colored people and I have personally seen many carloads turned away. This would be an ideal location for cabins, hotels, motels, etc for the benefit of colored people who could enjoy the hunting, fishing, scenery and excursions, etc. and be sure of a decent place to stay at the end of each day's tour. Hunting and fishing are both good in the area and the neighbors would not be very close as a great deal of this land is surrounded by U.S. Forest Service Land. So, you would not be thrown right into of a white settlement.

It would be a great money maker for some of your people who would want to develop it and I think the demand would be very great for such a place. This last hunting season there were many colored people came clear from California and other places to hunt deer, and elk, and Chinese pheasants, etc. Our biggest trade area does not reach as far as New York. Mostly Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, etc. However you might have some well-to-do people who might like to develop such a place as my age will not permit to continue this hard work I must sacrifice this piece of land. Can supply a good warrantee deed with abstract. Could also send you some pictures if you were interested. We have a very wonderful climate seldom at night if ever does the thermometer go above 65 degrees which makes very comfortable sleeping, very, very few flies, and mosquitoes. We have an upstairs apartment in Custer and have never had to put screens on our windows.

For a quick sale I would take \$40,000. and I assure you that it is way below value as highway front on the Black Hills highways is very hard to buy.

Please let me hear from you at an early date.

Yours truly

B. M. Willey
B. M. Dilley (owner)

bmd/ld

Diesel Engines	Electric Motors	Used Trucks	Used Cars	War Surplus
Stoves and Furnaces	Oil Burners	Sawdust Burners	Hose	Air Compressors
Pipes and Fittings	Mine Cars	Stoppers	Jack Hammers	
New and Used Automotive Parts and Accessories			New and Reconditioned Motors	

*Property of
Henry A. Smith*

July 16, 1953

Mr. Henry A. Smith
1126 Lake Shore Drive
Massapequa Park, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Reference is made to your correspondence regarding the sale of your property.

We do not purchase property. I suggest you contact Mr. A. A. Austin of Antillian Holding Co., 209 West 125th St., New York, N. Y., he may be able to advise you.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Bobbie Branche
Office Manager

B3:ms

12926 JUN 29 '53

N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St.
New York City, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have a house for sale in Massapequa Park and would like to know if you might be interested. It is a combination Ranch and Cape Cod on a 60 x 100 tree studded plot backing up to Massapequa State Park. In other words the Park is in our back yard. The property is completely fenced in with a flat rail (A) ranch type fence. The house itself consists of five rooms. living room, separate dining room, two bedrooms. Kitchen with knotty pine cabinets bath with built in vanity and sink, attached garage, full basement, and open stairway to expansion attic. It also has a flagstone Patio in front of the house.

Price of the house is \$18,000.

For further information contact

Henry H. Smith
1126 Lake Shore Drive
Massapequa Park, N.Y.
No Phone

June 25, 1953

Miss Elizabeth B. Cleary
63 Charles St.
Mineola, N. Y.

Dear Miss Cleary

I am sorry but the NAACP does not have any funds with which to buy property. You might wish to contact Mr. A. A. Austin of Antillean Holding Co. at 209 West 125th St., New York, N. Y. He is the largest Negro Real Estate operator in New York City.

Enclosed you will find material sent to us by you.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Bobbie Branche
Office Manager

Enc.
BB:ms

63 Charles St.
Mineola, N. Y.
June 9, 1958.

National Association
For the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York City

11600 JUN 11 1958

To whom it may concern:

Through the kindness of
Mr. Seymour S. Brewer, Counselor at Law
of 160 Broadway, I gave me your address,
I am taking this opportunity to inquire
if you are interested in purchasing of
property in healthful mountain climate.
I have enclosed two pictures of the
place and will be glad to send you
all information regarding the property,
which is located on Route 289 at
Hapanaoch, New York. The property is
divided in three parcels - and consists
of 12.58 acres on the main highway
which would be ideal for children

or the aged - away from the direct traffic of the state highway. We had it for our home but due to a change in business location we now have to be here on Long Island, so would like the property to be sold to someone who would delight in its location and advantages.

The former Gama Farms, once the prominent resort operated by the late Frank Seaman has been given over in possession to Mr W. Hale who will operate it for the Negro people of sports and theatrical circles, which is located only about two minutes away from our desirable property.

Do you perhaps know of any or several individuals who might be interested in the property?

Elizabeth D. Clear.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

P. de Villiers

November 5, 1952

Mr. P. deVilliers
2141 Wellesley St.
Toronto Ontario, Canada

Dear Mr. deFilliers:

Reference is made to your letter of recent date requesting assistance of this Association in a matter involving your property. We should like very much to help you, but this organization is unable to give you any assistance in this matter.

With regrets that we cannot help you at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Bobbie Branche
Office Manager

BB:ms

241 Wellesley Street.
Toronto Ont.
Nov. 1st 1952.

Mr. Walter White
H. R. & C. P.
200 West 40th St.
New York 18.

