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Infinite Patience, Indomitable Will

Ralph Bunche

His Struggle for Peace and Justice

TOM LAICHAS



A Unit of Study for Grades 9–12

National Center for History in the Schools

University of California, Los Angeles

For additional copies of this unit, as well as other teaching units and
resources, please write or fax:
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University of California, Los Angeles
6339 Bunche Hall
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Los Angeles, California 90095-473
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Cover Photo: "Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Headquarters, 1950" [Ralph J. Bunche Papers, University of California Special Collections. Box 174, Folder 1].

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Acknowledgments

The unit author, Tom Laichas, has been a teacher at Crossroads School (7th–12th grades) in Santa Monica, California for over 20 years. Tom is grateful for input from Ralph Bunche’s niece, Betty Johnson. He also thankfully acknowledges his daughter Ariella and wife Donna for their support and encouragement.

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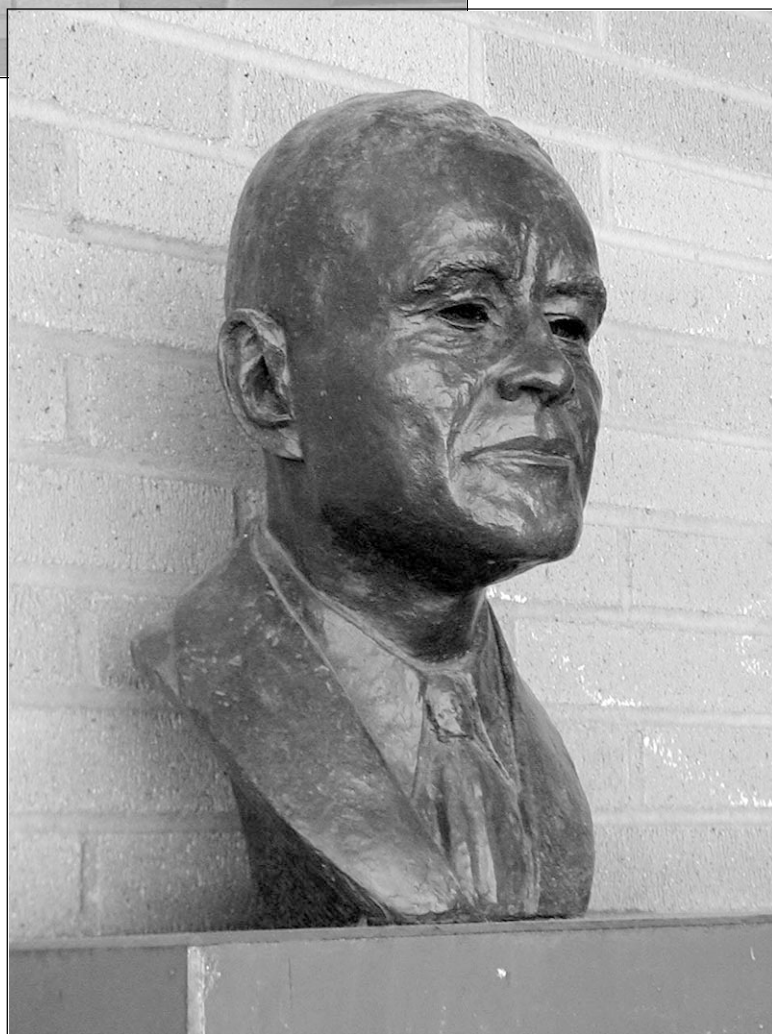
Gary B. Nash, National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) Director and David Vigilante, NCHS Associate Director, worked closely with Tom Laichas in developing this unit along with providing editorial assistance and advice. Marian McKenna Olivas produced the unit, including the photographs, maps, and cover design.

NCHS assistants Grace Lu and Miguel Chavez rounded out the production team. Grace Lu was the photographer for the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Library Special Collections items which appear in the unit. Both she and Miguel Chavez also provided research assistance.

Several members of UCLA’s Department of Special Collections staff graciously offered their assistance with the document and photo research including Director Victoria Steele, Genie Guerard, and Octavio Olvera.

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Bunche Hall
University of California, Los Angeles
Photos by Grace Lu

INTRODUCTION

I. APPROACH AND RATIONALE

Infinite Patience, Indomitable Will: Ralph Bunche—His Struggle for Peace and Justice is one of over seventy teaching units published by the National Center for History for the Schools that are the fruits of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of United States and World History. They represent specific issues and “dramatic episodes” in history from which you and your students can delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. By studying crucial turning points in history the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected issues and dramatic episodes that bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow’s history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from government documents, artifacts, magazines, newspapers, films, private correspondence, literature, contemporary photographs, and paintings from the period under study. What we hope you achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to have your students connect more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of “being there,” a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian’s craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

II. CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: Correlation to the National Standards for History, Lesson Plans with reproducible documents, and suggestions for Further Reading. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for use by grades 9–12, they can be adapted for other grade levels.

The Historical Background sections in each lesson should provide you with a good overview for the lesson. It is assigned to students as reading; however, if your students are not of sufficient grade level to understand the materials on their own, you may consult it for your own use in class lectures.

The Lesson Plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, handouts and student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

III. CORRELATION TO NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS

Infinite Patience, Indomitable Will: Ralph Bunche—His Struggle for Peace and Justice provides teaching materials that address *National Standards for History*, Basic Edition (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), in both United States and World History. In United States history lessons specifically address **Standard 2C** in **Era 7**, “The Emergence of Modern America (1890–1930)” relating to the Treaty of Versailles and the formation of the League of Nations and **Standard 3A**, race relations in the 1920s. In **Era 8**, “The Great Depression and World War II (1939–1945)” and **Era 9**, “Postwar United States (1945 to Early 1970s)” students examine the purposes and organization of the United Nations and its role in Africa and the Middle East.

World History **Standard 1A** of **Era 9**, “the 20th Century Since 1945: Promises and Paradoxes,” has students explore the major political changes that accompanied post-war recovery including an appraisal of the formation of the United Nations. **Standard 1B**, conflicts in post-colonial Africa (Congo) and **Standard 1C**, the development of the state of Israel, are topics that are included in the teaching unit.

Lessons in the unit also integrate Historical Thinking Standards by having students draw upon skills in five interconnected dimensions of historical thinking: “Chronological Thinking,” “Historical Comprehension,” “Historical Analysis and Interpretation,” “Historical Research,” and “Issues-analysis and Decision-making.”

LESSON ONE

“The Goal of My Ambition”

BEGINNINGS: 1903–1927

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ Discuss Bunche’s youth, identifying the events, character traits, and relationships responsible for his early successes.
- ◆ Understand and evaluate Bunche’s early views on race and international relations and how he reached them.

B. UNIT INTRODUCTION ACTIVITY

A week before the lesson begins, distribute **Worksheet 1**, “Survey: Ralph Bunche.” Students should:

- a) Answer these questions themselves, in writing or in class discussion
- b) Ask the same questions of five people outside the classroom. If possible, these interviewees should include adults as well as other students. The surveys can be conducted by groups rather than by individuals.

Once students have conducted the interviews, they should report their findings to the class. The class can then tally the results and post key quotations from the documents on newsprint around the classroom. If possible, keep these in front of the classroom for the duration of the unit.

Tell students that at the end of the unit they will be asked these same questions.

C. LESSON ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY ONE: Ralph Bunche’s Youth and Early Influences

1. Distribute **Document I–A** “Central Avenue Neighborhood in the 1920s” and **Document I–B** “1920 Census Returns: Enumeration District 388, Los Angeles, California.” Have students analyze the photographs in **Document I–A** using **Worksheet 2**, “Photograph Analysis Worksheet.” Then have students analyze the census page (**Document I–B**) using **Worksheet 3**, “Document Analysis Worksheet.” After they have completed both worksheets, instruct students to write a paragraph on Bunche’s youth based on the evidence in the photographs and the census.
2. Discuss students’ impressions of Ralph Bunche and his family after analyzing the photographs and the census return page. Then either give students **Historical Background One**, “The Bunche Family,” as a reading assignment or use the introduction to prepare a class presentation on the themes.
3. Assign parts and have students present **Document I–D**, “The Documents Speak: Growing Up.” Several of the documents are lengthy and can be divided up among participating students.
4. After students read or present the “Documents Speak,” distribute **Worksheet 4**, which will have them assess the sources cited. The last question asks students to interview an adult regarding

individuals who have played an important role in that individual's family. The interviews can be conducted by small groups or by individuals. Student responses can be presented to the class or in writing. After the interviews, have each student post the name of the family relative or other adult they learned about from their interview, along with a quote from the interviewee about that relative.

5. **Document I–E** offers a more in-depth view of the influence of Bunche's grandmother on his life. The style of the Cavalcade Theater differs from that of contemporary television and film.
 - a. Use the prompts on **Worksheet 5** to guide discussion of the differences between student work and the professional production.
 - b. Have students write the scene suggested at the end of the **Worksheet 5**.

ACTIVITY TWO: Ralph Bunche's Early Views on Race and International Relations

1. Give students **Worksheet 6**, to be used in conjunction with Bunche's 1926–1927 speeches "That Man May Dwell in Peace" and "Across the Generation Gap" (**Document I–F**). The questions can be completed individually, in groups, or as a class discussion.
2. Have the students read **Document I–G**, "Ralph Bunche on Racial Identity"—an historical background on "passing" with four document excerpts. Then have the class complete **Worksheet 7** using one of the following two options:

Option One

- a. Divide students into pairs and have them take turns answering questions 1–4 (both should write the answer). Each student should answer question 5 on their own.
- b. Have pairs present their responses to one or two of the questions to the rest of the class.

Option Two

- a. Use the questions on the worksheet to conduct a whole-class discussion after students read the materials.

SURVEY: RALPH BUNCHE

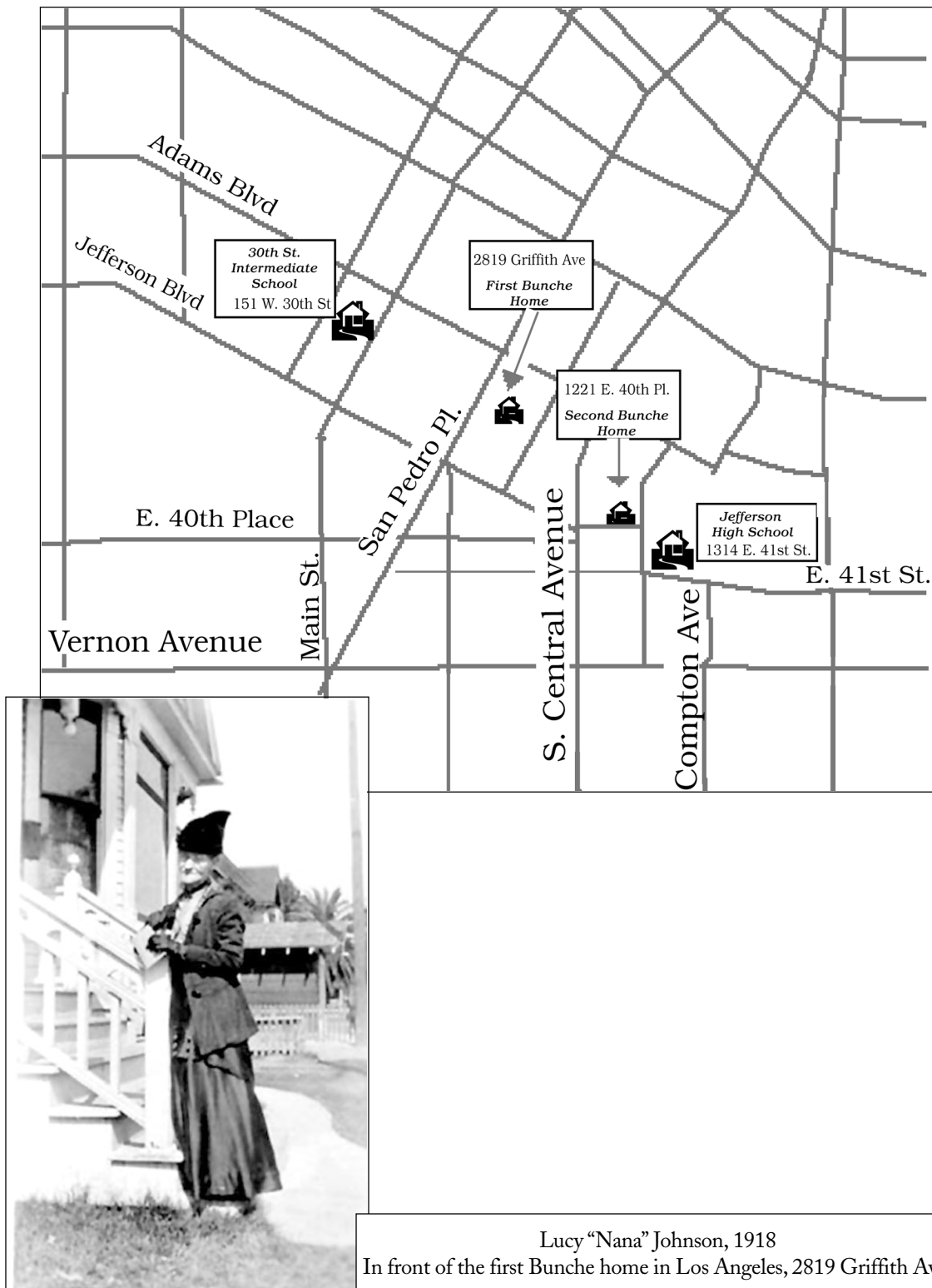
Name _____ Date _____

Answer these questions yourself and then use them to survey five people about what they know about Ralph Bunche and his times.

1. Have you ever heard of Ralph Bunche?
2. If the answer to question #1 is “yes,” what do you know about him? (Interviewer: follow up on your interviewee’s response. For instance, if your respondent says that he won the Nobel Peace Prize, ask what work earned the prize).
3. Between the Civil War and the era of Martin Luther King, what do you know of African American opinion on civil rights? What were the agreements and disagreements? Can you name three prominent African American political leaders active between 1870 and 1950? What do you know about their beliefs?
4. How would you define “race? What is “ethnicity”? What loyalty, if any, do individuals owe to persons of their own racial or ethnic background?
5. What is the United Nations? Is it successful or not? Why?
6. What circumstances justify war?
7. When there is a war, should the United States attempt to stop it? If so, why? If not, why not?

RALPH BUNCHE'S EARLY YEARS IN LOS ANGELES

The neighborhoods where the Bunche family lived in Los Angeles, California





Graduating (9th grade) class of 30th Street Intermediate School
Ralph Bunche is in the top row, far left.



Cows graze on Slauson at Central Ave. next to
the Ford dealership (just a few blocks south of
Ralph's neighborhood)
Los Angeles, California, ca. 1930



View of Jefferson High School
Los Angeles, California, ca. 1920

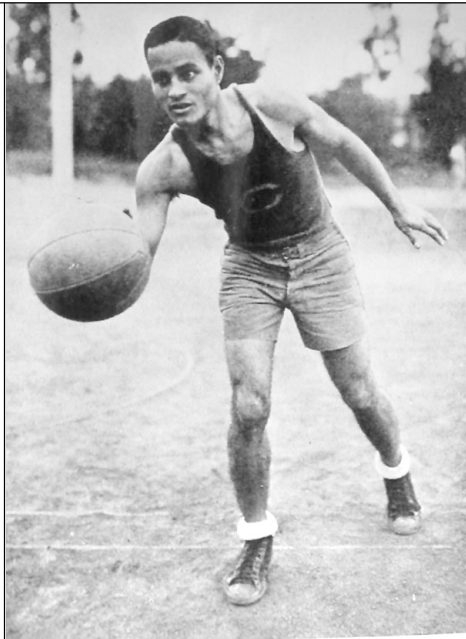


A group of students at Jefferson High School
November 11, 1922
Bunche is in the top row, far right



UCLA Southern Campus, 1922
Vermont Avenue
UCLA did not move to its present location
until 1929, two years after Ralph graduated.

Ralph Bunche, UCLA basketball team, ca. 1926



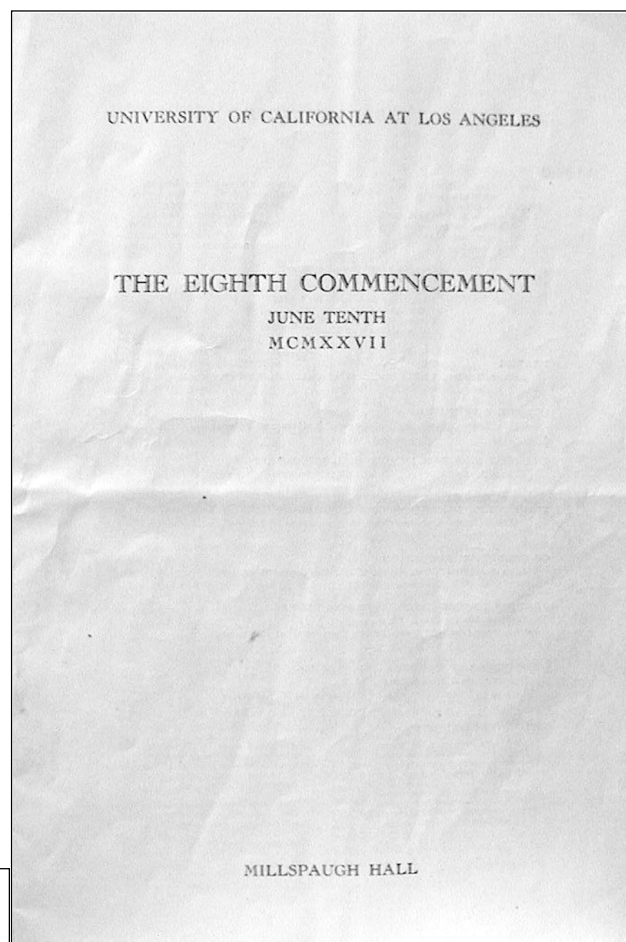
RALPH BUNCHE
Guard



Bunche (at right) and friends sitting on
running board of car, ca. 1925



Ralph Bunche, graduation photo and com-
mencement program, 1927



1920 CENSUS RETURNS FOR ENUMERATION DISTRICT 338, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

STATE California COUNTY Los Angeles TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY San Angeles NAME OF INSTITUTION San Angeles

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE-BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920-POPULATION

225 (31-378) SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT NO. 8 SHEET NO. 8
ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. 338 WARD OF CITY San Angeles
NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE San Angeles DAY OF JANUARY, 1920. Jan. 1 ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE Jan. 1 DAY OF JANUARY, 1920. Chas. M. Andrews ENUMERATOR

PLACE OF BIRTH	RELATION	TIME	MARRIAGE	CITIZENSHIP	REGISTRATION	FAMILY AND BROTHER TONGUE			RELIGION	OCCUPATION
						Place of Birth	Native Language	Place of Birth		
1	Head	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
2	Wife	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
3	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
4	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
5	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
6	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
7	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
8	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
9	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
10	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
11	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
12	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
13	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
14	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
15	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
16	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
17	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
18	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
19	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
20	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
21	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
22	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
23	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
24	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
25	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
26	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
27	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
28	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
29	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
30	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
31	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
32	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
33	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
34	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
35	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
36	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
37	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
38	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
39	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
40	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
41	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
42	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
43	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
44	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
45	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
46	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
47	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
48	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
49	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920
50	Child	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920	1920

STATE California COUNTY Los Angeles TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY San Gabriel NAME OF INSTITUTION San Gabriel

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920—POPULATION

225 (21-578) SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT NO. 8 SHEET NO. 9
ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. 388 WARD OF CITY San Gabriel ENUMERATOR Chas. M. Windsor

NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE San Gabriel, City ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE 28th DAY OF January, 1920. 11729

PLACE OF ABODE	NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION			CITIZENSHIP	EDUCATION			NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE						OCCUPATION					
			Sex	Color or race	Age at last birthday		Single, married, or divorced	Year of immigration to U.S.	Naturalized or Alien	In School since 9/1/1919	Able to read	Able to write	PERSON		FATHER		MOTHER		Trade, profession, or particular kind of work...	Industry...	
		Relationship of this person to the head of the family									Place of birth	Mother tongue	Place of birth	Mother tongue	Place of birth	Mother tongue	Place of birth	Mother tongue			Able to speak English
1294 6 3	Geisberg, David	Head	MW 60			M	1905	AL		Yes	Yes	Libau	Russian	Libau	Russian	Libau	Russian	Yes	Salesman	[?]	W
	-----, Jennie	Wife	FW 50			M	1900	AL		Yes	Yes	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Yes	None		
	-----, Abe	Son	MW 22			S	1900	AL		Yes	Yes	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Yes	[?]	Fruit Store	OA
	-----, Ida	Daughter	FW 23			S	1900	AL		Yes	Yes	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Hebre	Russian	Yes	Clerk	Dept. Store	
1265 59 64	VanBuren, L.E.	Head	MW 28			M				Yes	Yes	California		California		Kentucky		Yes	Salesman	[?]	W
	-----, Pearl	Wife	FW 29			M				Yes	Yes	California		California		Michigan		Yes	None		
	-----, Wilbur	Son	MW 6			S			Yes			California		California				Yes			
	-----, Kenneth	Son	MW 7/12			S						California		California							
60 65	Ballerino, J.A.	Head	MW 45			M				Yes	Yes	California		California				Yes	Electrician	Lantern Co.	W
	-----, Almy	Wife	FW 44			M				Yes	Yes	Michigan		Canada	English	Canada	English	Yes	Nurse	Practical	W
1257 61 66	Gender[?], Frederick	Head	MW 60			S				Yes	Yes	New York		Bavaria	German	France	French	Yes	None		
1254 62 67	Dunbar, David	Head	MW 40			M	1914	AL		Yes	Yes	Scotland	English	Scotland	English	Scotland	English	Yes	Cabinet Maker	Studio	W
	-----, Margaret	Wife	FW 28			M	X	AL		Yes	Yes	Ohio		Scotland	English	Scotland	English	Yes	None		

Thirty Seventh Street

STATE California COUNTY Los Angeles TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY San Gabriel NAME OF INSTITUTION San Gabriel

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920—POPULATION

225 (91-578) SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT NO. 8 SHEET NO. 8
ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. 388 WARD OF CITY San Gabriel CITY San Gabriel COUNTY Los Angeles STATE California

NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE San Gabriel DAY OF January 1920. ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE 19th DAY OF January 1920. ENUMERATOR Clara M. Winders

PLACE OF ABODE	NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION		CITIZENSHIP	EDUCATION		NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE				OCCUPATION			
			Sex	Age at last birthday		Single, married, divorced	Year of immigration to U.S.	Naturalized or U.S. born	In school since 9/1/1919	Able to read	Able to write	PERSON	FATHER	MOTHER	Trade, profession, or particular kind of work...
1238 64	Gore, Samuel	Head	M	36	M	1893	n/a	Yes	Yes	Russia	Jewish	Russia	Jewish	Peddler	Ice Cream
	-----, Dora	Wife	F	36	M	1893	n/a	Yes	Yes	C[?], Russia	Jewish	C[?], Russia	Jewish	None	
	-----, Harold	Son	M	10	S			Yes		Illinois				None	
	-----, Charles	Son	M	6	S			Yes		California				None	
	-----, Ernie[?]	Son	M	3	S					California				None	
	Levin, Lina	Mother-in-Law	F	68	W	1845	unk	No	No	C[?], Russia	Jewish	C[?], Russia	Jewish	None	
1224 67	Johnson, Lucy	Head	F	64	W			Yes	Yes	Illinois		Missouri		None	
	-----, Ethel	Daughter	F	38	S			Yes	Yes	Kansas		Illinois		Hair Dresser	Public
	-----, Thomas, L.	Son	M	32	S			Yes	Yes	Texas		Illinois		Cutter	Dress Factory
	-----, Nell	Daughter	F	29	S			Yes	Yes	Texas		Illinois		Teacher School	Public
	Bunche, Ralph	Son	M	16	S			Yes	Yes	Michigan		Ohio		Office Boy	Dye Works
	Bunche, Grace	Daughter	F	10	S			Yes	Yes	Ohio		Ohio		None	

PHOTOGRAPH ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Name _____ Date _____

Step 1. Observation

- A. Study the photographs for several minutes. Form an overall impression of the photographs and then examine individual items to see what new details become visible.
- B. Construct a chart such as the one below. List the photographs, then the people, objects, and/or activities you observe. Lastly, note anything you might infer, or conclude, from the evidence in each photograph.

Photo	People	Objects	Activities	Inferences

Step 2. Questions

- A. What questions do these photographs raise in your mind?

- B. Where could you find answers to your questions?

Adapted from a worksheet designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Name _____ Date _____

I. Type of Document: (Check one)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> Map | <input type="checkbox"/> Advertisement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Letter | <input type="checkbox"/> Telegram | <input type="checkbox"/> Congressional Record |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Patent | <input type="checkbox"/> Press Release | <input type="checkbox"/> Census Report |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum | <input type="checkbox"/> Report | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

II. Unique physical qualities of the document:

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting letterhead | <input type="checkbox"/> Notations | <input type="checkbox"/> Seals |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten | <input type="checkbox"/> "Received" Stamp | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Typed | <input type="checkbox"/> Other | |

III. Date(s) of document : _____

IV. Author (or creator) of the document: _____

V. Document information

A. List two things the document tells you about the Johnson/Bunche household.

1. _____

2. _____

B. List two things the document tells you about the neighborhood.

1. _____

2. _____

C. Write a question that is left unanswered by the document.

Adapted from a worksheet designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

THE BUNCHE FAMILY

Ralph Bunche was born on August 7, 1903, in Detroit, Michigan, the eldest of Frederick O. and Olive Agnes Bunch's two children (the family added the "e" when Ralph was 15). Fred was a barber, while Olive raised the family.

The family's center of gravity was Olive's mother, Lucy (Taylor) Johnson. The family almost invariably recalled "Nana" as a tough and determined woman, short in stature, self-educated, and ambitious for her family's success. Born in Missouri as a slave in 1855, Lucy Taylor had married Thomas Johnson, a Kansas teacher committed to the education of black children. At forty, he died of malaria, leaving his wife to care for their five children. She moved the family to her parent's old farm at Alton Illinois, and from there, two years later, to Michigan City, where she worked as a hotel maid and a factory hand. Hoping for better opportunities, she moved the family to Detroit in 1900.

By this time, Lucy's daughter Olive had married Fred Bunch, then working as a barber and circus barker. Fred got a job in Detroit as a barber at a large downtown shop. Trying to make ends meet, the family later moved to Cleveland, Ohio, Knoxville, Tennessee, Toledo, Ohio, and back to Detroit.

Throughout his life, Ralph Bunche credited Lucy Johnson with giving him the strength to confront adversity and the grace to rise above it without malice. So deep was his grandmother's influence on his character that in 1950, 22 years after her death, Gunnar Jahn's speech awarding Bunche the Nobel Peace Prize singled out her contributions to his success.

In 1914, Olive's brother Charlie contracted tuberculosis; in 1915, Olive developed the disease. The family moved to Albuquerque, New Mexico, hoping that a change in the climate would improve her condition. It did not; Olive died in 1917, and Charlie committed suicide soon after. With Olive's death, father Fred left the family, leaving Ralph orphaned at the age of 13.

Hoping to better their prospects, Lucy Johnson took charge of Olive's children, moving them to Los Angeles, settling in an adobe house near Central Avenue (1220 East 40th Place, formerly 37th Street). Though the core of the Los Angeles African-American community would later move closer to Central Avenue, at that time it was twenty blocks to the north. Therefore, unlike most African Americans in the United States during the 1920s, Ralph Bunche grew up in a racially mixed community and attended predominantly white schools, including Jefferson High School, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and Harvard University.

Bunche became an outstanding student, graduating at the top of his class at both Jefferson High and UCLA. He was also an exceptional athlete, helping the Bruins to win three consecutive Southern Conference basketball titles.

This lesson introduces Bunche's family, focusing on Ralph Bunche's youth in Los Angeles from 1917 to 1927.



Lucy Johnson (Ralph's grandmother "Nana")
and her children

Front row: Lucy, Tom
Back row: Olive (Ralph's mother), Charles, Nellie, Ethel

THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK: RALPH BUNCHE'S EARLY YEARS

Brian Urquhart's biography of Ralph Bunche records the following thoughts Bunche had on the influence his grandmother had over him (Urquhart 1993, 31).

Most of [my] guidance came to me from my maternal grandmother who reared my sister and me after we lost our parents in childhood. She instilled in me a desire to do my best in anything I tried to do so that I could have a sense of achievement and experience pride. She taught me the value of self-respect and dignity. She told me to be proud of my origin, of my family and of the society in which I live. I learned from her that hard work can be enjoyed and can be highly rewarding. Although having little education herself, she appreciated the value of education and insisted that I should get as much of it as possible, and the best possible.



Irwin Ross interviewed Ralph Bunche for an article for *The American Magazine* "What America Means to Me" (Ross 1950, 149:122–126).



Ralph J. Bunche, 6 years old

I am a Negro, the son of an impoverished barber who never got beyond grade school. Born in Detroit. . . I remember vividly the old frame house, east of the railroad tracks, where I lived as a boy. Like most poor families, ours was a large one. My parents, maternal grandmother, and her four other grown children all lived together. It was a sort of tightly bound, matriarchal society, ruled by my grandmother Nana, a remarkable woman, tiny in stature, indomitable in spirit, who had been born in slavery in Texas. Widowed at an early age, she had single-handedly raised and educated her five youngsters.

I can never remember a time when we weren't very poor. In the summer my sister and I seldom wore shoes. We saved them for school in the fall. Later, when we moved to Albuquerque, my mother, who was afflicted with rheumatism, used to enjoy going to band concerts held in a park some distance from our adobe house. I would accom-

pany her, but we couldn't afford carfare for both of us, so I used to put her aboard the trolley car and [run] alongside to our destination, a distance of some 20 blocks.

One early learned the value of money—and very little could bring endless delights. A pennyworth of candy could last a day; a nickel bought a movie show. Much of our fun cost nothing. We used to play baseball with a broomstick and a tobacco sac filled with grass and pebbles. Hockey was easy to arrange—sticks bent over a fire, and a tin can. . . .

There was never a time when I didn't have to work. In Detroit, when I was 7, I ran errands for a grocery store and hawked newspapers on a downtown street corner. In Albuquerque, my efforts were more ambitious. I was a helper in a neighborhood bakery; stripped to the waist, I used to work each evening until 11 or 12 P.M. I wasn't quite 12. While going to intermediate and high school, I . . . peddled papers for the *Los Angeles Times*, spent summer vacations working as a house-boy in Hollywood or a kitchen boy in the beach hotels.

A little later I became a delivery boy on the *Times*—rather a pleasant assignment, bicycling around town every afternoon picking up advertising copy. Then I got a better-paying job—as composing-room “pig boy,” the curious designation for the youngsters who carried lead bricks to the lino-type machines. It was hard work—from 5:30 in the afternoon until 1 A.M. I would get home close to 2, fall exhausted on my bed, get a bare six hours’ sleep, and then dash out to school.

... I was learning what it meant to be a Negro—even in ... a Northern city. I once went on a newsboys’ outing arranged by the Los Angeles newspaper publishers. The publishers bought out the concessions on the amusement pier at Venice, and we enjoyed ourselves hugely—riding the roller coaster, bouncing around in midget cars, stuffing ourselves with ice cream and spun sugar. Finally, the time came to take a dip in the Venice Plunge—and suddenly Charles Matthew and I, the only Negroes in the group, were told we couldn’t come along. There was a color bar at the pool.

... But I wasn’t embittered by such experiences, for Nana had taught me to fight without rancor. She taught all of us to stand up for our rights, to suffer no indignity, but to harbor no bitterness toward anyone [for] this would only warp our personalities. Deeply religious, she instilled in us a sense of personal pride strong enough to sustain all external shocks, but she also taught us understanding and tolerance.



Gunnar Jahn was the Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee from 1942 to 1966. The following are excerpts from his presentation speech when Ralph Bunche received the Nobel Peace Prize (1950).

For Bunche, as for most of us, the early years—before we acquire the knowledge and experience that life and work give—were the formative ones. ... In the midst of this poverty was that highly gifted woman, his grandmother Nana.

It was a valuable heritage that Nana bequeathed to Bunche, one which was to help him enormously throughout his life. He, in turn, has tried to pass it on to his own children. He says:

In rearing my children I have passed on the philosophy that Nana taught me as a youngster. ... The right to be treated as an equal by all other men, she said, is man’s birthright. Never permit anyone to treat you otherwise. Who, indeed, is a better American, a better protector of the American heritage, than he who demands the fullest measure of respect for those cardinal principles on which our society is reared? Nana told us that there would be many and great obstacles in our paths and that this was the way of life. But only weaklings give up in the face of obstacles. Be honest and frank with yourself and the world at all times, she said. Never compromise what you know to be the right. Never pick a fight, but never run from one if your principles are at stake. Go out into the world with your head high, and keep it high at all times.

Step out into the world with your head high, fight for what is right, but show understanding and tolerance for others—what valuable advice for a young man to take with him when he leaves his childhood home! These words were deeply engraved in the mind of Ralph Bunche and fortified him for the challenges that lay ahead.

[T]he childhood heritage, the knowledge and experience acquired later in life—both factors going to make up the personality; [this is] the man who succeeded in getting both [Arabs and Israelis] to lay down their arms. The outcome was a victory for the ideas of the United Nations, it is true, but as is nearly always the case, it was one individual’s efforts that made victory possible.



WORKSHEET
“HISTORICAL BACKGROUND” AND “THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK”

Name _____ Date _____

To answer the following questions, refer to **Historical Background One** (The Bunche Family and African-American Life in the 1920s) and **Document I–C** (The Documents Speak: Ralph Bunche’s Early Years).

1. Specify three values that Lucy Johnson (Nana) taught her children (and grandchildren).

2. Given these values, how do you anticipate that Bunche dealt with the issues of Jim Crow segregation? Of international conflict?

3. Talk to a parent, an older relative, or another adult about this lesson, describing Ralph Bunche’s youth and his grandmother’s role in his upbringing. Ask whether your interviewee can recall any adult in his or her own family—either now or from a previous generation—who was the family’s own “Nana”. This person can be a man or woman, young or old. Take notes, record, or videotape the interview. Bring the record of the interview back to class with one quote about the interviewee’s relative which you can add to the list to be posted around the classroom.

“TOWARD TOMORROW: THE LUCY JOHNSON: RALPH BUNCHE STORY”

DuPont Cavalcade Theater
Produced by Four Star Films (1955)

In 1955, five years after Ralph Bunche won the Nobel Peace Prize, the Dupont network aired “Toward Tomorrow: The Lucy Johnson–Ralph Bunche Story.” The one-hour teleplay received strongly supportive reviews. This reading includes three excerpts from the script.

The script includes a number of film directions. These are indicated in italics.

Close Moving Shot: a close-up taken while an actor is moving

Close Shot: a close-up, usually on one or two faces

Dissolve: When one shot fades out while another fades in.

Ext: Exterior

Fade out: Dissolve to black

Int: Interior

Reverse Shot: a shot taken as though the camera had turned around from the previous scene. One shot might show the full face of an actor looking out into the distance. The reverse shot would show what the actor is looking at.

Excerpt #1: Albuquerque, New Mexico

Ext Street—Close Shot—Nana—Late Afternoon

NARRATOR

A Negro, she is of indeterminate age, small of stature, but with a dignity and pride which shows even through the strain of work and grief.

This is the story of such a gardener and of the fruit of her labors.

Int. Albuquerque Johnson Living Room—Close Shot—Auntie On Couch

The room is immaculate, but the furniture is worn, threadbare. AUNTIE, still a comparatively young woman, is taller than her mother. Auntie looks up as the door opens to admit Nana.

AUNTIE You're late, Mama. I was getting worried.

NANA *(looks about)* Where's Ralph?

AUNTIE Probably playing ball. He ought to be home by now. Tom should, too.

She breaks off as she sees her mother's expression for the first time.

NANA I've been at the hospital.

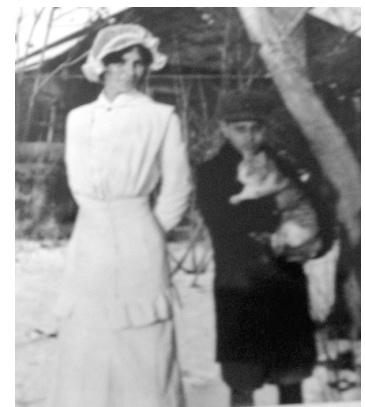
AUNTIE But visiting hours end at . . . is Olive worse?

NANA *(after a moment)* She's gone. An hour ago.

Auntie buries her face in her hands. Nana moves to her, puts her hand on her shoulder.

NANA Crying won't help, honey.

AUNTIE *(sobbing)* Charlie and Olive . . . inside a year . . .



Ralph with his mother a year before her death. ca. 1916

NANA It's God's time. There's nothing we can do about it.

The turn as the door opens to admit TOM. He is about Auntie's age. He carries his lunch pail. His face is grim as he answers their unvoiced question.

TOM I know. I called the hospital. *(puts pail down)* Ralph's playing ball down the street. I told him to come along. You'd better tell him, Nana. We're going to have to take him in.

AUNTIE *(nods)* But where'll we get the money?

NANA I'll work.

AUNTIE At your age?—You can't.

NANA That's what they told me when your father died, but I did it and raised you five children. I can do it with Ralph. I've been thinking all the way home, there's nothing but unhappiness here. We're going to a new place, a new city where —

She turns quickly at the SOUND of the door opening.

Reverse shot—RALPH—past NANA and AUNTIE. We recognize Ralph from the baseball lot. He's excited.

RALPH Nana! We won!

Auntie begins to sob again. The boy looks at her, puzzled, then at Nana.

RALPH What's wrong?

Close shot—NANA and RALPH. Nana puts her arms around his shoulder, draws him to her.

NANA I've got some bad news for you, Ralph . . . and some good, to help a little through the bad. We're leaving here. We're going to take you to Los Angeles where you can grow up in a new place, grow up right, get an education . . . a college education like your grandfather.

Ralph smiles, puzzled.

NANA That's the good, Ralph. Now what I'm going to tell you is going to make you cry. But, when the crying's done, there's a better day to look forward to. *(softly)* It's your Mama, boy.

Excerpt #2: High School

Close Shot—RALPH and NANA—at sink. He runs water in the glass.

RALPH Anything you want, Nana?

NANA *(shakes her head)* You going out?

RALPH For a while, There's supposed to be a basketball game downtown at the playground.

Nana catches something in his tone, studies him.

NANA Don't they have a basketball team at the school, Ralph?

RALPH *(noncommittal)* Yeah, they've got a team.

NANA They must have a better place for the games than the playground. And better equipment. Why don't you play at school?

RALPH They got enough players at school without me. *(turns uncomfortably)* I better go. I'll be late.

NANA Are the players at the school better than you?

RALPH *(shrugs)* I don't know. What difference would it make? I'd never get on the team no matter how good I am.

NANA *(her face hardens)* Why not?

NANA I've lived a lot longer than you have and people always took me at my worth. If you're not a good enough player for the school team, that's one thing. But if you are good enough, go out and prove you are. You had any trouble?

