

Press, 1972), 175–192; William Cohen, “Involuntary Servitude in the South, 1865–1940: A Preliminary Analysis,” *Journal of Southern History* 42 (February 1976): 31.

50. Moscow to Secretary of State, July 27, 1949, RG 59, 811.4016/6–2749, National Archives; *Congressional Record*, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., May 9, 1950, 6692. While it criticized the United States, the Soviet Union was not without its own ethnic strife. Largely through conquest, the Soviet Union was an amalgam of different nationalities, yet non-Russian nationalism was often suppressed as “bourgeois.” Stalin himself was not Russian but Georgian, yet ironically it was Stalin who pursued a policy of Russian cultural superiority. John S. Reshetar Jr., *The Soviet Polity: Government and Politics in the USSR*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 9–19, 281–292; Robert Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1991), 2, 141–300.

51. Moscow to Secretary of State, July 27, 1949, RG 59, 811.4016/6–2749, National Archives.

52. *Congressional Record*, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., May 9, 1950, 6993.

53. As reported by Senator William Benton, *ibid.*, 6694.

54. Memorandum of Conversation, Department of State, Subject: Alleged Discrimination Against Haitian Agriculture Minister, November 14, 1947, RG 59, FW 811.4016/11–1247, National Archives; H. K. Thatcher to Norman Armour, December 1, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/12–147, National Archives; Jimmie Love to Robert F. Woodward, November 25, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/11–2547, National Archives; American Embassy, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to Secretary of State, November 18, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/11–1847, National Archives.

55. Ambassador of Haiti to Secretary of State, November 12, 1947, TC No. 46760, Department of State translation, RG 59, 811.4016/11–1247, National Archives.

56. Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to Secretary of State, November 20, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/11–2047, National Archives (quoting *La Nation*). Representatives from other countries and territories in North and Central America were in attendance and were not segregated. American Embassy, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to Secretary of State, November 18, 1947.

57. Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to Secretary of State, November 20, 1947 (quoting *Le Nouvelliste*).

58. Memorandum of Conversation, Department of State, Subject: Alleged Discrimination Against Haitian Agriculture Minister, November 14; Holt to Secretary of State, November 28, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/11–2847, National Archives.

59. John H. Lord to Secretary of State, September 12, 1945, RG 59, 811.4016/9–1245, National Archives.

60. Logan, “Racism and Indian-U.S. Relations,” 76 (quoting *Bombay Chronicle*, July 4, 1952).

61. Virginia A. Pratt, *The Influence of Domestic Controversy on American Participation in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 1946–1953* (New York: Garland, 1986), 37; Rusk to Hulten, November 4, 1947, RG 59, 501.B.D Human Rights/11–447, National Archives.

62. *New York Times*, June 2, 1946, p. 33; “The First Petition to the United Nations from the Afro-American People,” in Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era* (New York: Citadel Press, 1971), 301–311; Abner W. Berry, “Rough, Tough and Angry,” *New Masses*, June 18, 1946, pp. 17–19.

63. “An Appeal to the World,” reprinted in W. E. B. DuBois, “Three Centuries of Discrimination,” *The Crisis* 54 (December 1947): 380; *New York Times*, October 24, 1947, p. 9; *New York Times*, October 12, 1947, p. 52; McCoy and Ruetten, *Quest and Response*, 67; Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration*, 65–66.

64. Walter Frances White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), 358–359; McCoy and Ruetten, *Quest and Response*, 67; Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944–1963* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 15, 78.

65. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration*, 66; McCoy and Ruetten, *Quest and Response*, 67; Joanna Schneider Zangrando and Robert L. Zangrando, “ER and Black Civil Rights,” in *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 88, 101–102.

66. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration*, 66; White, *Man Called White*, 359; Horne, *Black and Red*, 79–80 (quoting *Des Moines Register* and *Morgantown Post*).

67. Robert Coe, U.S. Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands, to Department of State, February 13, 1950, RG 59, 811.411/2–1350, National Archives.

68. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER TWO

1. *The Negro in American Life*, folder 503, box 112, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

2. American Embassy, Rangoon, Burma, to Secretary of State, October 7, 1947, RG 59, 811.4016/10–747, National Archives.

3. *Ibid.*

4. James L. Tyson, *U.S. International Broadcasting and National Security* (New York: Ramapo Press: National Strategy Information Center, 1983), 4–5; Walter L. Hixon, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Laura Ann Belmonte, “Defending a Way of Life: American Propaganda and the Cold War, 1945–1959” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1996); *Congressional Record*, 80th Cong., 2nd Sess., 6560–6561 (1947) (remarks of Representative Everett Dirksen); S. Rep. No. 811, 80th Cong., 2d Sess., reprinted in 1948 U.S. Code Cong. & Admin. News 1011, 1013, 1023; *Expanded International Information and Education Program by the United States: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on S. Res. 243*, 81st Cong. 2d Sess. 39–40 (1950) (statement of Secretary of State Dean Acheson).

5. *The Negro in American Life*. The thirty-three-page pamphlet is undated, but it seems clearly to have been written in 1950 or 1951. The pamphlet relies on 1950 census data. It discusses by name Supreme Court cases that were decided in 1950, and, in particular, does not mention *Brown v. Board of Education*, which was decided in 1954. In addition, the pamphlet is collected with Chester Bowles's papers from his first tenure as U.S. ambassador to India from 1951 to 1953. Chester Bowles, *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life, 1941-1969* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 248. Laura Belmonte thoughtfully explores a broader range of portrayals of the "American Way of Life" in U.S. propaganda in Belmonte, "Defending a Way of Life." See also Walter L. Hixon, *Parting the Curtain*; Michael Krenn, "'Unfinished Business': Segregation and U.S. Diplomacy at the 1958 World's Fair," *Diplomatic History* 20 (Fall 1996): 591-612.

6. *The Negro In American Life*.

7. Ibid., 2-3.

8. Ibid., 5.

9. Ibid., 2.

10. Ibid., 9.

11. Ibid., 6.

12. Ibid., 6-7. Importantly, "school age" was not defined. High school enrollment in the South also increased, but the essay makes no mention of percentages of African American youths of high school age enrolled. Rather, only absolute numbers were given, with a rise from 5,232 in 1900 to an estimate of 300,000 in 1950.

13. Ibid., 7.

14. Ibid., 13 (emphasis added).

15. Ibid., closing (unnumbered) pages.

16. Psychological Strategy Board, "Status Report on the National Psychological Effort and First Progress Report of the Psychological Strategy Board," August 1, 1952, file 391.1, box 22, Papers of the Psychological Strategy Board, Harry S. Truman Library, p. 3.

17. Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 280-281. The CAA, co-founded by Paul Robeson, operated from the 1930s to 1955, when, according to Mark Solomon, it "was finally dissolved . . . under ferocious McCarthyite attacks." Mark Solomon, "Black Critics of Colonialism and the Cold War," in *Cold War Critics: Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years*, Thomas G. Patterson, ed. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 207-208, 233-234, and n.9; American Consul, Lagos, Nigeria, to Department of State, July 30, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/7-3052, National Archives.

18. American Consul, Lagos, Nigeria, to Department of State, July 30, 1952 (as paraphrased and quoted in press release).

Yergan had previously been associated with the Communist Party, although he claimed, after his break with the Party, that he had never been a member. Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 197; *New York Times*, May 14, 1952, p. 12. On May 13, 1952, Yergan testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee that the Party had "used him for ten years to spread Red propaganda among American Negroes." He claimed that "the Reds were 'interested in

exploiting undesirable conditions and in preventing a solution of racial problems.'" *New York Times*, May 14, 1952, p. 1; American Consul, Lagos, Nigeria, to Department of State, July 30, 1952.

19. American Consul, Lagos, Nigeria, to Department of State, July 30, 1952 (as paraphrased and quoted in press release).

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. "Touring Schedule" and "Report of Jay Saunders Redding," September 30, 1952, folder 416, box 111, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers, p. 1 of Report.

