

to a third of normal sales for that time of year.

They were mostly men in their fifties and forties who had bought land late in the 1940's or early in the 1950's and were now caught in an ever-tightening cost-price squeeze on their mortgage payments. Donald Burgus, for example, farms 280 acres for which he told me he paid ninety dollars an acre. By planting fifty acres of corn and a few acres of soybeans and feeding twenty head of cattle, he managed to net only \$2,500 last year, even with the help of the government's generous feed-grain program under which he was paid for cutting back corn acreage.

Then there are farmers like Lowell Chipp, who have decided that the only way they can continue to live in the country is to try to combine farming with a factory job. Five days a week Chipp and four other farmers from his neighborhood pool a car and drive fifty miles to Des Moines to work on an assembly line in a Ford plant there. With his wife's help, Chipp still manages to tend to his hogs and cows early in the mornings, late into the nights, and on weekends.

All of the NFO members who had come to town for their regular Tuesday-night meeting had troubles that they wanted to pour out once they were satisfied that the visitor from the East was merely curious and not a spy from "the opposition," by which the NFO means other farm organizations as well as the big meat packers. The farmers were embarrassingly frank in discussing their low incomes and hard work at the only life they know.

**T**O A GREAT MANY economists and politicians the NFO program of direct action may seem to be impractical and even naïve. Market control, economists argue, can be successful only when the number of producers is restricted, where government enforces control, or when there is enough money to bankroll the withholders or enough force to keep the independents in line. But to the NFO members it offers what they think may be their only hope for survival in agriculture, where bigness is becoming as common as it has been in other sections of the economy for generations.

# Our Integrated Army

ROBERT E. SCHWEITZ

**A** FLURRY of hastily worded denials and clarifications was put out by the Army after questions had been raised about the racial composition of the Federal troops sent to maintain order in Mississippi. These pronouncements did less than justice to the Army's record in such matters. The fact is, all the armed services of the United States are more thoroughly and fairly integrated than any other social grouping of similar size and complexity in American life.

This is not to say that there is no segregation in the armed forces. There is, but it is important to note that none of it exists with official sanction. Indeed, the Army is so sensitive about the racial issue that it won't even admit that it knows how many Negro officers it has. It knows, but it won't tell. The standard reply is that the records are not kept on a racial basis.

Although official policy is firmly against segregation, sometimes civilians bring their prejudices in with them at the recruiting station. There is no inoculation against it.

Negro men in uniform still have trouble finding suitable housing for their families, and in many areas the schools to which they send their youngsters are segregated—although the school systems get plenty of Federal aid. That's the reason the Justice Department moved in on Prince George County, Virginia, where Fort Lee is located. If the county doesn't integrate the schools that serve Fort Lee youngsters, it stands to lose Federal payments.

At the Pentagon's request this summer, the President appointed an Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. It is meeting in the Pentagon, and one of its jobs is to advise the President on what can be done to assure equal opportunity and treatment for all members of the armed forces. Since obeying orders is still a pretty good way to get along in the services, the application of the committee's recommendations within the active forces should not prove to be a major problem.

There is still segregation in the National Guard and the reserve force, and this will not be easy to eliminate. The reason for the difficulty is that both have some elements of local control. The Army Reserve, for example, was ordered to integrate last spring. An appeal procedure was set up so that Negroes who were refused admission to local units could get a chance to expose the discriminatory practices. But the appeals procedure didn't work because tests for fitness of the Negro applicants, both mental and physical, were given by the local unit officers. The Pentagon now has a new program for bringing its own standards of fitness into effect at the local level, but the program can still be circumvented.

Pentagon officials hope that the Presidential committee's recommendations will clear up the Army Reserve and National Guard situation. The main assignment of the committee will be much more difficult. It is to advise the President on how to keep civilians from discriminating against colored soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

## Tightening the Purse Strings

The Negro in uniform has the same problem as his civilian counterpart in housing, schooling, swimming pools, busses, and parks. In the first two areas, education and housing, the intervention of the Federal government infuriates bigots from Maine to Florida. It brings cries of anguish from real-estate men too, who say they resent having the burden of social progress placed most heavily on their shoulders.