RALPH There're a couple of guys on the team who'll give me a bad time.

NANA People are just as bad — or as good as they're taught to be, Ralph. Remember that. [*after a pause*] But don't make excuses for yourself. People can't give you a chance unless you let them. When do they practice at the school?

RALPH After classes.

NANA (*starting to wash glass*) Then you'll be late getting home tomorrow.

RALPH But I hear the coach is—

NANA (*severely*) Don't go by what you hear. Go by what you know. Find out.

Gym—Close Shot—Basketball—Day

As the ball is thrown away from CAMERA toward the basket, we see a line of boys awaiting their turn at rotation shooting. Ralph, in uniform, walks up to the group. The Coach addresses the boy at the head of the line.

COACH Dribble in, make your shot—recover the ball and pass it to the next boy in line (*beckons to Ralph*) What's your name?

RALPH Ralph.

COACH (*to the boy at the head of the line*) End of the line. Let's go. Take it, Eddie.

He flips the ball to EDDIE. Eddie dribbles in, rings the basket, recovers and throws the ball to the next boy in line [. . .] as the ball is flipped to him, [Ralph] runs in, dribbling, makes his shot, misses. He recovers the ball as the whistle SOUNDS SHARPLY. He stands holding the ball as the Coach comes up to him.

COACH Who ever taught you to handle a ball that way?

Ralph is tense, looks at the floor.

COACH Jump! Get off the floor. Use your wrists! Go back and try it again.

Ralph walks back into position.

Close Moving Shot—Ralph

Too embarrassed to look at the watching boys, he gets into position, repeats his previous performance. Then Coach grabs the ball this time, walks back to him.

COACH You didn't go eighteen inches off the floor. The basket isn't going to come down to you.

RALPH (*mumbles*) That's as high as I can jump!

COACH You'll jump higher if you make this team. Back to the end of the line. Let's go.

He flips the ball to the next boy in line, Eddie, and Ralph moves to the end of the line. Eddie takes the ball, dribbles in, shoots and misses. Again the Coach's whistle SOUNDS SHARPLY. Eddie recovers the ball and waits.

COACH What is this? [A YWCA team [cut]?] I'll have to play you with pogo sticks. Jump!

EDDIE I did jump.

Close Shot—RALPH—as the realization dawns that he hasn't been singled out for discrimination.

COACH'S VOICE Well, jump higher. Get the lead out! Try it again.

Close MOVING SHOT—RALPH as he runs, in, jumps, rings the ball neatly, recovers. The Coach comes forward.

CLOSE SHOT—RALPH as the Coach comes up to him.

COACH Nice shot, Ralph! That's the way to do it!

Ralph, grinning happily, clutches the ball.

COACH *(after a moment)* If you don't mind, the rest of us would like to use the ball.

RALPH *(abashed but happy)* Yes, sir!

Dissolve to: *Johnson Kitchen CLOSE SHOT*—AUNTIE and NANA—night

They are finishing their dinner at the kitchen table as the door bursts open. Ralph enters, excited, happy.

RALPH Sorry I'm late, Nana . . . Aunt Nelle, I made the team. They're going to let me play against Rosemead next week.

Nana smiles in satisfaction [. . .]

RALPH How'd you know I'd make the team?

NANA How'd I know? I know you. Now go wash your hands. *(continuing to herself)* He's beginning to grow up . . . To find out what's in him, and what he can do. And he can do anything he thinks he can. . . anything.

Excerpt #3: UCLA and beyond

UCLA Campus—CLOSE SHOT—Commencement Program—Day

On the program is printed COMMENCEMENT 1927. Nana's fingers clutch it tightly.

RALPH'S VOICE Well, Nana, here it is.

CAMERA PULLS BACK to reveal Ralph. Wearing an academic gown, carrying his cap. Several other students, similarly gowned, pass, nod to Ralph. Behind Nana stand Auntie and Tom. Their smiles are nearly as broad as Nana's.

RALPH The diploma—you're the one who really earned it.

He puts the diploma in Nana's hands. Her eyes threaten to spill over.

AUNTIE Summa cum laude. We're proud of you, Ralph.

NANA It's been a long time. A long, long time. Where's the letter?

RALPH *(startled)* Letter?

NANA The letter from Harvard you worked so hard to sneak out of the house this morning.

Shamefaced, Ralph produces it. Nana takes it, studies it.

RALPH It's a scholarship. I didn't really think they'd accept me. And I didn't think you knew.

TOM It's a great honor, Ralph.

RALPH I can't accept it *(quickly explains)* It covers tuition until I get my Master's Degree. But I'd need travel expenses . . . money for living until I could find a job. Maybe it can wait for a year or two until I get some money together . . . I'll write and ask them to. . . .

NANA You're going now. I've got the money.

RALPH Not this time, Nana. You've done enough for me . . . all of you.

Nana takes a check from her purse, hands it to him.

NANA I stopped by the bank this morning. It's a certified check.

RALPH *(stares unbelievably)* A thousand dollars. *(quickly)* You've been working again? After what the doctor said? You promised me that. . . .

NANA *(caught)* Only a little. Some of it came from friends, people who believe in you like I do.

RALPH *(shakes his head)* I won't let you do it, Nana. You've all done too much already. . . I can't take any more.

NANA I'm paid back a hundred times when I see the respect the other students give you . . . hear the way your teachers talk. You really can't understand, Ralph, without knowing how much times have changed. . . Ever since your grandfather died, I've been carrying a dream in my heart. Don't let it end now. Ralph. Do it for me, for . . . all of us. Do the things we can never do.

Ralph looks at the check, then back at her. His own eyes are full. Slowly he nods.

DISSOLVE TO: Ralph's Room—Harvard—CLOSE SHOT—Seal—Day

STUDENT *(suddenly remembers)* Oh, I picked this up downstairs.

He holds out telegram to Ralph. Apprehension growing in his face, Ralph quickly tears it open. His eyes scan the lines. He turns back to the dresser, leans against it.

STUDENT *(puzzled)* Bad news, Ralph?

RALPH *(his voice low)* My . . . grandmother . . . she's dead.

STUDENT *(awkwardly)* I'm sorry, boy. Gotta go home?

RALPH *(after a long pause)* No . . . No, Nana wouldn't want that. She'd want me to go on.

His eyes go to the framed photograph of Nana on the dresser.

RALPH She's been with me at every graduation.

Following his look the CAMERA MOVES IN to an EXTREME CLOSEUP of the picture.

RALPH'S VOICE I guess maybe she'll be at this one too

DISSOLVE thru to extreme CLOSE SHOT—Diploma . . . as it is presented, and Ralph's hand takes it. CAMERA PULLS BACK to reveal Ralph as he accepts the diploma, shakes the hand of the presenter. CAMERA MOVES IN for EXTREME CLOSEUP of Ralph, his eyes brimming with tears.

DISSOLVE to Ralph's room, Harvard—CLOSE SHOT—Ralph in mirror . . . as he stands before dresser wearing his academic cap and gown. He places the rolled diploma on the dresser before Nana's picture. A muscle in his jaw works as he stares at the picture. He opens the top drawer of the dresser, brings out the cheap, battered scrapbook, opens it tenderly, starts to thumb through the pages, the CAMERA MOVES into EXTREME CLOSEUP of scrapbook.

DISSOLVE to another scrapbook . . . elegantly bound, beautifully mounted, containing large photographs as hand flips through the pages.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

So Ralph 'went on' as a teacher. He returned to Harvard for his Doctorate, then went into the service of his country and ultimately the service of the world.

Page flips to disclose wartime picture of Ralph (now Bunche himself).

NARRATOR'S VOICE

He received a State Department appointment as Senior Social Scientist for Research on Africa and the Colonial Sections.

Another photograph shows Ralph at a conference table.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

By Presidential appointment, he became United States Commissioner on Caribbean Affairs.

Again the page flips to Dumbarton Oaks.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

... assisted in planning the Dumbarton Oaks Conference

Hand turns a page to reveal Ralph at San Francisco Conference.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

... and in framing the Charter of the United Nations

Another picture shows Ralph conducting the Palestine Armistice Negotiations.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

He was appointed United Nations mediator in the Palestine Crisis.

Another picture.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

Then Director of the United Nations Trusteeship Department

The hand quickly turns a blurred succession of pages and pictures and awards.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

His work has taken him to every continent, to every corner of the world. His honorary degrees number thirty-four in the United States alone. In 1950—

The page turns and holds on the Nobel Prize.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

— he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Another page turns to disclose a picture of the United Nations Building.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

Today—

The CAMERA MOVES IN toward the UNITED NATIONS BUILDING.

DISSOLVE thru to—Insert: door bearing sign:

OFFICE OF UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL RALPH J. BUNCHE
--

CAMERA MOVES IN toward the sign.

NARRATOR'S VOICE *(continues)*

—Dr. Ralph Bunche is the highest ranking American in the United Nations. Nana Johnson's grandson ranks in all the world second only to the Secretary General himself.

DISSOLVE thru to—CLOSE SHOT—Nana's Picture . . . as the eyes smile up with benign dignity. The CAMERA PULLS BACK to disclose Dr. Bunche, seated at his desk. He looks up.

DR. BUNCHE What you have seen is a tribute to a very wonderful woman. In the traveling I have done, I have found something of my grandmother in the best of all nations and all races. She taught me that people can be just as bad—or as good as they're taught to be. That is what gives me hope and confidence in the future of our world.

FADE OUT.

☞ THE END ☞

CAVALCADE THEATER WORKSHEET

Name _____ Date _____

1. After reading the Cavalcade Theater script (**Document I–E**), choose one of the following incidents and write a 3–5 page script based on your choice.

- a. Olive and Charlie die. Despondent, Nana becomes ill, but soon concludes that her responsibility is to her grandchildren and arranges for them to come to Los Angeles. Nana's son Tom, who is light-skinned, rents a small house on Griffith Avenue. When the family arrives, the landlord sees that his new tenants are black and changes the locks. Tom says "we have paid the rent and are going in"—and breaks the lock. The family moves in.
- b. Ralph, who earned the highest grade point average at Jefferson High School, is excluded from the Ephebian honor society. He writes in 1969, "I decided to leave school, abandon graduation." Nana encourages him to stay in school. Later, he recalls that he remembered his late mother's words: "Ralph, don't let anything take away your hope and faith and dreams."
- c. Ralph has just graduated from high school, and has a job laying carpet. Most of his friends don't want to go to college; like Ralph, they now have jobs, and the money is good. Most Americans, black or white, do not continue their education after high school. At Nana's urging, Ralph changes his mind.
- d. In 1927, Ralph Bunche has graduated with a major in political science from UCLA. Once again he is class valedictorian. Harvard University awards him a scholarship, but it falls short of the costs. Ralph considers giving up on Harvard, but the Iroquois Friday Morning Club, a group of Los Angeles black women, decide to mount a fundraising campaign to help him. Your script should dramatize the discussion (led by Mrs. Alice Patterson, who initiated the fundraising effort) by the Friday Morning Club's membership approving the commitment.

2. **Alternate Activity.** Use the following prompt to write a short essay on the value of biographical docudramas.

Bunche later wrote that the Cavalcade Theater script took some liberties with the facts but captured his grandmother's character.

How do historians treat a biographical docudrama? To what extent should someone wishing to know about Ralph Bunche rely on the teleplay? What can dramatic presentations do that other kinds of historical documentation cannot? What are the drawbacks of relying on such works?

RALPH BUNCHE SPEECHES
(1926–1927)

Name _____ Date _____

Before reading the two speeches in **Document I–F**, answer the following questions:

1. Based on the documents you have read so far on Bunche’s family and upbringing (and on any reading you have done on African-American life in the 1920s i.e., the Harlem Renaissance and the “New Negro”) would you *predict* that:
 - a. Ralph Bunche would propose that international conflicts such as World War I be prevented? Would Bunche support increasing U.S. armaments and alliances, expanding international organizations, or withdrawing from international alliances? Explain your prediction, referring to the available sources.
 - b. Ralph Bunche would treat the idea of nationalism and racial identity? Explain your prediction, referring to the available sources.
 - c. Ralph Bunche would argue that his generation (African-American men and women in their teens and twenties) differs from their parents and grandparents. Explain your prediction, referring to the available sources.

After reading the speeches, answer these questions:

2. Were your predictions correct? How did were Bunche’s responses different from what you believed he would say?
3. In “That Man May Dwell in Peace,” Bunche condemns “ethnocentric chauvinism” and “dangerous nationalism” as contributors to war and violence. In “Across the Generation Gap”, Bunche appeals to the “racial pride” of his audience. Is there a contradiction here, or does Bunche believe that racial and national identity are consistent with international cooperation? Explain your view, citing from the documents.

RALPH BUNCHE SPEECHES

Ralph Bunche delivered the following two speeches when he was a 23-year-old undergraduate at the UCLA. “That Man May Dwell in Peace” was a speech to the Southern Branch Debating Society, a club he co-founded at UCLA (then called the University of California, Southern Branch) because the speech club refused to admit students of color. Bunche wrote the second selection, “Across the Generation Gap,” as an address to a black audience sometime in 1926 or 1927. In this speech, Bunche refers to a recently segregated public swimming pool in Los Angeles.

“That Man May Dwell in Peace”

Delivered before the Southern Branch Debating Society (1926)

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares; and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation—neither shall they learn war anymore. — Isaiah 2:4

Would that the nations of the world today might witness the fulfillment of this prophecy of Isaiah! What vast, undreamed of achievement might await man would he but devote his entire interest to promoting the common weal of a universal brotherhood! . . .

But twelve years [ago], the ominous rumble of drums summoned forth the pick of the world’s manhood to be offered in unholy sacrifice to a bestial war. During four interminable years the revolting carnage progressed, while a suffering world looked on in silent, helpless terror. *And why this slaughter?*

- “To make the world safe for democracy?”—Can it be said . . . that the world of 1926 is actually “safe for democracy”?
- “To effect disarmament?”—At this very moment every nation of the world is working feverishly to perfect the most *fiendish* devices for human destruction!
- “To protect the rights of minorities?”—Consider the Tyrol, Poland, Romania!
- “To end imperialism, provincialism, aggression?”—In the daily papers we may read of military depredations upon Syria, Morocco, China!

No! The ruthless butchery of 23 million innocent humans offers but a single, an ominous *warning*, emblazoned in the crimson blood of its myriad victims. . . .

The proposal which I would present as an antidote for world “war-poisoning” is centered about *two basic principles*, essential, I believe, to any rational peace plan. These are *International Organization*, involving *every* nation of the world; and the *full development* of the “*International Mind, or Will.*”

. . . But in the development of this Parliament of Man, what is to become of the great virtue of patriotism—of the sentiment of nationality? Is love of country incompatible with the welfare of mankind? Must we altogether condemn nationalism and race pride? No, I think not. Patriotism is noble . . . but, as Nurse Cavell protested in the throes of death, “*Patriotism is not enough!*”¹

. . . Our original Thirteen Colonies were rent by social and economic rivalries, dislikes, distrusts, and sectarian jealousies, comparable in many respects to those prevalent among the nations of the world today. Nevertheless, common bonds of human interest drew them into a single political union in which their differences were dissolved and from which there emerged our present great commonwealth.

May there not be a similar evolution from the League of Nations (or an international organization under any other title, if that may prove more palatable to some)—may there not be evolved a *universal political society*, in which each nation would retain its individuality, its nationality? . . . Essentially, the welfare of the world body must take precedence over nationalistic interests in periods of crisis.

But international organization of itself *is not enough!* The bare framework of a world league and court constitutes no guarantee of perpetual or even immediate peace! The soul of international organization must be

determined in the *spirit* evinced by the peoples of the world—all peoples and nations must *think* of themselves as component parts of the whole. . . .

World Courts, world leagues, world pacts of *all sorts*, are *futile* unless *solidly* backed by an international citizenry resolutely *demanding* peace and willing to *sacrifice* for its realization. . . . Treaties are, when signed, only what the nations and the signatory governments make of them. They may for the moment close the gates of conflict, but at any time the devastating war-flood may again be unloosed!

The world must, then, look to the cultivation of a universal *desire* for peace—a universal *cooperation* among *all peoples* that a *lasting peace* may be attained.

It will be immediately urged that such a foundation cannot be laid without a rather comprehensive *change* in human nature.

I believe, before permanent peace can *ever* be achieved by this strife-ridden world, such a “change” is *absolutely* essential. The League [of Nations] and the [World] Court are assuredly commendable steps in the proper direction, but the physical framework without the *soul*—without *universal goodwill*—is impotent.

We must *cultivate a spirit of World brotherhood!* But many will insist that such a process is quite outside the realm of practicability and at best but idealistic.

However . . . hatreds are superficial—based upon fear, ignorance, blind prejudice, or a desire to dominate for selfish ends. . . . If people can, by *educational processes*, mutually arrive at greater understanding and sympathy, these hatreds will in large measure be dissipated. For *understanding* eschews dislikes, vitiates fear, and gives rise to faith and trust in which lies the spirit of cooperation.

. . . Let us here in America assume the lead and begin to sow propaganda for *world peace just as intensely* as we sowed *vicious, destructive, hatred-instilling propaganda* during the World War. Let us call a halt to all *ethnocentric chauvinism*—to that type of *dangerous “nationalism”* which teaches school children that, right or wrong, their nation is always *right!* Let us begin *immediately* the development of a *universal, rational-minded citizenry*, converted to world peace, conscious of membership in a world fraternity of nations and peoples, and willing to make both individual and national sacrifices to the end that *world-tranquility may be eternally preserved!*



Across the Generation Gap

(ca. 1926–1927)

It occurs to me that the older and younger generations of our race are quite estranged.—They live, so to speak, in worlds apart.—They lead different lives, think differently upon differing issues, and are too often arraigned against one another. But the good of our kind demands *universal unity*.

I sincerely hope that the *general* opinion of the younger Negro as held by the older folk isn’t that generally expressed in the customary barbershop ballyhooing.

I rarely ever step into my barbershop but what I hear some “old-timer” ranting and raving about the evils of modern-day society.

He invariably disparages the young Negro.—Calls him wild—criminal—evil—everything but good. And without fail he ends up by the sinister prophecy that the young Negro of today is dancing and “motoring” his way straight to hell. You all know the type—and the future of the race is indeed a dark and ominous one, if we are to accept his rantings as gospel. But I’m not so inclined.

And so it is, perhaps, a good thing that we may be permitted to exchange ideas—true, the exchange may be an unequal one—for your ideas are the children of a far more fertile experience than ours—but there really is, you know, much that is truthful in that well-known saying “*Out of the mouths of babes.*”

In taking up some of our more immediate problems, it is no doubt appropriate to dwell briefly upon one which is most timely at present—namely *politics*. . . .

Due to the very nature of the circumstances surrounding its emancipation, the Negro Race became almost solidly Republican in its party affiliation. And this position it has, and largely continues to maintain, to the

present day. Whenever a block of Negro votes is to be found, there is a block of Republican votes. And this irrespective of the merits or demerits of the party candidate. . . .

Such an attitude has had its advantages in the past—likewise its disadvantages. But I believe such a policy has fulfilled its mission and is no longer called for today.

I think that I can truthfully sound a warning to you that the New Negro isn't thinking in terms of *Republican* or *Democrat* any longer—he is thinking in terms of *men* and *merits*!

The young Negro will no longer support a candidate merely because he signs his name—*John So and So*—Republican. We don't intend to follow in the rut of single-track Republicanism or anything elseism. We are interested not so much in knowing the candidate's party affiliation as in knowing what he *has* done—and what he is *likely to do*—and more important—what are the probabilities of his benefiting the Race?

The young Negro voter is becoming emancipated from the chains of traditional blind party allegiance just as surely as our forebears were freed of the more obvious but no more restricting bonds of physical servitude.

. . . Then to dwell a bit upon an ever-vital question among our group—that of racial discrimination and segregation.

Whatever may be the attitude of you older people toward this dastardly practice of insolently slapping the Race in the face, I can tell, in all sincerity, that there is a violently smoldering fire of indignation among those of us who are younger in years and who have not yet become inured to such insults.

And I sincerely offer the prayer that we never shall become so.

I hope that the future generations of our Race rise as one to combat this vicious habit at every opportunity until it is completely broken down.

I want to tell you that when I think of such outrageous atrocities as this latest swimming pool incident, which has been perpetuated upon Los Angeles Negroes, my blood boils.

And when I see my people so foolhardy as to patronize such a place, and thus give it their sanction, my disgust is trebled.

Any Los Angeles Negro who would go bathing in that dirty hole with that sign "For Colored Only," gawking down at him in insolent mockery of his Race, is either a fool or a traitor to his kind.

It is true [that] we have made a rather feeble protest against it. But why stop with that—because of a slight setback? Must we go on passively like lambs in the fold and accept such conditions, which can only be the forerunner of greater discriminations in the future?

Or should we not rise in a body to fight such an absurd action in a state which guarantees freedom and equality to all alike?

If we have a segregated swimming pool—segregated in the ultimate sense of the word, too—for that pool is for colored and colored only—no white people are admitted—though there are white residents in the neighborhood who desire to make use of this so-called public utility.

If we accept this, can't you see that we will only too soon have separate, inferior schools, parks, and who knows, perhaps even *jim-crow cars* forced upon us?

. . . And this leads to the final topic . . . *education*.

Education, to the Negro, is the keynote for his advancement. Education is the panacea for his ills.

Young Negroes must attain higher education in increasingly larger numbers. Else we need not hope to successfully compete with other peoples.

We must meet their standards or be left in the rut. And heaven knows we've been in the rut long enough already.

And it's up to all of you older folks to lend encouragement and help to the coming generations in their struggle for education. Other races do it, so why not ours?

Our youngsters have a terribly difficult task in their efforts to obtain an education as it is, and we can hope to educate the Race universally only by an extensive, spontaneous spirit of helpfulness on the part of the older folks.

There is much that our Negro businessmen can do in aiding aspiring Race students along such lines as part-time employment, scholarship awards, etc. Our local business agencies and our many clubs as well have wonderful opportunities of aiding the educational movement.

... We have *youth*—we have *racial pride*—we have *indomitable will* and boundless optimism for the future.—So we can't help but come out on top of the heap!

True, we have certain modern ways and mannerisms which some of you can't quite reconcile with what you term "decency." But times change, you know. Short skirts, bobbed hair, dancing the Charleston, etc. All find accord in the conventions of today.

So don't disparage us too much for our modernism. We are merely the children of our age just as you were in your youth.

All we ask is for you to lend us a helping hand—jump on the band-wagon with us, and we'll assure you that by the time we've had the advantage of a few more years experience, we'll make you all *proud* of the young Negro.

He'll make his mark in the world today, just as you have made yours; and then he'll go you one better!



The Santa Monica and Venice beaches in Los Angeles, California had a boundary called the "cross" between the "Black" and "White" sections. This picture of African Americans at the "cross" was taken around the time that Ralph Bunche was attending UCLA (ca. 1925).

RALPH BUNCHE ON RACIAL IDENTITY

Historical Background on “Passing”

In 2000, the U.S. census for the first time offered Americans the opportunity to claim descent from two or more ethnic groups. About 2.4% of respondents, representing perhaps 2.5–3 million people, identified their heritage as multicultural.

When Ralph Bunche was a young man, this kind of choice did not exist.

Since the American Revolution, laws in many states had defined “Negro” as a person possessing as little as one-sixteenth African-American ancestry—one great-great grandparent out of sixteen. In Virginia, the “one-drop” rule enacted in 1924 defined anyone with a single drop of ancestral African blood as “black.” The law was meant to “protect the racial purity” of white Americans and to ensure the racial superiority of white Virginians. In order to ensure an imagined racial purity, more than half the states in the early 20th century forbade marriages between whites and non-whites, a practice called “race-mixing” or “miscegenation.”

In practice, the color line was difficult to enforce. A slave owner could (and many did) force himself on enslaved women. And, outside the reach of state authority, men and women willingly developed relationships across racial lines.

In the early 20th century, Jim Crow segregationism sought to minimize interactions between black and white communities. However, African Americans who appeared white were sometimes able to abandon their natal identity altogether and “pass” into the white community.

While passing afforded personal freedoms and economic opportunities unavailable to African Americans, it was terrifically controversial. Race-baiting whites believed that passing undermined white identity and purity. Meanwhile, many African-Americans, considered passing to be an act of self-loathing and communal betrayal.

Having married or taken a job, a person held on to a secret whose discovery could destroy all that had been built. Therefore, anyone who passed often had to sever public ties with family and old friends. The sense of personal loss could be very large, a theme explored by novelist Nella Larsen in *Passing* (1929). Larsen, whose parents were African-American and Danish, had to choose white or black identity; in the United States, she could not choose both. She chose black. So did Bunche. It is possible, however, to find some relationship between his thoughts on passing and his views of race generally.

Source One

In 1969 Bunche prepared an article about his grandmother for *Reader's Digest* titled “My Most Unforgettable Character.” This section on her views on race was cut from the final version (Urquhart 1993, 31).

Nana could be regarded as an optional Negro. She was entirely Caucasian in appearance. Her twin brother Frank, in fact, “passed over” into the white sector as a youth. “White” as Nana was outside, she was all black pride and fervor inside. . . . Nana was fiercely proud of her origin and her race, and everyone in our “clan” got the race-pride message very early in life.

Source Two

Ralph Bunche was again quoted on the subject of his race in the “Notes and Comment” column of the *New Yorker* (1972, 1:15, 20).

Nana . . . looked like a white and was often mistaken for one. Once, in Los Angeles, where we lived in a mostly white neighborhood, a salesman for cemetery plots came by and gave my grandmother a sales pitch, one of his selling points being that they didn’t allow Negroes or Jews in the cemetery. Well, she got a broom and

chased him out of the house. Another time, the principal of my high school, when I was graduating, said to her, 'Mrs. Johnson, we're sorry to lose Ralph. We've never thought of him as a Negro.' My grandmother said to him, 'How dare you insult our race?' . . .

As a youth in Los Angeles, I began to develop real racial consciousness for the first time. I had had some racial experiences before, but it was in Los Angeles that my thinking about race began. I recall some inner feeling of resentment as not being "Negro" enough, as compared with my Negro chums . . . I felt somehow racially shortchanged.

Source Three

In 1959, Ralph Bunche received a letter from a Washington, D.C. man asking for his advice on his own family's experience of race. Though he had never met the man, Bunche responded. The following exchange of letters occurred when Bunche was 56 years old. However, the issue in these letters—passing as white—recalls ideas from Bunche's own family upbringing. (*Bunche Papers*, Special Collections, UCLA, Box 127).

"R" to Ralph Bunche

Dear Dr. Bunche,

Excuse me, a stranger, for bringing you my personal problems, but they are of such a nature that I feel only someone with your . . . experience in the world can begin to help me. And I ask of you only the beginning of help—perhaps a suggestion as to who to turn to—since I know personal counseling is not your regular business.

I have been happily married for four years now, but it has been a shaky kind of happiness that has depended on my ability to walk the tightrope of a dilemma. Lately prospects of ever finding a solid footing have become increasingly dimmer, and along with it I've begun to lose my sense of balance. Today my wife and I have finally faced up to the fact that we cannot go on in this precarious posture forever, and that over the long haul love alone cannot make it tenable.

But I think it would be an extreme tragedy for two people who love each other to be compelled to separate because of unmanageable psychological and sociological problems.

My problem stems from the fact that I look white enough to pass. I never had any inclinations to pass until I graduated from college, but I remember being bothered by the need to always have to explain that I was colored. I soon learned that everyone took it for granted that I was white unless I took the initiative to correct the impression. Unless I told everyone I met that I was not white, it had the same effect as passing. I dwell on this because I want you to know that initially, at least, it is more trouble trying not to pass than it is to pass. I remember when I was drafted that I carefully made all the correct entries in the "race" blocks, but whenever the interviewer filled in the forms, he invariably marked me caucasian so that my Army records to this day are a confused mishmash. Once a clerk noticed the discrepancy and after I explained it to him he made me initial every Negro entry as if to protect himself in case I was lying.

Nevertheless, it was not until I finished college that I began to take part in the deception. [In the margin of this letter, Bunche scribbled: "usual chain reaction result"] I took a job (sight unseen) as a reporter on a small town daily in western Pennsylvania. . . . When I arrived I sensed that there were few, if any, Negroes in the town and I decided that I might make out better if I maintained the misconception. This simply meant giving vague answers to the occasional questions of ancestry (race was never questioned). My favorite device was to answer "American" when someone asked me my nationality, and this usually stopped them long enough to change the subject.

I was also obliged to keep secret my family and associations in Philadelphia. Essentially this meant no photos, no visits. Not too difficult as long as I avoided developing close personal relationships, and since I planned to stay only a year (to chalk up some experience).

I stayed two years, and it was the personal friendships that held me. . . . The draft finally took me away from there, and the period is almost a closed book, except for the mark on my future actions.

In the Army there was no need to pass, and I made no effort to do so, but at the same time I made less effort to keep the record straight. . . .

Toward the end of my tour I met and fell in love with a wonderful Japanese girl. . . . I courted her with all possible fervor and swept away her family's objections and Army red tape to marry her. . . .

Naturally I told my prospective wife about my racial background, but since I wanted her to marry me I told her in the most favorable way I could. She had never met any Negroes and had hardly ever seen any, so it was hard for her to comprehend Negro life in America, especially with me trying to gloss over the problems. I told her that I was confident that when she met my family and Negro friends, she would like them and understand them and hardly be affected by prejudice. I'm just beginning to realize how mistaken I was in every way.

To begin with, she chose not to tell her family about my background, but wanted to wait and see. I think she confided in only one or two friends in a limited way (not telling the full degree of my ancestry) and they assured her that it would be all right considering I looked the way I did. . . .

The great misfortune is that the American occupation influenced Japan in more than material ways. America's prejudices against the Negroes were brought into the country, too (and adopted) along with all the myths and fears about the black man. There was no one to explain the real reasons Negroes were discriminated against. The mere fact that Americans, i.e., white Americans, did not want to associate with Negroes made a strong impression and implied that something was wrong with the Negroes. . . .

So I condoned my wife's refusal to show my family's picture to her family because I knew the Japanese had adopted the American prejudices. But also I was confident that this reluctance and fear would be overcome when she met my family.

I'm proud of my family and think they're pretty great. At least they've been trying like the dickens. We've always been pretty poor, and it's been a struggle, but of the five children, three have finished college (my younger brother is now a doctor) and the two younger girls are at Temple and the University of Pennsylvania. My mother had been a social worker until she had a cerebral hemorrhage . . . the day before I graduated from Temple University . . . and has been a semi-invalid ever since. . . . My father, a carpenter, is poorly educated, but has made a small reputation in local politics.

When we visited my family in Philadelphia, they took an immediate liking to my wife, as most people do because of her outgoing and extremely personable nature. But she did not take a liking to them at all. She especially disliked my mother (who has always been highly respected by everyone she meets, and was voted "mother of the year" by a group in Philadelphia a few years ago).

Her reasons were mostly petty, I thought, and until very recently I felt that her dislike of my mother was based somehow on an exaggerated fear of competition for my affections. I have since come to realize that it is based mostly on her fear of being related to Negroes. I was misled about this because she is, at the same time, strongly anti-segregation, and on occasion has come home from work in tears because she had been in a heated argument with some southerner or other about segregation. . . .

But in the end, she lost [the argument] because she was bombarded with all the distorted and ill-explained arguments against Negroes, and they left their mark on her. And these are hard to overcome with simple explanations of "why" they are so. Unfortunately, also, my family lives in a poor neighborhood, and our visits have only served to leave with her an extremely unfavorable impression of Negroes in general. . . . All these things together, I suppose, have made her less and less willing to become identified with Negroes and become an object of the vehemence thrown against them.

And what can I say to encourage her when I myself have been running from the same thing?

My present job has brought me into contact with an extremely liberal group (mostly writers) who give at least strong lip service to desegregation (while joining the exodus to the lily white suburbs), and I am almost certain that my racial background would not make any difference to most of them. And yet I have not been able

to bring myself to unmask. I am plagued by unknown fears, real and unreal, important and unimportant, such things as fear that I'll be the subject of constant gossip by those who don't understand and who are not liberal. But even if I did unmask, I don't see how it could solve my wife's problems, which might possibly aggravate them.

... Is the only answer divorce? We both love each other, but she recently admitted that she would not have married me if she had fully understood about the Negro problem. And yet more recently she has said she wants to have my baby. But she is highly emotional about not wanting herself or her children to be victims of the prejudice against Negroes, and how can I deny sympathy with this attitude. The contention over visiting my family and their visiting us is becoming increasingly more intolerable. . . .

Dr. Bunche, can you tell me of someone I can talk to? Someone my wife would listen to and respect?

Yours respectfully and in all sincerity,

R.
Washington, DC

Ralph Bunche to "R"

Dear R.,

The experiences and thought patterns which you began to have once you began to "pass", and still have, are the usual chain-reaction results and psychological quirks familiar to all of those who "pass".

Quite frankly, in reading your letter carefully I cannot escape the conclusion that your continuing tendency toward "passing" is really the crux of your problem. You clearly have not broken away from it. . . . This being so, the problem is basically with you and not with your wife. How can you expect her, a non-American, to think and see straight on the racial issue when you actually set for her such a poor example and have done so from the time you first knew her in Japan? Since your actions convey serious doubts about the desirability of being a Negro, how can she be expected not to have any?

... It seems clear to me that you need to make up your own mind first, straighten out your own thinking, and then try to remove from your wife's mind—and that now could well be a slow and difficult process—the doubt about your race that you yourself have helped her to nurture.

I would have to say, however, that if she has developed racial attitudes which permanently affect her attitude toward you, then the question may well be asked whether there can ever be real love not based on respect.

Source Four

Before he joined the United Nations, Ralph Bunche wrote a book titled *A World View of Race*. The following is an excerpt from that book (Bunche 1936A, 6–7).

Since there is no homogeneity within any given "race" it follows that there can be no clear line of distinction between one race and another. Because of the great overlapping in biological features among groups of peoples, it is clear also that general descriptions of so-called racial groups need have no application to individual members of a group... It may be true that "all Negroes look alike" to some white men who are socially conditioned to regard Negroes in this light. But it is equally true that all Negroes are *not* alike, that the particular set of physical characteristics ascribed to the Negro "race" by . . . racial theorist[s] are subject to great variability among the members of the group . . . and that these same physical traits . . . will be found in varying degree among many whites. . . . In consequence, on the basis of any scientific standards, we are forced to conclude that existing racial divisions are *arbitrary, subjective and devoid of meaning*.

WORKSHEET
“PASSING”

Name _____ Date _____

1. Drawing from and citing the “Historical Background” and sources in **Document I–G**, sum up in three to four sentences Ralph Bunche’s opinion of “passing.”

2. Sources One and Two suggest Ralph Bunche’s early experiences with racial identity. How might these experiences explain Bunche’s advice to “R” in Source Three?

3. In Source Four, written in 1937, Bunche asserts that the concept of “race” has no scientific meaning. Does this view support or contradict Bunche’s earliest thoughts about racial identity, discussed in Sources One and Two and in his speech “Across the Generation Gap” (**Document I–F**)? Why or why not?

4. If race has no biological meaning (Source Four), why does Bunche proudly assert his own racial identity? Discuss, with reference to the “Historical Background” section of **Document I–G** and to Bunche’s speech in **Document I–F**, “Across the Generation Gap.”

5. How might Bunche’s attitudes towards race, developed in the 1920s, have shaped his strategy for combating American racism and segregation in the 1930s as well as in negotiating international conflicts in his roles with the United Nations from the 1940s–1960s?

Bunche is Accused of Communism

In 1953, Ralph Bunche was accused of earlier membership in the Communist Party and sympathy with Communist ideology. In the highly charged political environment of the early Cold War, such charges might easily have destroyed his career.

During the 1930s, the Communist Party—unlike both Republicans and Democrats—opposed racial discrimination in the United States (see Lesson 2). A few activists joined and remained with the Party well after World War II. Many more, such as civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, briefly joined the party in the 1930s, resigning their membership after the Soviet Union signed a 1939 non-aggression agreement with Nazi Germany and instructed the American Communist Party (CPUSA) to drop its anti-fascist and anti-racist campaigns.

Still others, Ralph Bunche among them, found the Soviet dictatorship—reflected in the CPUSA's policies and internal structure—repellent. Sympathetic to socialism in these years, Bunche reasoned that socialism without democracy would be little better than fascism.

Hitler ultimately betrayed the non-aggression pact, bringing the USSR and the United States into an uneasy alliance against Germany. With the war's end, that alliance unraveled with frightening speed. By 1948, Soviet-supported Communist dictatorships controlled Eastern Europe, while a standoff over the divided city of Berlin threatened to lead the two rivals to war. Between Spring 1949 and Autumn 1950, the USSR successfully tested its first atom bomb, the Chinese communists won their revolution, and the Communist North Korean army invaded non-communist South Korea.

Meanwhile, it was revealed that the USSR had established an extensive network of spies at in the U.S. and British governments and defense establishments. The work of these agents, most of them members of the Communist Party, had accelerated the Soviet Union's development of nuclear weapons.¹ In the wake of these revelations, anti-Communism became the order of the day. By the late 1940s, the federal Loyalty Board, the House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC) the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (better known as the McCarran Committee), Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, and dozens of other federal and state agencies investigated the political backgrounds of thousands of Americans.

Among the era's anticommunist regulations was one which forbidding any U.S. citizen working for an international organization to maintain or conceal Communist ties. And so, in 1953, the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee (better known as the McCarran Committee) opened an investigation of Ralph Bunche. Evidence came from two former Communists, who testified that Bunche had been a member, that the National Negro Congress, which Bunche co-founded in the 1930s, was a Communist front organization, and that Bunche's views echoed those of the CPUSA.

Of course, Bunche had never belonged to the CPUSA and had long repudiated its principles. Communists had indeed taken control of the National Negro Congress before World War II—and when they did, Bunche had resigned his membership. John P. Davies, the National Negro Congress leader who had engineered the NNC's Communist alignment, risked his own reputation by appearing before the federal Loyalty Board, revealing his own role in detail, and testifying that Bunche had categorically rejected Party.

In May 1954, the Loyalty Board unanimously supported Bunche's case. That summer, President Eisenhower's Justice Department charged the witnesses against Bunche with lying under oath. Bunche had been vindicated.

¹ Evidence for this spy ring came from the so-called "Verona" cables, secret coded communications between the Soviet Union and its embassy in Washington D.C. The USSR learned that its codes had been broken almost as soon as American officials began reading the transcripts, a fact the U.S. shortly discovered. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower refused to reveal the decoded Verona transcripts, which would have settled some of the heated debates over the guilt or innocence of those accused of spying for the USSR. While some of the investigations focused on genuine espionage, others smeared supporters of civil rights and organized labor as "fellow travelers". Travesties of justice, such "witch hunts" could easily shatter a reputation, a career, and a family.