23. Ibid., 2-3.

24. Ibid., 3.

25. Ibid., 4; Logue to Wilkins, December 8, 1952, folder 450, box 107, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers. See also "Notes on the Talks of Stephen M. Schwebel to Colleges and Other Institutions in the Calcutta Zone," October 20-November 9, 1952, folder 499, box 111, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers; "Notes on Talks of Stephen M. Schwebel, Bombay Zone," Dec. 1-15, 1952, folder 499, box 111, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers.

26. Logue to Bowles, February 26, 1952, folder 498, box 111, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers, pp. 4-5; "Log of Clifford Manshardt," 28 February-11 March 1952, folder 517, box 114, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers.

27. Bowles to Drew, January 2, 1953, folder 450, box 107, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers. On African Americans in diplomatic posts, see Michael L. Krenn, *Black Diplomacy: African Americans and the State Department, 1945-1969* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1999).

Bowles also believed that white embassy personnel should not harbor racial prejudice. In a letter to the State Department's Director of the Office of South Asian Affairs, he discussed his concern regarding an American officer in Bangalore, India. "I am afraid that tucked away deep inside him is a prejudice against people with a dark skin. . . . Aren't we taking a serious risk in sending such people to a city like Bangalore to operate without close supervision in an area inhabited by the darkest-skinned people of India?" Bowles to Kennedy, December 28, 1951, folder 501, box 112, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers.

28. William O. Douglas, *Strange Lands and Friendly People* (New York: Harper, 1951), 296.

29. American Embassy, New Delhi, "Survey of Communist Propaganda in India," Vol. 2, no. 14, August 1 to 31, 1952, folder 507, box 112, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers, p. 9.

30. *New York Times*, March 19, 1950, p. 50.

31. "Status Report on the National Psychological Effort and First Progress Report of the Psychological Strategy Board," Aug. 1, 1952, folder 391.1, box 22, Papers of the Psychological Strategy Board, Truman Library, p. 3.

32. W. James Ellison, "Paul Robeson and the State Department," *The Crisis* 84 (May 1977): 185; Martin Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Knopf, 1989), 341-350, 364-372.

33. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 388-389; Alan Rogers, "Passports and Politics: The Courts and the Cold War," *The Historian* 47 (August 1985): 499-502; Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (New York: Othello Associates, 1958), 71-81.



34. Duberman, *Paul Robeson*, 398–403.
35. David Cushman Coyle, *The United Nations and How It Works*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 84–85; Civil Rights Congress, *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government Against the Negro People*, 2nd ed., William Patterson, ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 3, 32; William Patterson, *The Man Who Cried Genocide: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 178–179.
36. Civil Rights Congress, *We Charge Genocide*, vii, xiv–xvi, xvii–xviii, 58–187; *New York Times*, December 18, 1951, p. 13.
37. Civil Rights Congress, *We Charge Genocide*, xvi.
38. *Ibid.*, 27–28.
39. Gerald Horne, *Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988), 169–174; Patterson, *The Man Who Cried Genocide*, 193–195, 205–206; Press Analysis Section, United States Information Service, American Embassy, New Delhi, “Survey of Communist Propaganda in India,” February 1–15, 1952, folder 415, box 105, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers; United States Information Service, American Embassy, New Delhi, “Survey of Communist Propaganda in India,” March 1–15, 1952, folder 507, box 112, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers, p. 6.
40. *New York Times*, December 25, 1951, p. 15; *New York Times*, January 1, 1952, p. 10; *New York Times*, December 27, 1951, p. 11; *New York Times*, January 24, 1952, p. 8; *New York Times*, December 18, 1951, p. 13; Horne, *Communist Front?* 156, 174; Carol Elaine Anderson, “Eyes Off the Prize: African Americans, the United Nations and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1952” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1995), 164–174; Patterson, *The Man Who Cried Genocide*, 198–210; Civil Rights Congress, *We Charge Genocide*, vii.
41. Gary Giddins, *Satchmo* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 160–165; Hugues Panassie, *Louis Armstrong* (New York: Scribner’s, 1971), 34–36.
42. James Campbell, “Black Boys and the FBI,” *Times Literary Supplement*, November 30–December 6, 1990, pp. 1290–1291; Kenneth O’Reilly, *Black Americans: The FBI Files* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1994), 17–24, 78–79; Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), 242–261, 271–293; Walter White, *How Far the Promised Land?* (New York: Viking Press, 1956), 3–28; Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973), 261–264.
43. Lynn Haney, *Naked at the Feast: A Biography of Josephine Baker* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981), 247–252; Phyllis Rose, *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in Her Times*, (New York: Atheneum, 1989), 218–19; *Chicago Defender*, October 27, 1951, pp. 1–2; *Amsterdam News*, July 14, 1951, p. 22.
44. Haney, *Naked at the Feast*, 238, 255–256; *Washington Post*, October 22, 1951, p. 9B; *Washington Post*, October 24, 1951, p. 15B; *Washington Post*, October 26, 1951, p. 15B; *Washington Post*, November 30, 1951, p. 15B; *Washington Post*, November 3, 1951,