21871 NOV 5 '52

Dear Sir, In view of the fact that the coloured visitor is not a welcome person in 95% of restaurants & homes in Niagara Falls Ont. Canada, and accommodation virtually impossible to obtain, I have given their plight serious consideration. To be brief I own a parcel of land on Bridge Street 5 mins. walk from Lower Arch Whirlpool Rapids bridge, and, thought of floating a box and financed entirely by coloured people's savings, and building a 3 or 4 story apartment & room accommodation exclusively for the use of coloured people visiting Niagara Falls Ont. and all profits derived from rental of flats & building would naturally be distributed to the small investors. The value of property in this area including my adjoining property would tumble, and, I would be despised by so called Society of Niagara Falls for such a venture, particularly where all help is coloured, but I do not care a hoot for they are all saturated with deception and corruption.

To be brief, if I could get your association's support in this matter, I would be prepared to go ahead immediately.

Respecting your comments and suggestions

Very truly yours.

P. de Villiers

NB. Until the building is completed the matter must be treated confidentially - please keep.

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT

October 15, 1952

Mr. P. de Villiers
241 Wellesley St.
Toronto Ontario, Canada

Dear Mr. Villiers:

This is in reply to your letter addressed to the Postmaster in New York City. Our address is above. You may find the executive officers and board members on the back of this letterhead.

I hope this is the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

Bobbie Branche
Office Manager

BB:ms

*Property Sale
Rosinski Co.*

September 4, 1953

Dear Mr. Rosinski:

We have your letter of August 27 about a building for sale in Washington which might be suitable for our headquarters there. You flatter us. We are in no financial position to consider the purchase of a building in Washington or in New York where our national office has been located since 1910. Thank you for writing us.

Very sincerely yours,

ROY WILKINS
Administrator

Mr. Donald C. Rosinski
Carl G. Rosinski Co.
Homer Building
Washington 5, D. C.

RW:EJS

CARL G. ROSINSKI Co.

REALTORS

Business Property Leasing

*B.B.
H.W.*

AUG 20 1953

HOMER BUILDING
Washington 5, D. C.

NATIONAL 8-9254

August 27, 1953

National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We have been authorized to offer for sale a 32-room building located on a large plot of land close to the heart of Washington's downtown area. In all, the building contains approximately 11,000 square feet of useable space and 5,000 square feet of other space, including basement, attic, hallway, and lavatory space. Two of the building's rooms measure 22' x 64'. I believe that these rooms are large enough to be classified as auditoriums.

If the Association is interested in purchasing a headquarters building in Washington, I would be glad to send you full particulars regarding this location including plans and photographs, if you desire them.

Very respectfully,

CARL G. ROSINSKI COMPANY

By: *Don Rosinski*
Donald C. Rosinski

DCR:jmr

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

*Property
Zahn*

December 4, 1953

Dear Mr. Zahn:

So sorry we have no facilities for this type
of business. You might contact some Real Estate agency
in your town and I am sure they might be able to advise
you.

Sincerely,

Bobbie Branche
Office Manager

Mr. Walter J. Zahn
94 West 19th Street
Huntington Station, Long Island

bb/tj

94 West 19th St.
Huntington, Sta L. I.

±
PB
National Association for
Advancement of Colored People.

21310 NOV 25 '53

Dear Sir;

Having read your ad. in to-day's newspaper. My husband and I were wondering if you be interested in buying our home. Our reason for wanting to sell it is, that the house is too big for just the two of us. My husband injured his back about 2 years ago, and was operated on last February, and cannot do any heavy work any more. He originally was an electrician by trade, he wired his own house. There are plenty of outlets and B. C. Cables. He partly did most of the house him, with a little help from his son. The house is as follows:

A two story with living room, dinette kitchen, bathroom, 1 bed room down stairs and two finished bed rooms upstairs, a full high cellar and another finished room to do stairs in cellar, also enclosed porch, screens, storm windows.

(2.)

We had an 8 year Mortgage of \$15.00
and have about 3 more years to pay same
about \$500 or less. We are asking \$60,500
including Bendix Washer, Refrigerator and
a Egg Freezer.

The plot is a $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, that is 100' x 200'.
A very good piece of land for planting and
raising chickens. I am sure you would
not find it lonesome, as there is nice new
development which is owned by colored
people just a few blocks from where we live.
There are plenty of churches, bus service
for the children, and bus service to Hunt Sta
or Hunt Village.

We would appreciate hearing from
you if you are interested.

Sincerely yours,
Mr. Walter J. Zahm
94 West 19th St.
Hunt Sta. L.I.

Tel Hunt.
4-5154-J.

P.S. If you are not interested, probably you know
of some Colored family wanting to buy

H. H. F. A.
N. A. I. R. O.

COPY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

February 9, 1953

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

The references in your Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses regarding civil and human rights were encouraging. We, who work in the field of race relations, know very well how difficult it is to implement our national ideals in this connection. Yet your address to Congress, particularly, raised the hope that such implementation would be attempted.