LESSON TWO

RALPH BUNCHE AND BLACK POLITICAL LIFE 1928–1941

A. OBJECTIVES

- ♦ Analyze major viewpoints and controversies among African-American political activists and intellectuals in the early 1930s.
- ♦ Evaluate Ralph Bunche’s distinctive contributions to the debate over African-American civil rights during the 1930s.
- ♦ Evaluate the relationship between civil rights activism in the United States and anticolonial activism in Africa, identifying Bunche’s contribution to both.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY ONE: African-American Intellectuals and Activists in the 1930s

1. Assign roles and have students present **Document II–A**, “The Documents Speak: The American Dilemma, 1928–1941.” Have the presenters stand in a line and take a step forward to read their respective parts.
2. Introduce the unit by asking students to read **Historical Background Two**, “Ralph Bunche and Black Political Life During the 1930s” or present a lecture to students on its themes. Though not essential, it will be useful for students to have some knowledge of: (a) African-American life between 1890 and 1930 (particularly the rise of Jim Crow segregation, the DuBois–Washington debate, Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the Harlem Renaissance) and (b) of the European colonization of Africa (particularly the 1885 Berlin Conference, and the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia).
3. Have students complete **Worksheet 8**, either as an individual assignment or a group activity.

ACTIVITY TWO: Ralph Bunche and African-American Political Strategies

1. Give all students a copy of **Document Set One**, a set of Ralph Bunche quotes expressing his views on race and civil rights. Have students read the sources and then respond to the questions in **Worksheet 9**, either at home or in class.
2. Divide students into groups. Assign each group of students one of the sources in **Document Set Two**, providing enough copies of the source for each group member. Distribute **Worksheet 10** and ask the students to answer the questions posed there once they have read their assigned source. Note that **Worksheet 10** asks students to make the comparison by drawing a Venn diagram. These should be as large as possible—presented on butcher paper or poster board. Once complete, these diagrams should be posted around the room.
3. Use one of the following methods to share the findings of each group.

Alternative 1:

Ask each group to rise and present its Venn Diagram while other students take notes on these explanations. A “meeting of the minds” or debate/discussion can then follow.

Alternative 2: [Note: This activity takes up some space, so if you do not have a large room, move students to such a room, or have them go to another large space such as a cafeteria, theater, or open yard.]

- a) Assign one student to be Ralph Bunche. Have this student stand in the middle of the instructional area.
 - b) Instruct all other groups to position themselves close to or far from “Ralph Bunche,” depending on how much their assigned strategist would have agreed with Bunche. (An example: advocates for a 49th exclusively African-American state would stand relatively far from Bunche, while Norman Thomas’s Democratic Socialists would stand nearby).
 - c) Have each group present its case for choosing where to stand. Then ask “Ralph Bunche” whether he wants to make any adjustments, and have him explain why he moved nearer to or farther from particular groups.
 - d) To extend this activity further, have groups talk to each other about their own views, and to choose a distance from one another which reflects the similarity (close) or differences (far) from one another.
4. Debriefing: Have students complete **Worksheet 11** and add their work to the surveys they posted around the room for **Lesson One**.

ACTIVITY THREE: Ralph Bunche and Anticolonial Activism in Africa

Before reading these documents, students will benefit from an introduction to Nazi racial ideology and to events leading to World War II. This is not, however, essential.

1. Distribute **Document Set Three** and **Worksheet 12**. Instruct the students to review the questions on the worksheet before reading the sources. Then they should use the worksheet to take notes as they read. Explain that they will use their reading notes during the class discussion.
2. Once students have read the set of documents, engage them in a guided all-class discussion about the documents. The following are talking points for that discussion:
 - a) Bunche’s perspective in “Race and Imperialism” was, some students may suggest, Communist or Socialist. In fact, Bunche considered himself during the 1930s to be a Socialist. He distrusted Soviet influence in the Communist Party, a distrust which deepened in the 1940s and 1950s.
 - b) Students should be able to recognize difference between **Source Three** and the two previous sources. They will note that while Bunche was deeply critical of French and British policies in the mid-1930s, he is far less so by 1940. Most students will understand that World War II explains this shift in Bunche’s thinking. What students may not recognize, is a deeper shift from the Socialist economic determinism of Bunche’s 1930s work towards a liberal emphasis on political human rights and political institutions, typical of his thinking in the 1940s through early 1960s.

THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK

The American Dilemma, 1928–1941

In 1920 Oscar C. Brown, Sr. was Corresponding Secretary for the Beta Chapter (Howard University) of the African-American fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha of America. He went on to become a real estate developer in Chicago but remained active in civil rights issues. In 1935 he authored “For a 49th (All-Black) State,” a proposal for an all-Black state (Aptheker 1990, 94–90).

In the United States of America, the Negro has been scorned as a social leper, denied reasonable protection under the law, prohibited from earning a decent living for himself, trampled upon because of his economic and numerical weakness, and maltreated in a thousand other ways. . . . We propose, therefore, the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers; wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity; wherein they can become respected, industrious, thrifty citizens. . . .



Paul Robeson was an accomplished actor and singer. He found in his tours around the world that Blacks had an equality he did not experience at home in the United States. While touring in Russia in 1935, he made the following statement (“I Breathe Freely,” Aptheker 1990, 133–137).

In Soviet Russia I breathe freely for the first time in my life. It is clear, whether a Negro is politically a Communist or not, that of all the nations in the world, the modern Russians are our best friends. . . . I came here because the Soviet Union is the only place where . . . the Africans, instead of preserving their own culture, are fighting the idea of “be what you are, and go European as soon as they can.”



Best known for his poetry, James Weldon Johnson also wrote a few books. The following oft-quoted extract is from his book *Negro Americans: What Now?* (Johnson 1938, 103).

The pledge to myself which I have endeavored to keep through the greater part of my life is: I WILL NOT ALLOW ONE PREJUDICED PERSON OR ONE MILLION OR ONE HUNDRED MILLION TO BLIGHT MY LIFE. I WILL NOT LET PREJUDICE OR ANY OF ITS ATTENDANT HUMILIATIONS AND INJUSTICES BEAR ME DOWN TO SPIRITUAL DEFEAT. MY INNER LIFE IS MINE, AND I SHALL DEFEND AND MAINTAIN ITS INTEGRITY AGAINST ALL THE POWERS OF HELL.



The following is an excerpt from a speech that Congressman (R) Oscar De Priest gave to the House of Representatives on May 3, 1933 (Aptheker 1990, 4:11). From Chicago, De Priest was the first black politician outside of the South to be elected to Congress.

I am appealing to the Christian, law-abiding people of America . . . to help maintain law and order in America and abolish this blight on our American jurisprudence known as lynching. . . . The provisions in the Constitution must be safeguarded, so that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and due process of law means a fair and impartial trial for every citizen of our country. He who stands idly by . . . will be guilty of . . . negligence in not routing this monster of race prejudice. . . .

A sociologist and a professor, W.E.B. DuBois was also a leading African-American activist who advocated Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism. He made the following appeal in June 1934 (Wright 2001, 504–6).

If you have passed your resolution “No segregation, Never and Nowhere,” what are you going to do about it? Let me tell you what you are going to do. You are going back to continue to make your living in a Jim-Crow school; you are going to dwell in a segregated section of the city; you are going to pastor a Jim-Crow Church; you are going to occupy political office because of Jim-Crow political organizations that stand back of you and force you into office. All these things and a thousand others you are going to do because you have got to. If you are going to do this, why not say so? What are you afraid of? . . . If you do believe in the extraordinary accomplishment of the Negro Church and the Negro college, the Negro school and the Negro newspaper, then say so and say so plainly.

The following text is from a handbill published by the New Negro Alliance, or NNA (Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University). The NNA, established in Washington in 1933, swelled with Howard University student and faculty members. Since Bunche did not support the organization’s racial exclusivity and also believed that actions against one business at a time were futile and counterproductive, he did not join (Holloway 2002, 57).

TO ALL FAIR-MINDED PEOPLE: JUSTICE IS ESSENTIAL TO AMERICANISM.

For one year (since June 25, 1938) The New Negro Alliance has picketed two of Peoples Drug Stores located in colored neighborhoods because the firm has refused to employ or promote colored persons as clerks in these stores where the preponderance of their trade is colored. They insist on keeping their colored employees in the most menial positions and at the average salary of \$15.79 per week, although seeking the colored trade which keeps these stores profitable.

PEOPLES POLICY IS ESSENTIALLY UNFAIR AND UN-AMERICAN.

WHAT YOU CAN AND SHOULD DO: STAY OUT OF ALL PEOPLES DRUG STORES.

RALPH BUNCHE AND BLACK POLITICAL LIFE DURING THE 1930s

Earning a Masters Degree from Harvard University in 1928, Ralph Bunche received an invitation to join the faculty at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Already among the nation's premier all-black colleges, Howard had just embarked on a campaign to strengthen its academic programs. Learning of Bunche's exceptional work at UCLA and Harvard, Howard President Mordecai Johnson put the 25-year-old at the helm of the university's Political Science department.

If Bunche brought energy, discipline and intellectual rigor to his new assignment, Washington D.C. gave him much in return. Little known to white Washingtonians, the city's black residents called theirs the "Secret City." A metropolis of the segregated South, Washington was also among the most important centers of African-American intellectual and cultural life. His years in Washington gave him the opportunity to join a nationwide debate then raging among African-American activists over the most effective means to challenge the country's racialized caste system.

By the 1930s, economic conditions among African Americans had grown desperate. Blacks who had migrated from the South to Detroit, New York, Chicago and other industrial centers lost their factory jobs to the Depression. In the rural South, collapsing cotton prices further impoverished those who worked the land as tenants and sharecroppers. Meanwhile, the Jim Crow system of racial segregation remained largely undisturbed.

Before the 1930s, a few personalities such as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey had dominated African American responses to such calamity. By the mid-1930s, only Du Bois was still alive. Approaching his seventies, he harbored growing doubts that the United States would ever really extend full civil rights to African Americans. Over this and other issues, he parted ways with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the organization he had helped found.

No one individual took Du Bois's place. Instead, dozens of activists championing divergent views engaged in a wide-ranging debate over political strategy.

While some African-American leaders remained loyal to the Republican Party's values of property and propriety, many others found themselves attracted to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and the northern white liberals (particularly the President's wife Eleanor) who championed civil rights within the Democratic Party.

Many African Americans were deeply skeptical of either party. These skeptics reminded their readers that the Democratic Party had practically invented southern segregation, lynch mobs, and race baiting. Though northern Democrats professed a newfound racial liberalism, those who doubted Democratic Party credentials should wait until the party's "liberals" openly repudiated their southern colleagues. Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt, whose New Deal programs depended upon Southern congressional support, would not do so.

As for Republicans, critics noted that fifty years had elapsed since that party had made any serious effort to deliver on the promise of Reconstruction. While Republicans generally offered a few appointments to prominent black supporters, this tokenism did not compensate for the party's studied refusal to take on segregation with anything like the moral fervor that had possessed some Republicans after the Civil War.

Those who rejected both major parties offered any number of solutions. Among the most popular in the mid-1930s were Socialism and Communism. Unlike the Republican and Democratic parties, Socialists and Communists actively defended African-American civil liberties, sometimes at considerable risk. Those who rejected the Communist Party for its Soviet ties (and Bunche was among these) welcomed the Party's assistance on issues ranging from the organization of Alabama sharecroppers to defense of the "Scottsboro Boys", nine black teenagers falsely accused of rape in 1931. A Socialist Party, led by Norman Thomas, helped organize a bi-racial tenant farmer union in Arkansas and opposed racially exclusive industrial unionism in the North.

Emphasis on greater government control or outright ownership of businesses turned many property-owning African Americans against Socialist or Communist parties. Some, following in the footsteps of Booker Washington or Marcus Garvey, stressed economic self-reliance. Still others put their energies into their churches or fraternal organizations. Some activists called on the United States to create a 49th all-black state, while others called for blacks to take up farming, join labor unions, boycott racist businesses, or seek relief from segregation in the nation's court system.

The black press proved a welcoming home to much of this debate. In the pages of a single issue of the NAACP's *Crisis* or the Urban League's *Opportunity*, columnists advocating Communism, private enterprise, the Democratic Party, and church-based charitable giving all vied for the attention.

Ralph Bunche vigorously participated in these debates. Since his years at UCLA, Bunche had publicly expressed his impatience with what he perceived as the unnecessary caution and deference of an older generation of civil rights leaders. Though deeply skeptical of any racially exclusive civil rights organization, Bunche supported and participated in Washington-area boycotts organized by Howard students against area businesses which refused to hire people of color, organized a defense of Howard against members of Congress skeptical of its reputation for student activism, and built organizations to challenge the economic inequality which, he believed, lay at the root of African-American oppression.

For Bunche, however, racism was not merely an American problem. His research in Africa and among Africans living in London and Paris had persuaded him that the race issue could not be fully resolved in the United States unless it was resolved worldwide.

Like many African Americans, Bunche was deeply troubled by Africa's recent history. Divided among European powers in 1885, nearly the entire continent had been colonized by 1930. Only Liberia (established to resettle former American slaves) and Ethiopia remained independent.

Then, in 1935, the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini began Ethiopia's conquest. Though Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie organized a stout resistance, his June 1936 appeal to the League of Nations for support against Mussolini won him little support. For many African Americans, the invasion of Ethiopia demonstrated the importance of common political action among Africans dispersed throughout the world.

As a specialist in African affairs, Bunche had written a dissertation comparing the French administration of Dahomey (now Benin) to British governance of Togo. In the late 1930s, Bunche embarked on an even more ambitious trek: a two-year journey which took him through South Africa, eastern Congo, Uganda and Kenya—and from there to Singapore, Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia), and China. Returning home with film footage, photographs, and pages of research notes all running into the thousands, Bunche was prepared to write an extensive account of the impact of European colonization among the peoples of the Indian Ocean and South China Sea.

The book Bunche would have written undoubtedly would have stressed the issues he introduced in his shorter essays on African affairs: that all British and French justifications of colonialism were patently false, that independence was essential throughout Africa, and that international law, enforced by an international organization, would be necessary to speed that process effectively.

Before Bunche could write his book, however, the Carnegie Corporation invited Bunche to assist Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal in his proposed study of American race relations. Bunche agreed, becoming Myrdal's closest collaborator and responsible for much of the report's original research. The study, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) was a monumental work of social criticism, among the most important ever published. So important were its findings that it influenced the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision to end racial segregation in the public schools.

Research for *An American Dilemma* ended by 1941. By this time, the United States was preparing for war against Germany, Italy, and Japan. A substantial number of Americans opposed U.S. involvement, and their ranks included many African Americans. As early as 1937, Bunche had rejected arguments that German racism was no worse than the American variety. By 1941, he was urgently telling anyone who would listen that the black community had to put aside its differences with the U.S. government and defend itself against the moral threat posed by Adolf Hitler's far more brutal racism.

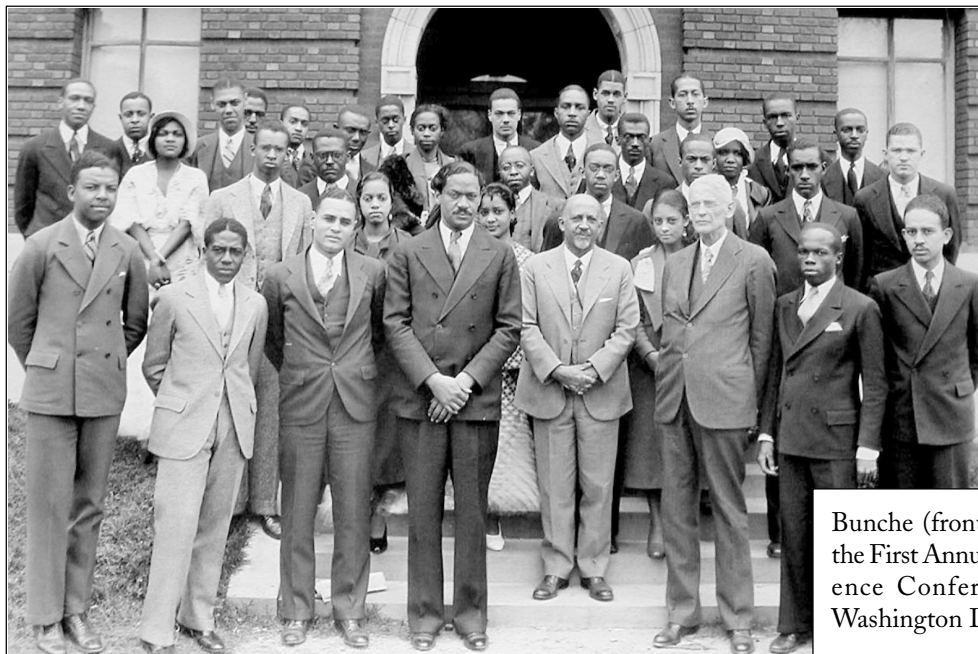
After Pearl Harbor, the new Office of Special Services (OSS, the predecessor of the CIA) contacted Bunche, hoping to draw on his expertise in colonial affairs to combat German influence in Africa and Asia. In 1945, Bunche's work for the OSS came to the attention of officials in the U.S. State Department, who asked him to help launch the new United Nations Organization (UNO, later the UN).

Bunche never wrote his Africa book. Soon, however, he would join the United Nations and get the opportunity to put his convictions into practice.



Ralph J. Bunche House
1510 Jackson Street N.E.; Washington, D. C.

This house, completed in 1941, is representative of the late 1930s period when some members of Washington's sizeable black professional class began to turn to architects to design custom homes. The property was deeded to Ralph Bunche in 1939, and the family lived there until 1947.



Bunche (front row, third from the left) at the First Annual Inter-Collegiate Social Science Conference Howard University, Washington D.C. April 29-30, 1932

RALPH BUNCHE AND BLACK POLITICAL LIFE DURING THE 1930s

Name _____ Date _____

1. After presenting “The Documents Speak,” in class, re-read the quotes and write a paragraph describing African-American life in the 1930s based upon your reading and citing each source (not necessarily in the order they were read).

2. After reading **Historical Background Two**, “Ralph Bunche and Black Political Life During the 1930s” answer the following questions:
 - a. What do you expect Bunche’s explanation for racism to be?

 - b. How will he recommend that it be combated? Write your response here, and explain why you have made this prediction.

DOCUMENT SET ONE
Ralph Bunche on Race and Civil Rights

Source 1

Review of Harold F. Gosnell's *Negro Politicians* (Bunche 1936A, 21:1)

There is, of course, excellent reason for the Negro to take advantage of every possible opportunity to participate in politics. No other group in the society has greater need of those services such as public education, sanitation, fire and police protection, which only the state can render. No other group must lean upon the state more heavily for relief from every variety of oppression and injustice.

. . . [And yet] it is not startling to learn that the Negro politician merely adopted the existing political patterns; there was no reason to hope that he would do otherwise. Black candidates and black voters fell in line with the patronage system. . . . Money can buy Negro votes in Chicago just as it has always been able to buy white votes there and elsewhere in the country. It is significant, however, that in attempting to cash in on his political effort, the Chicago Negro has been severely handicapped by the traditional racial stereotypes. In consequence, the Negro's cut of the patronage melon has consisted largely in menial jobs, such as the laboring and janitorial. . . . There are [n]o Negro contracting firms to receive juicy contracts from the city; no Negro banks doing city-wide business; and no Negroes in the responsible administrative posts. . . .

Source 2

A World View of Race (Bunche 1936B)

The concept of human equality and the doctrine of natural rights were cradled in the modern Western World. These ideals embodied the political promise of the future. . . . There was no limit to the promise which such doctrines held forth to peoples and classes which had been abused and oppressed for centuries. . . .

In the practical history of our modern world, however, the ideal doctrine of the "equality of man". . . has fallen upon hard times. True, we continue to pay lip service to the "sacred" concept of "the natural rights of man". . . . But the dominant peoples and powerful nations usually discover that such concepts cut sharply across their own economic and political interests.

. . . One of the rocks on which the noble philosophy of human equality has run afoul takes shape as the frightful bogey, *race*. . . . The theory of race, endowed with a false dignity by pseudo-scientific treatment . . . serves to justify economic policies, to bolster up political ambitions, to foment class prejudices and many other types of social antagonism among both groups and nations. . . . On close inspection these passionate, dogmatic theories of race and human equality, which are employed to support political and economic motives in many parts of the world, are exposed as shameless subterfuges thriving on ignorance and hysteria.

What is Race?

There is great variability among the members of any particular group to which a racial label is given. . . . Since there is no homogeneity within any given "race" it follows that there can be no clear line of distinction between one race and another. . . . Because of the great overlapping in biological features among groups of peoples, it is clear also that general descriptions of so-called racial groups need have no application to individual members of a group. . . . *The plain fact is that the selection of any specific physical trait or set of traits as a basis for identifying racial groups is a purely arbitrary process.* On the basis of anthropological studies now existent, it would be difficult to say whether there are a few races or several hundred. . . . [A] brief survey of the classifications of races will demonstrate convincingly that no satisfactory method of classification has yet been devised, and that in all probability, none can be devised. . . . [W]e are forced to conclude that existing racial divisions are *arbitrary*,

subjective, and devoid of scientific meaning. . . . [The mixing] of *Homo sapiens* frustrates at some point every scheme of racial classification.

. . . [Race] is an increasingly vicious weapon in the hands of fanatical rulers and irresponsible demagogues who wield it ruthlessly to flatter national egos and to carry out sinister political and economic policies.

[K]eeping in mind the unusual fertility of even extreme cases of physically differentiated types of man, and man's history of constant migration, it must be concluded that human groups have been cross-breeding for tens of thousands of years. For example, the invasions of Mongolian peoples from the east have left their physical marks upon the peoples of Eastern Europe. . . . As a result, with rare exception, *all existing human groups are of definitely mixed origin*. In the vast majority of cases it is impossible to refer to the population of any region as belonging to any definite "race," since every such group inevitably includes a great number of types and their various combinations. . . . It is for this reason that some scientific writers now suggest that we drop the term "race" . . . and substitute some more accurate description such as "ethnic groups" or "peoples." Such designations are non-committal and realistic. . . ."

It follows, therefore, that such terms as "Jewish," "Arabic," "Celtic," "Indian," "Irish," "English" and "American" merely serve to describe peoples who are bound together by cultural or linguistic ties—by language, religion, tradition, political custom or geographic propinquity. Such peoples will generally be found to be greatly diversified in origin and physical traits. Certainly they have no common biological or ancestral unity.

. . . So finally we may conclude that though racial antagonisms constitute a serious world problem, they have no scientific basis in biology, nor can they be accepted as the inevitable result of group differences. Such antagonisms must be analysed and understood in their social and historical setting. *Group antagonisms are social, political and economic conflicts, not racial*, though they are frequently given a racial label and seek a racial justification.

The Device of Race in World Economic and Political Conflict

Racial prejudice is one of the most invariable by-products of the myth of race. . . . The process works in a vicious circle. The prejudice of the dominant group is rationalized on the basis of the "inferiority" or backwardness of the minority or weaker peoples. The resulting racial or "color line" which usually assumes the form of segregation, severely restricts the social opportunities of the "inferior" peoples, makes it impossible for them to attain the fuller life, or to rise above their "inferior" status, and thereby emphasizes and perpetuates the consciousness of difference between the groups. Such attitudes are usually group attitudes. Individuals of different races may be on the most cordial of terms, though bitter racial feeling characterizes the relations of the two groups as a whole. . . . Group antagonisms thus are fed by mythical beliefs with their attitudes of scorn, derision, hate, and discrimination.

Race prejudice has deep economic roots. Hitlerism in Germany, for example, has sponsored a vigorous anti-Jewish policy which is directed at driving Jews out of positions desired by "Aryan" or "pure" Germans, and dispossessing the Jews of any economic power in Germany. . . . The white population of the [American] South, in its determination to protect its racial supremacy against the threat of the Negro, has presented since the Civil War a solid white front which has ignored class and party lines. . . . However . . . the doctrine of "white superiority" has been employed historically to justify the system of slavery, and, still more significantly, to console the poor whites of the South in their impoverished economic condition. . . . So economic forces were basically at work in the formation of American race prejudice.

. . . In fact, during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, and even later, groups of poor whites in the South gave evidence of a willingness to join hands with the Negro in a fight against the Southern property-owning class. The development of the southern agrarian movement under late nineteenth century Populism made necessary vigorous efforts to prevent this "unholy alliance" which would have doomed the southern plantation owner. It was necessary to impress the poor whites that the interests of all white people in the South, rich and poor alike, were identical. The white South had to fight off the purely fictitious threat of "Negro domination." By force, fraud and lynch law at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan, the Negro was to be "put in his place."

Race in the United States

Race is the great American shibboleth¹. Great sins have been committed in its name. It has been used to whitewash some of the blackest pages in American history. In America today it is widely accepted that the “race problem” is one of the fundamental problems of our society. . . . It has been one of the most serious obstructions in the alignment of the population along lines of natural class interests.

. . . Negro leadership, and much of sympathetic white opinion, has traditionally put its stress on the element of race in the Negro problem. The plight of the Negro has been attributed to a peculiar racial condition. Leaders and organizations alike have had but one end in view—the elimination of injurious discrimination against the “race.” For example, Booker T. Washington, in his widely proclaimed policy of conciliation, accepted the Negro race as an economic as well as a racial and social minority group within the nation. He advocated a doctrine of separation of the “races” as a solution of the problem. He pleaded for Negro business enterprise and the development of a separate Negro economy to be erected within the white economy and behind the walls of segregation. . . . Other Negro leaders, such as . . . Marcus Garvey, have long preached similar gospels, though Garvey did embellish Washington’s doctrine somewhat, by urging that ultimately the Negro must spread his black wings and fly away from these oppressive white shores, back to his native Africa. Inherent in these policies is the plea for conciliation with the white moneyed-class and at least a tacit acceptance of group segregation, if not a direct avowal of it.

Dr. Du Bois has differed from these gentlemen chiefly in the militancy of his tone in his insistent demand for fair and constitutional treatment of the Negro as a *race*. Du Bois attacked Washington vigorously, but not on the basis of the fallacies inherent in Washington’s economic philosophy, nor on his intense and misleading racialism, but on the grounds that he was compromising with the Southern whites and the Northern industrialists in the struggle for political and civil equality. The same attitudes are generally typical of the Negro organizations engaged today in the fight for Negro liberation,—the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Negro Business League, and others. They all turn a deaf ear to contentions that the plight of the Negro business man or the Negro worker in this country is inevitably and inextricably tied up with the plight of the white business man or the white worker; that race merely determines the intensity of the problem of the members of the race, not the quality. Negro leaders have willfully donned blinkers to keep them from seeing that so long as basic conflict in the economic interests of the white and black populations in the country persists (and it will persist in our present form of industrial society), neither prayer, nor logic, nor emotional nor legal appeal can make much headway against the stereotyped racial attitudes and beliefs regarding the Negro which are tenaciously clung to by the white masses of the country.

. . . Paper rights and political privileges have not protected millions of the white population from abject wage-slavery, if indeed they can find the chance to sell themselves into it; they have carried the ballot to the bread lines. . . . Certainly these traditionally sacred instruments can offer the lowly Negro no more reason for hope than they have afforded the vast numbers of the white population. Were the Negro to be invested with all of these rights and privileges,—and he is entitled to them by every canon of justice;—and were the Negro to receive in addition the respect and even the love of his fellow whites, the Negro’s fundamental problems, as theirs, would still await solution.

. . . The Depression, ably abetted by the policies of the New Deal, has made the American population, white and black, increasingly class-conscious. . . . Even in the bitter South, in places such as Arkansas and Alabama, white and black sharecroppers and tenant farmers have joined together in large numbers to form unions.

¹A practice or a manner of speaking that marks one as an outsider.

Source 3

A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups (Bunche 1935, IV: 309–20)

Roughly . . . the tactics which [minority groups] ordinarily employ in this struggle [for their economic and political rights] can be summarized as follows:

(1) *Violent*

- (a) Direct rebellion and secession by force.
- (b) Cooperation with other [dissident] elements toward immediate or ultimate revolution.

(2) *Non-Violent*

- (a) Zionism and Garveyism, involving migration to new and foreign soil.
- (b) Economic, including passive resistance (the Gandhi movement) and economic separatism
- (c) Conciliation, including interracial organizations
- (d) Political, including a determined fight for the ballot and justice through laws, lobbying, picketing, mass demonstrations, and the courts.

While each of these methods has been employed at one time or another by some minority group, those listed under the non-violent heading have been the tactics most seriously advocated by American Negro leadership. . . . The Communist Party has seriously [recruited] among the Negro group but with only indifferent success.

Racial Separatism. Because of the seeming hopelessness of the fight to win equal rights for many minority racial groups, some of the leadership of such groups has often espoused a “defeatist” philosophy, which takes the form of racial separatism. . . . Thousands of American Negroes came to believe that the racial barriers to equality in this country could never be surmounted, and they flocked to the support of the Garvey “back to Africa” movement which flourished after the last war [World War I]. Like all programs of this character, Garveyism offered . . . an emotional escape from oppressive conditions. Also like other such programs it was impractical, for attractive land for such venture[s] was no longer available, due to the consuming greed and inexorable demands of the imperialist nations.

Economic Passive Resistance. Supporters of economic passive resistance usually look to [Mohandas K. “Mahatma”] Gandhi for their guidance. They see powerful weapons available to the oppressed group in the employment of the economic boycott and in fearless self-sacrifice. Through such tactics they propose to wring economic and political justice from the dominant group by striking at its most sensitive spot, its markets, and by shaming its Christian conscience. [However] . . . as soon as such a movement assumed threatening proportions, it would be obliged to withstand severe counter-boycotts which would deprive the members of the group of many necessary commodities which they could not produce themselves. Moreover, they would be denied essential credit and capital. The legal and police forces of the state would inevitably be aligned against them, and, in addition, they would be subjected to the characteristic gangster attacks which have recently proved so helpful to employers in labor disputes.

A mild version of this form of economic passive resistance has been from time to time advocated. . . . Particularly during the Depression has this doctrine gained circulation in the guise of the “don’t-buy-where-you-can’t-work” movement. The fallacy of this method is obviously discovered in its assumption that it can offer any real relief to the great masses of Negroes. Its outlook is narrowly racial, and it fails to realize that it can create no new jobs but that it can only gain jobs for Negroes by displacement of whites. Since there is already a woefully inadequate number of jobs, whenever a Negro is thus forced into a job in a Negro community a white man is forced out and must seek employment elsewhere. And, since the Negro communities do not offer sufficient economic activity to absorb even the number of Negroes now employed, this can only mean that Negroes employed in white communities are endangered of losing their jobs in proportion to the success of the movement. At best, it would create only a vicious cycle of job displacement.

Economic Separatism. As a result of the highly segregated life which racial minority groups are often compelled to live, there is a strong tendency for the doctrine of economic separatism to take root as a promising palliative

for both political and economic oppression. This has been a particularly virulent creed among American Negroes, chiefly due to the impetus given the movement by Booker T. Washington. . . . The promise of this hope of constructing an independent and segregated black economy within the walls of the white capitalist economy is excellently discussed by Spero and Harris in the following words: "If such an economy is to rise it . . . will have to live upon white sufferance. If the great white banks and insurance companies decided that they want Negro business it is hard to see how the little black institutions can compete successfully against them. The same holds true for the chain stores and various retail establishments. They will be able to undersell their Negro competitors if they want to, and the Negro world will not continue indefinitely to pay higher prices for its goods merely out of pride of race" (Sterling 1931, 466).

Political Tactics: Civil Libertarianism. Perhaps the favorite method of struggle for rights employed by minority groups is political. Through the use of the ballot and the courts strenuous efforts are put forth to gain social justice for the group. Extreme faith is placed in the ability of these instruments of democratic government to free the minority from social proscription and civic inequality. The inherent fallacy of this belief rests in the failure to appreciate the fact that the instruments of the state are merely the reflections of the political and economic ideology of the dominant group, that the political arm of the state cannot be divorced from its prevailing economic structure, whose servant it must inevitably be.

Leaders of the American Negro like Dr. Du Bois, and organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which he helped to found in 1909, have conducted a militant fight under this illusory banner. They have demanded full equality for the Negro, involving the eradication of all social, legal, and political restrictions tending to draw a line of distinction between the black citizen and the white.

. . . The confidence of the proponents of the political method . . . is based on the protection which they feel is offered all groups in the society by that sacred document the Constitution. Particularly do they swear by the Bill of Rights and its three supplements, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments . . . the Constitution is thus detached from the political and economic realities of American life and becomes a sort of protective angel hovering above us and keeping a constant vigil over the rights of all America's children, black and white, rich and poor, employer and employee, and like impartial justice, blinded to their differences. [However], the Constitution . . . can never be more than our legislatures and, in the final analysis, our courts, wish it to be. And, what these worthy institutions wish it to be can never be more than what American public opinion wishes it to be. Unfortunately, so much of American public opinion is seldom enlightened, sympathetic, tolerant, or humanitarian. Too often it resembles mob violence.

Interracial Conciliation. It follows, therefore, that the policy of civil libertarianism is [limited] by the dominant [opinions] of society. Its success, in the final analysis, must depend upon its ability to create a sympathetic response to its appeals among influential elements in the controlling population. In the long run its militancy must be softened and the inevitable tendency is for it to conform to the general pattern of the genteel programs of interracial conciliation, which attempt to cultivate the good will of the white upper class. [Civil rights organizations] can be militant, but only politely so; they can attack, but not too harshly; they must entreat, bargain, compromise and capitulate in order to win even petty gains. They must politely play the game according to the rules even though they have no stakes.

The Courts . . . The ability of the courts to hand down what appear to be legally sound opinions and still permit popular abuses of the Negro's rights to persist is largely due to the adroitness of the white legislators in the art of drawing up and administering their laws. These abuses generally occur under the protection of laws which are "fair on their face," and unless the court is disposed to look behind the face of the law to its administration the Negro can receive no relief. This is admirably illustrated by . . . *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

[Conclusion] No minority group should relent in the most determined fight for its right, but . . . the only realistic program for any minority group in modern America is one which is . . . the hope that can be held out for the betterment of [most whites]. Their basic interests are identical and so must be their programs and tactics.

CIVIL RIGHTS SOLUTIONS
Ralph Bunche and *A World View of Race*

Name _____ Date _____

1. According to Ralph Bunche, what is “race?”

2. In Bunche’s view, why had racial difference become politically important by the 1930s?

3. Which political, social, and/or economic strategies does Ralph Bunche believe most likely to improve the conditions of African Americans in the 1930s?

4. Consider your answer to question 3. Why does Bunche believe that this solution will, in fact, work? What evidence do you find in the quotes presented in **Document Set One**?

DOCUMENT SET TWO

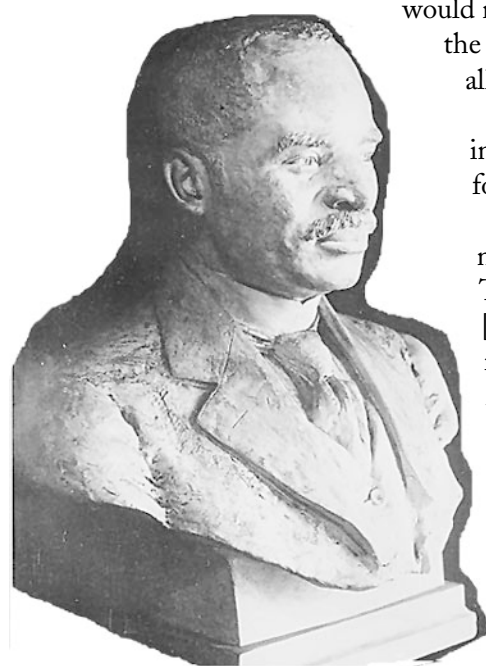
African American Policy Options in the 1930s

Source 1

No to Communism

Kelly Miller, veteran political activist, authored the weekly column “Kelly Miller Says” for various African-American journals. These excerpts from his November 1932 journal article, “Should Black Turn Red?” (Miller 1932, 328–32) express his anti-communist views.

There is much wild talk in the air concerning the drift of the American Negro towards communism. . . . Radical emissaries have been busy in this field, not wholly without results. They come to the Negro under the influence and inspiration of Moscow, and assure him that a communistic state would not only cure the economic ills of mankind, but at the same time solve the otherwise insoluble race problem. . . . The Promised Land is always alluring to those who wander in the wilderness.



Bust of Kelly Miller

. . . The fact that communism is not native to the American soil nor indigenous to American Spirit and genius render it all the more dangerous for the Negro to become entangled in the meshes of its intrigue.

. . . [Communists] do not shrink from whatever contact may be necessary to demonstrate the concrete embodiment of their faith. . . . They give the Negro the second highest place on their ticket in the [1932 U.S.] presidential campaign. They openly face and defy the South's most passionate dogma as to race relations. They vie with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in defending the race against injustice and legal discrimination. They won in the contest for the privilege of defending the Scottsboro Boys which they did with a legal acumen and reckless courage which challenges the admiration of the whole nation. They have opened the jury box to Negro [jurors] in the South which had been effectively closed to them since the overthrow of Reconstruction. Such demonstration of genuineness, sincerity, and altruistic friendship is hard to resist. If the rulers of church and state, politics and business, who so bitterly deplore communism . . . would but concentrate their concern in behalf of justice and fair play for the

Negro, there would be no need of combating this vicious propaganda.

. . . It is an easy step from the dictatorship of the Czar who claimed his authority from above to that of Lenin and Stalin who assume power in behalf of the proletariat, without its . . . consent. The reformers . . . under a despotism have no recourse except in violence and revolt. Whereas in America, the tradition of self-government is rooted and grounded in the genius of . . . the Constitution. . . .

. . . Communism as the term is currently understood involves the dictatorship of the proletariat as an outgrowth of the class struggle. [But the Negro] would undoubtedly be the chief victim of the conflict. . . . Race prejudice upsets every calculation of logic and common sense. . . . Should the Negro, in a primary conflict, unite with white labor to overthrow capitalism, then the issue between white and black labor would assume primitive ruthlessness. . . . Where the Negro holds the job that the white workman covets he will scruple at nothing to eject the black competitor. . . . Labor organizations either exclude, segregate, or proscribe the Negro workman. . . . [W]ithout the restraints and inhibition of discipline and culture, [white workers] serve as the repository of custodian of received animosities, hatreds, passions and prejudices.

Source 2

Yes to Communism

Loren Miller, communist activist, was a civil rights attorney and is best known as the lead attorney in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the 1948 decision striking down restrictive covenants. The following are excerpts from his July 1934 article (Miller 1934, 214–17).



Loren Miller

Countless orators have thrilled their audiences with the prediction that Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands some day and take her place among the great nations of the earth. Marcus Garvey clothed the dream in a semblance of realism and built a mass movement around it. Last month a group of Chicago Negroes met to lay plans for the “forty-ninth” [African-American] state. The widely discussed Du Bois plan is an expression of the same ideal. At the bottom of this clamor for a Negro state lies the desire of Negroes to get control of their own affairs and a realization that they are not to be permitted to share American economic and political power. First as a slave and then as a free man the Negro has been denied these things.

... [By the 20th century] segregation was operating to drive Negroes into ever greater unity. ... The Tuskegee doctrine, the N.A.A.C.P., the founding the National Negro Business League, the strengthening of Negro churches, fraternal organizations, and a hundred other Negro groups gave the Negro people a more and more complete group feeling, Negro art, Negro music, Negro

dances expressed this feeling. A Negro national anthem was composed.

