

easy. Increased interest in civil rights among Congressional Republicans is primarily based on that party's anticipation of a swing of Negro voters from the Democratic column in November. But even if the Republican Presidential candidate is a sure bet to win, the GOP might be unable to capture Con-

gress if voters make a successful effort to defeat anti-civil rights Republicans in specific areas.

While it cannot be said that the Democrats have shown panic, it is apparent that the party leaders are no longer certain that they can retain the colored vote "because we are the poor man's party even

though Jim Eastland is a member." Their strategy seems to be centered on shifting attention from the failures of this Congress to the "great fight" Democrats plan to make for a civil-rights plank this year.

It remains to be seen what voters think about the strategy devised by both parties.

2. The New Negro . . E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

THIRTY YEARS ago a New Negro made his appearance in the North, following closely upon the mass migrations of Negroes from the South during and following World War I. His emergence was marked by race riots in which he resisted violence with violence. On the spiritual plane, the emergence was heralded by an artistic and literary renaissance in which the Negro made a new evaluation of his experience in America.

Today a New Negro is emerging in the South. So far, no race riots have marked the event nor are there any indications—yet—that the new spirit among Southern Negroes will produce an artistic and literary renaissance. Nevertheless, there are indications all over the South that the Negro is no longer afraid to face the white man and say frankly that he wants equality and an end to segregation.

Nothing so dramatizes the difference between old and new attitudes of the Negro in the South as the contrast between the dignity and courage of Autherine Lucy and the reported attitude of her parents. According to the *New York Times*, Miss Lucy's father said, with reference to her behavior: "We raised ten head of children, nine of them still living and every one of them was taught to stay their distance from white folks, but to give them all their respect. If Autherine has changed from this, she didn't get her new ideas from home."

The boycott of buses in Montgomery, which began as a spontaneous mass movement against discrimination and segregation, has re-

vealed how deep and how widespread is the new spirit. Despite violence and threats of violence the Negro continues his fight to exercise the right to vote. Negro college students are for the first time showing a militant spirit in regard to segregation and discrimination. The autocratic administrations of Negro colleges, especially state schools, have taught humility and acceptance of existing racial patterns; as a consequence, their graduates have been on the whole apathetic toward the race problem. Therefore, Negroes as well as the white controllers of Negro education were startled when the students at the South Carolina State College for Negroes went on strike because state officials threatened to investigate the affiliations of the faculty and student body with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The leader of the students was expelled and the students went back to classes under threat from the Negro administration; they refused, nevertheless, to eat bread supplied from a bakery owned by a member of the White Citizens Council. More recently, at the State College for Negroes in Tallahassee, Florida, the students struck against the bus company after two female students were arrested for defying segregation regulations.

WHATEVER may have been the real feelings of Miss Lucy's father, his statement contains a significant observation—namely, that she did not acquire her new ideas at home. The new spirit of the Southern Negroes is a radical break from the traditional pattern of race relations. The old pattern had its roots in a rural society, and, just as the emergence of the New Negro in the North was

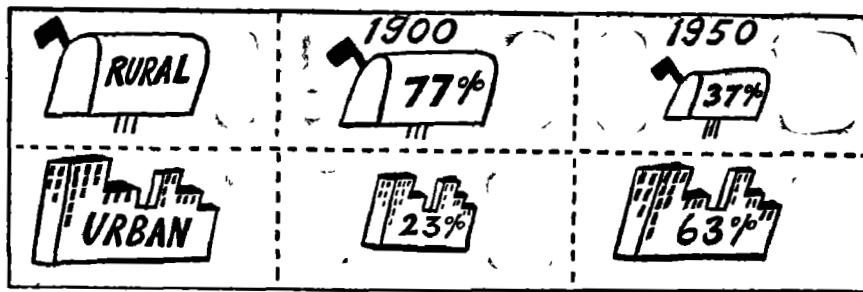
due to the flight of the Negro from feudal America, so the emergence of the New Negro in the South is primarily the result of the movement of Negroes to cities.

The urbanization of southern Negroes has resulted, first, in a marked change in their occupations. At present, only about a third of the Negroes in the South gain their living from agriculture. Negro workers have not been assimilated into manufacturing, trade and service industries to the same extent as white workers; and many Negroes who have migrated to the southern cities have been forced to move a second time and seek a living outside the South. Nevertheless, because of conditions in southern agriculture, Negroes continue to move into southern cities and those who find work get a new outlook on life as industrial workers. Although Negroes are still kept, on the whole, to unskilled occupations, they receive much higher wages in industry than they did from agriculture. In 1949 the median income of urban Negro workers was twice that of Negro farmers, including owners, renters and laborers, and today the median income of urban Negroes is between three and four times that of rural Negroes. Moreover, although the median income of Negro families in southern cities is only 56 per cent that of white families, this represents an increase during the past six or seven years.