p. 9B; “Josephine Baker,” files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, file no. 62–95834; *Counterattack*, letter no. 200, March 23, 1951, pp. 3–4; FBI file, cross-references.

Although Winchell was at the Stork Club at the same time, it is unclear whether he was aware of the discrimination against Baker. Walter White also contacted J. Edgar Hoover about Josephine Baker, but his request was that Hoover protest the Stork Club’s refusal to serve her because “such discrimination . . . anywhere in the United States plays directly into the hands of communists and other enemies of democracy. Disapproval of such policy by those who make [the] Stork Club [the] success it is will demonstrate [the] vitality and integrity of democracy.” Regarding White’s request, Hoover commented, “I don’t consider this to be any of my business.” Telegram, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to J. Edgar Hoover, October 19, 1951, FBI file; O’Reilly, *Black Americans*, 5–6.

45. American Embassy, Montevideo, to State Department, September 30, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/9–3052, National Archives.

46. *Ibid.*

47. American Embassy, Buenos Aires, to State Department, November 13, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/11–1352, National Archives.

48. Department of State translation of *Critica*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, October 3, 1952, TC no. 57594, RG 59, 811.411/10–352, National Archives.

During her travels, Baker sought to establish branches of an organization she founded, the World Cultural Association Against Racial and Religious Discrimination. The organization’s purpose was to promote interracial understanding. While Baker sought government support and apparently engaged in fund-raising for the organization in several countries, it is unclear whether it was ever anything more than a paper organization. *Ibid.*; American Embassy, Buenos Aires, to State Department, October 24, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/10–2452, National Archives.

49. Haney, *Naked at the Feast*, 259–265; American Embassy, Buenos Aires, to State Department, October 6, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/10–652, National Archives; Department of State translation, TC no. 57594, T-19/R-I, Spanish, Source: *Critica*, Buenos Aires, October 3, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/10–352 CS/H, National Archives.

50. *Ibid.*; Philip Raine to PO—Mr. Haden, October 20, 1952, RG 59, FW 811.411/9–3052 CS/W, National Archives; *Amsterdam News*, November 29, 1952, p. 20.

51. *Ibid.* By this point, White had already traveled on behalf of the U.S. government, both to help with disputes involving African American troops during World War II and on postwar trips during which he defended American democracy. White, *A Man Called White*; White, *How Far the Promised Land?* 3–28.

52. Raine to Haden, October 20, 1952.

53. American Embassy, Buenos Aires, to State Department, December 29, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/12–2952, National Archives; American Embassy, Santiago to State Department, December 30, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/12–3052, National Archives; American Embassy, Lima, to State Department, December 31, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/12–3152, National Archives; American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to State Department, February 2, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/2–253, National Archives.

54. American Embassy, Habana, to Secretary of State, January 27, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/1-2753, National Archives.

55. American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, January 30, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/1-3053, National Archives.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.; American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, February 12, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/2-1253, National Archives.

The U.S. embassy thought that failure to arrive at a financial understanding was closer to the true reason Teatro América canceled Baker's performance. Baker had a history of financial disputes with her employers, and at times tried to hold out for more money than had originally been agreed to. Consequently, it is entirely possible that a disagreement over her pay was an element in the cancellation of her Teatro América contract. Nevertheless, it is also clear that the U.S. Embassy took steps to show its displeasure over the possibility that Baker might perform in Cuba. Consequently, it is most likely that any disagreement over finances, like Baker's tardiness, provided the theater with "just the legal loophole they needed to 'get out from under' a ticklish situation." American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, January 30, 1953.