This growing nationalism was perverted into an intense racialism. “Race price,” “race consciousness,” were exaggerated beyond all proportion. Neglecting sociological truths, differences in outlook between Americans and Negroes were laid to race. Blues, spirituals, dances, and high death rates were claimed to be products of a mystical “racial” inheritance.

America’s [capitalist] rulers found this doctrine of racialism to their liking. It meant that the Negro accepted “his place” and was content to stay within it without bothering too much about the growth of monopoly of Supreme Court anti-labor decisions. More than that, it meant that employers were assured of a reservoir of cheap labor and strike breakers. If there was trouble at times why, white gentlemen and colored gentlemen would settle those matters in the quiet chambers of justice. ...

And then one fine day in 1929 the stock market broke. The bogey of over-production reared itself. The crisis in agriculture deepened. Black workers were laid off. Saturday night pay checks got smaller or vanished. ...

The crisis shows no signs of abatement after five years. The government admits that the number on relief rolls has increased over that of a year ago. A wave of bloody strike clashes demonstrate that the Roosevelt reform program has failed to solve the worker’s problem. Class struggle impends in America. The Communists gain strength everywhere. ... Negro workers and farmers will find ready made allies in the battle. White workers and farmers are driven to the self same extremity. Alliance would benefit both.

[T]he realization of a Negro nation requires a [Communist] America and ... with that achieved there would be no place for group exploitation. ... The common Socialist culture of a Soviet America would ... facilitate the final merger of Negroes and [white] Americans. Nor does the Communist plan call for herding Negroes off into any given area. It simply takes account of the fact that the South is still the Negro homeland and that there is an area, the Black Belt, in which Negroes are in the majority. The plan then is that this district “be organized as a distinct political unit regardless of class lines.” In that region where Negroes are now virtual serfs they would become owners of the soil and masters of their own destiny. ...

Let’s quit kidding ourselves. The good old days are gone. There is no security for the Negro intellectual. ... He must make a choice. ... He can throw in his lot with the working class and aid in the battle for a new order in which the Negro people can control their own economic, and hence, political destiny.

Source 3

Vote Democratic

Lester A. Walton was a journalist and a film critic for such publications as the *St. Louis Star*, the *New York Age*, and the *New York World*. The following are excerpts from an article "Vote For Roosevelt" he wrote for the African-American journal *Crisis* (Walton 1932, 343–34). Three years after this article was written, he was appointed the American Ambassador to Liberia, a position he held from 1935 to 1946.



Lester A. Walton

This photo accompanied the *Crisis* article.

Duly alarmed over the widespread revolt of Negro voters against President Hoover and the drift toward Governor Roosevelt, Republican chieftains calculated on playing a trump card and winning over the party's most dependable asset [i.e., African-American votes] by staging a spectacular political drama at the White House. Printed invitations were sent to some 200 men and women of the race to gather in Washington . . . at the expense of the Republican National Committee. . . . After the delegation had been ushered into the presence of Mr. Hoover, [the President] solemnly promised that "the Republican Party would not abandon its traditional duty to the American Negro, given in the first instance by the immortal Lincoln and transmitted to those who followed as a sacred trust."

After the speech-making the President posed with Negroes for a picture for the first time since [President Hoover's inauguration three and a half years before]. Then each visitor in turn grasped the hand of the Nation's Chief Executive and bade him an affectionate goodbye.

At this assemblage of race leaders from every section of the country, not a note of protest was uttered . . . against Mr. Hoover's three years of apathy and unfriendliness. And yet, one only has to consult the files of the Negro Press less than six months back to read adverse comment on the President's attitude toward the race. Evidently being Republican first and Negroes after, these erstwhile critics of the administration have forgiven and forgotten.

. . . Here we have an amazing spectacle of race leaders displaying enthusiasm and apparent satisfaction over generalizations about Abraham Lincoln who has been dead sixty-seven years! . . . [And] any student of politics knows that the Republican Party in 1860 went on record as being against the abolition of slavery; that the abolition of slavery was essentially a war measure; that the [vote] was primarily granted the Negro to keep the Republican Party in power, and that as soon as the Western states assured the Republican Party of allegiance at the polls, the Federal troops were withdrawn from the South and the Negro was thrown upon his own resources.

Contrary to the observations of G.O.P. speakers, the treatment of the Negro is not a party measure. It is sectional. Tennessee, which is more often Republican than Democratic, has every Jim-crow institution that can be found anywhere in the South. . . .

If Mr. Hoover's record as President has been acceptable to Negroes, it would not have been necessary for "loyal Republicans" to respectfully ask that he speak out. But when he did speak out, he failed to explain . . . why he has sponsored the Lily White movement [of Southern Republicans] to eliminate the Negro from party councils in the South; why he insisted on the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court, a judge who had previously expressed himself in favor of nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment; why he permitted the continuance of discrimination against Negro applicants for Civil Service . . . and why he has steadily refused to appoint Negroes to positions requiring Senatorial conformation. . . .

Source 4

Support Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal

The great-grandson of a slave, Robert C. Weaver was adviser on Negro Affairs for the Department of the Interior when he wrote the article excerpted here (Weaver 1935, 200–202). He continued serving in various government posts and in 1966 Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him head of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). As such, he was the first black to hold a cabinet level position. On July 11, 2000, the HUD headquarters in Washington DC was renamed the “Robert C. Weaver Federal Building” in his honor.

Robert Weaver and Ralph Bunche became friends when they attended Harvard at the same time—Bunche as a graduate student and Weaver in the law school.



Dr. Robert C. Weaver
Chief of the Minority Groups
Bureau of Placement, War Manpower Commission
(April 1942)

It is impossible to discuss intelligently the New Deal and the Negro without considering the status of the Negro prior to the advent of [Franklin Roosevelt's] Recovery Program. The present economic position of the colored citizen was not created by recent legislation alone. Rather, it is the result of the impact of a new program upon an economic and social situation.

... Over a half of the gainfully employed colored Americans are concentrated in domestic service and farming. ... In [American] cities, 43.4 per cent of the Negroes on relief May 1, 1934, were usually employed as domestics. ... Local relief monies were shrinking; and need and starvation were facing those unable to find an opportunity to work. A Federal relief program was the only possible aid in this situation. Insofar as the Negro was greatly victimized by [the Depression], he was in a position to benefit from a program which provided adequate funds for relief. It is admitted that there were many abuses under the relief set-up. Such situations should be brought to light and fought.

... The recent depression has been extremely severe in its effects upon the South. The rural Negro—poor before the period of trade decline—was rendered even more needy after 1929. Many tenants found it impossible to obtain a contract for a crop, and scores of Negro farm owners lost their properties. The displacement of Negro tenants (as was the case for whites) began before, and grew throughout the depression. Thus, at the time of the announcement of the

New Deal, there were many families without arrangements for a crop—an appreciable number without shelter. ... The new program for land utilization, rural re-habitation, and spreading land ownership may be able to effect ... a change.

... The Housing Division of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works has planned 60 Federal housing projects to be under construction by December 31, 1935. Of these, 28 are to be developed in Negro slum areas and will be tenanted predominantly or wholly by Negroes. Eight additional projects will provide for an appreciable degree of Negro occupancy. ... Projects in Negro areas have been announced in seven cities [and] ... will contain about 20,000 rooms.

Source 5
 “Ballad of Roosevelt”
 (Hughes 1934, 9)

[James] Langston Hughes began writing poetry in junior high. His grandfather, who with his grandmother raised him for a time, was a prominent African American politician in Kansas during the Reconstruction era and a factor in his ideas about race. In addition to poetry, he also wrote essays, including a weekly column for the *Chicago Defender*. He is best known, however, as a poet and has often been informally considered the “Poet Laureate of the Negro Race.”

The pot was empty,
 The cupboard was bare.
 I said, Papa,
 What’s the matter here?
 I’m waitin’ on Roosevelt, son,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
 Waitin’ on Roosevelt, son.

The rent was due,
 And the lights was out.
 I said, Tell me, Mama,
 What’s it all about?
 We’re waitin’ on Roosevelt, son,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
 Just waitin’ on Roosevelt.

Sister got sick
 And the doctor wouldn’t come
 Cause we couldn’t pay him
 The proper sum—
 A-waitin on Roosevelt,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
 A-waitin’ on Roosevelt.

Then one day
 They put us out o’ the house.
 Ma and Pa was Meek as a mouse
 Still waitin’ on Roosevelt,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt.

But when they felt those
 Cold winds blow
 And didn’t have no
 Place to go
 Pa said, I’m tired
 A’waitin’ on Roosevelt,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt.
 Damn tired o’ waitin’ on Roosevelt.



Langston Hughes (1943)

I can’t git a job
 And I can’t git no grub.
 Backbone and navel’s
 Doin’ the belly-rub—
 A-waitin’ on Roosevelt,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt.

And a lot o’ other folks
 What’s hungry and cold
 Done stopped believin’
 What they been told
 By Roosevelt,
 Roosevelt, Roosevelt—

Cause the pot’s still empty,
 And the cupboard’s still bare,
 And you can’t build a
 bungalow
 Out o’ air—
 Mr. Roosevelt, listen!
 What’s the matter here?

Source 6

Be Loyal to No Party

Emmett J. Scott was a Republican who at various times served as an editor, administrator at Howard University, private secretary to Booker T. Washington for eighteen years (he later wrote a biography of Booker T. Washington, *Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization*), and, during World War I, a Special Assistant to the Secretary of War “in charge of recruitment, training, and morale of the African American soldiers.” The following are excerpts from an article he wrote in 1936 (Scott 1936, 70–71).



Emmett J. Scott
1919

The Republican Party, since the days of the administration of President Taft, has been most negligent of the Negro. . . . There seems to be no special effort being made at this time by Republicans to win back the allegiance and loyalty of the Negro group. On the other hand, the Democratic Party in the North, through its leaders, is making an active bid for this support. The largest number of colored men holding worthwhile political positions is now assembled in Washington. . . . Also, large sums of money are being spent for relief and practically all of the various New Deal agencies have included the Negro to some extent in their administration. . . .

It is not to be overlooked, however, that while the Democratic administration has provided this large number of representative positions for Negroes, it has stood by and permitted the most outrageous discriminations. Under its Bankhead Cotton Control Bill, the AAA, and in the dispensation of relief, colored people, that is the masses, have been held to the lowest levels and have been treated in many communities as groups entitled to but scant consideration.

Serious minded colored people are nevertheless wondering whether the appointment of even thirty or forty colored men to worthwhile positions at Washington compensates for the unjust and unfair discriminations which have been practiced in the administration of the New Deal policies. All of this presents serious questions to the Negro:

Can he be bought with relief money and with thirty or forty positions?

Should he seriously think of going back to the Republican Party as long as it indicates no especial desire for his return?

My answer would be “No” in both instances. . . . In the North where the Negro vote counts he should, just like other minority groups, have clear cut understanding with Republican and Democratic senators and representatives, and with the management of the present administration as to whether they plan to play fair with the masses of the race in the future. . . . While the Negro no longer wishes to be regarded either as the ward of the Republican or the Democratic Party, or as the ward of the nation, he still feels that he should not be left by the party of his choice to the ways and devices of those who hold strong, discriminatory feelings against him mainly and solely because he is a Negro. . . .

Source 7

Vote Republican

John R. Hawkins served as Secretary of Finance for the African Methodist Episcopal Church as well as Chairman of the Republican Colored Voters Division (1928). These remarks are from his article “Why the Negro Should Vote for Mr. Hoover” (Hawkins 1932, 313–14).

Since 1856, when the Republican Party was organized and its first declaration of principles was announced . . . there has been a strong appeal made for the support of the people to continue in power those who believe in and pledge themselves to carry out these principles.



John R. Hawkins

This photo accompanied the *Crisis* article.

. . . The outstanding issue between [Democrats and Republicans] was that of Slavery. The Democrats in their Platforms declaring in favor of the perpetuation of Slavery and the Republicans in their Platforms declaring against Slavery. This was so pronounced that it brought on the Civil War which put an end to Slavery but still left the Negro without the full enjoyment of all the rights, privileges and duties guaranteed to him in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution.

The Republican Party has repeatedly put itself on record as favorable to the principle of this declaration, while the Democratic Party has stubbornly opposed it and stood in the way of the exercising of these privileges and rights by Negro Citizens.

It cannot be denied that even to this day the National Democratic Party, dominated as it is by Southern [white] sentiment, not only denies the Negro the right and privilege of voting but actually puts itself on record as opposed to allowing him to vote even when he declares himself as willing to vote the Democratic ticket. . . . The party that is guilty of such a crime ought to be condemned and not supported.

Source 8
Vote Republican

Jefferson S. Coage was appointed Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia in 1930. Since Frederick Douglass was appointed Recorder of Deeds in 1881 the position was held almost exclusively by African Americans. Coage wrote this pro-Republican article, "The Republican Party" for *Crisis* journal (October 1932, pp. 314ff).



Jefferson S. Coage

During the past two years, this country, as the rest of the world, has been passing through a period of physical and psychological depression caused primarily because of our disregard of economic laws, and the loss of faith in ourselves. The President of the United States has found the cause of this fall and is now applying the [remedy]. Let us have faith and fall in line.

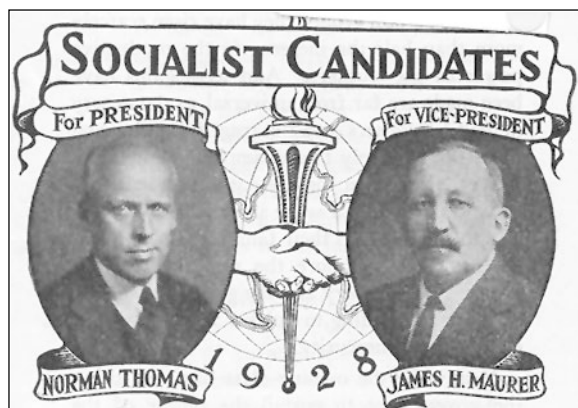
God has endorsed and given to men three fundamental instrumentalities to ensure the perpetuity of the human family: Home, the Schoolhouse, and the Church. Any people who do not subscribe one hundred per cent to the sustenance of the three facilities can not help to form the perfect Union outlined by the founders of the government. Home-ownership is the first essential . . . this acquisition is only possible through industry, economy, and frugality. Knowing this to be the foundation of society, the Republican Party has gone on record encouraging every American citizen to own a home. For this timely legislation, the President and the Republican Party should receive the appreciation of every American citizen. . . .

During this depression many of our banking institutions have been unable to weather the storm. . . . By legislation recommended by the President, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will be able to revive these institutions and thereby save thousands of homes of the people.

Source 9

The Socialist Party

Six times the presidential candidate for the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas reached out to black voters. He wrote "The Socialist's Way Out for the Negro" (Thomas 1936, 100–104) when the *Journal of Negro Education* invited him to participate in a forum on the future of Blacks in America.



Norman Thomas (and James H. Maurer)
1928 campaign brochure.

Socialism offers to the Negro all the hope there is of a decent world. The Socialist Party . . . is the way of social salvation for the Negro . . . basically and primarily because Socialism is the hope for all mankind. . . . Secondly, Socialism is the hope for the Negro because of its insistence on the ending of those denials of human right, justice, and economic opportunity, which should be the portion of every man within our national borders regardless of race, creed, or color. . . .

The logic of the cooperative commonwealth, with planned production for use based on social ownership, is irrefutable, but the power and self-interest of the owning class . . . stand in the way of our doing that which is logically for our advantage. . . .

In light of this truth there is something pathetic as well as dangerous about the hope of some Negroes that at this late stage in capitalist development . . . they can find racial salvation by setting up a bourgeois [i.e., middle class] world of their own. It is a tragedy that this idea should still have force . . . [when] the Negro in overwhelming mass is a worker and his salvation is bound up with the triumph of the working class. . . . Hope for colored men lies in uniting with Socialist and enlightened labor unionists who are fighting for equal treatment of white and colored workers in labor organizations. I know nothing more immediately encouraging than the way in which in a region recently cursed by the Ku Klux Klan, white and colored sharecroppers and cotton field workers have come together in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, an independent, self-governing organization organized on the initiative of Socialists. . . .

The trade union movement in America has weakened itself by continually yielding to the concept of "practical" politics under which it has been forever selling its birthright to one or another of the old parties [i.e., Democrats and Republicans] in exchange for this or that mess of pottage. . . . By practical politics it may be possible nowadays to get a colored Democratic congressman here or a colored Republican congressman there. By playing along with Mrs. Roosevelt, if not with Mr. Roosevelt, it looked for awhile as if it might be possible to get a degree of support for a federal anti-lynching bill which in the hour when Democratic Senators from the South killed it was emphatically not in evidence.

In our fundamental position we affirm that Socialists are far more loyal to the dictates of brotherhood, racial solidarity, [and] common sense . . . than [are] the Communists. I refer to the Communist plank calling for self-determination in the black belt¹. . . . In a Socialist society, racial self-determination in counties and states in America will be meaningless. . . . We want a world where human beings are chosen for political and economic leadership irrespective of race, creed, or sex. . . .

¹ The Communist Party promised that the "black belt"—the swath of counties from Georgia through Arkansas in which African-Americans comprised a majority—would become independent and self-governing if the Communists came to power.

Source 10

Encourage Farming

Kelly Miller, weekly columnist and veteran political activist, wrote "The Farm—The Negro's Best Chance" for *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life* (Miller 1935, 21–25).



Bust of Kelly Miller

Race prejudice, in its industrial feature, is rather on the increase than decline. Where there is not regular work enough for all, the Negro will be made the marginal or left-out man. In cities he loiters around the outer edge of industry, picking up only such hand to mouth positions as may here and there arise which in the main the white man does not care for. The pressure of necessity is forcing the white man to all lines of available work however humble; the Negro will be pressed down to the bottom or pressed out at the sides.

. . . The white race has all but monopolized the process of manufacture, trade, and transportation. The ascendancy of manufacture over agriculture is shown by the fact that the urban population has far outstripped the rural during the past half century. The white worker leaves the farm for the city in quest of more remunerative and attractive employment. On the other hand, when the Negro workman quits the farm, he has no such assurance. The farm is still his best chance. On the farm the races are essentially on a parity, mother earth yields as readily and abundantly to the persuasion of the black as of the white tiller. The markets are wholly without race prejudice. . . . But when the two leave the farm and go to the city the white man gains a tremendous advantage. . . .

The fact that the whites are abandoning the farms gives the Negro his chief opportunity. . . . What others resign, he should value. He should take up the farm where the white man leaves it off. His lot will be a relatively hard one, but the Negro might expect to do hard things.

Segregation, which is repugnant in many of its features, yields the Negro certain compensatory advantages. There is a certain limited sphere of racial business within segregated areas which operate in his behalf. In such purely racial undertakings as the barber shop, beauty parlors, mortuary establishments, where the whites do not care to undertake the immediate handling of colored customers, the Negro proprietor finds his chief opportunity. . . . Slender as his opportunities are, the Negro must make the most of them. As Booker T. Washington used to say, "he must take advantage of his disadvantages."

. . . I anticipate that this suggestion will raise the cry of segregation. But I do not allow myself to be frightened by a phrase or an epithet. I am reminded of the retort of Admiral Farragut when he sought to cut the Confederacy in twain by opening the Mississippi River. . . . When admonished that there were torpedoes in the way, the doughty Admiral retorted: "Damn the torpedoes; go ahead."

Source 11
Trade Unions

As a young man A. Philip Randolph moved to Harlem to take classes at City College. He had aspirations of becoming an actor, but his parents were opposed so he switched to politics and economics. Harlem, in the midst of its Renaissance, was full of ideas and Randolph soon joined the Socialist Party and became active in labor movements, most notably his role as spokesperson for The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. These excerpts are from his article "The Trade Union Movement and the Negro" (Randolph 1936, 54–58).



A. Philip Randolph

Twenty-two international and national [labor] unions . . . flatly and frankly exclude Negro workers by constitutional provision. Other trade unions limit Negro workers to certain types of work, certain shops, in which to work and to certain locals. . . .

The encouragement of Negro workers to join certain unions is . . . unusual, although some unions, while not making any direct effort to organize Negro workers, will accept them. Separate locals are generally provided for Negro workers by the International Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Alliance and the International Bartenders' League, the Journeyman Barbers, the Laundry Workers and the United Textile Workers. . . .

These [existing] forms of discrimination against Negro workers are not denied, but sometimes excused by trade union officials on the tenuous grounds that Negroes are only happy when they are to themselves, or that Negro and white people don't get along so well together. . . . Discrimination against Negro workers by the trade union movement is

doubtless the greatest challenge to its profession of democracy and its claim of representing a progressive force in American society. . . .

[T]he only remedy for the problem . . . is the organization of the Negro workers into the trade unions that will accept them and into independent unions of Negro workers to fight for admission into unions that exclude them.

The cause of [organizing] Negro workers into the trade union movement has suffered greatly and been incalculably hindered by Negro leadership. The old guard conservative group are simply opposed to organized labor for the same reason that [financier Andrew W.] Mellon or [banker J. P.] Morgan is opposed to it. . . . As a matter of fact, they would oppose a group of Negro workers organizing to fight for more wages and better working conditions, just as they oppose white workers fighting for more wages and better working conditions.

The Negro intellectual too, has rendered doubtful service to the cause . . . since they have been content merely to proclaim their opposition to the [American Federation of Labor] because of the existence of [race] prejudice in various unions affiliated with it which, of course, nobody denies. . . . Certainly no one will contend that attacking the A. F. of L. because of its short-sighted stand on Negro labor, is not advisable or necessary. Discrimination, segregation, and Jim Crowism should be systematically exposed and fought wherever found, whether in church, government, school system, trade union, or what not. . . .

But along with a policy of destruction with respect to discrimination, segregation, and Jim Crowism in the trade unions, should also be developed a program of construction. Obviously, the only sound constructive program in dealing with the problem of Negro workers is [union] organization. This is the task of the Negroes themselves. Nobody else will organize Negro workers.

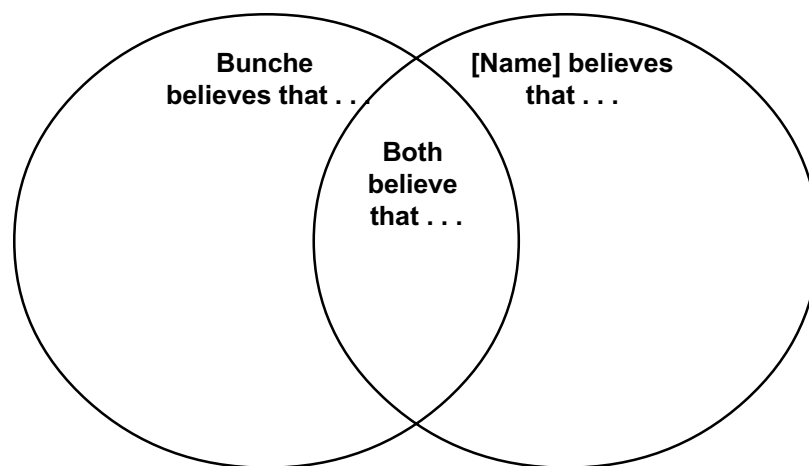
CIVIL RIGHTS SOLUTIONS Other National Leaders

Name _____ Date _____

Author and “Source” assigned to our group:

Questions

1. Which political, social, and/or economic strategies does your assigned author believe most likely to improve the conditions of African Americans in the 1930s?
2. Why does your assigned author believe that this solution will, in fact, work? What is this author’s evidence and argument?
3. Using the model below, on a large sheet of butcher paper or a poster board prepare a Venn diagram comparing Bunche’s view with those of your group’s assigned source. In each category, list everything you can find from your two readings. When you are finished, post your diagram on the wall.



DEBRIEFING

Name _____ Date _____

You have discussed Ralph Bunche's strategies for challenging racial prejudice in the United States, compared those strategies with those of other African-American leaders, and assessed the relationship between Bunche's approach to race in the United States with his approach to race in world affairs.

1. Based on your work in this lesson, list the three most important pieces of information about Ralph Bunche's views on civil rights and foreign affairs in the 1930s. Copy this list on a large sheet of paper and post it below the surveys you posted during Lesson One.
2. Write a paragraph response to one of the following questions:
 - a. To what extent might Bunche's writings on Africa and on U.S. civil rights reflect the way he was raised or the circumstances of his upbringing? Provide specific examples of how his youth might have influenced his early career.
 - b. In the next lesson, Bunche joins the United Nations and negotiates an end to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Will diplomacy require different strengths than the scholarship and political activism? Or will the strengths Bunche brought to his first career be useful in his second? Explain your response.

BUNCHE AND AFRICA

Name _____ Date _____

Read **Document Set Three**, sources based on Bunche's research in Africa. As you read, take notes on each document. Consider the following questions:

1. In **Source 1**, how do French and British colonial policies differ? In what way(s) are French and British colonial policies similar?

2. In **Source 2**, what is the "land equation" Bunche refers to in the title of his article? What ideas discussed in Document 1 does Chief Koinange's statement support?

3. In **Source 3**, how does Bunche believe that World War II will impact Africa if Hitler and Mussolini win? How would Nazi-controlled colonies differ, in Bunche's view, from British and French colonies? What accounts for this difference?

4. Bunche's 1936 book *A World View of Race* includes materials on *both* the United States *and* Africa. What similarities are there between the two situations? What are the differences?

DOCUMENT SET THREE

Ralph Bunche and Anticolonial Activism in Africa

Source 1

Ralph Bunche: "Race and Imperialism"

Race has been a convenient device for the imperialist. . . . Imperialist propaganda has taught the world to regard certain peoples as helplessly backward and incapable of keeping step with the modern industrial world. . . . Powerful industrial nations have raped Africa under the false pretense of shouldering "the white man's burden." It has been held to be the particular mission of the dominant peoples to bring civilization to the backward peoples of the earth; to convert them to the Christian religion and to expose them to the benefits of an advanced European culture. . . . But since the "backward" peoples have often been reluctant to receive these blessings they have been forced to accept them at the point of the bayonet. In this way Italy is bestowing the "blessings of civilization" upon the hapless Ethiopians today. After the conquest has been completed, the backward peoples bitterly learn that the "blessings" consist of brutal suppression, greedy economic exploitation of the natural and human resources of a country which is no longer their own, forced labor . . . previously unknown diseases, vice, and social degeneration. . . .

Powerful nations such as England, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, have been guilty of many acts of imperialist aggression. Even small countries like Belgium, Holland and Portugal exploit great colonial areas with large native populations. . . .

In considering the impact of Western imperialism upon the African it must be borne in mind that the partition [of Africa] is an affair of only the past half-century. . . . Back of this partition of Africa were . . . the need of industrial countries for expanded markets, for raw materials found in the tropics and sub-tropics. . . .

The European administrator in Africa is generally quite indifferent to the conditions of native life. . . . To the European colonizer [the African] is the "happy beast," the docile primitive, with the mind of a child.

The characterization of the African by the celebrated South African administrator General Smuts, is that . . . the native has "largely remained a child type, with a child psychology and outlook." . . . A high official in Togoland will relate that the native, though trained in the schools of Togo and Dakar, can rarely be trusted to work without white supervision because he "does not have the brain-power." . . . Like the typical white American from the South, these men . . . are benevolent toward [the African], unless he becomes "impudent" and protests against injustice. . . . [Then] he is "dangerous," a menace, and must be "put in his place."

. . . In general, particularly insofar as West Africa is concerned, it may be said that there are two policies of native administration among the colonial powers. One of these is commonly identified as the "French system," and the other as the "British system."

The French Native Policy

In the early period of her colonial activity in Africa, France, like all other colonizing powers at the time, pursued a ruthless policy of subjection and exploitation. The colonies were regarded only as a "privileged" market for French goods and a source of raw materials for French manufacturers. . . . Gradually the French policy of assimilation of native subject races developed. This policy gave expression to the words of Napoleon: "wherever the [French] flag is, there is France." Economically and politically the colony and its population was to be absorbed as rapidly as possible in the Greater France. Native customs were to be disregarded as quickly as possible.

The French in recent years have found it expedient to abandon their pretensions at the wholesale assimilation of native populations in favor of the less ambitious, utilitarian, and somewhat more liberal policy of "association." From this point of view native customs and native society come to be regarded as something slightly more than a mere obstacle to progress which should be wiped out in due haste. The new policy recognizes rather timidly that it is dealing with peoples who have some right, at least, to live their own lives.

Intimately related with this racial attitude of the French is the formation of a privileged or *elite* class of natives, who become definite allies of the French administration in keeping the native masses in check. Special concessions exist for the members of this elite groups under the provisions of which they may acquire citizenship and other civil and political privileges. . . . This concept . . . is not peculiar to the French practice. Every colonizing power has found it helpful to foster a small class of privileged natives who can be depended upon to defend and aid in the execution of the policies of the nation which has so favored them. It has often been a subtle and very effective form of bribery. The native chief who receives handsome subventions from the government . . . the wealthy merchant who has been knighted, are not likely to become overly critical of government policy. . . .

The elite native truly becomes a black Frenchman. . . . Representatives of the elite have held many high positions in the French government and military service . . . even as high as Governor of a colony; they are judges, lawyers, doctors. But above all they are Frenchmen, regard themselves so, and are so regarded. . . .

But unfortunately, only a few natives are ever able to attain this privileged status. The French policy of association has an entirely different meaning for the native African masses. The native masses are given no such privileged status. Racial equality is not for them; nor is the right to vote, to hold office or to become French citizens. . . . They are given enough education to make them more efficient workers for the French. . . . The trained and alert members of the race having been drawn into the privileged class by subtle bribery, by the attraction of attaining superior status and racial equality, the native masses are left without effective leadership through which they can voice their protests against harsh and unjust policies effected by the French. The emotions involved in the concept of race and its implications in respect to social status are thus employed by the French, rather deliberately, it seems, to keep down racial conflict while the whole population is subjected to severe economic exploitation.

The British Policy

Where the French have always labored under the influence of the doctrine of ultimate assimilation . . . the British never have done so. . . . The English policy toward the government of their African subjects seems largely subject to the dictates of administrative expediency. The number of British colonial administrators can never be more than a mere handful in proportion to the area and population which they must control. Therefore it is much simpler to administer the territory through the native chiefs and to help [chiefs] maintain the [obedience] of their subjects. . . . The English seem content to let native customs and institutions follow their own course of development, so long as they do not greatly interfere with British administrative policy. . . .

The British policy of maintaining hereditary native chiefs in power, even though they may be incompetent and illiterate, has often proved irksome to the educated African commoner. The members of the educated native group . . . thus find themselves frozen out of the select circle. . . . In a large town like Lagos, Nigeria . . . the native population is already dividing into very distinct groups and classes. There is an upper stratum of rich traders and of professional men who live in substantial houses, sending their sons and daughters to England to be educated. In addition there is developing a small middle class of clerks, retailers and skilled technicians, together with the typical working class masses of any city with a population of one hundred and fifty thousand. . . .

Yet these classes exert a minimum of influence in the control of the government and administrative policy. . . . Disillusioned and resentful, the educated English Africans, frequently attribute their position to [British racism].

What Hope for the Native?

Thus the concepts of race and race difference play a significant role in the control of subject African peoples by the French and British. The French have so far been able to use the emotional appeal of race brotherhood as a very helpful device in keeping down unrest in their African dominions. The British find race a sore problem. . . . [Yet] both France and England will sooner or later have to face a day of reckoning with their Negro populations. . . .

The plain fact is that the contemporary international order, characterized by its capitalist-imperialist organization, has no possibility of effectively controlling the peoples and areas. For the international order cannot override the existing vested capitalistic interests which muster the forces of the state for their protection. As the world is now organized, these interests cannot be overcome. . . . It is only when this supremacy and privilege are dissolved and when it is no longer within the power of the privileged property-holding class to determine the institutional life of the modern state, that there can be hope for the development of an international order and community which will promise the subject peoples of the world genuine relief from the heavy colonial burdens of imperialist domination. At the present their outlook is not bright. . . .

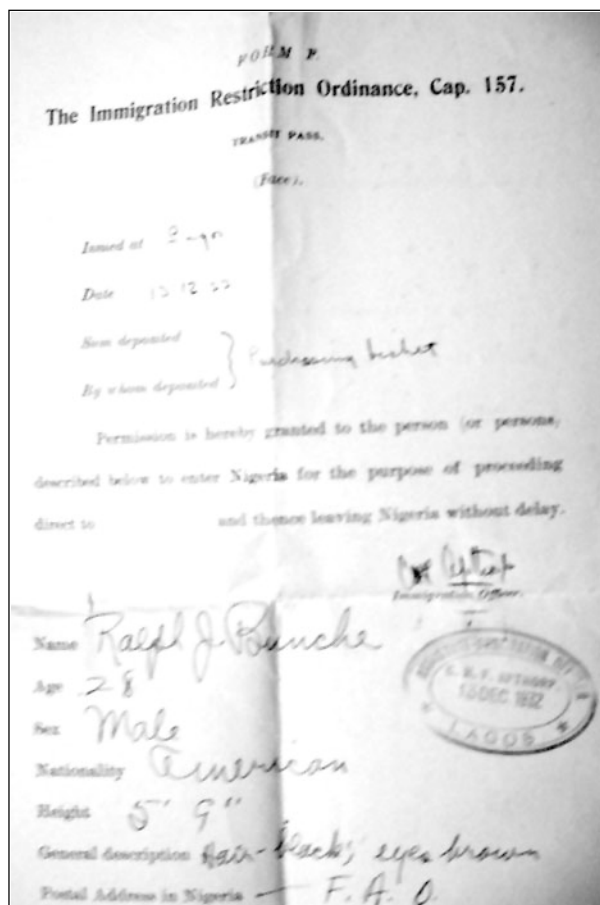
Source: Bunche 1936A, 38–66.

Source 2

Ralph Bunche, “The Land Equation in Kenya Colony (As Seen by a Kikuyu Chief)”

The imperialistic computations of Downing Street [the British Prime Minister’s residence] are made in terms of raw materials, markets, capital investments, millions of pounds, mineral and military resources, the prestige of empire, and the factitious “white man’s burden.” But, for the native, imperialism means a way of life—the way of life—new, confusing, contradictory and often relentlessly brutal. The native encounters imperialism through its manifestation in colonial policy. Native computations are in terms of taxation, political and economic disabilities, alienated land, forced labor, inadequate education, social inferiority, tribal disintegration, and general repression. . . .

Land rights in Kenya had their historic origin in the days when the Imperial British East Africa Company began to extend its influence over the mainland under the terms of the grant obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1887. By the time the East African Protectorate was declared in 1895 . . . white settlers had already appeared, acquiring lands from chiefs and the East African Company. In 1901 the railroad to Uganda was completed, and the necessity for the economic development of the country in order to support this expensive venture, along with the growing realization that . . . the Highlands of Kenya were well suited to white settlement, induced the British Government to lend support to the policy of colonization. . . . The Government thenceforward pursued a policy of securing the Highland area for European settlement by delimiting, from time to time, in the form of native reserves, the areas to which natives would be restricted. It is needless to add that these native reserve areas never included ancestral lands . . . on which the sacred graves of their ancestors remain. There was a justifiable feeling of insecurity among the natives regarding their land rights even in the reserves . . . and there were, in fact, numerous cases of alienation of land to Europeans even from the proclaimed or native reserve areas. . . .



Ralph Bunche’s Nigerian Immigration Pass, 1932

The text reads “Permission is hereby granted to the person (or persons) described below to enter Nigeria for the purpose of proceeding direct to [] and thence leaving Nigeria without delay.”

The Kikuyu [a Kenyan ethnic group] . . . must hold some sort of record for petitions to the government . . . regarding the land disputes . . . some of their leaders, such as Harry Thuku, were deported. . . . In presentation of the grievances . . . Senior Chief Koinange of Kiambu district has played a prominent part. . . . Last February 8th, I was Chief Koinange's guest at Kyambaa. [He says]:

When I moved to Kyambaa [after being forced of my family land] I thought I would [plant] coffee and make more money. So I went to the District Commissioner and asked him for permission . . . and he gave it to me. . . . I went to European farms at Kiambu and I bought coffee plants and planted them, and I bought coffee seed and put them in the nursery down near the river—and I had many coffee trees. . . . Later [the District Commissioner] came and told me that they were discussing my coffee in Nairobi and all the Europeans were cursing him because he had given natives coffee trees to plant . . . and he wanted to advise me to agree to pull down my coffee trees, and that I would be compensated for my trouble and expense by the Government.

I questioned him: 'What is wrong with my coffee trees?' Then he told me plainly that if I planted coffee all the Kikuyu would follow my example, and the price of coffee will be reduced and the white farmers will lose money. . . . He said we are not allowed to plant coffee. He said that if I did not agree 'they will report the matter to the King in England and get an order from him to pull down your coffee trees, in which case you will get nothing.' . . . I could not resist an order from the King, as I was not powerful enough, so I pulled down my coffee trees.

Source: Bunche 1939, 33–43

Source 3

Ralph Bunche, "Africa and the Current World Conflict"

The picture of the plight of the African under European imperialism is not a happy one. Despite such conditions, however, the African has been making steady progress. . . . A new leadership, especially among the educated African youth, has begun to emerge, a new group and racial consciousness is developing, and strong organizations are formed with the object of uniting Africans in protest against and resistance to European abuses. There are now strong youth organizations in West Africa, particularly in such colonies as the Gold Coast [Ghana], Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. In South Africa there are national organizations among the Bantu People, such as the All African Congress, which holds annual conventions just as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does on our behalf here. In East Africa are found such organizations as the Kikuyu Central Association, which has for years maintained a competent African lobbyist in London. African schools on the Western model have steadily improved; advanced educational institutions have been established in many places. There is a growing racial consciousness especially among educated Africans. Numerous publications owned and edited by Africans—newspapers and periodicals—are published and tend to impress upon the consciousness of their African readers an awareness of their problems. . . . The protest and civic organizations sponsor meetings, often of a mass character, in which the grievances of the people are aired. . . . Recourse is often had to the courts to uphold rights. . . .

The ability of the African to make this sort of slow but steady progress under the harsh rule of European imperialism has been in large measure due to the fact that the imperialistic governments represented in Africa from the end of World War I until the present, excepting only Italy in North Africa and Ethiopia, have been democratic governments. These imperialistic democracies have not, of course, extended the privileges and benefits of democratic government to their possessions in Africa. Yet . . . they have striven . . . to maintain the appearance of regard for the form if not the substance of democracy in their colonies; they have had to extend some of the elemental attributes of democracy, such as freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, of speech and of religion,

the right to protest, and the basic concept of the right of the individual against the state. . . . The democratic imperialisms, and of these England and France have been most important in Africa, have not permitted such liberties out of any high regard or sympathy with the African, but only because they have had to. As democracies they have had liberal-minded groups in their own countries which have protested vigorously against abuses in the control of the African peoples. . . .

The African in Africa, therefore, is much like the Negro in this country with regard to democracy. We are not permitted to share in the full fruits of democracy, but we are given some of the peelings from the fruit; and the nation is often self-conscious and apologetic for this defect in its democratic process. We are permitted freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. We can organize, protest, and appeal to the courts for the protection of our rights. We can let the American and world public know of the abuses we suffer. It is through the exercise of such rights that we have progressed in the past, and they form the foundation upon which our hopes for the future are erected. So is it with the African. His future, as ours, depends upon the preservation and extension of the democratic concepts throughout the world.