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, in behalf of which I am writing, is largely composed of men and women working in antidiscrimination and community relations agencies all across the United States. About half of our membership works for state and local public agencies, and others work for private organizations. On these levels, the programs in the field of race relations are either bi-partisan or completely non-partisan. Altogether the agencies for which this membership works administers a substantial part of America's program to overcome the inequalities in America due to race, religion, and national ancestry.

For the past 14 years, local communities have had the help of the federal government in the form of professional racial relations services. These services have helped to interpret to local communities the particular problems of minority groups, and have encouraged the type of action that will mitigate the inequalities and hardships which result from these problems on the basis of local realities and in cooperation with local leadership. Particularly have the racial relations services of the federal housing agencies been effective in accomplishing two goals: (1) the equitable participation of minority groups in the programs and benefits of the governmental agencies, and (2) increased employment by qualified non-white personnel in the various operating divisions and branches of the agencies.

Discrimination which prevents the participation of minority groups in those discussions from which policy affecting their welfare is evolved is one of the most harmful and demoralizing of all forms of discrimination, and one which the federal racial relations services have helped to overcome. Our Association earnestly hopes that you will continue and extend these federal services in such a way as to encourage their further development on a professional basis utilizing to an even greater extent the experience that has been gained in building understanding and cooperation on a local and state basis.

There are two agencies in the government concerned with racial policy which, in our opinion, should be strengthened. They are the Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and the President's Contract Compliance Committee which has operated, I understand, out of the Executive Office of the President. These

two agencies have potentials in the reduction of inequalities due to racial discrimination which have not yet been realized.

The proper coordination of these racial relations services of the federal government by staff in the Office of the President could produce many suggestions of ways in which the government could assist the solution of racial problems and encourage states and local communities to assume responsibility for helping our nation advance towards the goal of equal rights and security.

Much is already happening in the United States to overcome the race problem. In local communities throughout America, this is a cause in which millions of men and women of goodwill are actively engaged. The encouragement by the federal government of their efforts is of tremendous importance. They need information, research and facts, sound advice and cooperation.

Members of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials would be very glad to make any information available to you which would be helpful in implementing these policies. We would be very glad to meet with any members of your administration to whom we could be helpful.

Our prayers for God's help and protection are with you.

Respectfully,

Charles Livermore, President
National Association of Inter-
group Relations Officials

REPRODUCED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

NAIRO Reporter

Vol. V No. 2 November, 1954

Events and Trends in Intergroup Relations

Published monthly except August and September by the
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

P.O. Box 163, Cathedral Sta., New York 23, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-1606

The Year in Intergroup Relations

In Employment

FEDERAL

Efforts to achieve enactment of federal legislation against discrimination in employment were no more successful in the 83rd Congress than they had been in previous sessions. Two Senate committees held hearings on such measures (see *NAIRO Reporter*, March, 1954): the Judiciary Committee on S. 1, sponsored by Senator Dirksen of Illinois, a bill without enforcement provisions; the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, on S. 692, a bill with enforcement provisions, sponsored by Senators Ives of New York and Humphrey of Minnesota. The latter measure was reported favorably but was not brought to the floor. The Dirksen bill was not reported out of committee. Parallel measures were introduced in the House of Representatives but were not acted on.

Also unsuccessful were efforts to include anti-discrimination provisions in the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act. The House Labor Committee approved an amendment sponsored by Representative Powell of New York, which would make discrimination by labor organizations as well as by employers of union workers an "unfair labor practice." A similar, but more inclusive, amendment was offered on the floor of the Senate by Senator Lehman of New York. Nothing came of these efforts.

In April, the Committee on Government Contracts, established in 1953 by President Eisenhower (see *NAIRO Reporter*, October, 1953), revised the text of the non-discrimination clause to be included in contracts executed by the federal government. The new text explicitly includes among the prohibited practices discrimination in recruitment and recruitment advertising, requires government contractors to post notices setting forth the provisions of the non-discrimination

(Continued on page 5, first column)

NAIRO Reporter resumes, in this issue, its annual review of major developments in some areas of intergroup relations, interrupted last year. The articles in the present issue have been pared to the essence, for quick reading and maximum communication of basic facts. No claim is made to inclusiveness. The aim is to convey, within the limited space available, information upon which the reader can base some evaluation of trends in intergroup relations during the year about to end.

In Housing

PRIVATE HOUSING

The Supreme Court decisions on segregation in the public schools have been seen as a challenge by some real estate interests to devise new ways of assuring the maintenance of segregation through the perpetuation of segregated neighborhoods.

The National Association of Home Builders and the Mortgage Bankers Association announced the formation of standing committees on minority housing with top membership and efficient staffs. Both committees were encouraging the production of a substantial volume of new Negro housing on a wholly segregated basis. President Richard Hughes of NAHB frankly urged this program as a substitute for "separate but equal." In a policy statement included in the NAHB "Package Program" on Housing for Minority Groups, he said, in part,

"If we meet the issue now, plan and provide the Negro with housing on comparable financial terms, but in planned communities, society will be much better

(Continued on page 6, first column)

In Education

SUPREME COURT RULING

The major civil rights event of the past year, if not of the decade, was the decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, that compulsory racial segregation in state-supported elementary or secondary schools violates that clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which requires that all persons born or naturalized in the United States shall be afforded the "equal protection of the laws." This decision culminated a six-year drive by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to bring about a reappraisal of the "separate but equal doctrine" enunciated by the United States Supreme Court in 1896.