58. American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, February 18, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/2-1853, National Archives; American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, February 19, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/2-1953, National Archives; Josephine Baker and Jo Bouillon, *Josephine*, trans. Mariana Fitzpatrick (New York: Paragon House, 1988), 189.

59. American Embassy, Habana, to State Department, March 3, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/3-353, National Archives.

60. American Embassy, Port-Au-Prince, to State Department, February 3, 1953, RG 59, 811.411/2-353, National Archives.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid. I found no additional despatches concerning Josephine Baker and travel to Haiti in declassified State Department records from the 1950s. Although there was occasional coverage of Baker's activities in the Haitian press, there are no news stories regarding a visit to Haiti during this period. See *Le Matin*, February 13, 1953, p. 4; *Le Matin*, February 20, 1953, p. 1 (discussing Baker's experiences in Cuba).

63. N. W. Philcox to R. R. Roach, Re: Josephine Baker, December 10, 1954, FBI file, teletype message to FBI, January 28, 1955; G. H. Scatterday to A. H. Belmont, Re: Josephine Baker, February 10, 1960, FBI file.

Hoover sent a one-page document to the INS commissioner regarding Baker, most of which was deleted by the FBI when supplied to me under the Freedom of Information Act on the grounds that it contained "material which is properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy." Director, FBI, to Commissioner, INS, Re: Josephine Baker, January 6, 1955, FBI file.

In 1952 Baker indicated that she was aware of efforts to ban her from the country. She said that "If my entry into the United States is forbidden, for me this (will be) an honor because it will show that my work for humanity has been successful." American Embassy,

Buenos Aires, to State Department, November 6, 1952, RG 59, 811.411/11-652, National Archives; Scatterday to Belmont, Re: Josephine Baker, February 10, 1960.

64. Chester Bowles, "Racial Harmony—How Much Does it Matter in World Affairs?" 1952, folder 540, box 115, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers. See also Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 31, 216-217, 395-396.

65. Chester Bowles, "Racial Harmony—How Much Does it Matter in World Affairs?" 1952, folder 540, box 115, series 2, Chester Bowles Papers.

66. Ibid.; Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, 396.

### CHAPTER THREE

1. Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae, p. 6, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) (filed December 1952).

2. According to the committee, the moral reason was that "the pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do is creating a kind of moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs." U.S. failures in the area of civil rights bred "cynicism about democratic values" that was harmful to all. The economic reasons were that "one of the principal economic problems facing us and the rest of the world is achieving maximum production and continued prosperity." Discrimination interfered with economic growth because it led to "the loss of a huge, potential market for goods." Discrimination in the marketplace gave rise to interrelated losses in market and human terms. President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 139-148.

3. Ibid., 20, 148.

4. Dean Acheson, "Morality, Moralism and Diplomacy," in *Grapes from Thorns* (New York: Norton, 1972), 125-140. Douglas Brinkley has suggested that since Acheson would at times use moralism in his own arguments about foreign relations, at least while secretary of state, his objections may have been to the moralism of John Foster Dulles, and not to moralism per se. Douglas Brinkley, *Dean Acheson: The Cold War Years, 1953-71* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 24-26.

Acheson's prolific writings do not disclose a strong interest in race relations. He had one important foray into the making of civil rights policy, however. He helped Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Baines Johnson steer the Civil Rights Act of 1957 through the Senate. While the bill had to be watered down so significantly to pass that the civil rights movement contemplated opposing it, the legislation was nevertheless the most significant civil rights bill at that time since reconstruction. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: Norton, 1969); Dean Acheson, *Power and Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958; New York: Atheneum, 1970); Dean Acheson, *A Democrat Looks at His Party* (New York: Harper, 1955); Dean Acheson, *A Citizen Looks at Congress* (New York: Harper, 1957); Brinkley, *Dean Acheson*, 204-205.

5. President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights*, 148 (emphasis in original).