Thus the future of the African, his hope for continued progress . . . is inseparably tied to the outcome of the current war. . . . Fascism, especially the brand peddled by Herr Hitler, embraces boldly and fundamentally a racial theory more severe and more brazen than any the modern world has known—more formal, more deliberate even than that to be found in our own Deep South. . . . Peoples who are not accepted by [Nazis] as Aryans are held to be something less than humans . . . [Nazis] refer to Negroes as “animal-like.” Africans, under fascist domination, therefore, would have no rights that any German or Italian would be expected to respect. Fascism completely disavows the concepts of democracy, which it considers a weak and outworn system of government. . . .

Now that the Germans have conquered France, French Negroes, who formerly were able to walk as men in France, who knew nothing of Jim Crow in Paris or elsewhere in the French nation, who were extended full social equality in France, even to the extent of intermarriage . . . find Nazi-dictated signs barring them from cafes, hotels, and even prohibiting them from buying railroad tickets. . . .

There can be no doubt that, if Hitler and Mussolini win this war, the future of the African will be one of abject, hopeless slavery . . . where no individual dares even to whisper a word of criticism of the government, for fear a dreaded agent will overhear and doom him to a concentration camp. . . .

There are some naïve opportunists who claim to foresee African liberation as a result of this war, due to the weakening of all white imperialist nations. This is merely wishful thinking.

Source: Bunche 1940, 1430–38



Chief Koinange [Kiambu, Kenya], ca. 1937



Native Representative Council, Pretoria
[South Africa], ca. 1937

Bunche's Research Field Trips to Africa

Mediterranean Sea

LIBYA (Italy)

EGYPT

WEST AFRICA (French)

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

NIGERIA (British)

TOGO

DAHOMEY

ACCPA (GHANA)

MONROVIA (LIBERIA)

FREETOWN (SIERRA LEONE)

ABYSSINIA

SOMALILAND (French)

SOMALILAND (British)

SOMALILAND (Italian)

UGANDA

KENYA

Lake Victoria

RIFT VALLEY

Nairobi

Mombasa

CONGO (Belgian)

ANGOLA (Portuguese)

South Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

Pretoria

Johannesburg

Durban

LESOTHO

Capetown

SOUTH AFRICA (British)

First Research Trip
In June 1932 Ralph Bunche left New York City by ship, traveled to Paris, and from there made his way to West Africa. In West Africa he visited Togo, Dahomey, Accra, Monrovia, and Freetown. He returned to New York via Paris in January, 1933.

Second Research Trip
In October 1937 Bunche returned to Africa. He visited South Africa, studying Cape Town, Lesotho, Alice, Thaba'Nchu, Bloemfontein, Mafeking, Johannesburg, Benoni, Pretoria, and Durban. From January to February 1938 he made his way to Mombasa and Nairobi (Kenya). Bunche then drove a Ford station wagon up Rift Valley to the camp of Louis Leakey, who put him up for the night in Nakuru, Kisumu (on Lake Victoria). He proceeded to Kampalo (Uganda), into Belgian Congo, and then around Lake Victoria back to Nairobi. He returned to the U.S. via the Indian Ocean, stopping in Singapore, Batavia (now Jakarta), Hong Kong, Shanghai, and finally reaching San Francisco in July 1938.

Ralph Bunche in Africa
ca. 1932

"The old safari bus—'box-bodies over Africa'"
Bunche traveled across most of Africa in this car
ca. 1932

LESSON THREE

“This is a Killing Assignment”

ENDING THE 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ Explain the causes of the 1948 war.
- ◆ Assess the ways Arab and Israeli governments used evidence to support their negotiating positions.
- ◆ Identify Ralph Bunche’s negotiating strategies and evaluate the success of these strategies.
- ◆ Define the skills and qualities of character necessary for successful negotiation.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

This lesson consists of four activities. In the first, students will be introduced to the issues leading to the 1947–1949 Arab-Israeli crisis and negotiations. To do this, they read the historical background and readings representative of the two sides. For the second activity, students will examine geographic data to determine if it supports Arab or Jewish claims regarding the creation of Israel. The third activity will look at specific dilemmas that faced Ralph Bunche during his work in the Middle East. Students will role play Bunche, choosing from several solutions and making a case for Bunche to respond in a particular way. Finally, students debrief their experiences by reviewing what made Bunche a successful negotiator.

ACTIVITY ONE: Causes of the 1947–1949 Arab-Israeli Conflict

1. Background.
 - a. Distribute copies of **Historical Background Three** for the students to read. Reading can be completed in class or as a homework assignment.
 - b. Assign students to present “The Documents Speak” (**Document III–A**) in class. The reading is a dramatic presentation of contemporary headlines interspersed with context from news articles and is intended to give students a sense of the violence and suffering that accompanied the conflict. It is not intended to represent every event in the chronology. To further dramatize the reading, have the students stand in a line and step forward as they read their assigned part.
2. Introducing the Negotiating Positions.
 - a. Hand out copies of **Documents III–B** (Palestinian report to the United Nations) and **III–C** (Israeli report to the United Nations) to the class.
 - b. Based on these documents (and referring back to the **Historical Background** as needed), have students answer the questions on **Worksheet 13**. To answer the questions in class rather than at home, divide the students into pairs and have them compare their responses to question #3.

ACTIVITY TWO: Examining Evidence for Negotiating Positions

1. The Geographic Evidence.

The purpose of this activity is to demonstrate to students that maps too may be used for political purposes. The information in these maps is historically accurate; the question students consider here is how such information might bolster each side’s argument in 1948.

Have students examine a chronological series of maps showing the history of the land which now makes up Israel and Palestine as well as where through history the Jewish and Arab peoples have lived.

- a. Post the maps (**Document III–D, Maps 1–16**) in chronological order around the room, sufficiently apart from one another so that 2–4 students can comfortably view the maps at the same time. It will be useful to enlarge the maps if you have the equipment to do so. Alternatively, you can create a chronological map set for each student by copying the maps.
 - b. Group the students in pairs for this activity. Explain that the pairs will present a “One Minute Debate” in the next class meeting. The pairs will take either the Arab position (refer students to Husseini’s 1947 speech, **Document III–B**) or the Israeli position (refer students to Silver’s 1947 speech, **Document III–C**); *however*, they will not know ahead of time which position will be assigned to their group.
 - c. Distribute **Worksheet 14**. Instruct the students to examine the maps (either by walking around the room or by examining their map sets) and, using the worksheet as a guide, make notes about what they learn of the histories of *both* the land and the Jewish and Arab peoples.
2. Debating the Evidence
 - a. The next class meeting, call up each pair of students for the one-minute debate. Before they present their work to the class, assign them a role (Palestinian Jew or Arab) and two or more *maps* to which they *must* refer during their debate. The maps can be combined in a variety of ways.
 - b. Following the debates, open a discussion about the debates using **Worksheet 15**.
 3. Alternate Activity

Have students write a history of the land and its peoples based solely on the map evidence. Students can follow the same procedure of examining the maps (either around the room or in map packets) using **Worksheet 14** to take notes. They then should prepare their short histories based on the evidence they have noted in the maps. The activity can be extended even further by assigning students to read current Palestinian and Zionist Web sites, describing the historical events and interpretation stressed in each and comparing those claims to the geographical evidence. Follow with a discussion per #2, “Debating the Evidence.”

ACTIVITY THREE: Ralph Bunche and Negotiating Strategies

1. Ralph Bunche’s Negotiating Strategies

This exercise gives students ten dilemmas/questions Ralph Bunche faced as he worked on the Palestine issue between 1947 and 1949. For each dilemma/question, students will *rank* the alternatives from best to worst. After each group presents its findings, you will read to the class a description of Bunche’s actual decision.

- a. Divide students into groups of four.
- b. Assign one of the issues (**Document III–E, Issues One–Ten**) to each group of students along with **Worksheet 16**.
- c. Give students about ten to fifteen minutes to complete the work.

- d. Have each group present their decision, listing the strengths of each choice. Students should start their explanations (which should be no longer than a minute) by declaring “I, Ralph Bunche, U.N. Acting Mediator, recommend. . . .”
- e. After each set of presentations, the class can discuss which alternative seems best. Conclude the class discussion by reading (or having students read) Bunche’s actual decision for that dilemma (**Document III–F**).

ACTIVITY FOUR: The Strengths of a Peacemaker

1. Have students read **Documents III–G, III–H, III–I, III–J, and III–K**. In class discussion, ask students to list the strengths Bunche brought to his work.
2. Remind students that Bunche himself had no models for this negotiation. Given Bunche's success, could his skills be taught to new negotiators?
3. Divide students into groups of 3 or 4, and give each student a copy of **Worksheet 17**.
4. The worksheet asks that create a schedule for a one-day seminar (“Ralph Bunche Dispute Resolution Project”) for volunteers on an imaginary student-run “Campus Dispute Resolution” panel. There are three tasks: to write a detailed schedule, to draft an advertisement, and to present a 5-minute sample lesson from their proposed seminar. You can assign each student in the group to a particular task, require that the whole group completes each task, or divide the tasks among separate groups.
5. Have students present their work. Give each group a minute to read its advertisement to the class and five minutes to perform the lesson.

BACKGROUND OF THE 1948 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

The history of the Arab-Israeli conflict provokes enormous disagreement. Not all of this disagreement is between Arabs and Israelis: there is substantial debate among Arabs and among Israelis as well.

During the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the United Nations, the Security Council, and the United Nations' mediation staff—particularly Ralph Bunche—heard many sides of that debate.

This overview does not attempt to resolve the many disputed historical questions. Instead, it offers a background to the views Israeli and Arab diplomats shared with the United Nations and later with Bunche himself.

OVERVIEW

The first modern Arab-Israeli war has been described as the bloodiest of the five full-scale conflicts between Israel and neighboring Arab states since the mid-twentieth century. The first stage of the conflict began in the fall of 1948. Great Britain had administered the area (then called just “Palestine”) since the end of World War I. However, Britain's World War II victory had financially weakened the United Kingdom and the government found itself stymied by a succession of crises pitting Arabs against Jews, and both against the British. In 1947 the British promised to withdraw from the region no later than August 1948.

Ralph Bunche became a part of the history of the region when he was appointed to assist the 1947 United Nations (UN) commission named to investigate the Palestine crisis while the British government planned the withdrawal. A minority on the committee called for a united Palestinian state for both Arabs and Jews; however, the committee's majority recommended partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. Ralph Bunche, charged with directing the committee's professional staff, drafted both reports.

On November 29, 1947, The UN General Assembly agreed on a partition plan. While Zionist leaders (19th-20th century Jewish nationalists) accepted the partition which gave far less territory than they had sought. Palestinians, on the other hand, were against the plan because they believed that the Yishuv (the pre-state Jewish community) accepted partition for tactical reasons: partition would put Jews in the majority, giving them the power to squeeze Palestinians out. Over the following weeks and months, terrorism, guerrilla attacks, and commando operations escalated into full scale civil war.



Count Folke Bernadotte (June 1948)

As the crisis worsened, British troops withdrew. The same day—May 14, 1948—Israel declared its independence. Arab armies subsequently invaded Israel from Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq. Attacked from all sides, Israeli forces suffered initial setbacks. However, with superior organization, training, and arms, Israel was soon able to take the offensive.

Meanwhile, the United Nations General Assembly had appointed Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte as its Mediator; Secretary-General Trygve Lie named Ralph Bunche as his personal representative to Bernadotte's team. In June, Bernadotte and Bunche negotiated a cease-fire that, after a brief resumption of fighting, was renewed in August. At this point, Bernadotte issued his own proposal for resolving the conflict. He proposed an alteration of the November 29 UN partition plan that would transfer most of the Negev from Israeli to Palestinian control while transferring most of western Galilee from the Palestinians to the Israelis. This so

enraged Israeli extremists and one of their organizations, LEHI (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel), that they assassinated Bernadotte.

With Bernadotte dead, Bunche became Acting Mediator. In January 1949 Bunche won an agreement from the combatants to begin face-to-face negotiations. Once the negotiations began, it took three grueling months to achieve a truce. In those months, Bunche frequently worked through the night preparing proposals and counter-proposals, meeting privately with Arab and Israeli diplomats, and preventing the tense discussions from collapsing under the weight of angry recrimination.

Bunche's extraordinary dedication to ending the bloodshed earned him the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize. Even so, Israeli and Arabs had exacted a terrible toll upon one another before the fighting ended.

The war killed about 6,000 Israelis, 1% of the country's population. Arab fighters forced Jewish civilians from a number of Jewish settlements including some where Jews had lived for over 2,000 years. Arab guerrilla fighters attacked food convoys destined for Jewish civilians, made roads impassible and blocked Jewish access to holy sites.

Palestinians suffered far greater losses. Palestinians remember the war as *Al-Nakhba*—literally “the catastrophe.” Two thousand Arab soldiers and an unknown number of Arab civilians died. Eighty percent of Israel's 1947 Arab population left their homes. Israeli diplomats claimed they were encouraged to do so by their leadership, while their Arab counterparts declared the Palestinians were expelled under threat of death. Once the war ended, Israel refused to permit the return of these refugees.¹ Of the territory awarded a Palestinian state in the 1947 UN partition plan, 20% was lost. Statehood itself was lost: Egypt's King Farouk seized control of Gaza, while Jordan's King Abdullah annexed Arab Palestine, later known as the “West Bank.”

As Ralph Bunche would soon discover, Jews and Arabs had markedly different perspectives on the history leading to the events of the 1940s.

Jews Before 1920

Israelis who faced Ralph Bunche across the bargaining table at Rhodes in 1948 grounded their right to the land in ancient history. Zionists began their story 2,500 years before the 1948 war. For them, Israel was the ancestral Jewish homeland, where their kingdoms rose and fell in the first millennium BCE. In the 1st century BCE, the Roman Empire absorbed the region's last Jewish kingdom. A series of Jewish revolts against Roman rule ended in the 2nd century CE with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem and the expulsion of most Jews from Palestine.

Exiled Palestinian Jews migrated throughout the Roman world and beyond, joining Jewish communities that already existed in Persia, Ethiopia, and throughout the Mediterranean. For the next eighteen hundred years, these “diaspora” Jews declared “next year in Jerusalem!” at the end of their Passover feasts. Usually, this expressed a spiritual wish: Jews would return to Zion when the Messiah appeared. While diaspora Jews sometimes migrated to Palestine, joining what Jewish settlements remained, none advanced any serious program to reestablish a Jewish state.

¹ The refugee issue is a source of continuing dispute between Israelis and Palestinians. Israelis argue that Palestinians left of their own accord in deference to calls from their political leaders who asked that they do so. Palestinians emphasize the fear created by Israeli terrorist organizations, who targeted Palestinian villages such as Deir Yassin, where 150–200 Arabs were massacred. Palestinians assert a “right of return” based on UN resolutions of 1949, while Israel argues that all proposals to return the refugees are really intended to swamp Israel's Jewish population, destroying Israel's identity as a Jewish homeland without firing a shot. Israelis note that other refugees who fled their homelands as a result of interethnic conflict after World War II were successfully resettled. Palestinian Arabs respond that such resettlements were unjust as well. Israelis note that within a few years, over 800,000 Jews were forced out of Arab states and took refuge in Israel; Palestinians question whether these Jewish refugees were ever forced to leave. For an Israeli perspective see Sachar (1991); for a Palestinian perspective, see Farsoun (1997). For those standing between these perspectives, see Morris (2001).

The lives of diaspora Jews were not secure. By 1200 CE, Christian states in Europe often segregated Jews into walled communities called “ghettoes,” and denied them rights granted to Christian subjects. Christian mobs attacked and massacred European Jewish communities during the 12th century Crusades, the 14th century Black Plague, and 16th-17th century Russian rebellions. Some Christian states expelled Jews from their borders. In 1492, for instance, Spain gave both Jews and Muslims the choice to leave the country, convert to Christianity, or be put to death.

By and large, Islamic governments treated their Jewish subjects more equitably, and Jewish philosophers, government ministers, merchants, doctors and others generally lived their lives unmolested. Popular prejudice, however, meant constant harassment for some Jews. Mob violence, though more rare than in Christian states, was not unknown. Even so, it is no accident that Jewish nationalism began in Europe rather than the Islamic world.

Before Jews considered establishing a national state of their own, however, European conditions seemed to change for the better. During the 18th century, Enlightenment philosophers and government officials promoted the equality of all persons regardless of religious convictions. Middle-class Jews, particularly in Germany, responded with their own “Enlightenment,” the *Haskalah*. Leaders of the *Haskalah* argued that Jews should integrate into European society, abandoning distinctive clothing, “superstitious” religious rituals, and inward-looking traditions. Gradually, many Western European states lifted restrictions on Jewish life; many Jews, meanwhile, began considering themselves German, French, or British as much as—or more than—Jewish.

Toward the end of the 19th century, however, the Enlightenment project stalled. In the Russian Empire, government-orchestrated “pogroms” (mob violence against Jews) killed hundreds in 1882 and 1903. In France, the government falsely charged Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer, with treason; the controversy over the Dreyfus Affair revealed unexpected depths of anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews). Meanwhile, anti-Semitic writers found wide audiences for ugly attacks on Jews and Judaism. Though many Jews continued to have faith in their religion and Enlightenment values, millions of others packed their bags and left Europe, most for the United States, South Africa, and Latin America.

However, a few Jews, led by Theodor Herzl, proposed a very different solution: a Jewish homeland. They were not alone. The 19th century has been called the Age of Nationalism. Throughout Europe, political activists declared that every national people should possess its own territorial state. Calling themselves “Zionists,” (after a name for ancient Israel), they argued that an independent Jewish state alone could provide security for Jews.

Zionism promised more than just a national state: it promised to create a “new Jewish man.” No longer submissive to authority and frightened of confronting those who held power, Jews would create their own destiny, confronting all adversaries with a new “muscular Judaism.” Though Zionists considered establishing the Jewish homeland in lands as far afield as Uganda and western Australia, in the early 20th century they agreed among themselves that their country should be built in Palestine.

Zionists living outside of Palestine (then part of the declining Ottoman (Turkish) Empire) considered it to be a desert waste, “a land without people for a people without land.” As Zionist émigrés to Palestine soon learned, that impression was erroneous. Palestine on the eve of World War I was already home to some 750,000 Palestinians. Officially leading Zionists argued that Palestinians would peaceably sell their lands to the Yishuv, peaceably emigrating to other Ottoman territories, which one day, perhaps, would be under Arab rule. Arabs would control their own state, while Jews would govern their much smaller ancestral homeland. Privately, there was considerable debate. Could a Jewish state be established with a Palestinian majority? If not, what policies could the Yishuv adopt to achieve numbers sufficient to justify statehood?

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the British and French occupation of its southern territories following World War I, this goal seemed within grasp. In 1917, the British foreign minister, Arthur Balfour, promised a “national home” for Jews in British-controlled Palestine.

Later, British officials claimed that a “national home” was not necessarily the same as a “state,” and that promising a home *in* Palestine did not necessarily mean promising Zionists *all* of Palestine (which until 1922

included present-day Jordan as well). However, at least some British officials meant exactly what Zionists had heard: that the British government had promised to create a Jewish state encompassing all of Palestine.

Palestinian Arabs before 1920

Arab negotiators rejected the Zionist assertion that the world community ought to honor a territorial claim more than 2,000 years old. For Arab states and for Palestinian Arabs, the story was just a century old: it was the story of an organized campaign to oust Arabs from Palestine, replacing them with immigrant Jewish colonies and, ultimately, an immigrant Jewish state. It was an act of imperialism. Yet Arabs too drew deeply from history to make their case before the UN, Bunche, and the international community.

The peoples who call themselves “Arab” are descended not only from the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, but also from Semitic peoples throughout ancient Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. In this sense, there have been Arabs in Palestine for millennia.

However, it was not until the Islamic conquests of the 7th century CE that inhabitants of Palestine began gradually to consider themselves as part of an Arab people. The new Islamic state, the Caliphate, was under the authority of the Caliph (literally, the “successor” of Mohammed, possessing authority as both an emperor and as a supreme Islamic judge). The Caliphate’s zenith, in the 8th–10th centuries, saw commerce and agriculture thrive throughout Palestine. While some Palestinians remained Christian or Jewish, but most converted to Islam.

Arab power declined after the 9th century, leaving the Caliphate vulnerable to attack. In the 11th century, Christian Europeans launched a series of Crusades, establishing states along the entire Mediterranean coast between present-day Turkey and Egypt. A withering Muslim offensive led by Salah al-Din (Saladin), a Kurdish soldier who had risen to power in Egypt, defeated the Crusader states, though a few cities remained in European hands. In the 13th century Mongol armies invaded and destroyed what was left of the Caliphate, sacking Baghdad, then among the largest and most sophisticated of the world’s cities. The Crusades and the Mongol invasions have remained symbols of foreign control; Palestinians often compare Israel to the Crusader States.

After an interlude of Egyptian control, Palestine fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1516–17, remaining under Ottoman Turkish control for the next four hundred years. Because Ottoman Sultans supported Islamic institutions and enforced Islamic law, Arabs accepted their government as legitimate.

In the 19th century the Ottoman Empire weakened, pressed from the north by Russia, from the east by Persia, from the west by Greek and Slavic nationalists, and from the south by rebellious Egyptian officials. Meanwhile, rapid European technological, economic, and military advances threatened the Empire’s survival. The empire lurched between reform (*Tanzimat*, or Reorganization) and conservative reaction.

Ottoman troubles did not help Palestinian Arabs. More efficient government administration and higher military spending dramatically increased local taxes. Trade shifted from Ottoman to European hands, particularly in the Indian Ocean and eastern Mediterranean, while inexpensive European manufactures drove Ottoman goods out of foreign and, in many cases, domestic markets. As time passed agricultural exports expanded, increasing rural land values and competition for fertile lands.

Facing deep impoverishment and growing debt, smaller Palestinian landholders were forced to sell to wealthy landowners, who continued employing them as tenant farmers. Beginning in the late 19th century, a number of these landlords sold their holdings to Jewish Zionists. Zionist communities then expelled Arab tenants who, though their families had lived on the land for generations, no longer possessed legal title. Because Zionists were committed to taking political control of the land, their communities did not permit resale of land to Arab buyers. Over time, violent confrontations over such land transfers multiplied.

Meanwhile, Ottoman Turks began embracing a nationalism of their own. Increasingly, it was Turks, not Arabs, who administered Palestine, enforced the tax laws, and served in the Empire’s occasional parliaments. In 1908, a nationalist revolt put the army’s “young Turks” into power. Arabs found their interests marginalized.

Reacting against Turkish nationalism, some Arab intellectuals articulated a nationalism of their own, calling for independence from the Ottoman Empire and a united Arab state.

During World War I, the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany against Britain. The British military promised a united Arab state to Faisal ibn Hussein, Emir of Mecca, if he would lead an Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, the British, anticipating the defeat of Turkey and the conquest of Palestine, made two additional promises. In the Sykes-Picot Agreement, they secretly pledged to divide Arab lands between British and French spheres of influence. To Zionists, they issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

After World War I, King Faisal took power in Damascus, Syria. Before a unified Arab state could be declared, the French ejected Faisal from Syria. The British government then offered Faisal the throne of Iraq, a newly-invented country in Mesopotamia. His son, Abdullah, was given the throne of another newly-created country, a portion of Palestine east of the Jordan River dubbed “Trans-Jordan” (later renamed Jordan). The League of Nations then confirmed two “mandates”—one administered by France in Syria and Lebanon, and the other by Britain in Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq. In theory, European powers were supposed to guide their mandates toward self-government. In fact, however, Britain and France used their power to advance their own economic and political interests.

1920–1947

The League of Nations mandate required Britain to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine in order to build a Jewish national home. However, the League also required that the British ensure “that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced.”

The League’s two instructions were incompatible. In 1920, Arabs outnumbered Jews in Palestine by nearly seven to one. Yet most Zionists envisioned the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The only way to bring Jews into the majority was to encourage massive immigration and land transfers. Palestinian Arabs, understanding these facts, worked to stop the influx of European Jews and to punish Arabs who sold their lands.

Since the British government initially rejected Arab calls to change its policy regarding Jewish immigration, opposition to Jewish settlement became violent. In 1929, riots against Jewish neighborhoods and attacks on Jewish settlements killed 133 Jews; British police, in turn, killed 116 Arabs. Arab violence forced Jews to abandon some older communities, including Hebron, where Jews had lived continuously for over two thousand years. The much larger Arab Revolt of 1936–1939, which began with a general strike, targeted British colonial control, the largest such revolt between the wars. Arabs boycotted British products, refused to pay taxes, and attacked British offices and men. The revolt also pitted peasants against landlords; peasant courts tried absentee landowners for abuses and abolished debts. Finally, rebels targeted the Yishuv. Palestinians uprooted over a hundred thousand trees, burned wheat fields, and mounted terror attacks against civilians.

Britain poured 20,000 soldiers into Palestine, declaring marshal law and imprisoning thousands. Though most Zionists urged Jews to let the British deal with the revolt, some Jews joined a new terrorist organization, Irgun. In 1937, Irgun began bombing Arab crowds at public markets and bus stations; Arabs retaliated in kind. The revolt sputtered on for another three years, killing nearly a hundred Jews, over thirty British soldiers, and between 3,000 and 6,000 Arabs.

British authorities vacillated between Arab and Jewish demands. Britain suspended Jewish immigration in 1921 but renewed it almost immediately; proposed limits in 1930 but then backed down; imposed severe limits in 1937, which were tightened further in 1939. During this period British officials contemplated partitioning Palestine between Jews and Arabs but neither the Peel Commission (1937) nor the Woodhead Commission (1938) found a formula acceptable to Arab leaders. In 1939, a few months before the outbreak of World War II, the British government, fearing Arab support for Nazi Germany, published the “White paper.” According to this document, Jews would be allowed to buy land in only 5% of Palestine; after the admission of 75,000 additional Jews over a period of 5 years, Jewish immigration was to cease; and, within 10 years, an independent Palestinian state (Arab) would be established.

As a result, some Zionists decided to take up arms against the British themselves. Irgun, now joined by another commando organization, LEHI (better known as the Stern Gang) used guerrilla tactics and assassination to push the British out of Palestine. The assassination of Britain's minister resident in the Middle East, Lord Moyne (1944) and the bombing of the King David Hotel, which housed British military officers (1946), demonstrated that the British would face violent reprisals no matter what they did in Palestine. Though Haganah, the largest Jewish defense movement, condemned Irgun and LEHI attacks, it was not until 1948 that it took effective action against the two organizations.

Despite Irgun and LEHI operations, Zionists generally supported Britain's fight against Hitler, contributing 27,000 troops to the British war effort. Palestinian Arab leaders, meanwhile, saw their best chance for success in a German victory. Jerusalem's Mufti (religious leader) Amin al-Husseini met with Hitler during the war, a decision that did not sit well with the Allies after their 1945 victory.

Following the war, thousands of Holocaust survivors (many of whom were in "Displaced Persons" (DP) camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy) crowded refugee ships for Palestine only to be intercepted by the British Navy and turned back. Most countries, including the United States, enforced strict immigration policies of their own, leaving the DPs with little hope but that of evading British patrols and entering Palestine on their own.

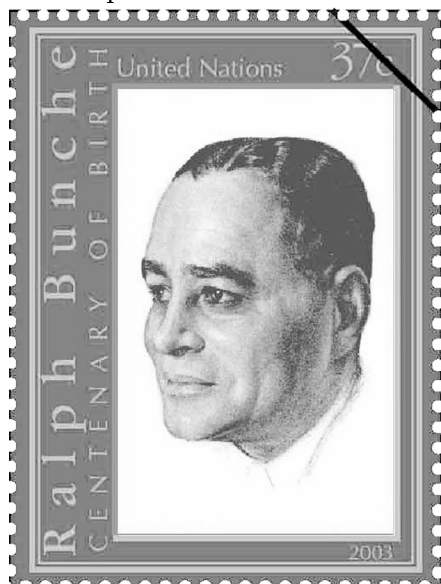
Under American pressure, an Anglo-American Committee was established in order to examine both the question of Palestine and the situation of the Jewish survivors in Europe. In April 1946, it published its recommendations. The Commission proposed to grant immediately 100,000 immigration certificates to Jewish refugees in the DP camps so that they could emigrate to Palestine; to revoke the prohibition against the sale of land to Jews, and, most importantly, to transfer the British Mandate to the United Nations.

The British government, however, had no intention of carrying out these recommendations.

The UN Steps In

By 1947, the situation in Palestine had turned very bleak. Jewish terrorists now operated throughout much of Palestine, Haganah created a regular army of its own, and Arab states openly planned for the prospect of war. Britain found itself in a quagmire, unable to resolve the dispute and targeted from all sides. In the fall of 1947, the British government announced that it would unilaterally end its Palestine mandate on or before August 1948.

It was then that the United Nations intervened in an attempt to resolve this international disaster. Even achieving an armistice would, in the view of many skeptics, be well beyond the UN's capacity. It was here that Bunche proved his worth.



On August 7, 2003, the United Nations Postal Administration issued a set of three stamps to commemorate the centenary of birth of Ralph Bunche. The originals of the charcoal drawings reproduced on the stamps were created by Leo Cherme as a gift to Bunche. They hang at the Ralph Bunche Institute of International Studies in the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK

The following script is adapted from entries in *The New York Times Index* for 1947–1949 (the unattributed dated entries) as well as a few excerpts from other news sources. The reading is a dramatic presentation portraying the violence and suffering which punctuated the crisis on both sides. As it begins, Jewish settlers in Palestine were working to force Britain from Palestine and establish a Jewish state. Arabs, also working to oust the British, sought an Arab state. While the centrist Jewish organization Haganah accepted the idea of partitioning Palestine, neither Arabs (who comprised the majority of Palestine residents) nor Jewish militants in Irgun and LEHI (“The Stern Gang”) accepted partition. The “DPs” referred to in the headlines were “displaced persons”—Jews liberated from Nazi concentration camps who sought to emigrate to Palestine.

- Jan. 5, 1947 Arab Higher Commission Secretary General Azzam Pasha says the AHC will be united against any partition scheme or continuation of Jewish immigration.
- Feb. 28, 1947 2 killed, 5 wounded in Haifa bombing; explosion follows clash between British naval vessels and immigrant ship Haim Arlosoroff.
- Mar. 1, 1947 British Declare Martial Law.
- Mar. 11, 1947 Mrs. W. H. Sharp warns that 54,000 Jewish DP [Displaced Persons] children in Europe will perish in 2 years unless they are admitted to Palestine. Methodist Church Secretary General G. Hopkins says Arab rights are violated by Jewish immigration.
- Mar. 11, 1947 60,000 of 100,000 Bedouin tribesmen in drought-hit Beersheba area (Negev) migrate; trek compared to that of Jacob in Biblical times. . . . Arab press fears that Arab landowners will be forced to sell property to Zionists as result of drought.
- Apr. 2, 1947 UN Assembly rejects Arab proposal to place independence question on agenda.
- June 5, 1947 Stern Gang mines two trains near Haifa; Athlit railway station demolished by bomb.
- Aug. 10, 1947 Members of armed band wearing Arab dress kill 4 Jews, wound 10 Jews and Arabs in unprovoked attack on café, Tel Aviv. . . . Haganah warns Jews to be calm while organized plans are prepared for retaliation against Arabs. . . . Moslem Brotherhood and 8 other Arab societies condemn clashes.
- Sept. 27, 1947 British Colonial Secretary A. C. Jones announces that Great Britain plans to end Palestine Mandate and withdraw troops.
- Nov. 29, 1947 The UN General Assembly approved partition by a vote of 33–13.
- Dec. 1, 1947 Jerusalem Jews throng streets to celebrate UN decision to partition country; Arabs attack Jews throughout Palestine; seven Jews killed, eight injured. Arab and Jewish prisoners clash in Acre Prison. Jewish DP in Berlin camps celebrate partition declaration; Syrian mob attacks U.S. and French legations, hauls down U.S. flag; Iraqi Cabinet urges people to keep order; disorders spread through Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan.
- Dec. 8, 1947 (*Newsweek Magazine*) Arabs seemed resigned to the prospect of an armed struggle. They regard partition in its present form as so outrageous that there is no alternative.
- Dec. 3, 1947 United Nations Secretary General Trygve Lie announced the appointment of Dr. Ralph Bunche to head the UN Palestine Commission.
- Dec. 8, 1947 Jewish Agency and Jewish National Council to register Jewish young for defense: 75,000 registrants expected. Syria votes draft and 17,000 volunteer; Iraq reports registration of 60,000 men and women.
- Dec. 10, 1947 Palestine Liberation Committee forms commando group; Aden businessman says 100 Jewish women and children were burned to death in recent riots.
- Feb. 9, 1948 (*The New Republic*) The United Nations faces the grim prospect that it may not be able to enforce its most important decision—the partition of Palestine. And UN delegates realize, almost

- unanimously, what failure to do so can mean: the almost total destruction of UN prestige as an effective world governing body. . . . The result [of such a failure] will be a death blow not only to its own chances of survival, but to many thousands of Arabs and Jews in the Holy Land.
- Feb. 23, 1948 Ben Yehuda Street, Jerusalem, wrecked by explosion; 33 believed killed, 88 hurt.
- Feb. 29, 1948 (*New York Times Magazine*) The British have called Haganah's members terrorists, but they have indulged in little real terrorism, that is to say, murder and destruction simply for the purpose of impressing their opponents. . . . The worst blots on the Haganah record are the punitive raids in which they have blown up houses where women and children were sleeping. Last August near Jaffa they wiped out a whole family including four small children when they destroyed a house in a night. More recently in northern Galilee and in the Semiramis Hotel explosion in Jerusalem last month, they killed innocent children in bombings of the same type in retaliation for Arab attacks. These outrages they attempted to justify on the grounds that the buildings concerned were used as bases by Arab raiders. In general, however, even the British official description of Haganah remarks that "on the whole, Haganah has maintained the policy of . . . self restraint. . . ." (Brewer 1948)
- Apr. 10, 1948 Arabs recapture Kastel; Jews prepare counter-attack; Irgun and Stern Gang claim capture of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem with 200 Arabs killed.
- June 9, 1948 Bernadotte sets cease-fire; demands unconditional acceptance of terms; warns he will otherwise return the issue to the Security Council.
- Sept. 18, 1948 Bernadotte assassinated by Jewish irregulars in Jerusalem; Col. Serot also killed; Gen. Lundstroem and Col. Bagley safe. . . . Bunche ordered to assume Bernadotte duties.
- Sept. 23, 1948 (*Newsweek*) Two men in Israeli Army uniforms and carrying Sten guns—a cheaply built but effective little submachine gun . . . strode along the convoy. As they came to Bernadotte's limousine, Begley leaped out and grappled with one, who fired an ineffectual shot into the front seat. But meanwhile the second . . . fired a burst at the backseat. . . . Count Bernadotte was dead.
- Oct. 23, 1948 (*The Nation*) Bernadotte is dead, but the real authors of "the Bernadotte plan" are very much alive . . . for the "Bernadotte Plan" was written by representatives of the State Department and the British Foreign Office, in collaboration with the late United Nations mediator and the present acting mediator Ralph Bunche. The story is ugly. . . . The medium for the betrayal . . . is Ralph Bunche. . . . Bunche is the author of a formula equating the creation of the Jewish state [with] Arab aggression. . . . The Anglo-American combination has made not the slightest dent on Israel. With courage, dignity, and inflexible determination, the Israeli representatives refuse to allow their state to be truncated. (Shultz 1948)
- Nov. 25, 1948 (Bunche, statement to the First Committee of the UN General Assembly) [Shultz's charges in *The Nation*] are a contemptible slander of a dead man, and a slur on the honesty and integrity of a thoroughly honest person who sacrificed his life in unselfish service to the United Nations (Urquhart 1993).
- Jan. 7, 1949 Egypt is the first Arab nation to accept direct peace talks with Israel. . . . UN jubilant.
- Feb. 13, 1949 (*New York Times Magazine*) Action is swift in this drama. A deserted Arab village is typical of what is happening everywhere. When we first drove past, it was just one more dead town. . . . The mud walls were crumbling. Where windows and doors had been there were only black holes opening on emptiness. Not a stray dog remained to disturb its grave-like stillness or show that a few months ago it had been a swarming hive of Arab life. (McCormick 1949)
- Apr. 23, 1949 (*The Nation*) In the final stages, the achievement of Dr. Ralph Bunche and his associates in bringing to a successful conclusion three successive chapters of armistice negotiations stands as an example of international mediation at once resourceful, effective, and fair. (Sharett 1949)

JAMAL AL HUSSEINI
CHAIRMAN, PALESTINE ARAB DELEGATION

Delivered to the United Nations General Assembly Committee on Palestine, September 29, 1947



Jamal al Hussein

On behalf of the Palestine Arab delegation, I desire to express to you our gratefulness for the opportunity you have kindly offered us to lay our case before you with the sincere hope that a just and lasting solution will be the outcome of your deliberations.

The Palestine Arab case is simple and self-evident. Indeed, it hardly needs elaboration. It is based on the high principles of international justice which are upheld by the civilized world. It is that of a people who desire to live in undisturbed possession of their country, in which they have continually existed and with which they have become inextricably woven.

The Arabs of Palestine are there where Providence and history have placed them. As all other nations, they are entitled to live in freedom and peace. . . . If this universal right of all nations in our world today cannot be questioned, the Arabs of Palestine are unable to understand why theirs should be questioned and submitted constantly to investigation and fact-finding. We have one glaring, all-embracing fact: That we are there and have always been there in actual possession of our own country, and we have one binding, lawful and sacred duty: To defend it against all aggression. We ask for no favors and we desire nothing that is not ours by birthright.

The Zionists are conducting an aggressive campaign, in fact, an invasion. For no matter with what apparel it is clothed—religious, humanitarian, or political—the Zionist movement for the possession of Palestine is nothing but an invasion that aims, by force, at securing and dominating a country that is not theirs by birthright.

. . . I desire, further, to make it clear to you, that in our life and death struggle against the Zionist invasion, we have nothing in common with anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism has been the product of intolerance in the West, when the Arab world was one of the Jews' rare havens of refuge. . . . In Palestine, we have no record of a single clash with the small Jewish community before the British occupation, because there existed no political designs over our country.

That atmosphere of neighborliness was poisoned by the Balfour Declaration and by the aggressive spirit it created in the Jewish Community which became, since then, the pampered child of the British government. . . .

The Zionist case is based on the association of the Jews with Palestine 2,000 years ago. History relates that before that remote period, the Jews had a little kingdom in a part of Palestine which did not survive for more than 250 years.

If that claim can have any legal or moral value, then we Arabs could have better and stronger moral claims over Spain, parts of France, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and even parts of India, Russia, and China. In all these territories our banner flew for years and centuries, and in most of them we left monuments that still stand to tell the world of today the story of our civilization.

. . . Zionists claim the establishment of a Jewish national home by virtue of the Balfour Declaration. Great Britain, however, has never owned Palestine to dispose of it. It occupied Palestine in the name of the Allies with whom the Arabs were associated. Arab troops have played their assigned part in that occupation. When the

British Army entered Palestine, the United Kingdom declared to the world that they entered it as liberators and not as conquerors.