In its opinions, the Court considered the effect of racial segregation upon the education and self-appreciation of the Negro children and concluded:

in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Courts, having decided the crucial constitutional question, evidenced an awareness of the political, economic, educational and sociological implications by calling for further briefs and argument on the question of implementing the decision by specific orders to the local school boards as to when and how to put the decision into effect.

Reaction to the decision was varied. Some southern politicians vowed that the decision would never be implemented in their states; others counseled patience,

(Continued on page 5, third column)

In Intercultural Education

THE DESEGREGATION RULING

The two outstanding developments of the year in intercultural education (intergroup education or human relations education) have been: 1) the activity of both universities and community organizations in aiding the school systems desirous of effecting peaceful accommodation to the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision, and 2) the development of plans for the appraisal and evaluation of what has been accomplished in intercultural education in the last ten years.

Considerable use has been made of both university and community organization consultants in many school systems in planning the changes which have been and will be brought about by the desegregation decision. Much of this consultation and planning was done months before the decision was handed down on May 17, and increased activity has been developing since that date. Numerous southern school systems sent key personnel to intergroup education workshops for orientation and training. A great many others, hesitant to take so "bold" a step, have indicated privately their plans to increase the number of southern participants in the 1955 summer workshop activities.

STATUS OF THE FIELD

It is now approximately ten years since the American Council on Education undertook its study of intergroup education in public school systems and universities in this country. Numerous successes and failures have been experienced during this period. Intergroup education has reached the stage, however, where it can no longer be considered a propagandistic venture in education; it is now a development accompanied by an increasingly professionally reputable list of publications.

Also significant is the fact that intercultural education has developed to the point of maturity that both community organizations and universities are now less concerned with promotion than with appraisal and evaluation.

A conference of community relations agency personnel and educators concerned about intercultural education took place in New York in early November under the joint auspices of the New York University Center for Human Relations Studies and the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and projected a more inclusive conference and other

In Public Accommodations

LEGISLATION

On April 5, 1954, the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, Canada, enacted a law declaring it to be the public policy in Ontario "that places in which the public is customarily admitted be open to all without regard to race, creed, colour, na-

program for the future to review and evaluate needs in the field.

Leaders in the field feel confident that a rigorous assessment of the experiences already gained will enable intergroup education to enter its second decade of activity on a much sounder, more practical and scientific basis. There are now at least five year-round programs in intercultural education at New York University, Miami University, University of Pennsylvania, St. Louis University and Boston University. Plans for the development of several additional such programs are in the making. A significant development of the last year or two has been the increased activity of religious institutions, mainly Catholic, in this field.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS

Summer workshop training in the field of intergroup education has continued on much the same level as in previous years. Last year there were approximately forty workshops specifically devoted to this type of training. Approximately 1,000 teachers, administrators, social workers, police, etc. were enrolled. There is now a greater effort than ever before to evaluate the effects of this type of training and to ascertain what changes or improvements are desirable.

NAIRO REPORTER

Single subscriptions, \$3 per year; 25 or more at \$2 per year; larger quantity rates on request

NAIRO PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

ARNOLD ARONSON, National Community Relations Advisory Council, *Chairman*

VIRGINIA HUEBNER, Fair Employment Division, Wisconsin Industrial Commission, *Secretary*

MARSHALL BRADGON, Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, Cincinnati

JAMES C. EVANS, Office of Secretary of Defense of U.S.

ARNOLD FORSTER, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

JAMES W. IVY, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

EDWIN J. LUKAS, American Jewish Committee

MILDRED MAHONEY, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination

JOHN B. SULLIVAN, New York State Commission Against Discrimination

Managing Editor: SAMUEL SPIEGLER

tionality, ancestry or place of origin." This was the only public accommodations law enacted during 1954.

ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION

There was, nevertheless, substantial progress in this field during the year. The Michigan and the Wisconsin state agencies handling the promotion of resort facilities in the state wrote to all vacation resorts, calling their attention to the existence of state laws against discrimination and asking for compliance. In May, Governor Anderson of Minnesota wrote a letter to the Mayor of East Grand Forks telling him that a report had come to the Governor's office that several bars in East Grand Forks had signs saying that no colored trade was solicited. The Governor's letter stated that these signs violate "the principle of equal rights" established as state law and urged the Mayor to use the authority of his office to rectify this situation.

In Oregon, the State Attorney General ruled, in response to a question submitted to him by the Fair Employment Practices Advisory Committee of that state, that it is a violation of the recently enacted Oregon Civil Rights Law for a restaurant owner to require Negro patrons to sit on one side of the cafe while reserving the other side for whites.