In education some fairly vigorous steps have been taken, as at Fort Lee. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, it is an understatement to say that not all Southern school districts have rushed to integrate. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare finally decided to apply financial pressure. Former Secretary Abraham Ribicoff announced that communities whose school systems serve children who live on Federal

installations (mostly military bases) would have to integrate by September, 1963, or lose more than \$12 million in Federal support each year. This edict affects seventeen Southern and border states and about 65,000 pupils.

Some segregationists and even some HEW officials believe that the Ribicoff plan is impossible to enforce. They say that if the local communities refuse to integrate, it would mean the building of schools on some bases to serve thousands of youngsters because of discrimination against only a handful of Negro children—possibly a single child. However, Pentagon officials insist that they will hold firm against the segregationists, and the new HEW Secretary, Anthony J. Celebrezze, shows no inclination to back off. Already, the Department of Defense is making a survey in each of these seventeen states to see exactly how many youngsters would be affected. They are thinking of converting existing on-base buildings for classroom use. The survey was asked for by HEW, which will have to pay most of the bills.

**T**HE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT is moving in on school districts receiving funds under the program of aid for "impacted" areas—those in which large numbers of Federal employees, military and civilian, are served by local schools. These youngsters and their families live within the communities in which the schools are located, not on military posts.

The impacted-areas program is considerably larger than that for youngsters who live on base. The government has spent at the rate of \$200 million a year in each of the eleven years this program has been in effect. Many Southern communities could not operate their schools without this fund, and it is especially important in the South because many of our military bases are concentrated there. One of the reasons for this is that more than half the Congressional committee chairmanships, and hence the governmental purse strings, are held by Southerners.

It is interesting to note that the conservative Southern lawmakers, who oppose aid-to-education bills out of habit and fear of integration

riders, have been willing all these years to vote impacted-area money for the schools in their own districts. Next year, the plan set in motion by Ribicoff could be killed by these same congressmen when the impacted-areas question comes up for review. The case for the Ribicoff program hangs completely on his interpretation of one word while he was HEW Secretary. A section of the law says that the schools to which the Federal payments go must be "suitable." The intent of Congress in passing the law (PL874) was that suitability meant that the schools had a well-run educational program, that they were a reasonable distance from the military installation, and that they could satisfy certain other criteria having nothing to do with the race issue.

The HEW's interpretation, making integration one of the tests for suitability, angered the segregationists. So when the law comes up for review next year the Southerners may write a definition of suitability into the law. If they do, it is certain that the color issue will not be included in that definition and may even be specifically barred. The new law will certainly come before the September deadline set by the former HEW Secretary. That is why the administration is staking much on the Justice Department's action at Fort Lee and perhaps new cases elsewhere.

#### **A Man Has a Family**

Housing for Negro soldiers, sailors, and airmen is the second major battle. In the period between 1956 and 1960, while the total manpower strength was going down by more than 330,000, the number of married servicemen increased by eleven and one-half per cent. Moreover, the size of the average military family increased. Military families with three or more children more than doubled in that period. Consequently, the Defense Department has a huge housing backlog which it doesn't intend to fill completely with government-built housing. It will depend on privately owned housing near its bases.

In this competition for privately owned housing the Negro soldier and his family usually come in last. All the trouble isn't in the South, either. In fact, some of the worst

problems are in Northern communities. An Air Force housing official to whom I talked said: "There is usually some Negro housing area in Southern communities, although the dwellings are substandard, but in many small Northern towns there is very little housing for Negroes. This is particularly rough for lower-ranking enlisted men who would not be authorized housing on base."

Most of the adequate privately owned off-base housing serving the military is listed by the services to help their families find homes when they are assigned to posts where on-base housing isn't sufficient. Rental agents are eager to get on these lists. A Navy official whom I questioned said, "Technically, those who refuse to rent to Negro Navy men could be stricken from the lists, but as a practical matter they are not because there would then be no available housing in some areas for the larger number of white servicemen."

In contrast, some housing officials in the Pentagon feel that taking segregated housing off the lists would prove such a financial blow to the rental agents that the bars to Negroes would come down. At any rate, there is no plan under consideration now to cut all segregated housing off the lists in a single action. Instead there are isolated skirmishes on this issue, fought mostly by the Army.

The Army has Nike anti-aircraft missile sites spotted around many large cities in this country. Quietly and without publicity, the Army is seeking in-town housing for the men who work at the sites. The landlords are asked whether they will rent to soldiers regardless of race. Those who draw the color line are crossed off the list. An active and vigorous effort is made to find landlords who will rent to Negroes. They may get either white or Negro tenants.