The Balfour Declaration . . . is an immoral, unjust, and illegal promise. It is immoral because it was made behind the back of the inhabitants of the country and was diametrically opposed to the previous pledges given to them by the same government. It is unjust, because it aims at the national destruction of a friendly people. It is illegal because it was a gift that was not the property of the giver.

Great Britain maintained that the said promise contains two obligations, the one to establish a Jewish national home, and the other to safeguard the rights of the indigenous population. No one could seriously suppose that the establishment of a national home for a people on top of the national home of another people could be achieved without undermining their rights and interests.

. . . In 1918, when this policy of wholesale destruction was set afoot, Palestine was 93 per cent Arab in population, language, traditions, and aspirations. This overwhelming, all-prevailing Arab atmosphere was to be overturned for the establishment of the Jewish forthcoming national home. . . . Stringent measures of coercion would be used whenever the Arab victims of the policy put up resistance.

. . . What was the Arabs' position in the picture? Deprived of their rights, they were rendered helpless spectators to behold the funeral of their national existence passing slowly before their eyes. This policy and that atmosphere in general continue to the present day.

. . . Any disinterested resident of Palestine must have observed that there are two scales of justice, one for the Arabs, and one for the Jews. The discrimination in the application of the same laws can better be demonstrated by examples, of which I desire to cite only two.

In Palestine, as I suppose in any other country, the law requires that an illegal immigrant should be at once arrested, convicted and deported to the port of his embarkation, or to any other country which is willing to take him in.

Arabs of the surrounding territories, who used to enter Palestine before the British occupation without the least hindrance, were refused admittance after the segregation of Palestine [in 1919 under the new Mandate system]. All unauthorized entries by Arabs were and are still being strictly dealt with in accordance with law.

On the other hand, Jews who have had no connection with Palestine have been, and are still, entering illicitly in much greater numbers. Unlike Arabs, they were not chased or deported. On the contrary, the Government closes its eyes for a time until their illegal existence becomes too odious for them, when, upon the Jewish Agency's intervention, their position is legalized. . . .

Here is another instance. When in 1936-40, the Arabs of Palestine rose in rebellion to achieve their independence . . . tens of thousands of Arabs were imprisoned or exiled [by the British]. Hundreds of Arab houses were dynamited and demolished by the police and military for petty and unverified accusations. Huge amounts of money were exacted in fines. Hundreds of Arabs were hanged or shot. . . .

In their present campaign, the Jews . . . [place] bombs in Government offices or military and police billets for explosion when innocent members of the public are doing their business and the military are off duty. They blow up trains carrying people. They kidnap and torture civilian residents.

And yet such stringent measures as have been taken against the Arabs were never used against the Jews, and no collective fines [were] imposed upon them. In one case, where a huge destruction was caused by the terrorists' activities, a fine was imposed, not on the Jewish community alone, but on all inhabitants, including the Arabs. . . .

In the economic field discrimination against the Arabs is still more apparent . . . [T]he Jewish agency and its satellite organizations adopted an economic policy of complete Jewish exclusiveness. Jews were not to employ Arabs except in extreme urgencies. Jewish pickets drove out Arab labor from Jewish commercial firms, industrial

workshops and farms. Lands bought by Jews were not to be resold or leased to Arabs. Thus, an acre of land that fell to Jewish possession in Palestine was an acre of land that has been extra-territorialized as far as the Arabs are concerned. . . .

Before the enunciation of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Zionist organization propagated the slogan “Give the country without a people to the people without a country.”

The proposal sounded only too well. When formulating the draft mandate, the British Government made a basic contribution to this great deception by abstaining from mentioning the word Arab or indigenous population.

The Arab indigenous population were referred to in the mandate as “the other sections of the population,” so as to lead the world into the belief that the Palestine indigenous population was composed of a Jewish majority and several other small and insignificant communities that might be described as “other sections of the population.”

. . . The only just, practical, and democratic way to achieve the independence of Palestine is to recognize the following principles as the basis for its future constitutional organization:

- (1) That an Arab state in the whole of Palestine be established on democratic lines.
- (2) That the said Arab state of Palestine will respect human rights, fundamental freedoms and equality of all persons before the law.
- (3) That the said Arab state of Palestine will protect the legitimate rights and interests of all minorities.
- (4) That freedom of worship and access to holy places will be guaranteed to all

You will observe that this course is the only one compatible with the principles of modern civilization. It aims at the creation of a government based on the consent of the people, or at least the overwhelming majority. It respects and safeguards the rights and interests of all.

. . . The Arabs of Palestine are, therefore, solidly determined to oppose, with all the means at their disposal, any scheme that provides for the dissection, segregation, or partition of their tiny country or that gives to a minority, on the grounds of creed, special and preferential rights or status.

They will oppose such schemes in the same zeal and with the same sacrifice that any other people would do under the same circumstances.

We are alive to the fact that, if they so desire, big powers could crush, by brute force, such opposition. But this realization will not deter us from drenching the soil of our beloved country with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it.



Palestinian refugees outside their tent
Khan Yunus (Gaza Strip), late 1940s

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

SPOKESMAN, JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

Delivered to the United Nations General Assembly Committee on Palestine, October 2, 1947



Abba Hillel Silver

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this committee of the United Nations General assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. . . .

. . . When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the Common Era (CE) held sway over that country, which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 CE—437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples, such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes, and finally by the Ottoman Turks.

By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 684 CE, the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise to both Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible, and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism but by Christianity and Islam as well.

. . . The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion [during the Roman Empire] and only assumed a specific role in history when the Palestine mandate was ratified [in 1919]. . . . [T]he Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For Jews, Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as [it is] to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These reports. . . conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefited considerably and directly from Jewish development in the economic, financial and social sphere.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terrorist acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936–39—acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman—and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have severely condemned. . . . In commenting upon the riots of 1936, the report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say: “There were similar assaults upon the personas and property of the Jews [by Arabs], conducted with the same reckless ferocity [as in 1929]. Women and children were not spared.”

. . . Our unfortunate refugees [e.g., survivors of the Holocaust] are still languishing in the displaced persons’ camps facing a third winter after the [end of World War II]. The report of your Special Committee refers to the “intense urge” of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine.

The “intense urge” of Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme. . . . It springs preeminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else: the chance of a real home, the prospect of life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency.

All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this “intense urge” to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish national home from where they are forcibly turned back—in the case of the Exodus 1947, back to Germany. And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations mandate.

That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the First World War to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine. . . . Surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish national home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented.

. . . Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration of the mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. . .

The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922, when Trans-Jordan, representing three-quarters of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish national home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state [i.e., Palestine] out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish national home is now to be confined to less than one-eighth of the territory originally set aside for it.

This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. . . . The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17 million in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1.3 million square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish national home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish national home by almost one-half.

Under the terms of the majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines. . . in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow.

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the new State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states.

We have built a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make enormous sacrifices to attain that which, if uninterfered

with, we would have retained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, and we will not go.

... The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations. . . such a people will not be intimidated.

... The Jewish people have eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and have proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. It will be a novel achievement which will redound to the everlasting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.



These Jewish children ("Displaced Persons," or "DPs") are on their way to Palestine after having been released from the Buchenwald Concentration Camp. The girl on the left is from Poland, the boy in the center from Latvia, and the girl on right from Hungary.

NEGOTIATING POSITIONS

Name _____

Date _____

1. Based on the Historical Background and the Jamal al Hussein reading, list the five most important Palestinian Arab justifications for opposing an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

2. Based on the Historical Background and the Abba Hillel Silver reading, list the five most important Zionist justifications for seeking an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

3. In 1947, the British considered five major alternatives to address the Palestine problem:
 - a. Establish a Jewish state in all of Palestine (and permitting unlimited Jewish immigration);
 - b. Establish an Arab state in all of Palestine;
 - c. Divide Palestine between Jewish and Arab states
 - d. Establish a federal state in Palestine with two provinces: one with a Arab majority, the other with a Jewish majority. Allow local control of most decisions and coordination of foreign policy and economic development.
 - e. Place Palestine under UN control for at least the next ten years.

Given what you have read so far, rank these alternatives from best to worst (1 being best) and explain your ranking.

ONE MINUTE DEBATES

Name _____

Date _____

Tomorrow, Hussein and Silver will meet again in a one-minute debate, their views voiced by you and your partner. Your remarks will be based on your observations of two or more maps. However, not until your debate will you be told which position you will be defending—Zionist or Palestinian Arab. Nor will you be told which maps you will be using. It is therefore in your best interest (and that of your partner) to thoroughly study the Hussein (Document III–B) and Silver (Document III–C) statements, the Historical Background (Document III–A), and these notes you make on the maps.

For each map, write the following:

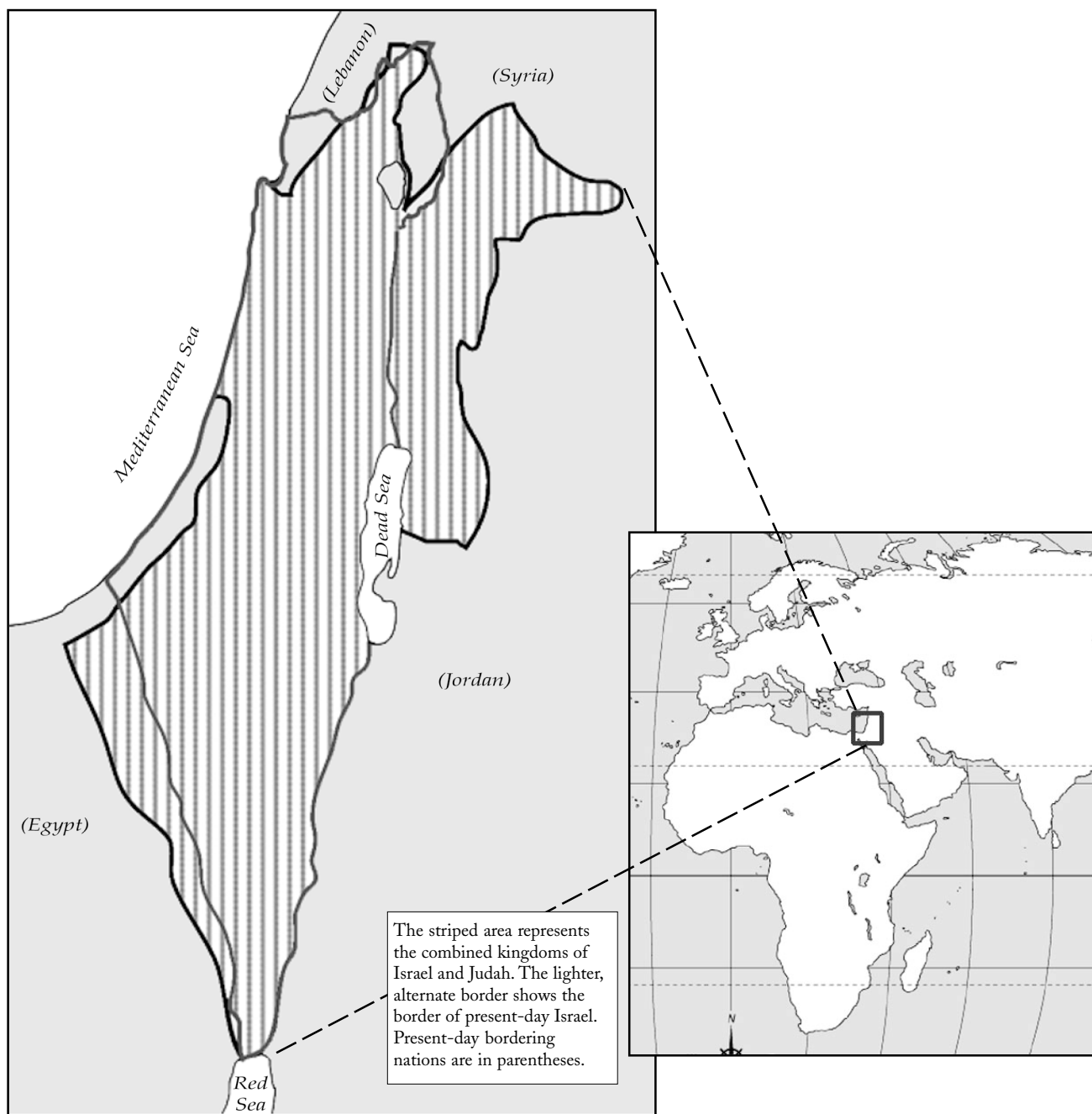
1. The map *subject* and *time period*.

2. Any information in the map which may support the *Palestinian* position.

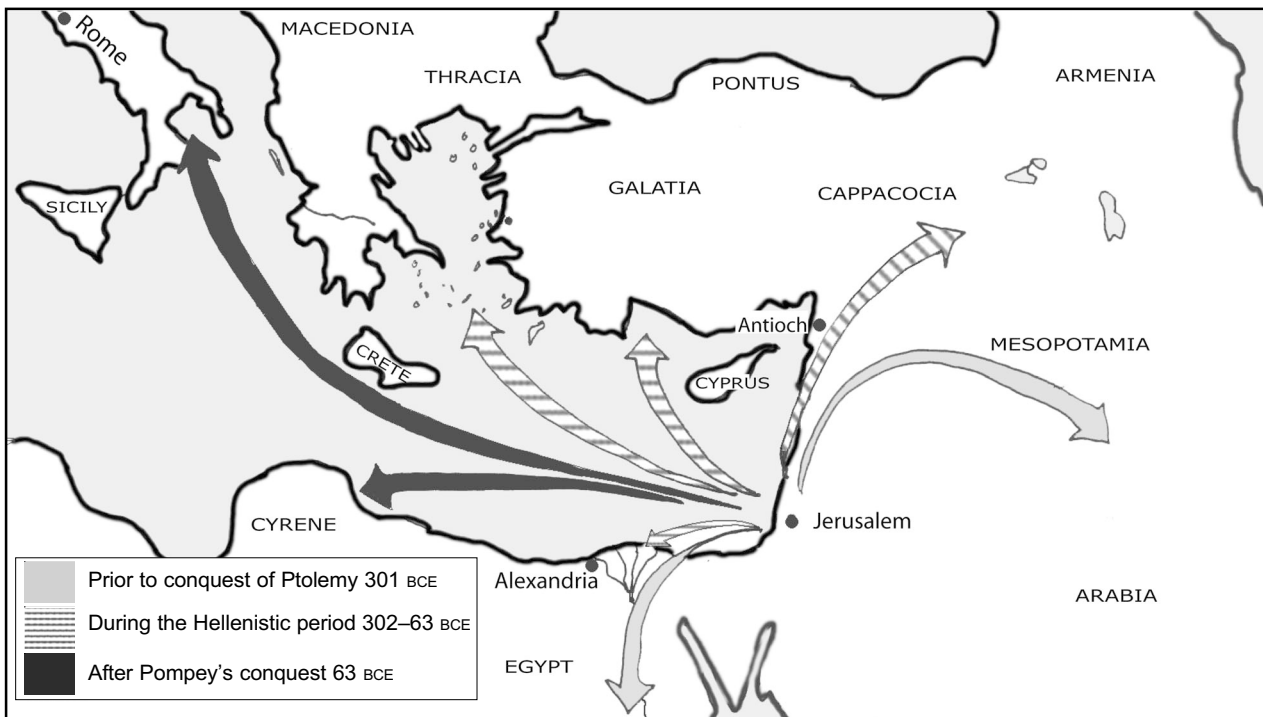
3. Any information in the map which may support the *Zionist* position.

MAP 1

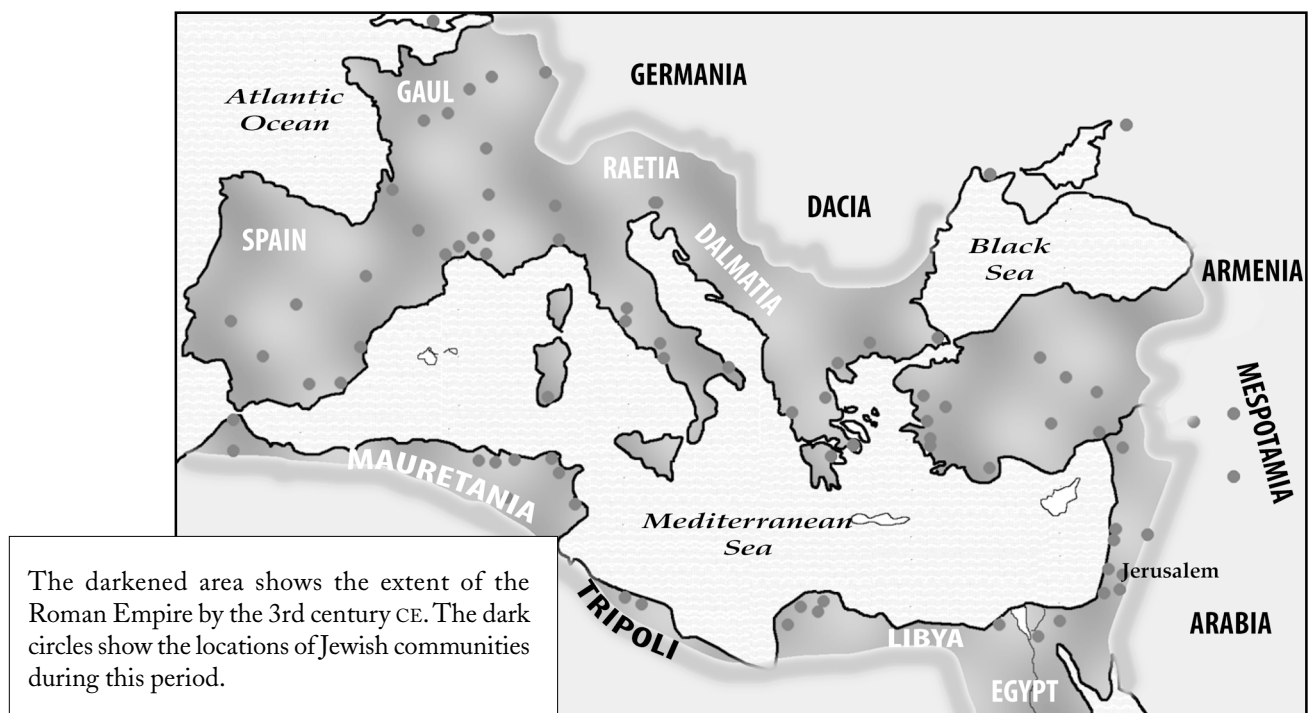
KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, CA. 900 BCE



MAP 2
4th Century–2nd Century BCE Jewish Diasporas

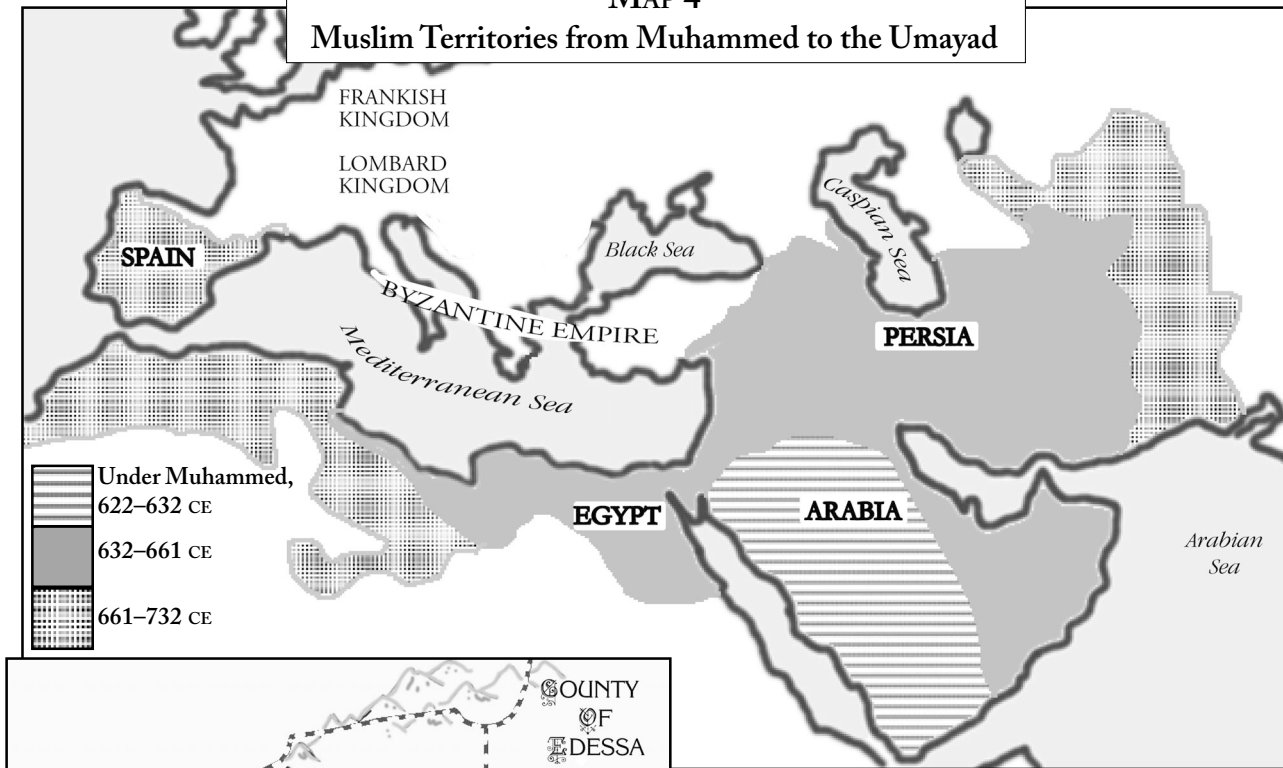


MAP 3
Jewish Communities in the Roman Empire, 1st–3rd Centuries CE



MAP 4

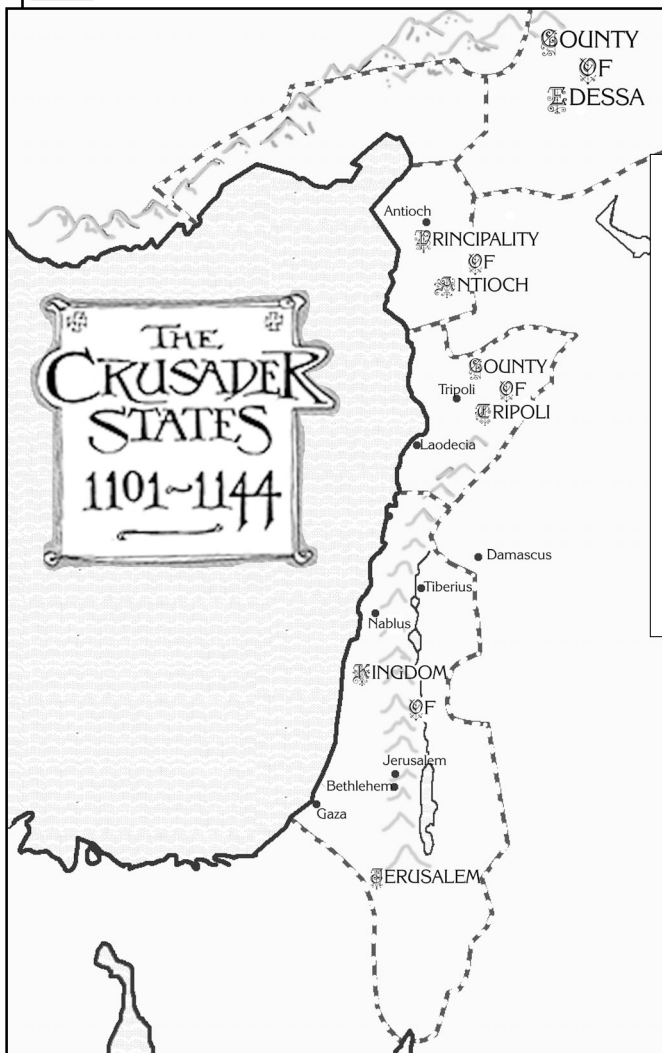
Muslim Territories from Muhammed to the Umayyad



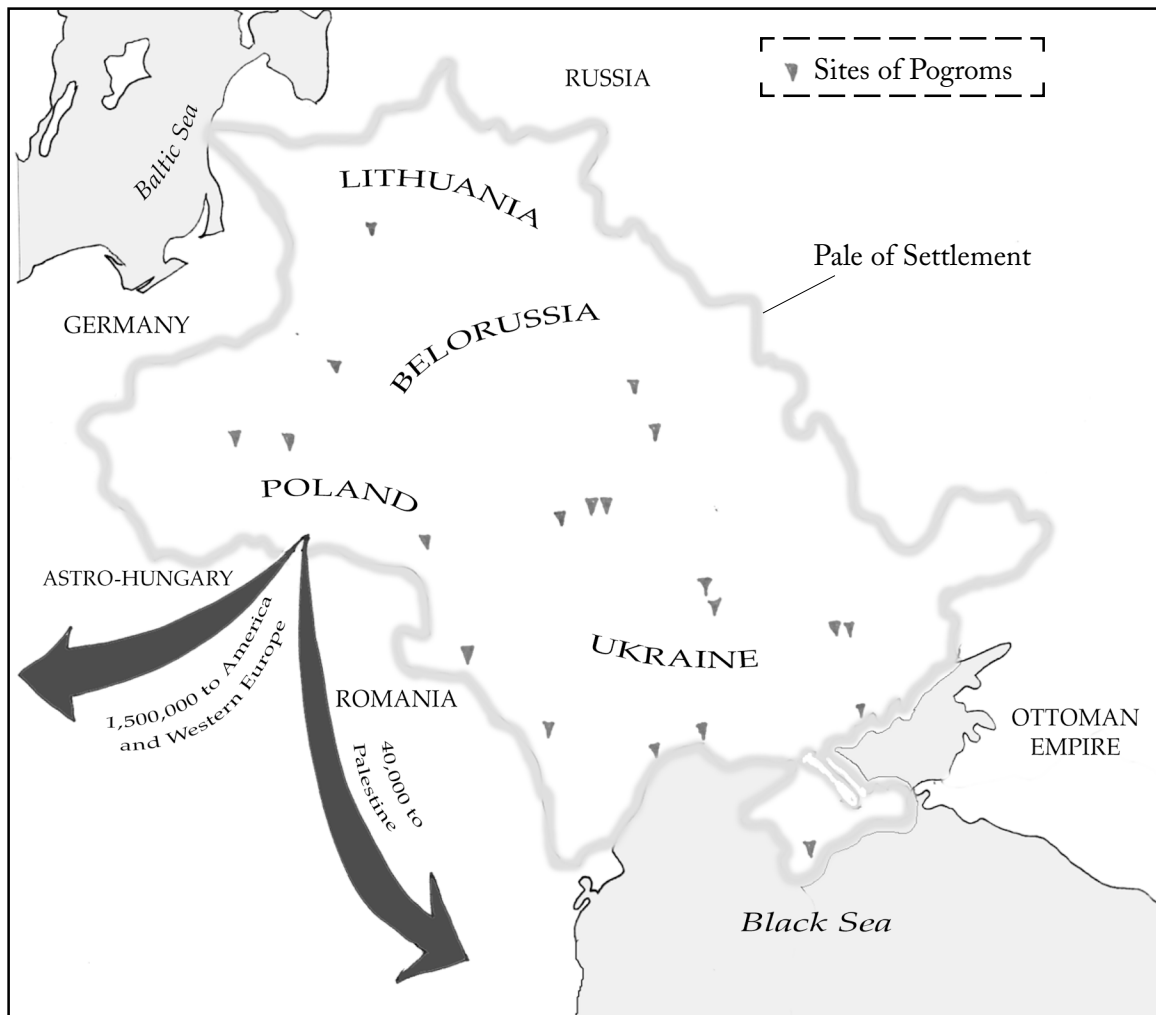
MAP 5

Crusader States

The Muslim kingdoms ruled Jerusalem and Palestine for about 460 years. Christians then invaded Palestine during the First Crusade (1096–1099). Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders on July 15, 1099 and the victors proceeded to massacre the city's Muslims and Jews. The first four Crusader states were created during and immediately after the First Crusade: the County of Edessa; the Principality of Antioch; the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and the County of Tripoli. The Kingdom of Jerusalem lasted until 1291, when the city of Acre fell.



MAP 6
Russian Pogroms (1882–1906)

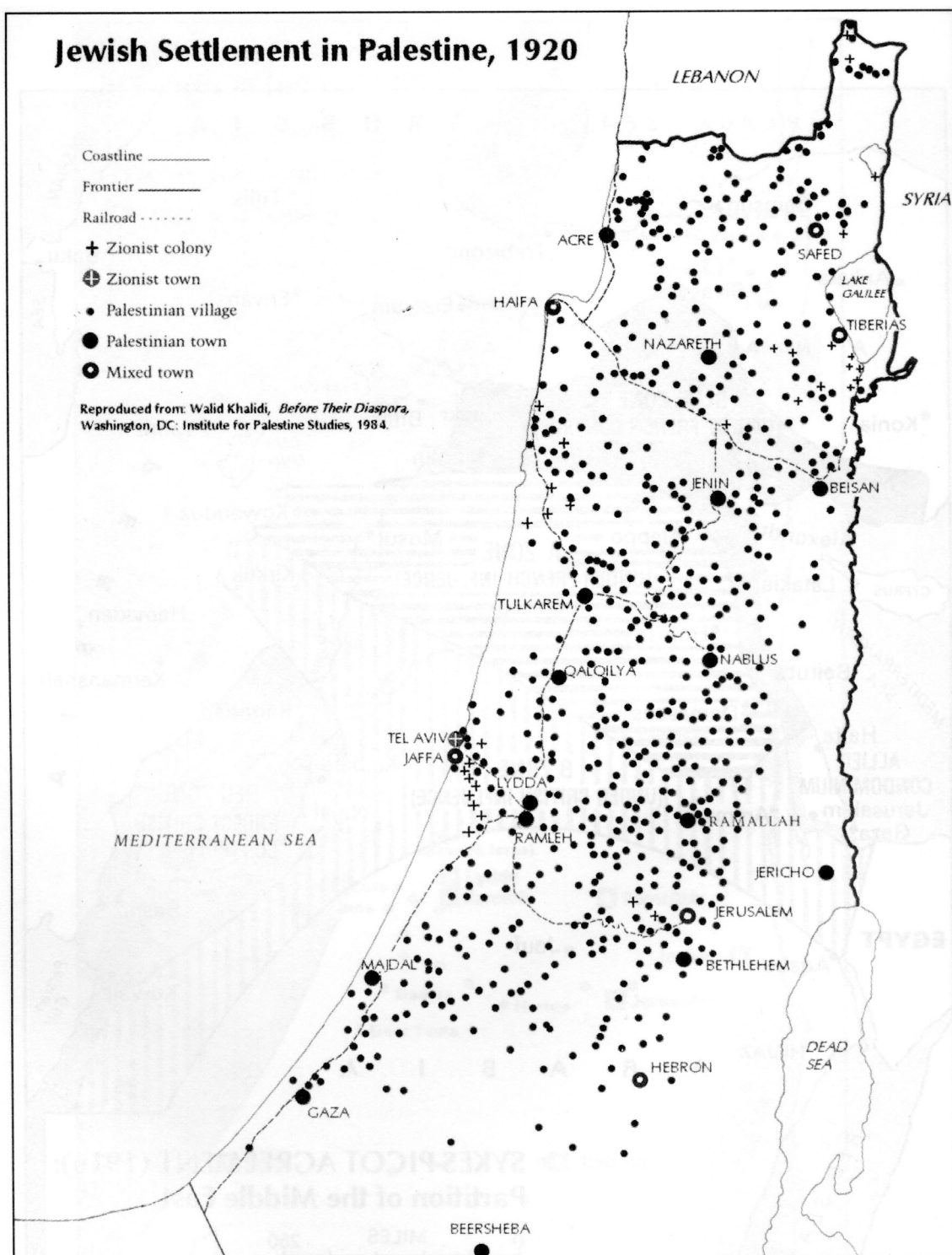


In 1804 Russia (under Alexander I) established an area where Jews were allowed to live. This area came to be known as the “Pale of Settlement.” A new wave of anti-Jewish sentiment engendered the “pogroms,” a series of officially sanctioned attacks against Jewish communities. Over two periods—1881–1884 and 1903–06—tens of thousands of Jews are killed and hundreds of thousands of Jews flee.

In the “First Aliyah” from 1882–1903 following the first pogrom period, approximately 35,000 Jews moved to Palestine with the stated goal of “the political, national, and spiritual resurrection of the Jewish people in Palestine.”¹ This was the first major wave of Jewish immigrants to build a homeland in Palestine. The “Second Aliyah” brought another 40,000 Jews to Palestine; however, finding the life too difficult, nearly half moved on. There was not another major Jewish immigration to Palestine until the 1917 Balfour Declaration followed by the post-World War I British Mandate.

¹Jewish Virtual Library, <http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Immigration/First_Aliyah.html> [August 10, 2003]

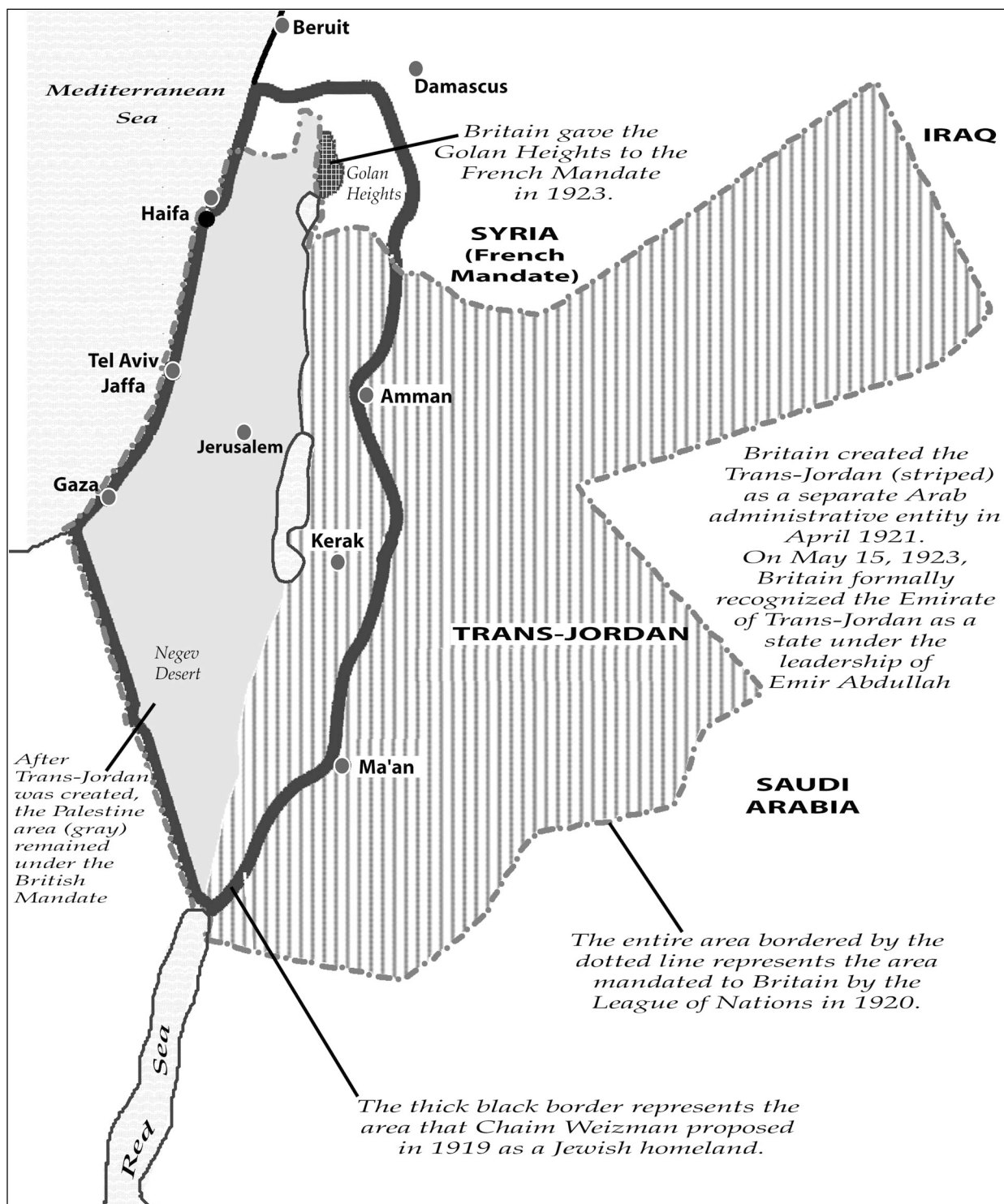
MAP 7
Zionist Colonies in Palestine at the Start of the British Mandate (1920)



MAP 8
Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916)



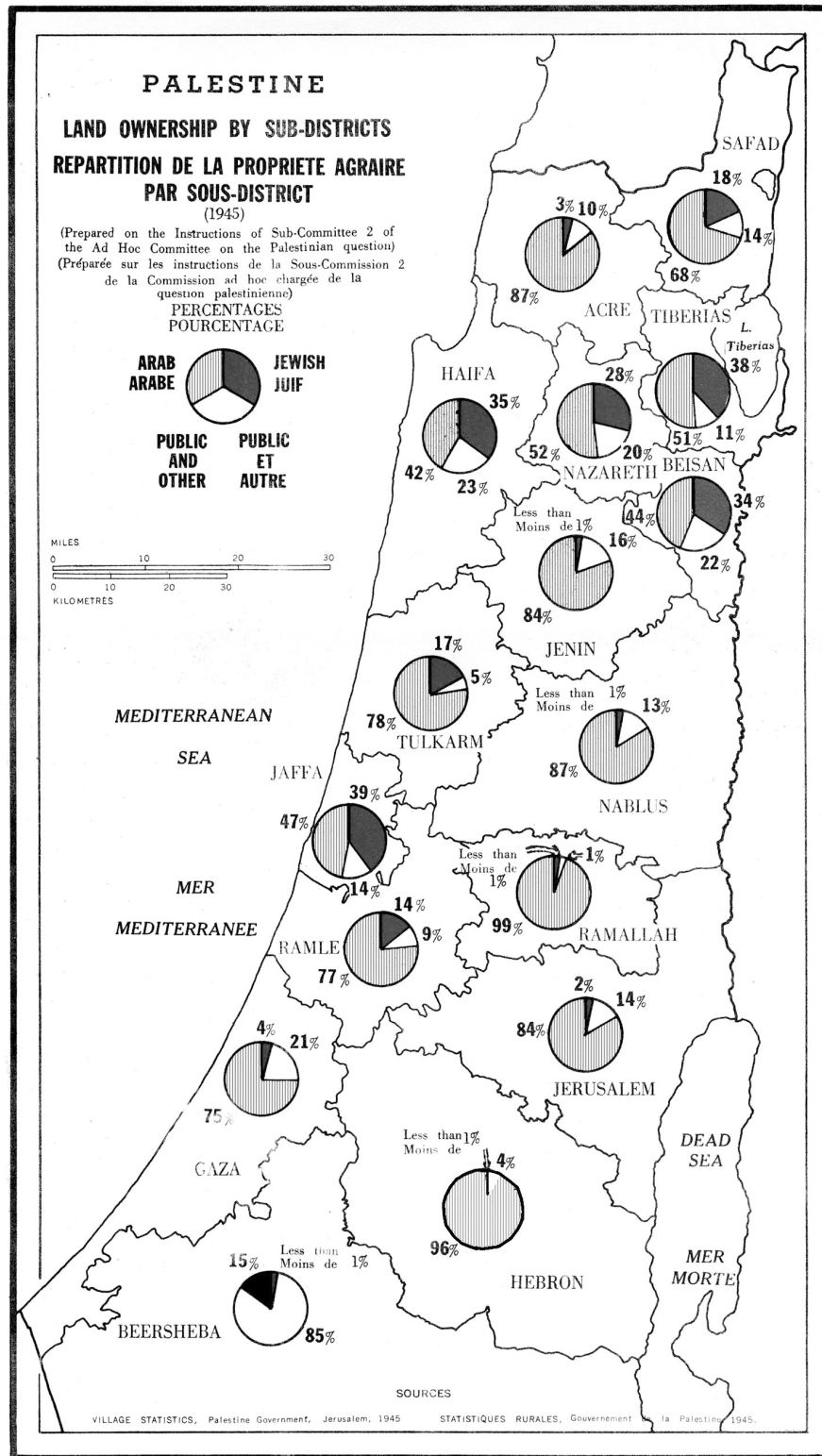
MAP 9
Palestine under the British Mandate (1920) and the Weizman Proposal (1919)