COURT ORDERS

In Norwich, Conn., two Negroes filed a complaint with the Norwich police after they had been refused service by a local bar. The police took the complainants to the local prosecutor, who issued a warrant for the arrest of the bartender who had refused to serve the complainants. The case came before the Norwich Police Court, which fined the defendant \$25.

Similarly, progress has been made in eliminating discrimination in public swimming pools. During 1954, for example, the Swope Park Swimming Pool in Kansas City finally adopted a policy of non-segregated operation, following the pattern set in other cities, such as Washington, D.C. and St. Louis, Mo. This action took place as a result of litigation to compel non-segregated operation.

The policy established in the courts with respect to publicly-owned swimming pools was extended to privately-owned pools by the Pennsylvania courts. In the case of Everett v. Harron, Common Pleas Judge Lewis in Philadelphia ruled that under the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Act a privately-owned swimming pool solicit-

(Continued on page 3, first column)

In the U.N.

COVENANTS

The past year was one of negative results in the human rights programs of the United Nations. The draft Covenants on Human Rights, which for several years had been in the stage of drafting and refinement in the Human Rights Commission, the ECOSOC and the General Assembly, at the time of writing were again under discussion in the General Assembly. However, prospects for adoption of the Covenants had dimmed. A major factor contributing to the diminished prospect of their adoption was the action of the United States government.

Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, American delegate to the UN, reiterated the U.S. position on November 1, in a statement that this country "does not believe that, in the present political atmosphere . . . the use of treaties can be a productive method for promoting respect of human rights.

This stand represented, in part, an effort to appease the powerful forces rallied behind Senator Bricker's proposal to amend the Constitution so as to curtail the treaty-making power of the President. This proposal, which was narrowly defeated in the last session of Congress, was an expression of a more general mistrust of American participation in the UN. In the atmosphere that accompanied the agitation for the Bricker resolution, hope was virtually abandoned for U.S. adoption or ratification of any treaties in the field of human rights, including the Genocide Convention.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS—

(Continued from page 2)

ing patronage from the general public could not refuse admission to Negroes while admitting whites generally. The court rejected as evasive a so-called "club" membership card used by the pool operators as a device for exclusion of Negroes. When the pool operators continued to exclude Negroes until early September, the court cited the defendant pool operator for contempt. At this point, the pool operator finally admitted Negroes. The court nevertheless fined him \$100 for his previous contempts.

In Roosevelt, N.Y., a barber refused to cut the hair of a Negro child. The father first sought to have the barber criminally prosecuted. The defendant barber was acquitted. Thereupon, the father brought civil suit for damages against the same barber. A district court jury awarded the father damages of \$100.

In Interreligious Relations

Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations have joined forces, only within a few weeks of this writing, in a new National Immigration Conference. This is dedicated to the removal of inequities and discriminatory features from our national immigration policy. Some eighty organizations have adhered to this new Conference.

The unanimity of religious support for the U.S. Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, as reported in last month's *Reporter*, was a heartwarming demonstration of all-faith unity on a deep moral issue. There has been effective cooperation

side Convention. The latter multilateral treaty, in whose drafting and adoption by the UN, the United States had played a leading role, had meanwhile become international law by virtue of having received the required number of ratifications.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

The bogging down of the Covenants project, which had been the main activity of the Human Rights Commission of the UN for several years, raised basic issues as to the future of this important body. Private organizations accredited to the UN (known as NGO's, i.e., non-governmental organizations) were called on to contribute to the thinking and planning for the future of this Commission, in which so many high hopes had been lodged when the UN Charter was first adopted. They approached this task with a gravity heightened by the realization that the UN Charter is scheduled for review in 1955. This charter review process could have serious implications for the entire social and economic program of the UN.

The Covenants program having been plainly brought to an impasse, the private organizations diverted a major share of attention to other UN projects in the field of human rights. One of these was a series of discrimination studies projected under the auspices of the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Another UN-sponsored project in the field of discrimination advanced during the year was a proposal for the holding of an international conference of accredited private organizations to consider problems in the field of discrimination and prejudice. This project, too, was in the planning stage at this writing.

among the faiths in campaigns for improved housing, for control of juvenile delinquency, and for many other common social ends.

Religious institutions continued during the year to assume responsibility to teach good interreligious and interracial relations to their own constituencies. The Catholic Church pressed its movement toward racial integration in its churches, educational institutions and other agencies. Many Protestant denominational bodies, likewise, moved toward desegregation of their churches and their educational institutions.

Anti-Semitism, while it continues to be a real problem, no longer can be considered a major factor in inter-religious relations, except in the case of certain fringe groups.

In many communities, Jewish and Christian leaders are divided on church-state issues, particularly those involving religion and the public schools; during the past year, the issues appeared joined more sharply than ever before. Catholic and Protestant views on aid to education continued in conflict. Some subtle prejudice has entered religious circles in their interpretation of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Prominent Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders joined in an appeal for the exclusion of religious and racial appeals from the 1954 election campaigns. Nevertheless, such political issues as "bingo," "McCarthyism," and others became charged with inter-religious tensions.