This improvement in the Negro's economic status has had several important effects upon his conception of himself and of his position in the South. He has a greater sense of security and he is in a better position to contribute money to the fight for equality in American life.

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Drift of Negroes to the Cities



Figures refer to percentage of total U.S. Negro population.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census.

This shows, for example, in the tremendous growth of NAACP membership in the South. The Negro can now buy those things—radios, televisions, newspapers and magazines—which symbolize a middle-class standard of living and are indicative of his new orientation to the world. The Negro middle class in the South has grown considerably, due largely to the increase in the number of Negro teachers and other professional and white collar workers as well as skilled workers.

The social consequences of urbanization, even more than the economic, helped to bring about profound changes in the Negro's attitude towards his place in southern society. First among these social consequences has been the improvement in his educational facilities. Undoubtedly the Supreme Court desegregation decisions were responsible for some of the recent improvements. But this development was already under way before the decisions, notably during the period of rapid industrialization of the South between 1940 and 1952 when the region's per capita income increased over 200 per cent. The improvement in Negro education was reflected in the reduction of the disparity between the per capita expenditure for the instruction of white and Negro children; in the increase in school attendance at all levels, especially at the secondary level; in the equalization of Negro and white teachers' salaries (except in Mississippi and South Carolina), and in new buildings and other facilities for Negroes.

The influence of formal education in bringing about a new spirit among southern Negroes is only one of a number of factors which have

been breaking down their social and mental isolation. In the larger southern cities, relations between whites and Negroes have necessarily undergone changes. For example, in the country store or small-town bank, the Negro is generally expected to observe the "etiquette of race relations" and wait until white people are served. But in the large-city chain stores the customer, who has no status because of race, takes his turn in line. One of the reasons for the present racial tensions in regard to transportation in southern cities is that there is an attempt to maintain a caste relationship in an area of social relations that has become highly mobile and secular.

The effect of mere physical mobility upon Negro attitudes should not be overlooked. Thousands of southern Negroes, rural as well as urban, are moving about the country more than at any time in their history. They see Negroes occupying positions and enjoying rights which were undreamed of a few decades ago. Moreover, they themselves are treated with greater respect when they leave the South. This physical mobility has been increased by the military draft. But military service has done more; it has given the Negro a new conception of his role and his rights as an American citizen. This effect is heightened when the Negro serves in an "integrated" army unit. Men with military experience have often taken the lead in demanding the Negro's right to the ballot. It is perhaps not an accident that the recognized leader of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, is a minister who served in the armed forces.

Thus the appearance of a New

Negro in the South is due primarily to the breakdown of the social and mental isolation in which the Negro people have lived. In a short story which appeared during the Negro renaissance in Harlem, Rudolph Fisher portrayed the astonishment of a Negro migrant from the South who could hardly believe his eyes when he saw a Negro policeman. There are few southern Negroes today who would be astonished at the sight. If they have not seen a Negro policeman in the South, they have become accustomed to seeing him on the screen or on television. Again, the increasing literacy of southern Negroes, resulting from their better education, furnishes another escape from their former mental isolation. Now they can read newspapers and magazines—especially the Negro publications, most of which are located outside the South. These publications constantly play up the Negro's fight for equality, the victories which he has won and the achievements of Negroes everywhere.

THE NEW conception which the southern Negro is acquiring of himself and his place in American life as the result of urbanization is being fostered by the dominant forces in our changing society. Although the growth of labor unions in the South has been retarded by the racial situation, Negro workers are acquiring a new grasp of their relationship to industry through the efforts of the more progressive unions. The present battle for civil rights, which has a special meaning for southern Negroes, is giving his own battle for equality a new orientation. Moreover, southern Negroes are becoming aware of the struggle of the colored colonial peoples for self-determination and the leaders, at least, are to some extent identifying their own struggle with the larger one.

This new awareness of the social and economic forces in American life as well as in the world at large is the mark of the New Negro in the South. And the attitude of the New Negro is perhaps best expressed in the response of a Negro farmer in South Carolina who had been subjected to economic pressure: "We don't scare any more."

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