MAP 10
Royal (Peel) Commission Partition Plan (1937)



MAP 11
Zionist and Palestinian Landownership in Percentages by Subdistrict (1945)

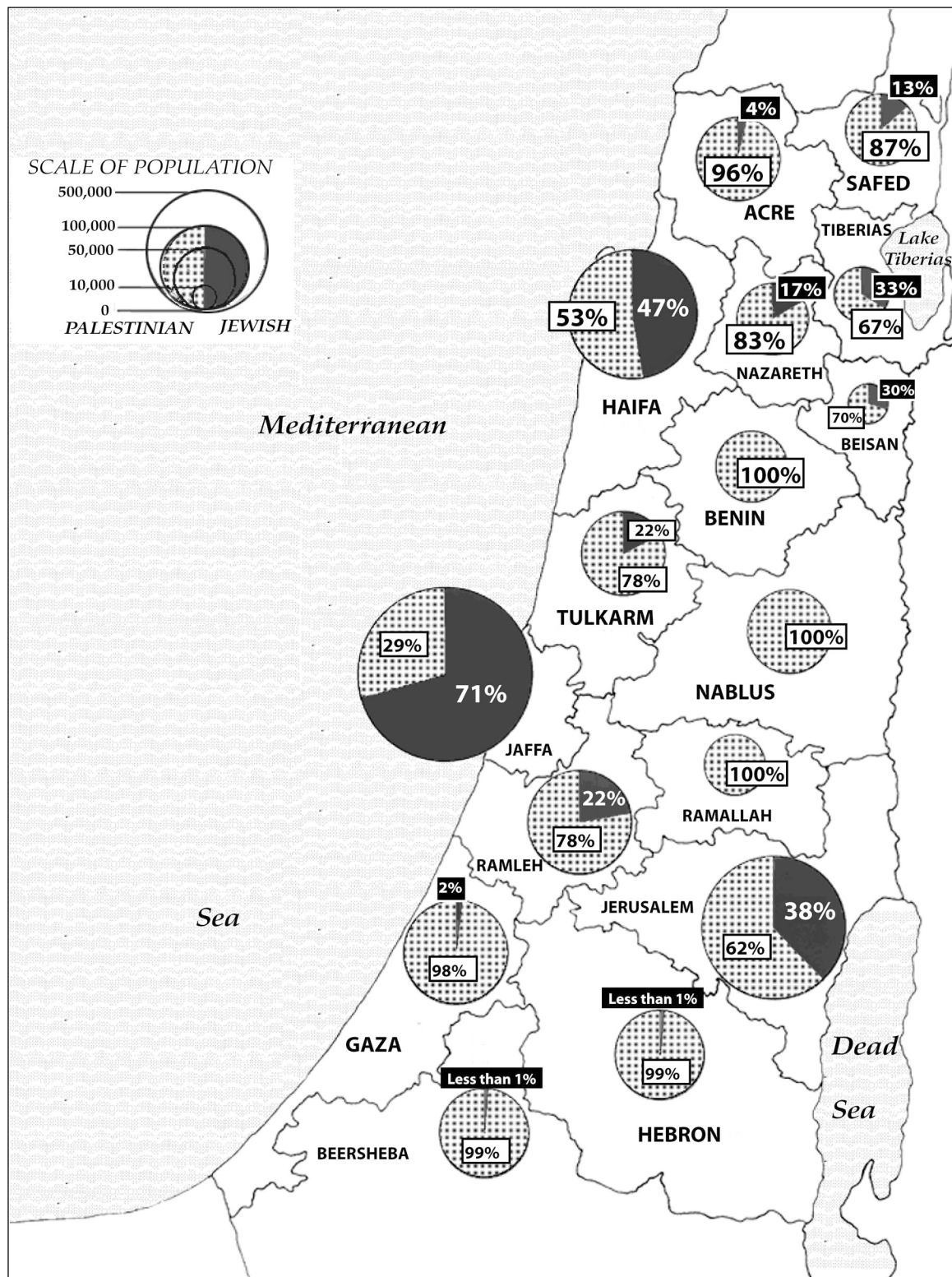


MAP NO 94 (b) UNITED NATIONS
 AUGUST 1950

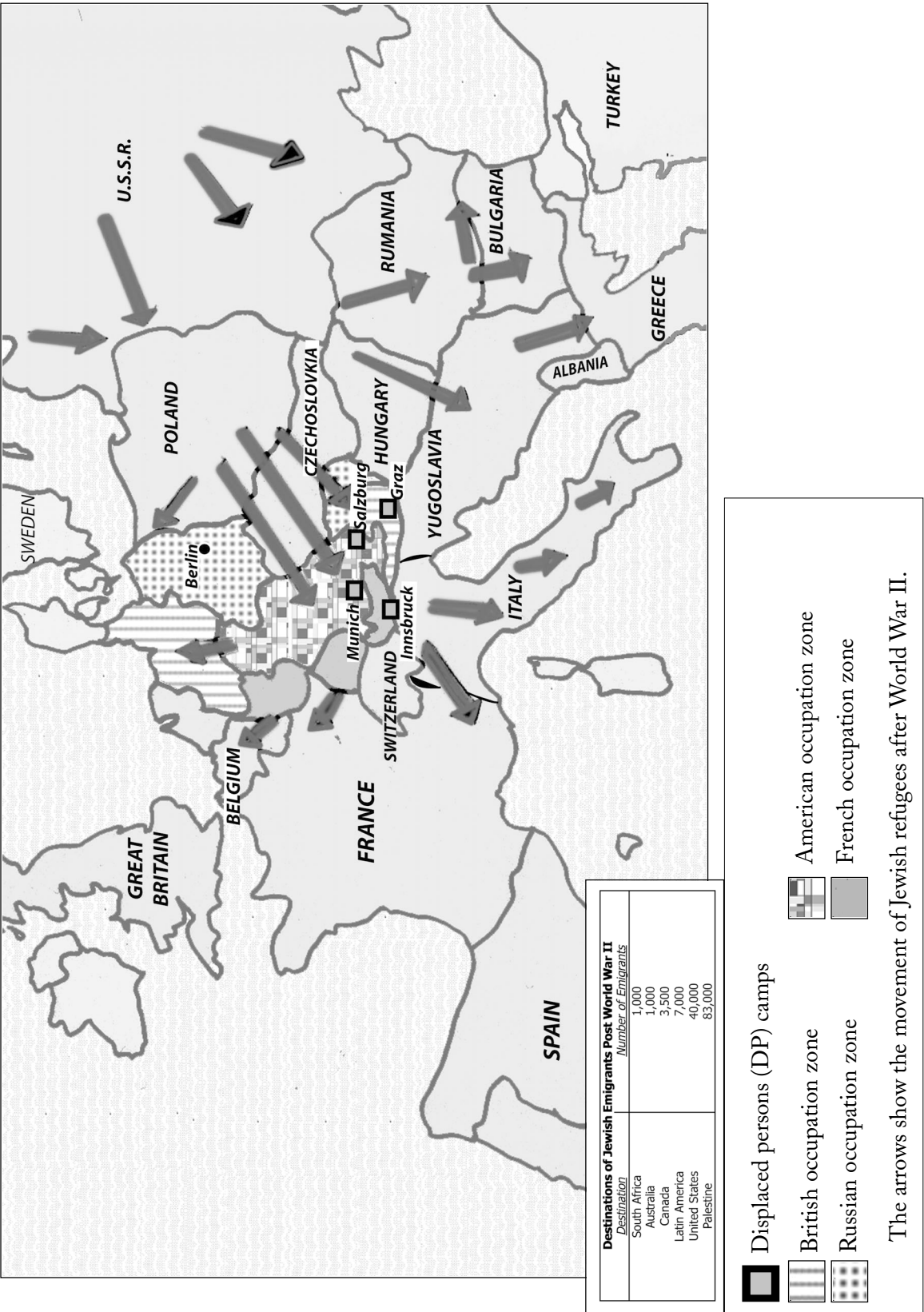
UN PRESENTATION 574 (b)

MAP 12

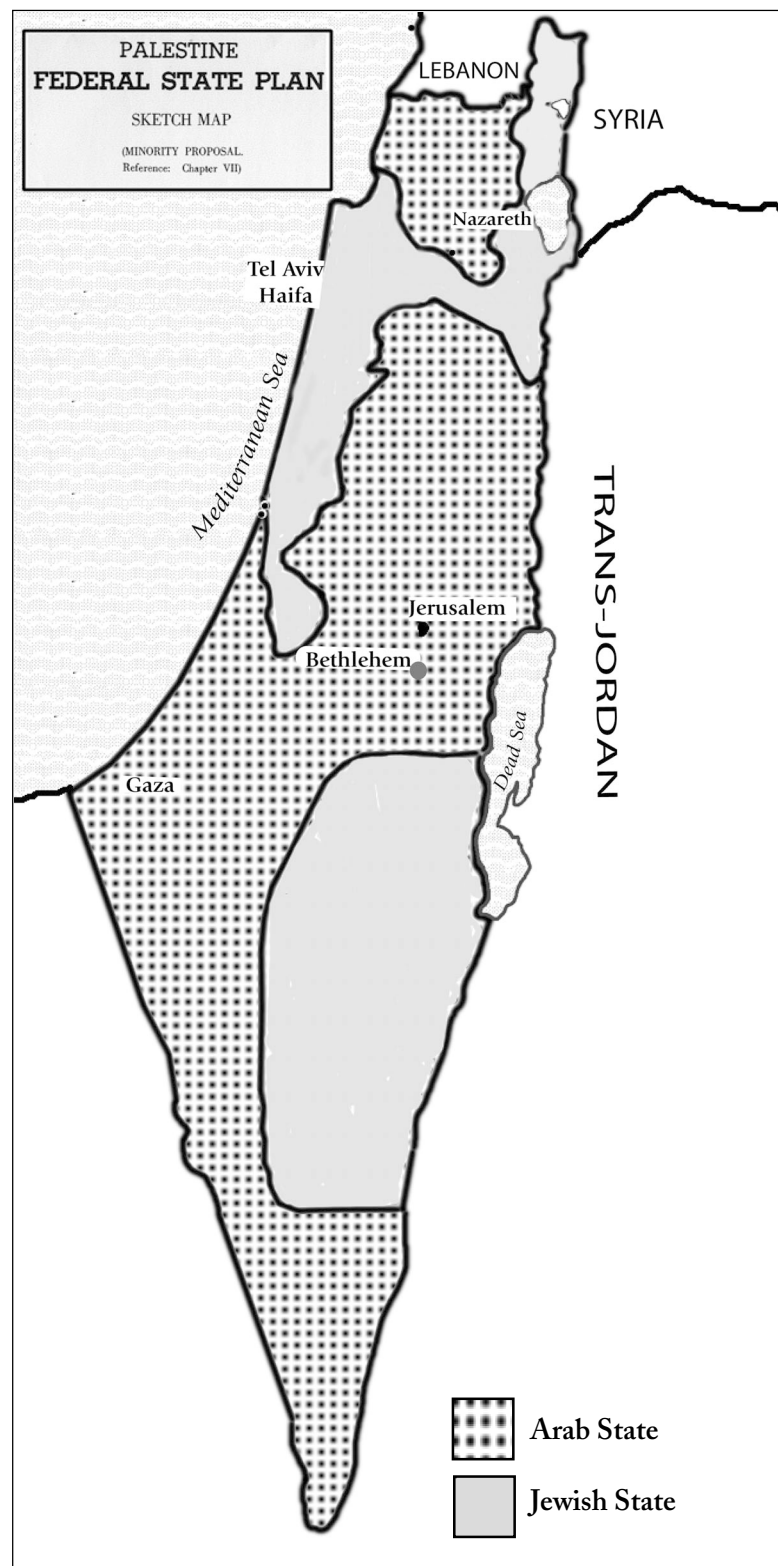
Palestine: Distribution of Population by Subdistrict, with Percentages of Jews and Palestinians, 1946



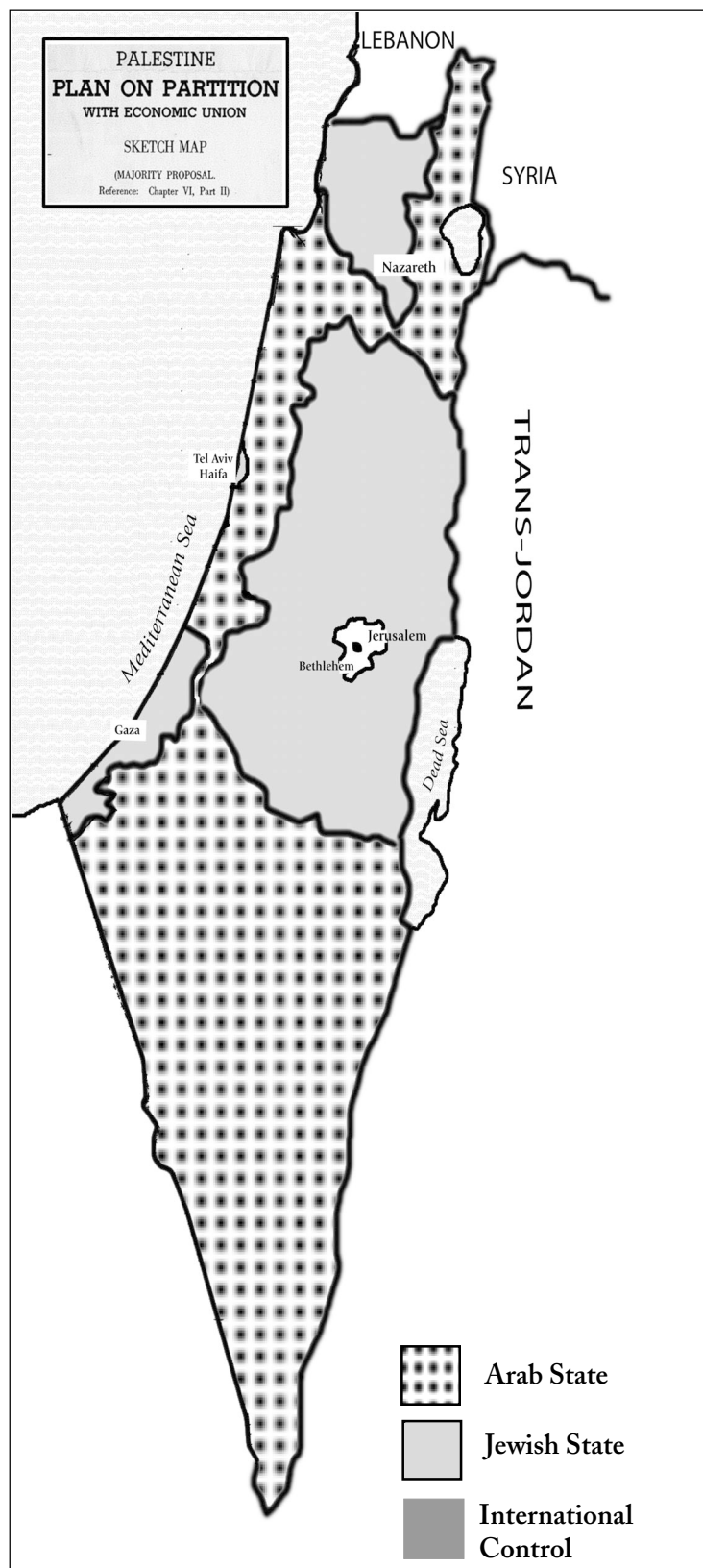
MAP 13
Exodus of World War II Jewish Survivors



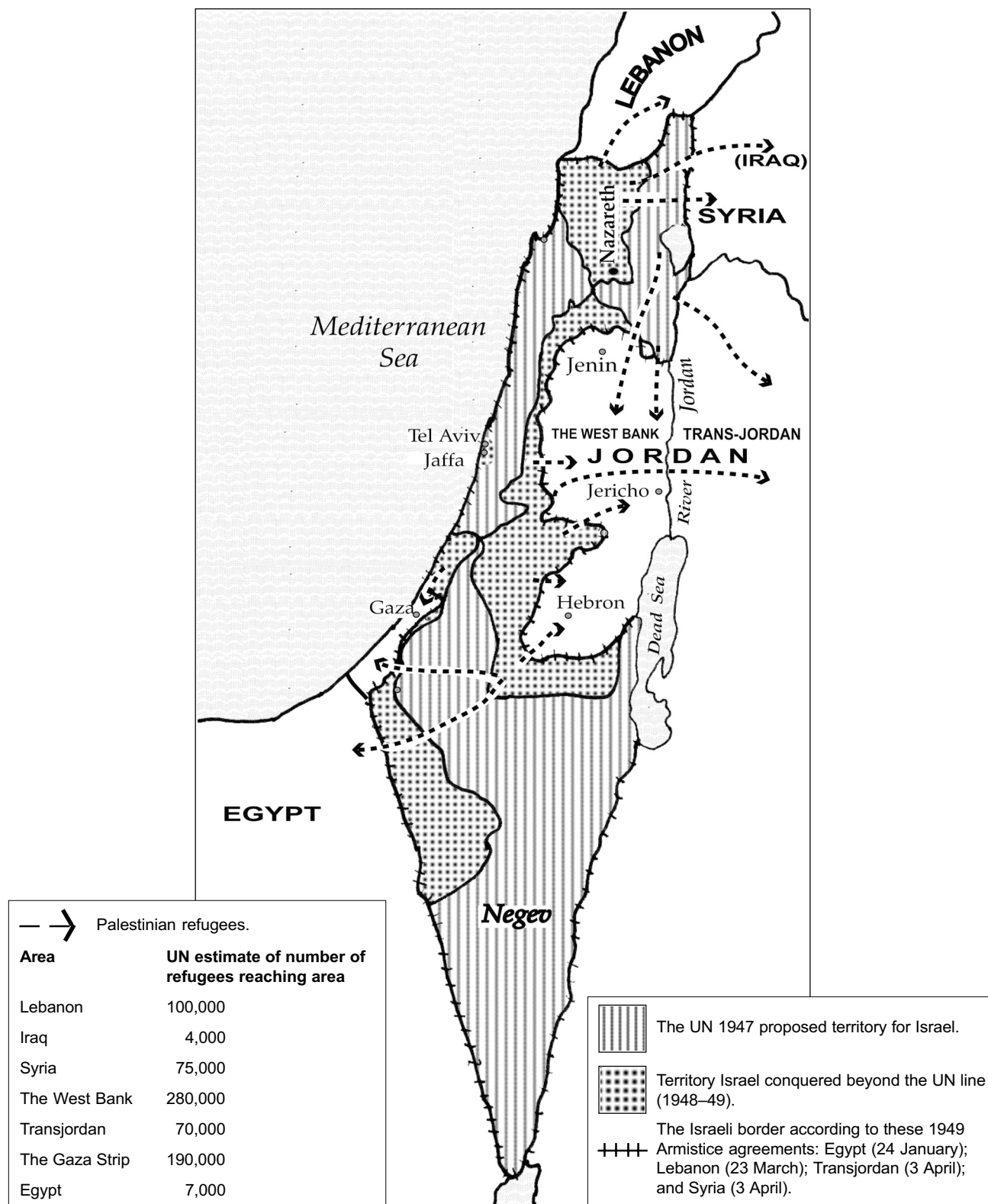
MAP 14
Partition: 1947 United Nations Minority Proposal



MAP 15
Partition: 1947 United Nations Majority Proposal



MAP 16
Post-Armistice Map and Palestinian Refugees (1948–49)



GEOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Name _____

Date _____

1. To what extent do the maps seem to justify Arab or Zionist viewpoints?

2. Are political claims based on events of fifty, a hundred, a thousand, or three thousand years ago relevant?

3. Is there (or should there be) a “statute of limitations” to political claims?

4. Or do peoples have the right to demand compensation for injustices no matter how much time has passed?

NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Name _____

Date _____

In difficult international negotiations, mediators face constant pressure from all sides. Diplomacy's success or failure hinges on how effectively a mediator responds to these pressures.

Your group is assigned one issue Ralph Bunche faced during his work on the Palestine crisis between 1947 and 1949 (other groups in the class will face different problems). Use this worksheet to evaluate the possible options to resolve the issue assigned to your group.

Your *group* must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each possible option. In the next class period, your group will go before the class. Your teacher or another student will read the description of the negotiating issue assigned to your group. Then each member of your group will step forward to defend your position on each possible resolution. You will begin your defense with the statement "I am Ralph Bunche. I support/do not support option (a/b/c/d) as a resolution to this issue because . . ." Limit your explanation to no more than one minute.

Assigned Issue: _____

Option Letter	Arguments For	Arguments Against

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue One

It is August, 1947. For more than three months, you have served as the Special Assistant to the Representative of the Secretary-General to the eleven-member Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). This international committee, charged with recommending UN action on the Palestine question, has come to rely upon you for their recommendations. Which of these positions do you *personally* favor?

- a. Establish Palestine as a unified Arab state, end Jewish immigration, but promise that the UN will guarantee a constitution protecting Jewish minority rights in Palestine.
- b. Establish Palestine as a unified Jewish state, with its capital in Jerusalem, but promise that the UN will sponsor a constitution guaranteeing Arab rights in Palestine.
- c. Place Palestine under UN control for ten years, allowing time to create a more equitable solution to the crisis.
- d. Divide Palestine into Arab and Jewish states.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Two

It is July, 1948. A month ago, all parties agreed to the 30-day cease-fire you and UN Mediator Folke Bernadotte have negotiated. You and Bernadotte have urged both sides to extend the cease-fire. The Israelis have accepted; Egypt has refused, and other Arab states have joined Egypt. Thus hostilities have resumed.¹ Your choices are:

- a. Ask the Security Council to order an extension of the cease-fire.
- b. Continue negotiations for a comprehensive armistice, regardless of the decision to continue fighting.
- c. Threaten to end negotiations unless the parties come to the table.
- d. Position UN personnel directly between Arab and Israeli forces, forcing them to choose between resuming the conflict—thus earning the hostility of UN member-states, or pursuing peace talks.

¹ A cease-fire is complicated. Though a cease-fire can lead to peace, it can also be a tactic used to win a war. During a cease-fire, adversaries can consolidate territorial gains, import weaponry, shore up or create international alliances, or simply give exhausted soldiers a chance to regroup and revive.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Three

It is October 8, 1948. Count Folke Bernadotte is dead, victim of an LEHI (Stern Gang) assassination team. LEHI assassinated Bernadotte because his “Bernadotte Plan” (which you drafted) awarded the Galilee to Israel but reserved the Negev for Palestinian Arabs.

The Israeli government arrested LEHI suspects but has released them without charges. You believe that Israeli condemnation of the assassination falls far short of an effective response. At this point, you can:

- a. Threaten to resign unless the Israeli government arrest the LEHI perpetrators and charges them with murder.
- b. Withdraw the Bernadotte Plan and draft a proposal more acceptable to Irgun and LEHI (see pp. 76–77).
- c. In a public broadcast, announce that the United Nations cannot tolerate terrorism against its members and urge that the Security Council rescind its November 29, 1947 recognition of an independent Israel.
- d. Continue to urge the UN to approve the Bernadotte Plan, demand Israeli action against the Bernadotte’s killers, and move on.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Four

It is October 20, 1948. Last week, in violation of the truce, Egyptian forces attacked a convoy bringing food to Jewish settlements in the Negev which the Egyptians had besieged. This time, though, the Israelis responded with a full-scale offensive against Egyptian positions. Israeli troops have quickly surrounded 4,000 Egyptian soldiers in what will become known as the “Faluja Pocket.”

You are now in Paris, where the General Assembly is meeting while its New York headquarters is built. Your choices are:

- a. Draft a Security Council resolution publicly condemning Egypt for violations which goaded the Israeli attack. Revise the Bernadotte Plan to award Israel the Negev.
- b. Draft a Security Council resolution publicly condemning the Israelis for undertaking an attack which they clearly planned well in advance to assert their control of the Negev. Threaten to award Galilee to the Palestinian Arabs unless the Israelis withdraw.
- c. Urge both Israelis and Egyptians armies to return to their previous positions and continue to lobby for adoption of the Bernadotte Plan.
- d. Urge the Security Council to authorize additional UN peacekeepers so that the UN can beef up its patrols of the new cease-fire lines.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Five

It is January 1949. The Egyptian government has just announced that it will participate in armistice talks, to which the Israelis have agreed. The question is, how should the negotiations be organized and conducted? There are, after all, five Arab states at war with Israel. Your choices are:

- a. Bring all Arab and Israeli delegations together in Rhodes at the same time. Work to achieve a comprehensive peace agreement involving all parties simultaneously.
- b. Conduct negotiations between Israel and each Arab state in turn, beginning with the Egyptians. Bring all delegations to Rhodes.
- c. Rather than involve the parties in a high-stakes negotiation at Rhodes, carry your proposals personally between the Egyptians in Cairo and the Israelis in Tel Aviv. Continue this process, shuttling between Israel and other Arab capitols.
- d. Bring all the warring parties to Washington, D.C., where President Truman can sponsor the negotiations, promising American aid to all states which accept the armistice.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Six

Both the Jews and Arabs have committed atrocities against civilians, and both demand justice for the victims. What do you do with these demands?

- a. Send investigatory committees into the areas where the atrocities are alleged to have occurred. Have the committees report back to the UN General Assembly to determine charges of war crimes.
- b. Focus on ending the war which produced the atrocities in the first place, hoping that after the armistice, the combatants will negotiate a lasting peace resolving all outstanding issues.
- c. Establish a UN Truth Commission which will hear from the victims and which will, in exchange for immunity from prosecution, take confessions from the perpetrators as well.
- d. Publicly condemn each atrocity as it comes to your attention, trusting that the light of publicity and the risks of alienating the UN Security Council will be enough to guarantee respect for human rights.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Seven

It is January 23, 1949. On January 18, you arranged an agreement for the relief of the 4,000 Egyptian soldiers trapped by the Israeli troops in the so-called “Faluja pocket.” Under your plan, accepted by both Israelis and by Egyptians, the division would withdraw, leaving tanks and large guns under UN control until both sides had signed an armistice. The withdrawal was to commence tomorrow morning, January 24. This evening, the Israelis have informed you that they had expected the armistice to *precede* the Faluja withdrawal; without an armistice, they will not leave. You know that the Egyptians will treat this as a betrayal of the agreement and may well walk out of the talks. Your choices are:

- a. Allow the Egyptians to walk out of the armistice agreements, using this walkout to embarrass the Israeli delegation and force them to honor their commitment on al-Faluja.
- b. Recess negotiations for ten days while each side consults with its government. Meanwhile, get a Security Council guarantee for the Israelis that the Egyptian division will be under direct UN supervision on its return to Egypt and will not engage in fighting.
- c. Propose that the division at al-Faluja remain in place but receive food and medical attention under UN auspices.
- d. Request that the British government, which has troops in Cyprus, to rescue the Egyptian division—peacefully if possible and by force if necessary.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Eight

It is March 1949. The Egyptian-Israeli agreement was signed in late February. Now the Jordanian delegation has come to Rhodes. You know that the Jordanian and Israeli governments are conducting private negotiations on their own at King Abdullah’s winter palace, but that the Jordanians in particular want public cover for these talks. This means that the Rhodes negotiations are, to some extent, a sham. Your reaction is:

- a. Play along with the Israelis and Jordanians, acting as though Rhodes is the only forum for negotiation.
- b. Since actual negotiation is not occurring in Rhodes, call a month-long recess, return to New York, and monitor the real (and secret) Israeli-Jordanian talks, delegating your staff to assist when needed.
- c. Insist that all negotiations take place in Rhodes and threaten to expose the secret talks if either side fails to agree.
- d. Go secretly to King Abdullah’s palace and participate in the talks there.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Nine

It is June 13, 1949. You have delegated a member of your staff, Henri Vigier, to handle the Syrian-Israeli negotiations while you monitor progress from New York. Now, at a critical phase in the negotiations, the Israelis have sent troops into a demilitarized zone in Jerusalem. Even though this violation of the cease-fire involves Israel and Jordan, the Syrians have threatened to pull out of the meetings. Your reaction is:

- a. Threaten the Israelis that unless they withdraw, you will resign and report to the Security Council that your resignation is a direct result of Israeli violations.
- b. Tell the Syrians that Israeli actions against the armistice lines with Jordan are irrelevant to their own negotiations with the Israelis; insist that negotiations continue.
- c. Notify the United States of the Israeli incursion and ask that the U.S. place pressure on the Israeli government.
- d. Order UN peacekeepers to fire on Israeli troops violating the cease-fire.

BUNCHE NEGOTIATING STRATEGIES

Issue Ten

It is March 1949. The Jordanian-Israeli negotiations are underway. You know that King Abdullah of Jordan wants to incorporate Arab territory in Palestine into his kingdom. However, the UN partition plan of November 1947 had proposed that Palestine be divided into a Jewish state and an independent Palestinian Arab state. If Abdullah gets his way, there will be no independent Palestinian state. How should you respond?

- a. Refuse to accept any Jordanian-Israeli armistice which fails to create an independent Palestine.
- b. Accept any Jordanian-Israeli armistice, whether it provides for an independent Palestine or not.
- c. Ask that the Security Council resolve the issue and give you more specific instructions.
- d. Schedule simultaneous armistice talks between Palestinian and Israeli representatives.

BUNCHE'S DECISIONS

1. Bunche favored (d), partition. This was, he wrote, a poor choice; however, the best available choice.
2. Bernadotte and Bunche chose (a), persuading the Security Council to issue a resolution demanding that all sides reaffirm the cease-fire. With a few important exceptions, this cease-fire held until the armistice negotiations were complete.
3. Bunche chose option (d) condemnation, but no action against Israel. In Israel, Bernadotte's action strengthened the hand of those in Haganah who wanted to suppress Irgun and LEHI, both of which were forced to integrate their forces with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). None of the perpetrators was prosecuted. However, in his 1950 Nobel Prize acceptance address, Bunche declared that the armistice itself was the best possible tribute to Bernadotte.
4. Bunche chose option (c) he continued to lobby for adoption of the Bernadotte Plan. While Bunche condemned violations of the truce, particularly those which changed the strategic balance, he also believed that breaking off negotiations would be disastrous.
5. Bunche conducted each set of negotiations separately (b), beginning with Egypt and Israel. Because Egypt possessed the largest army and the largest economy in the Arab world, Bunche reasoned that a successful Egyptian-Israeli armistice would compel the remaining Arab states to come to terms.

The problem with bringing all Arab states to Rhodes simultaneously was twofold. First, Arab states did not share a common negotiating position. Jordan sought control of the West Bank, for instance, while Syria favored an independent Palestinian state. Second, simultaneous negotiations would give Israelis a chance to play off one Arab state against another, exchanging territory in Lebanon for territorial concessions from Syria, for example.

Choice (b) is not entirely accurate, however. Though Bunche personally conducted Israeli-Egyptian negotiations in Rhodes, this was not true of other negotiations. The Israeli-Jordanian negotiations were *officially* conducted in Rhodes, but these served as a cover for personal negotiations conducted between the Israeli and Jordanian governments themselves, negotiations King Abdullah hoped to keep secret. The Israeli-Syrian delegations met in the no man's land between Israeli and Syrian forces. Israeli and Lebanese negotiators shuttled between the two capitols. In short, for each armistice negotiation, Bunche used the method he believed would most likely meet with the greatest success.

6. Bunche abhorred such atrocities and condemned them. However, he saw his role as ending the war which made the atrocities possible. He therefore chose (b). Since Bunche's 1949 mediation, many other options have been explored. During the 1990s and early 2000s, International War Crimes Tribunal tried those accused of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda. After its transition from white control to democracy, South Africa established a Truth Commission along the lines described in option (d). Bunche did not believe that publicity itself would be enough to end war crimes.
7. Bunche proposed that the Egyptian division receive food and medical aid, and that both sides agree to a stricter cease-fire (c). On consultation with their respective governments, both sides agreed.

Neither Bunche nor anyone else with the UN would knowingly call off negotiations or publicly take sides in a dispute between warring parties; thus (a) was not an option. Sending delegates home without taking some kind of solution with them would have effectively ended negotiations; thus Bunche did not consider (b).

Finally, though the British had forces in the area (the United States did not), Bunche categorically rejected their intervention (d). In fact, the British already had intervened militarily. Early in January, the Israelis thrust into Egyptian territory, violating the earlier cease-fire. The British, concerned that the Israelis might block their lifeline to the Persian Gulf oil fields, sent Royal Air Force (RAF) planes into the skies over Israeli soldiers to warn them off. The Israelis shot down two of the British planes, and there was little doubt that Israelis would fight British troops, unraveling the cease-fire.

Perhaps surprisingly, the Egyptian government did not want British help. Britain had indirectly controlled Egypt since the mid-19th century; Egyptian nationalists had long called for an end to British political power in their country. Bunche used both the Security Council and U.S. influence to compel Israeli withdrawal from Egypt, effectively denying Britain a direct role in subsequent negotiations.

8. Bunche's goal was an armistice agreement on all fronts. He therefore was willing to conduct "negotiations" in Rhodes while Israelis and Jordanians met secretly at King Abdullah's palace (a). However, Bunche's own proposals did influence events in Jordan. After reaching agreements in principle on the outstanding issues, it was Bunche who drafted the agreement's final language.
9. Bunche threatened to resign unless the Israelis withdrew (a) *and* insisted that the Syrians continue their negotiations (b). Had the situation continued, Bunche might well have asked for U.S. assistance (c), but the threat was enough to persuade the Israelis to withdraw and allow
10. Bunche accepted the Israeli-Jordanian agreement (b), even though it effectively ended any hope for a separate Palestinian Arab state. After the agreement had been signed, Bunche wrote, "Another deal, and as usual the Palestine Arabs lose. Abdullah, of course, is mainly interested in extending his rule over Arab Palestine and getting the Jews to accept it" (Urquhart 1993, 217).

NOTE:

Bunche did not force this issue because he had a very strict understanding of his role in the UN. The Secretariat, which he represented, followed Security Council instructions; it did not write policy. Bunche's responsibility was to negotiate an armistice among the warring states; the political issues would have to await a peace settlement which, Bunche hoped, would soon follow the armistice.

The Palestinian case was complicated by the political factionalism among Palestinians themselves, which prevented a united front before the United Nations. The ambitions of Arab states—of Egypt for territory around Gaza (later called the "Gaza Strip")—and Jordan for parts of Palestine (later called the "West Bank") also undermined Palestinian interests.

BUNCHE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS

The following collection of quotes from Ralph Bunche traces some of his thoughts over the months of the Arab-Israeli negotiations. (Urquhart 1993, 145ff)

July 4, 1947

One thing seems sure, this problem can't be solved on the basis of abstract justice, historical or otherwise. Reality is that both Arabs and Jews are here and intend to stay. Therefore, in any "solution" some group, or at least its claim, is bound to get hurt.

July 19, 1947

The mental strain is the heaviest I have ever experienced. This Palestine problem is so complicated and serious that many of us walk about in a continuous state of frustration.

July 23, 1947

The longer we stay, the more confused all of us get. The only thing that seems clear to me after five weeks in Palestine is that the British have made a terrible mess of things here. About the only subject on which both Arabs and Jews seem to be in agreement is that the British must go.

August 18, 1947

I'm not at all satisfied with [partition], but this is the sort of problem for which no really satisfactory solution is possible. The best that can be done is a reasonable and workable compromise. . . .

July 22, 1948

Arab position now is pitiful. They cannot continue to fight and know it. Yet their public opinions are so hot the government officials are frightened stiff. Heads will fall. Syria and Iraq especially dangerous.

July 27, 1948

The [UN cease-fire] observer must be completely objective in his attitudes and judgments and must maintain a thorough neutrality as regards political issues in the Palestine situation. The fundamental objective of the terms of the truce is to ensure to the fullest extent possible that no military advantage will accrue to either side as a result of the application of the truce.

July 29, 1948

We are all being attacked in both the Arab and the Jewish press. The Arabs are especially angry about the Mediator persuading the SC [Security Council] to *order* the Arab states to cease fire.

November 24, 1948

I am doing the best I can, but I fear that is not enough. There are so many complications, pressures, maneuvers and intrigues that at times I quite despair of finding a way out at all.

January 13, 1949

I can readily think of a million ways to stall, delay, obstruct, and stalemate these discussions should anyone care to do so. I trust there will be no tendency to be rigidly legalistic, picayunish about detail, or recriminatory. . . . You cannot afford to fail. You must succeed. I have faith that you will succeed.

February 8, 1949

Negotiations proceeding with tortuous but steady progress toward agreement. Daily discussions and compromise drafts producing results, but continuing pressure from all sources remains indispensable. . . . This is a killing assignment.

“SOME REFLECTIONS ON PEACE IN OUR TIME”

Ralph Bunche received the Nobel Peace Prize for his eleven months of tireless negotiations and the subsequent armistice between the warring factions. He was the first African American to receive a Nobel Peace Prize. The following are excerpts from the text he prepared for his December 11, 1950 Nobel Acceptance Lecture.

... In each instance of a threat to peace, the United Nations projects itself directly into the area of conflict by sending United Nations representatives to the area for the purpose of mediation and conciliation.

It was at the head of a United Nations mission of this kind that Count Folke Bernadotte went to Palestine in the spring of 1948. On his arrival in the Near East, he found the Arabs and Jews locked in a bitter, bloody, and highly emotional war in Palestine. He was armed only with the strong demand of the United Nations that in the interest of world peace the Palestine problem must be settled by peaceful means.

In one of the most brilliant individual feats of diplomatic history, Count Bernadotte, within two weeks of his arrival on the scene of the conflict, had negotiated a four weeks' truce and the guns had ceased firing. In order to supervise that truce, he requested of the Secretary-General and promptly received an international team of civilian and military personnel, numbering some seven hundred men and women. The members of this compact and devoted United Nations "peace army" in Palestine ... all of whom were unarmed ... wrote a heroic chapter in the cause of peacemaking. Their leader, Bernadotte himself, and ten others gave their lives to this effort. The United Nations and the peace-loving world must ever be grateful to them.