In New York City, Protestants expressed concern over what they regarded as a disproportion of politically controlled positions going to Catholic and Jewish office holders. Catholics have sometimes aspersed the patriotism or loyalty of a Protestant denominational group. Undemocratic incidents or denials of liberties in predominantly Catholic countries have been cited in contexts plainly implying that such behavior stems inherently from Catholicism. Charges that one group or another is chiefly responsible for the growth of Communism have been heard more than once. Respected leaders have been responsible for such expressions of distrust and ill-will. It is only to be hoped that these expressions are not an indication that prejudice is achieving respectability.

The fact that interfaith differences were frankly faced in widely published discussions between Catholic and Protestant leaders—as, for example, in *Look Magazine*—may presage an era of fuller mutual understanding.

In the Armed Forces In Research

INTEGRATION COMPLETED

In a report dated August 31, 1954, the Department of Defense declared: "There are no longer any all-Negro units in the Services. . . . Where a small unit may be found containing only Negro personnel, the condition is transient." A tabulation completed July 1, 1954 revealed that the percentage of Negro enlisted personnel in all branches had increased over a five-year period; that larger proportional increases had been registered in officer personnel of the Army and Air Force; and that there were Negro officers in both the Navy and the Marine Corps.

The first Negro to attain the rank of General in the Air Force was promoted to that rank by President Eisenhower in October.

Separate recruitment of stewards was abolished March 1 by the Navy. All recruits thus have equal opportunity to qualify and apply for any Navy specialist training on completion of basic training. The report quoted above notes that "the present racial concentration will not be immediately dissolved under this new program."

The Air Force has modified its technical training program, carried out largely through civilian schools, so as to facilitate assignment of Negro airmen to schools outside segregated school law areas.

Racial quotas have been abolished in all service schools and in subsequent selection, training and assignment. The number of Negro officers and enlisted men in such schools has more than doubled since this policy was instituted.

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

Schools on military installations, operated by the services, were integrated in the fall of 1953. In January, 1954, all schools on military installations operated on a segregated basis by local educational agencies were ordered integrated by September, 1955.

Previously segregated facilities for civilian employees at Navy shore installations in the South were made available without discrimination to all employees by order of the Secretary of the Navy issued August 20, 1953. The order is reported to have been "fully implemented." Similar moves were taken by the Army and Air Force. Non-discrimination in employment, assignment and up-grading of civilian personnel is established policy in the services. The Defense Department re-

EDUCATION

Important research has resulted from the interest in the Supreme Court school segregation cases. The findings of 45 scholars financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education are summarized in *The Negro and the Schools*, by Harry S. Ashmore (University of North Carolina Press, 1954). The same press will soon issue three more detailed works: *Community Case Studies of Educational Integration*, Robin Williams, ed.; *Bi-Racial Aspects of Education in the South*, Truman Pierce et al, eds.; *Integration in Southern Higher Education*, Guy Johnson, ed. Earlier the *Harvard Law Review* carried "Segregation in the Public Schools—1955," by Robert A. Leflar and Wylie H. Davis (Vol. 67, No. 3, January, 1954).

Based on this research on integration for the Appendix to the Appellants' Brief in the school cases, Kenneth Clark set forth general principles about the process of racial integration in "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence" (*Journal of*

port already cited observes that "much remains to be done to accomplish full equity as regards testing, selection, orientation, training, assignment, guidance and advancement, not to mention full recognition and reward on the basis of service rendered."

Racial statistics are not maintained by the Defense Department. On April 23, 1954, racial designations were ordered omitted in orders covering reassignment of members between Army Reserve units. The progressive elimination of racial designations will increasingly complicate the accumulation of numerical data bearing upon the status of racial integration in the armed forces.

The services are acutely aware of the problems posed for both service personnel and civilian employees by the contrast between on-post integration and the practices of adjacent or nearby communities, especially in the South. "It is paradoxical," says the Defense Department report previously cited, "that the Negro citizen in uniform has frequently been made to feel more at home overseas than in his home town."

The program for ending segregation in Veterans Administration hospitals, begun in September 1953, was completed by August of this year, according to official announcement.

Social Issues, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1953). The Summer, 1954, *Journal of Negro Education* is devoted to "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education."

The American Jewish Congress has published "Religious Differentials in Admission to College of New York State Scholarship Winners, 1950-52," and the Midwest Committee on Discriminations in Higher Education is conducting studies of college placement office experiences and practices with regard to minority students, of which the report on Illinois institutions is now in preparation.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is sponsoring a number of research projects relating to problems of attitudes and attitude change in education, and the American Jewish Congress is evaluating textbooks for their conceptions of the American Jewish community.

HOUSING

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has completed studies of three federal housing programs as they affect minority groups: FHA, Lanham Act housing, and low-rent public housing. The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights is currently studying racial integration in all public housing projects in that state. The American Jewish Congress has published "The Problem of Changing Neighborhoods" and has under way a pamphlet on group tensions and population shifts.