Doing much of the work behind the scenes on the problem of the Negro citizen in uniform is James C. Evans, counselor to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower. Evans has been so effective at his job that he has survived most of the Assistant Secretaries and Secretaries for whom he has worked—and the administrations that appointed them. He came into the War Department in 1942 to help the Army understand

the Negro and the Negro to find his way in the Army. In 1947 he was named racial-relations adviser to the Secretary of Defense. He has been doing this kind of work under one title or another ever since.

### Up from Zero Per Cent

Before the Second World War there were only five Negro officers in the Army and none in the Navy, while the Air Force was not yet a separate service. Statistically, the advances the Negro has made in the services appear quite small. However, when you consider that it usually takes a man almost two decades to become a colonel and more to become a general, the statistics have more meaning.

A recent Air Force promotion list named three more Negroes to colonel, to make a total of eight. There are five Negro colonels in the Army. In the Navy, the highest-ranking Negro is a commander, equivalent to lieutenant colonel. A Negro, Lieutenant Commander Samuel L. Gravely, was given command of the U.S.S. *Falgout*, a radar picket ship, this year. He is the first Negro in our Navy's modern history to command a ship.

Despite the official answer that statistics on the percentages of Negro officers are not available, it is a fact that 2.8 per cent of all Army officers are Negroes. In the Air Force that figure is 1.4 per cent and in the Navy and Marine Corps 0.1.

Although the Navy appears to be slower than the other services in bringing the Negro to his full potential, it must be remembered that a decade ago the few Negroes who were in the Navy were almost all stewards. Even their noncoms wore different uniforms than white men of the same rank in different jobs. Now more than sixty per cent of the Navy's Negroes are out of the galley and into the regular training and operations cycles.

On the whole, progress in the armed forces since President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1946 is indeed substantial. That order said that the services would require "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons . . . without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." This equality is being won.

## VIEWS & REVIEWS



## The Foreseeable Future

A short story set in Southern Rhodesia

M. N. YORK

"FRIENDS of mine have invited some Africans to a cocktail party this afternoon," said my sister Rosamond, who had come round for Sunday-morning tea with Harry and me. "How would you two like to come along?"

"Stirring up the natives again, are you, Rosamond?" my husband said gruffly.

Harry was brought up in Johannesburg, and although he doesn't like Verwoerd and prefers life here in Southern Rhodesia, he thinks the Africans here are being brought on much too fast. Rosamond and I came out of England about fifteen years ago. I must say Rosamond is a bit leftish—though in a respectable, Anglican way—and she doesn't think the Africans are being brought on fast enough. I am always being caught in Harry's and Rosamond's crossfire. To be truthful, I'm not the least bit interested in politics or racial problems, and I must say I long for the old days. Just a short time ago, most of us used to think of Africans as servants and it never entered our heads to worry that one of them might become prime minister. "Government in European hands for the foreseeable future" was a phrase you used often to hear. "Foreseeable future" had a comfortable sound, as if the future, by some scientific, civilized method, were, in fact, foreseeable—perhaps at an observatory. I haven't heard that phrase for some time now.

Nowadays Africans are advancing in a great many ways that certainly weren't foreseeable a few years ago. The cinemas are multiracial, and so are some of our hotel bars and restaurants, and Africans are getting clerical jobs one never dreamed of their having before now. And of course if change must come I'm sure it's better to have it come this way than violently, as it has in other African countries.

Ever since the trouble began in the Congo, our relatives in England have been writing to find out whether we're still alive here in Southern Rhodesia. Apparently none of them can read a map. Salisbury is as far from Elisabethville as London is from Milan. "Hadn't you better get out of there?" they ask. Never. I love my home—the house that Harry and I planned together, Tudor-style with mullion windows. I love the climate and our Rhodesian way of life.

The three of us were having tea in our garden, with all our lovely English flowers in bloom around us—snapdragon and sweet peas and Canterbury bells. Here they grow bigger and more brilliant than they ever can in England, but they need watching; the boy can't take care of them on his own.

"After all," Rosamond was saying, "our government stands for racial partnership. Isn't it time you met some of our partners socially?"

"If you and Beryl want to shake