The Cornell Research Project in Race Relations is still analyzing data gathered in the field of 1952-53 and the results of a follow-up on school desegregation in Phoenix, Arizona. Three doctoral dissertations based on the over-all study have been completed: Robert Johnson's "The Nature of the Minority Community," Robert Eichhorn's "Patterns of Segregation, Discrimination, and Interracial Conflict," and Pauline Moller's "Dimensions of Personality as Related to Dimensions of Prejudice in a Survey of a Northeastern City."

EMPLOYMENT

The Committee of the South of the National Planning Association, in late 1953 and 1954 published five studies in the Negro Employment Series. The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights issued *Training of Negroes in the Skilled Trades* in Connecticut, and the American Jewish Congress, "A Survey of Employment Experiences of Law School Graduates of

(Continued on page 5, first column)

IN EMPLOYMENT—(from page 1)

clause to apprise their employees and applicants for employment of the contract ban on discrimination.

An FEP bill was passed March 5 by the Michigan Senate, but was defeated in a House committee on March 23. (See *NAIRO Reporter*, March and May, 1954.)

On January 26 and June 12, respectively, the Pennsylvania cities of Erie and Duquesne adopted fully enforceable FEP ordinances, making thirty-two municipalities with measures against discrimination in employment. A proposal for a similar measure in Baltimore was defeated by the city council on June 14. (See *NAIRO Reporter*, June, 1954.)

LITIGATIONS

Courts in three states upheld the authority of fair employment commissions.

RESEARCH—(Continued from page 4)

Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Yale Universities."

This year the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association has completed reports on the Trenton (N.J.) Community Self-Survey, and in December will report on one in Baltimore. Herman H. Long, Director of the Department, continued his research on *Segregation in Interstate Coach Travel* (1953), culminating in testimony as an expert witness before the committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 2nd Session, on H.R. 563 (U.S. Govt. Doc. 47891).

RACIAL MINORITIES

William Kephart of the Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations of the University of Pennsylvania has published articles based on a study of racial factors in law enforcement, "Negro Visibility" (*American Sociological Review*, August, 1954), "The Negro Officer: An Urban Research Project" (*American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1954), and a book on the subject is being considered.

John H. Burma's *Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States* (Duke University Press, 1954) describes the culture and status of Hispanos, Mexican Americans, Filipino Americans and Puerto Ricans. A study of *Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia* was conducted for the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations by the Institute for Research in Human Relations in that city. The Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University published a series of papers on *Puerto Rican Population of New York City*, de-

In Connecticut, a case of discrimination in violation of state law, which had been in the state courts for several years, came to a successful conclusion. In 1952, the Connecticut Superior Court upheld the ruling of the Commission on Civil Rights, ordering a local union to cease discriminating against two Negro applicants for membership. (See *NAIRO Reporter*, November, 1952.) This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Errors, the highest court in Connecticut. (*IBEW, Local 35 v. Commission on Civil Rights*.) The local continued to refuse to admit the two applicants for membership. In March, 1954, the Superior Court fined the local \$2,000 for contempt, ordering an additional fine of \$500 per week until it complied with the court order. Both Negroes were promptly admitted, and one of them immediately obtained a job. This is the

livered before the New York Area Chapter of the American Statistical Association, and Meryl Ruoss prepared for the Protestant Churches of New York City a report on services of that group to the Puerto Rican migrant, "Mid-Century Pioneers—and Protestants."

OTHER RESEARCH

Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (Addison Wesley Press, 1954) summarizes the findings in that area. The American Jewish Committee is engaged in a comprehensive survey of what is known today about attitude change and attitude formation. Muzafer Sherif is preparing a book on a large-scale *Experimental Study of Positive and Negative Intergroup Attitudes between Experimentally Produced Groups*.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1954 began a research summary of work in the human relations field to be distributed to human relations workers and agencies.

The National Community Relations Advisory Council issued the second in a series of two "Reassessment" reports: *Overt Forms of Anti-Semitism*, analyzing the significance of anti-Semitic violence, vandalism and defamation. The first in the series, *Community Relations Values of Interreligious Activities*, appeared in 1953. The third will be published following a conference in December on "The Advancement of Community Relations Objectives Through Law and Legislation." *Jewish Employment Problems*, another recent NCRAC publication, sets out the special character of the problem of discrimination in employment against Jews.

first state FEP action which was carried all the way from complaint to citation for contempt of court and, as such, is a landmark.

In New York, the Court of Appeals affirmed the decision of lower courts by dismissing an appeal against the "cease and desist" order issued by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination against a private employment agency and ordering compliance with the order. (*Holland v. Edwards*, 119 N.E. 2nd 581.) The Commission's order required the employment agency to cease and desist from the use, without prior approval by the commission, of application forms containing an inquiry concerning job applicant's change of name. This is the first time that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, which has been in operation since 1945 and has disposed of thousands of cases, was forced to seek judicial enforcement of a cease and desist order.

In Wisconsin, a holding of the Industrial Commission that a local union had violated the state's law against discrimination in employment by refusing to accept a Negro journeyman as a member resulted in the issuance of a membership book to the complainant, limiting him to employment with his present employer. This conditional acceptance did not constitute compliance and thus failed to comply with the Industrial Commission's holding, the journeyman maintained in an action in the Circuit Court. In January, 1954, the Circuit Court issued an injunction restraining the local from limiting the complainant's membership in it. He was admitted to full membership. This court enforcement of the Industrial Commission's ruling is particularly noteworthy, since the Wisconsin law has been widely characterized as lacking enforcement features.

IN EDUCATION—(from page 1)

calm deliberation and good will. Many local school boards in border states announced that they would put the decision into effect at the beginning of the 1954 fall semester, notwithstanding the fact that the Supreme Court had deferred entering decrees in the specific cases before it. Most newspapers took the position that the Court could have done nothing else. The President called upon the District of Columbia to serve as a model for the nation in abolishing racial segregation in its public schools. Disturbances, encouraged by rabble-rousers, occurred in Milford, Del., Baltimore and Washington. Prompt firm action by educational authorities and police brought the demonstrations to an

end in Baltimore and Washington. A court order directing the Milford high school to admit Negro pupils was on appeal at press time.

HIGHER INSTITUTIONS

Some 2000 Negro students at the undergraduate, professional and graduate levels were attending formerly white institutions of higher learning in 1954 in the seventeen Southern states and in the District of Columbia.

There was during the year a noticeable decrease in discriminatory rejections of Jewish applicants for admission to medical schools. This trend followed a period of unfavorable publicity to the quota system, the enactment of fair educational laws in three states and the serious consideration of such bills by the legislatures of other states, the growth of a general climate of opinion that frowns on religious and racial discrimination, and a reduction in over-all applications for admission.

COLLEGE FRATERNITIES

At about a dozen university campuses, the administration has required Greek-letter societies to rid themselves of restrictive membership clauses or get off the campus. College authorities, however, have in some cases appeared content to accept *pro forma* elimination of restrictive charter provisions, without taking steps to verify that actual admissions policies have changed correspondingly.

On November 8, the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of the State University of New York to ban national fraternities and sororities in the institutions under its jurisdiction.

HOUSING— (Continued from page 1)

off. I know we'll be happier and I sincerely believe they will be happier."¹

FEDERALLY-AIDED HOUSING

Displacement of minority families as a result of urban redevelopment continued during the past year at an accelerated rate. Eighty-four per cent of the displaced fami-

lies were non-white. Many of these were moved from racially-mixed neighborhoods into slum ghettos. The requirement of the Housing Act of 1949, that displaced families be offered decent, safe and sanitary housing, was largely ignored. In most cities the projects scheduled to replace the cleared slums were racially separate. The high rentals of many projects in which discrimination was forbidden served to bar racial minorities almost as effectively. Although President Eisenhower, in his Housing Message of 1954, and Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole, frequently during the year, showed appreciation of the problem, the new housing legislation enacted in October 1954 failed to provide for equal dispensation of its benefits.

Under the new law, funds may be granted cities for urban rehabilitation and conservation, parks, playgrounds and other community facilities, as well as slum clearance projects. Approval of a workable plan for elimination of slums is a requirement for such projects and for several types of federal housing aids, as well. A planned and wholesome rejuvenation of areas of minority concentration could result. But without additional land space, and legislative or administrative safeguards against discrimination, there is the danger that the result will be even greater displacement and ghettoization.

Lower down payments and longer amortization terms for new and used housing will bring Federal Housing Administration housing within the means of thousands of minority families—if FHA programs are administered on a non-segregated basis. The act also offers some hope that the money market for housing available to non-whites may be eased.

Almost no new public housing will be

built under the 1954 law. The one relatively large source of standard shelter for non-whites has been dried up.

IN THE STATES

New Jersey's Anti-Discrimination Commission was given jurisdiction over discrimination in public and publicly assisted housing. New York City's Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law forbade discrimination in all multi-family housing with new mortgages insured by the federal, state or local government. This measure, the first in the United States, was expected to open for non-discriminatory occupancy approximately 15,000 FHA insured apartments annually. In Wilmington, Delaware, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., local public housing authorities adopted non-segregation policies. William Zeckendorf announced a grandiose plan for the redevelopment of Southeast Washington on a non-segregated basis.

LITIGATION

Segregated public housing was proscribed by courts in Detroit, Michigan, Evansville, Ohio and Elizabeth, N.J. The Michigan decision is being appealed. Other public housing litigation was pending in St. Louis, Mo., Camden, N.J., Savannah, Ga., and Benton Harbor, Mich. at press time. In Birmingham, Ala., litigation sought to compel equality in both low-rent public housing and Title I developments. This year, for the first time, the legality of discrimination in FHA insured housing was being challenged in Sacramento, Calif., and Shreveport, La.

The Supreme Court declined to review a California court decision that the San Francisco Housing Authority could not operate its low rent public housing project on a segregated basis.

NAIRO REPORTER

Box 163, Cathedral Station
New York 25, N.Y.

Return Postage Guaranteed

347

¹ Italics added.