We who had the privilege to serve under the leadership of Count Bernadotte revere his name. He was a great internationalist, a warm-hearted humanitarian, a warrior of unflinching courage in the cause of peace, and a truly noble man. We who carried on after him were inspired by his self-sacrifice and were determined to pay him the one tribute which he would have appreciated above all others—the successful completion of the task which he had begun, the restoration of peace to Palestine.



Ralph Bunche and his wife Ruth leaving Oslo, Norway after he received the Nobel Peace Prize.

“REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF ISRAELI-ARAB RELATIONS”

Ralph Bunche made the following remarks on the months of Israeli-Arab negotiations in a 1951 address to the United States National War College. (Henry 1995, 175–187)

When the truce went into effect, there was a very great responsibility resting upon the United Nations to enforce it, to supervise it, to see that the truce lines were demarcated and kept inviolate, to escort convoys from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem every day through the Arab lines with the guns of the Arab Legion forces lining the road all the way. And this worked. This work was done by military observers, officers, and later enlisted men who were made available to the United Nations by Belgium, France, Sweden, and the United States. . . .

I have often told the story of one of our American observers out there in the early days of the truce. He was a naval officer and spent a lot of time in the Pacific [during World War II]. He might have become a little beachhead conscious from Iwo Jima and Okinawa. . . . I don't know, but he was enthusiastic about his job. We had sent him down to a station just below Tel Aviv to supervise the truce. He had a small international staff with him—some Belgians and French. Very soon at Haifa, the supervision headquarters, we began to get urgent cables calling for reinforcements. Finally the cables got very specific. (we had our own [UN] communication and transportation system. We didn't depend on local facilities). . . . [H]e began to call for United States Marines. . . . Finally, Count Bernadotte said to me, “Out of curiosity—there doesn't seem to be trouble with the truce—why don't you jump in a jeep and go down and find out what he wants to do with these Marines?”

I got down there and found everything quiet and he was entirely happy. He said he had things well in hand. He really didn't know much about the United Nations or how much authority it had or how much power but, he said, “It sure as hell has the Arabs and Jews fooled. We give them an order and they obey it.” I said, “That is the whole idea. That is the reason we wonder why you want these marines.” And in exactly these words he said, “It is very simple. If I could just have these marines, we could move right on in and go all the way to Jerusalem.”

This wasn't the classic [military] operation at all. We didn't want to go anywhere; we wanted to keep the Arabs and Jews from going anywhere. This was a concept of limited peace. Well, he caught on and gave very good service.

On another occasion we had one of the French officers who was quite daring escorting convoys from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. They would go every day without any trouble, but after several weeks the first trouble occurred one day when . . . Arab guerrillas ambushed the convoy . . . near Latrun. The French officer leading the convoy was in the lead jeep. (These observers carried no arms, not even side arms out there. I must say that the Americans, particularly, were not a little puzzled when they first arrived and we told them to dispose of the side arms, particularly in view of the fact that there was some hazard in this work. . . .) The Frenchman without any hesitation stopped his jeep and ran directly into the line of fire right up to the Arabs, shouting and gesticulating as he ran, and so surprised them. . . . There were about 25 of them—they broke and fled. The first volley they fired killed 4 of the civilians, one of them an American. But they fled in the face of this one-man charge, unarmed charge, by this French officer, and did not return to the attack. This enabled him to get the remaining civilians and the convoy together, to return to Tel Aviv and thereby saved the lives of a good many people. We had many actions of that kind carried on by these fellows. . . .

What was most important in these negotiations . . . was face saving. What we found was often the key to agreement was to so word things that they would be palatable to one side or the other. . . .

The most significant feature of the . . . armistice agreements, beyond the fact that they did bring an end to the military phase of the Palestine conflict, was the fact that they set up a machinery for a continued collaboration between the Arabs and Jews, a collaboration which goes on. Each one provided for a mixed armistice commission of Arabs and Jews with the United Nations to provide the chairman and with the United Nations also to put at their service military observers to help them implement the agreement. On the whole these mixed armistice commissions with their international flavor have worked very well.

“BUNCHE AT RHODES: DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATOR”

Shabtai Rosenne, a member of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations negotiations, spoke of Ralph Bunche's role as negotiator. (Rivlin 1990, 177–186)

In the Israeli delegation to the Rhodes armistice talks, we used to refer to Bunche by the Hebrew word *egged* (which means “bunch”), hoping he wouldn't catch on that we were talking about him. My most vivid recollection of this physically huge man . . . a soupçon of a smile on his lips, a bubbling sense of humor that never seemed to leave him, a healthy touch of cynicism—is with a half-smoked cigarette dangling from his lips, after dinner bent over the billiard table in the games room of the Hôtel des Roses, vigorously playing a form of three-sided snooker [a form of billiards] with teams from the UN, Egypt, and Israel (possibly carefully choosing the winner for that night or at least ensuring that it would not be the UN). There were drinks around the table and the atmosphere became relaxed and human. At around 10 p.m. he would call a halt and summon members of one delegation or of both to meet in his room, where he would patiently, firmly, and sometimes roughly give his analysis or hear reports from the delegations, probe reactions to this or that suggestion, first from one side and then from the other. These meetings would sometimes last until morning, such was Bunche's physical and mental stamina. The physical demands he made on himself and on his staff, and on each delegation, were staggering.

Those games of snooker . . . were, I often think, one of the keys to Bunche's success. Certainly they were the catalyst. They broke the ice. They showed us that the Egyptians were human like us, with similar emotions of pleasure when they were winning and of dismay when they were losing—Bunche insisted all the time on true sportsmanship in these games—and I hope and believe that the Egyptians observed the same human qualities in us. . . .

As far as he was concerned, the delegations met on a footing of complete equality, and he would not tolerate any idea that one was “victor” and the other “vanquished,” quite a novel concept for armistices three years after the unconditional surrenders of all the Axis powers in the years 1944–1945. . . .



Bunche was tough; he could be harsh; he cajoled, he threatened, and he charmed. If he twisted your arm, it hurt, and was meant to. But he was fair and open to argument and persuasion and to me was the incarnation of belief in the UN. . . . I regard him as one of the greatest men I have ever had the honor to meet and to work with, and against.

Ralph Bunche, Acting UN
Mediator on Palestine (ca.1948–49)

A MARINE'S POINT OF VIEW

The United States lent Marines to support the United Nations negotiating team. A veteran of two world wars, General William Riley was temporarily attached to the United Nations Mediation Commission in Palestine, serving as the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine. F. P. Henderson, a United States Marine Corps officer attached to General Riley's staff, made these observations about Ralph Bunche (Urquhart 1993, 221).



General William Riley

Dr. Bunche's conduct of the six weeks of negotiations [between Israel and Egypt] was superb in every way. Bunche was . . . a chain smoker, his clothes usually rumpled with cigarette ash on his coat and vest, his manner quite relaxed and informal. Anyone who had any official or social contact with him soon realized he possessed an outstanding intellect and a broad range of knowledge. He had a quick grasp of subjects presented in briefings or reports and always asked the right questions or suggested sound alternatives. . . . Whenever he raised a question or alternative our reaction usually was, "Of course. Why didn't we think of that?" He had a very warm and attractive personality, magnetic in a low-key, soft-spoken way. . . . He requested, not ordered, people to do things. He was quick to praise good work, and I do not recall him ever chewing out anyone. Socially, he was an asset to any party or affair, large or small . . . and a lively conversationalist with a sense of humor. . . . He had the sharpest and most agile mind, the most complete knowledge of matters being considered, the most accomplished negotiating techniques, and the ability to avoid acrimony or hard feelings on anyone's part. . . . Throughout the negotiations Bunche held no press conferences and made no public statements or announcements, and the delegations also observed his wishes on this.

PEACEMAKING SKILLS

Name _____

Date _____

Students in a school community have their share of disagreements—either between students or student groups. Your school has decided to set-up a student-run “Campus Dispute Resolution” panel to mediate between students and/or student groups that have disagreements with one another. To prepare students to serve on the new panel, your team has been asked to develop the “Ralph Bunche Dispute Resolution Project,” a one-day seminar to train fellow students to be negotiators.

All elements of your planned seminar should reflect Bunche’s own strengths as a negotiator and should, where appropriate, refer to the documents from **Lesson Three** which illustrate these strengths.

1. Write a schedule for a one-day seminar to train neighborhood negotiators. Your plan should include 3-5 skills to be taught, the method(s) you will use to teach them, and the amount of time you will spend on each activity or session. Your methods could include guest speakers, role playing, discussions, debates, or any other suitable activity. Be sure to schedule breaks and lunch!
2. Draft an advertisement designed to attract prospective students. The layout for the ad should be prepared on standard poster board or poster-size paper, and should include brief descriptions of the program’s chief strengths, a short explanation for naming the program after Ralph Bunche, and any visual or graphic elements your team believes are necessary.
3. Enact a sample 5-minute lesson drawn from the schedule. This can involve group work, a lecture, a simulation, or any other method you believe is appropriate.

Bunche and Trusteeship

Ralph Bunche's fame rested largely on his mediation of international crises. Yet among his proudest achievements was his contribution to ending European colonial regimes. Away from the glare of publicity, Bunche worked tirelessly from the United Nations to advance the cause of African and Asian independence.

It was Bunche's scholarship, focusing on colonial administration, which earned him a position within the Office of Special Services (OSS) in 1941. In 1944, he joined a U.S. State Department team charged with drafting postwar American policy towards European and Japanese colonies. That assignment brought him to the attention of U.S. officials involved in creating the United Nations. By April 1945, Bunche had been reassigned to the American delegation to the UN's first meeting in San Francisco. Under the leadership of former Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen, Bunche assisted in drafting UN Chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter, establishing a Trusteeship division within the United Nations, requiring colonial powers to prepare colonial peoples for "self-government," requiring colonial powers to reach "trusteeship agreements" with the United Nations and authorizing the UN to monitor progress toward self-government.

Bunche regretted the Charter's failure to call for full independence. Even so, he believed that UN could use the Charter's provisions to improve colonial conditions create the conditions necessary for nationhood.

In 1946, Secretary General Trygve Lie requested that the State Department lend Bunche to UN in order to set up the new Trusteeship Division. Bunche was supposed to serve as the division's Acting Director just six weeks, but this turned into more than six months. Finally, Lie asked that Bunche take the position permanently.

The United Nations could not prevent member states—particularly those with permanent seats on the Security Council—from resisting calls for decolonization. Such resistance generally resulted in long and bloody conflicts, for instance in Algeria and Vietnam (France); Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau (Portugal); and Kenya (Britain).



However, as Director of the Trusteeship Division, Bunche worked to make good on the Charter's commitments, negotiating Trusteeship agreements throughout the late 1940s and pressed the General Assembly to oversee those agreements. In doing so, he contributed to the retreat of European power from African and Asia.

Tour guide shows the UN Trusteeship Council Chamber

Trusted UNer Bared as an Ex-Spitballer!

UN Undersecretary Ralph Bunche, known for his correct manners at the UN, admitted yesterday that in his youth he had a penchant for throwing spitballs.

The Nobel Prize winner said he was almost flunked in deportment for his prowess when in grade school in Albuquerque, N. M. 47 years ago.



Clipping from the Ralph Bunche archives at UCLA
(*Daily News*, 1962)

How It All Came Out

Bunche's admissions came at a UN breakfast with the teacher who almost flunked him, Emma Belle Sweet, 82.

Miss Seet was given an award for outstanding teaching ability by Golden Key Association, which also named Bunche the Citizen of the Year.

Miss Sweet did not recall the spitballs, but she said: "I do know Ralph only got a C in Deportment, and he was an excellent student otherwise."

But Bunche thought that Miss Sweet was too kind. She "is trying to protect me . . . I also had a wagging tongue and liked to slide down the fire escape," he said.

He said that he never lost track of Miss Sweet because she had eased him past his first experience in discrimination at the grade school where he had been one of two Negro pupils.



Ralph Bunche and former teacher Miss Emma Sweet at Golden Key Association award ceremony

LESSON FOUR

“Full Explosion May Be Averted”

CRISIS IN CONGO, 1960

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ Develop an understanding of the complex political issues behind the 1960 international crisis in Congo.
- ◆ Assess the strategies Ralph Bunche and the United Nations used during the crisis.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY ONE: The Congo Crisis

1. Have students read **Historical Background Four, “Historical Background: Congo, 1960”** in class along with “Chronology of Events” (**Document IV–A**). Have a preliminary class discussion about the political issues presented in the materials.
2. Assign roles and have students present **Document IV–B**, “The Documents Speak: The Congo Crisis.” Have the presenters stand in a line and take a step forward to read their respective parts.

ACTIVITY TWO: Negotiation Strategies—A Simulation Activity

Part One: Assign each group (or allow the groups to choose) one of the following roles: United Nations Under Secretary General, Ralph Bunche; Congolese President, Joseph Kasavubu; Congolese Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba; Katangan President, Moïse Tshombe; United States Ambassador to Congo, Clare Timberlake; Soviet Ambassador to Congo, Sergei Nemchina; or Belgian Ambassador to Congo, Marcel Dupret. Pass out the briefing materials for the assigned characters (**Documents IV–D1 to D7**).

Before the groups begin their negotiations, have them read **Document IV–C**, “The Scene.”

Part Two: Have students review the negotiation options presented at the end of each character sketch. On their **Policy Options Analysis** form (**Student Worksheet 18**), they should rank these options in order (1 being highest, 3 lowest), writing the advantages and disadvantages of each option, as well as an estimate of its prospects for success.

After ranking the options, have each group write their chosen negotiating position on a large sheet of paper or on the board. Post this in a public place so that the other groups can see it.

Part Three: Once all the positions are posted, the groups have *fifteen minutes* to influence Ralph Bunche’s decision. They may do so by negotiating on the side with the other groups, so that they alter their negotiating positions, or by trying to persuade Bunche himself. Students may, of course, choose to withdraw entirely from negotiations—but notice that such a decision may create unacceptable risks for their group’s interests.

Instruct the Ralph Bunche group to use these fifteen minutes to draft an agreement ending the Congolese conflict. They can use—or reject—the positions posted by the other participants in negotiations.

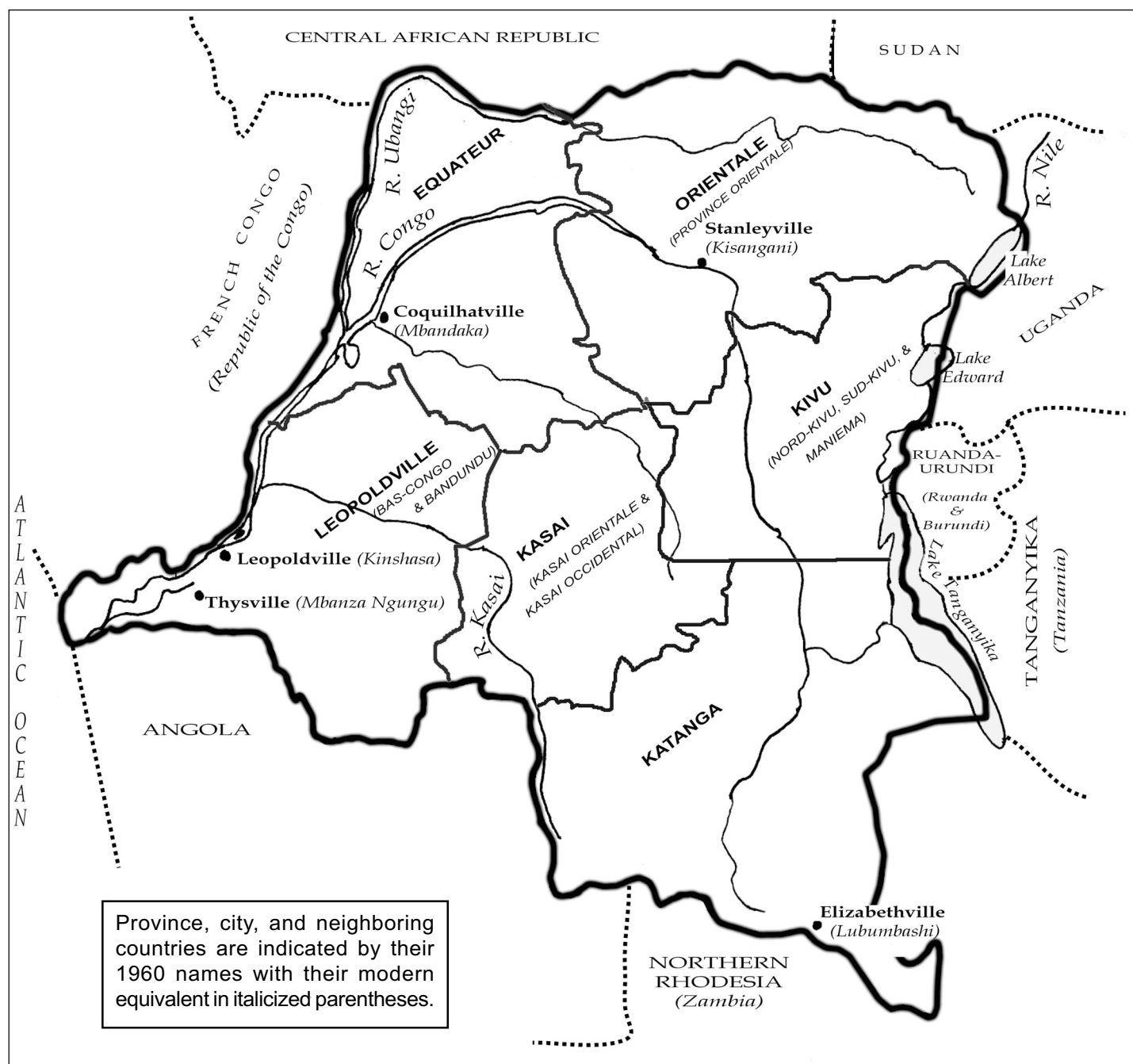
Part Four: The Ralph Bunche group will, at the end of fifteen minutes, post its decisions. Emphasize to this group that they must note the following factors:

1. It is important to win the approval of *both* the United States *and* the Soviet Union (these countries sit on the Security Council and can veto any UN resolution they oppose).
2. Belgium's approval is not necessary, so long as the United States accepts the Bunche proposals. If they do, Belgium, which is an American ally and has little military power of its own, will have to obey.
3. Bunche's proposals do not have to be acceptable to the Congolese parties. However, any plan that fails to win the support of Congolese political leaders is likely to face problems further down the road (see the Bunche briefing for more on that).

ACTIVITY THREE: REVIEW STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES

1. The questions on **Worksheet 19** ask students to consider the simulation they have just completed without knowing the actual outcome of events. Have students respond to the questions as a written assignment or in a class discussion.
2. Have students read “The United Nations’ Operation in Congo” (**Document IV–E**) which includes an account of the Congo crisis Ralph Bunche gave in 1964.
3. Conclude the lesson by using **Worksheet 20** as a writing assignment and/or as the basis for a class discussion.

CONGO 1960



Today two countries share the name Congo: the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Newspapers will sometimes refer to them as Congo (Brazzaville) and Congo (Kinshasa). In the mid-1960s, President Mobutu Sese Seko (formerly Joseph Mobutu) renamed Congo, calling it Zaire, and replacing most Belgian place names with African ones. After Mobutu's death, the country's name reverted back to Congo (the Democratic Republic of Congo).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CONGO, 1960

In the 1930s, Ralph Bunche made his reputation as one of the foremost American experts on European colonization of Africa. European states, wrote Bunche, had “raped Africa.” While they promised to “bring civilization to the backward peoples of the earth,” they actually brought “brutal suppression, greedy economic exploitation . . . forced labor, the introduction of previously unknown diseases, vice and social degeneration” (Bunche 1936, 38–9). Bunche rejected every justification for this brutality and eagerly sought the end of colonial degradation.

That day dawned after World War II. Economically exhausted, European states were forced to abandon their vast global empires. As director of the United Nation’s Trusteeship division, Bunche directly oversaw the transfer of power in several colonies—a task from which he drew deep satisfaction.

Bunche’s greatest challenge, however, came in 1960, when Belgium abruptly granted independence to the Belgian Congo. Heir to the most oppressive colonial system devised in Europe, the newly independent Congo demanded every bit of Bunche’s enormous energy, talent, and sheer doggedness.

Background

As early as the 1870s, explorer Henry Morton Stanley had trumpeted the economic potential of the Congo River basin. Stanley’s reports attracted the attention of Belgium’s King Leopold II, heir to one of the most oppressive colonial systems devised by Europeans. Leopold personally financed further expeditions and trade.

King Leopold made good on his investment in 1885, when European states met at Berlin, Germany to settle their colonial claims in Africa. Despite Belgium’s relatively small size, Leopold won recognition of his claim to nearly all of Congo, which he now dubbed the “Congo Free State.”



King Leopold II

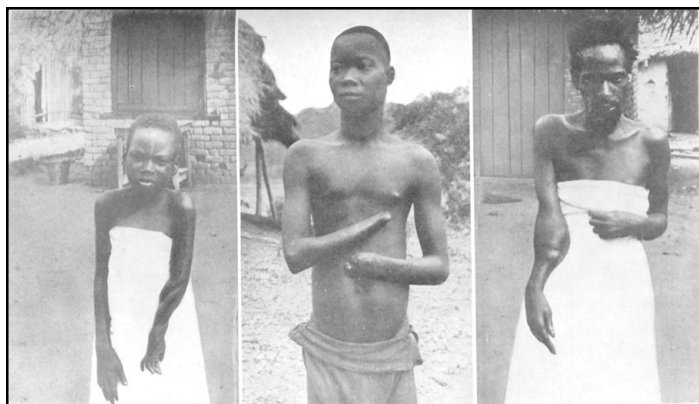
Leopold treated Congo as a personal “piggy bank,” squeezing every penny of wealth from the region’s mines and rubber plantations. Gross abuses of human rights—forced labor, brutality, and killings—prompted an international outcry even in European states which themselves possessed extensive African colonies. Under severe international pressure, Leopold finally ceded the Congo Free State to the Belgian government, which renamed it the Belgian Congo.

Though Belgian governmental control was an improvement over that of Leopold II, it was still quite oppressive. While characterizing the Congolese as children who needed and appreciated the civilizing hand of the Belgian government, that government pressed Congo to increase production of palm oil, gold, diamonds, and other commodities.

The Congolese—who comprised a variety of ethnic and cultural groups—frequently resisted Belgian control, often at considerable cost. Rebellions in 1919–1923, 1931–1936, and 1940–1945 were savagely suppressed.

However, the situation changed after World War II. The war left European economies in ruins and forced European governments to reconsider their colonial policies. In 1947, Great Britain granted independence to India and Pakistan, while the Netherlands retreated from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). Between 1946 and 1954, France fought the bitter and ultimately unsuccessful French-Indochina war, retreating from Cambodia, Laos, and a divided Vietnam.

In the 1955 Bandung Conference, newly independent states announced that they would remain aloof from the Cold War conflict between the United States and Soviet Union, sponsoring instead a “nonaligned movement.”



Native children shot and mutilated by Congo soldiery, ca. 1903

This new movement declared its uncompromising opposition to colonialism, demanding the immediate withdrawal of European forces from Africa.

Anti-colonial forces in Africa took heart from these events. A new generation of leaders launched political parties and, in some cases, armed uprisings aimed at ousting colonial governments. In 1957, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan state to achieve independence, intensifying expectations elsewhere in the continent.

During the late 1950s, the Congolese organized a number of political parties which worked to achieve independence. Belgian resistance to these organizations led to violent clashes in 1959. Finding little support from the United States or European governments, Belgian authorities found support in neither the United States nor in other European states. Bowing to the inevitable, the Belgian government announced it would grant independence to Congo.

At first, Belgium promised independence to Congo following a five-year transition period. Scarred by decades of oppressive rule, Congolese nationalists distrusted Belgian intentions and demanded immediate independence. The Belgian government agreed, scheduling the independence for the summer of 1960, creating a far shorter transition for Congo than for most other newly independent African states.

Some observers were optimistic about Congo's chances for success. Africa's third largest country, Congo was (and is) endowed with enormous mineral wealth: uranium, gold, diamonds, cadmium, cobalt, copper, and tin. (Important to this story is the fact that these resources were concentrated in Katanga province, on which the Congolese government would later depend for more than half its national budget).

Yet Congo also faced severe challenges. The Belgian government had done little to improve the lives of the Congolese. Among the country's 13.5 million inhabitants, just 17 had university degrees, ensuring (some believed) that Congo would remain dependent for some time on Belgian expertise. Life expectancy was low, infant mortality was high, and health care minimal.

Further, the new state was multinational, uniting Lunda, Luba, Kongo, and other ethnic groups under one government. Though multi-ethnic states had survived elsewhere (India, for instance), ethnic tensions posed a serious threat. One region, Katanga Province, boasted more than half the country's mineral wealth. Would Congo remain a single state, or break up into smaller countries?

Aware of these difficulties, UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld assigned Ralph Bunche to represent the UN at the official independence celebration, scheduled for June 30, 1960.

Bunche had his hands full. Within days of independence, Congolese troops rebelled against their Belgian white officers. Congo very quickly deteriorated into a violent multi-sided conflict among Congolese political factions, the Belgian military, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations itself.

This lesson is set at the beginning of the crisis as an international drama, in July, 1960. The lesson imagines a meeting hosted by Bunche and aimed at resolving the conflict. Though no such meeting ever took place, Bunche met separately with all the players to bring them to agreement. Drawing on the views of the major figures in the crisis, this lesson will ask you to put yourself in Bunche's position. What resources can Bunche devote to resolving the crisis? What constraints does he face?

CRISIS IN CONGO: CHRONOLOGY (1955–July 21, 1960)

- 1955** 29 African and Asian countries meet in Bandung, Indonesia to discuss common concerns. The Bandung Conference condemns “colonialism in all its manifestations”. Those attending also condemn the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, organizing the short-lived “nonaligned movement”. Joseph Kasavubu becomes president of the Alliance des Ba-Kongo (Ba-Kongo, or Abako), a political group devoted to the interests of the Ba-Kongo people who dominate the region around the capital Leopoldville.
- 1957** Belgium permits municipal elections in Leopoldville; Abako wins most of the contests.
- 1958** **October:** Patrice Lumumba joins the Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, or MNC) and soon becomes a leading member, although his leadership was strongly contested by rivals. Unlike Abako, the MNC dedicates itself to the interests of all ethnic groups within Congo.
- December:** African nationalist and anti-colonial leaders, including Lumumba, meet in Accra, Ghana for the All-African People’s Conference (AAPC). Joseph Kasavubu attempts to attend the AAPC, but Belgian authorities prevent him from doing so. Following the meeting, Lumumba and the MNC press their demands for rapid Congolese independence.
- 1959** Early in the year, the Belgian government announces a 5-year plan for full independence, beginning with local elections. The MNC vigorously objects to the plan, believing that with Belgians still in the country, they will manipulate the elections to benefit Belgian interests. MNC protests spark Belgian military and police action. Violent clashes ensue.
- Meanwhile, Congolese businessman Moïse Tshombe establishes the Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (the Katangan Federation of Tribal Associations, better known as **Conakat**). Conakat largely represents the Lunda peoples of Katanga province in southwest Congo.
- August:** Belgium announces that it will pull out of Congo within one year and grants a charter guaranteeing free speech, assembly, and press to the Congolese people.
- October 30:** Violence between nationalists and Belgian authorities in Stanleyville kills 30. The Belgians arrest Lumumba, charging him with inciting the riot.
- December:** First nationwide Congolese elections, for municipal and territorial councils. MNC wins many of these elections.
- 1960** **January:** Belgian government convenes conference with Congolese leaders in Brussels (Belgium’s capital). Congolese delegates unanimously demand the release of Lumumba from prison and his presence at the conference. Upon his arrival he becomes the most influential Congolese delegate and insists on a strongly unified state. His view is more compatible with Belgian hopes at this time than are the views of his principal Congolese rivals.
- March:** *Loi Fondamentale* (Fundamental Law), the Congo’s constitution, written and ratified in Belgium, in consultation with Congolese leadership. First central government elections; neither Abako nor MNC win a majority.
- June:** Congolese parliament convenes. No political party controls a parliamentary majority, necessary to choose the president and prime minister. The dual executive was provided for in the Fundamental Law, intended originally to permit the Belgian King to remain as nominal head of state. African conciliators,

especially Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghanaian president, used it to broker an agreement between Kasavubu and Lumumba and facilitate movement toward independence.

1960 June 23: Following several weeks of debate, Parliament chooses Joseph Kasavubu as the republic's first president, and Patrice Lumumba as the republic's prime minister; an arrangement which approves.

June 26: Ralph Bunche arrives in Congo as the United Nations representative to Congo's independence ceremonies.

June 29: Belgium and Congo sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation. The treaty provides:

- Belgium can maintain two military bases in Congo, their personnel available to the Congolese government on that government's request.
- Belgian colonial administrators, on loan from the Belgian government, will remain in Congo following independence.
- Belgium's 25,000-man *Force Publique* [police] will remain in Belgium Congo under the command of Lieutenant-General Emile Janssens.

June 30: In a ceremony held in Leopoldville, Congo becomes independent. King Badouin's speech praises the work of Leopold II and claims that Belgium civilized Congo. Congolese in the audience find the speech offensively patronizing. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba responds in a sharply worded reply which, the Belgians complain, insults not only the late Leopold II, but Badouin as well.

July 3: Congolese soldiers in the *Force Publique* demand greater opportunities for promotion (while the soldiers themselves are Congolese, the officers are white Belgians). When Janssens refuses their request, Congolese soldiers mutiny.

Some mutineers commit "rape and other atrocities." In the following days, most Belgian administrators and technicians leave Congo. The Belgian ambassador repeatedly requests that Prime Minister Lumumba request the assistance of Belgian troops.

Lumumba instead agrees to the demands of Congolese soldiers. He abolishes the *Force Publique* and replaces it with a new *Armée Nationale* (National Army or ANC). Lumumba then dismisses General Janssens, appointing Major-General Victor Lundula as Commander of the Army and Colonel Joseph Mobutu as Chief of Staff.

July 11 Under the leadership of Moïse Tshombe, the Congolese province of Katanga declares independence from Congo. Belgian troops, administrators, and technicians, supporting secession, remain in Katanga.

July 15 The first UN troops arrive in Congo.

July 20 Patrice Lumumba issues an ultimatum demanding the immediate departure of all Belgian troops from the entire country.

July 21 Lumumba departs for Washington and New York, where he seeks both aid and support against Katangan secession.

THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK: THE CONGO CRISIS

On June 30, 1960 Belgium granted independence to its colony, Congo. The following is an excerpt of Belgium's King Baudouin's address to the Congolese people (Wright 2001, 1).

The independence of . . . Congo is the result of the undertaking conceived by the genius of King Leopold II. . . . Don't compromise the future with hasty reforms, and don't replace the structures that Belgium hands over to you until you are sure you can do better. . . . Don't be afraid to come to us. We will remain by your side, give you advice, train with you the technical experts and administrators you will need.



Though he was to be the new Congo Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba was not slated to speak at the ceremony. Nonetheless, he rose and replied to King Baudouin (Wright 2001, 2).

We have known sarcasm and insults, endured blows morning, noon, and night. . . . We have seen our lands despoiled under . . . the right of the strongest. We have seen that this law was quite different for a White than a Black: accommodating for the former, cruel and inhuman for the latter. . . .



Only a month later Belgium was promoting independence for Katanga, the wealthy Congo province, a stance which Congo Deputy Prime Minister Antoine Gizenga complained they were taking as a ruse to stay armed while disarming the new Congolese army (Wright 2001, 9).

The people of . . . Congo do not understand why we, the victims of aggression. . . . are systematically and methodically disarmed while the aggressors, the Belgians. . . . still have their arms and all their firepower. . . . The UN forces allow Katanga to consolidate secession and let the Belgians behave as if they were in an occupied country under the smokescreen of a phoney Katanga provincial government that we, the legitimate government of . . . Congo, have declared illegal.



Manu Ruys was a Belgian political commentator and later editor-in-chief of *De Standaard* newspaper. The following are comments he made on July 16 and 27, 1960 (Wright 2001, 11).

It is the duty of the Belgian government to draw the UN's attention to the special case of Katanga, which has decided its own destiny and refuses to submit to Lumumba's revolutionary policies. . . . If Lumumba stays in power and maintains his anti-Belgium stance, . . . Congo will have a troubled future.



Ralph Bunche had been in Congo since June 30, 1960. July 9, 1960, recognizing that trouble was already brewing, he sent a private cable to Hammar skjöld (Urquhart 1993, 309).

Powder keg here. But full explosion may be averted. Terrific tension among Europeans owing to shock of disillusionment over reliability of Force Publique [the Belgium army]. Virtual rebellion in the Force due to mixture of insistence on Africanization, unrealized expectations of many changes for better after independence. . . .



Bunche sent a second private cable to Hammar skjöld on July 17, 1960 (Urquhart 1993, 315).

It is infuriating that the Belgian Ambassador [Marcel Dupret], whose reckless action against which I and others warned him [the deployment of Belgian troops] created this crisis, should now seek to justify new Belgian troop actions by UN inability to cover entire country in a few days.

In August 1960, United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director Allen Dulles sent a secret telegram, to Lawrence Devlin, the Leopoldville, Congo CIA station chief (Wright 2001, 17).

If [Lumumba] continues to hold high office, the inevitable result will at best be chaos and at worst pave the way to Communist takeover of Congo with disastrous consequences for the prestige of the UN and for the interests of the free world generally. Consequently. . . his removal must be an urgent and prime objective and . . . a high priority of our covert action.



Thinking the UN could not help them, the new Congolese government appealed to the Soviet Union for help. The following is an excerpt from Soviet Premier Nikita Krushchev's speech to the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, October 3, 1960 (Krushchev 1960, 48–52).

Mr. Hammarskjöld has always been biased with regard to the Socialist countries, he has always upheld the interests of the United States. . . The events in Congo, where he played a truly deplorable role, was but the last drop that filled the cup of patience to overflowing. . . Mr. Hammarskjöld has [not] used the United Nations armed forces . . . in support of the . . . Government of Congo, at whose request the troops were sent in, but in support of the colonialist forces. . . We do not trust Mr. Hammarskjöld and cannot trust him.



Bunche sent another cable to Dag Hammarskjöld on August 25, 1960 (Urquhart 1993, 330–1).

“Lumumba is more reckless than his ‘Generals.’



Louis M. Scheyven, Belgian Ambassador to the United Nations, presented the Belgian point of view in a speech to the Economic Club of New York City, April 19, 1961 (Scheyven 1961, 464–5).

Of course, we knew in Brussels that the Congolese were not yet ready for independence, but we have been subjected to heavy internal and external pressure. I need only to remind you of the Bandung Conference in 1956, of the Accra Conference in December 1958. Furthermore, in 1960 alone, 17 new African states reached the status of independence. . . [R]iots broke out in Leopoldville in January 1959 and 47 people were killed. . . The only way to prevent the Congolese from becoming independent was to wage a colonial war: we Belgians . . . were not ready to wage such a war.



Moise Tshombe was the chief of state of the Congo province Katanga. The following is an excerpt of a statement he made on October 15, 1960 (Gérard-Libois 1966, 80).

In the month of June, 1960, Katangans of courage drafted a long study establishing the historical and legal rights of Katanga to its independence. . . The purpose of this study was essentially to draw attention to the provisional character of the *Loi Fundamentale*, in order to stop Lumumba . . . from . . . taking advantage of the situation.

THE SCENE

Leopoldville, Congo. It is July 15, 1960. Two weeks ago, Congo celebrated its independence from Belgium. A few days later, Congolese soldiers of the Force Publique (the Belgian colonial army) revolted against their Belgian officers. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba agreed to their demands, and abolished the Force Publique, creating the Armée Nationale Congolaise (ANC).

Belgians in Congo have charged that ANC soldiers have robbed, murdered, and raped members of their community, and have demanded that Belgium return its army. Meanwhile the Belgian government and army are supporting independence for Katanga, Congo's wealthiest province. Congolese Prime Minister Lumumba has condemned this secession. The United States has refused to assist him, referring him instead to the United Nations. Lumumba is considering an appeal to the Soviet Union, a move which is sure to anger the United States, embroiled in a long-running "Cold War" against the USSR.

For the past three weeks, United Nations representative Ralph Bunche has been in Leopoldville trying to avert a "full explosion." On his request, the UN has sent the largest contingent of soldiers it has ever assembled in its history.

Bunche wants to diffuse the situation peacefully. He has therefore forbidden the Swedish commander of UN soldiers, Carl von Horn, to use force to disarm the ANC, a position von Horn and U.S. Ambassador Clare Timberlake vigorously oppose. Bunche has also resisted Lumumba's demand that the United Nations use force against Katanga. Complicating his mission are his feelings about the men he must work with. He believes Lumumba does not follow through on his political commitments; "Lumumba gets worse and worse," he tells Ruth, "He is the *lowest* man I have ever encountered." I despise Gizenga [a Lumumba ally] but I hate Lumumba" Bunche also is at odds with General von Horn. Nevertheless, he is responsible for finding a solution to the crisis.

Today, Bunche has called the central players to a negotiation session at his headquarters at the Stanley Hotel.

This simulation asks that you strive to achieve a solution to the Belgian crisis which is the most beneficial (or the least damaging) to your group's interests. The power of the participants in this simulation is *not* equal, and there will be facts about the other participants which you do not learn until the simulation ends.

After the simulation ends, you will be asked to debrief your discussions. If you reached an agreement, who compromised to achieve it? Who won the most in the negotiation? If you did not reach an agreement, what explains your group's inability to prevent further conflict?

Finally, to what extent does the United Nations and Ralph Bunche help achieve a solution? What constraints undermined the UN's efforts to resolve the problem?

Congolese expressed hopefulness in the weeks leading up to the declared Independence Day.



Man in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, points hand at banner proclaiming: "30 Juin 1960 Independance du Congo"
[30 June 1960 Congo Independence]



Citizens parade through the streets of Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo celebrating their forthcoming independence.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
UNITED NATIONS UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL RALPH BUNCHE**



Ralph J. Bunche
Katanga Province, Congo (August 5, 1960)

Background

Last month, UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld has assigned you to represent the United Nations at Congolese independence day celebrations. In the days following the ceremony, conditions in Congo quickly deteriorated. Though UN troops began arriving a few days ago, Katangan leader Moïse Tshombe has not reversed Katanga's secession. Lumumba has demanded UN action against Katanga, a course you believe to be unwise. UN forces General Carl Von Horn is urging you to use UN troops to suppress the Congolese army, called the ANC. You have rejected this advice. You have also told the Belgian government that the UN wants Belgian troops out of Congo as soon as possible. Meanwhile, The United States and Soviet Union both see Congo as a potential zone of conflict between them.

Goals

First, you want Belgian troops out of Congo. Their presence infuriates most Congolese. While the Belgians believe that their presence is necessary to protect the property and lives of Belgian citizens, you believe it puts Belgians (and everyone else in Congo) at even greater risk.

Second, you want to win Lumumba's agreement to temporarily disarm the ANC and transfer its peacekeeping authority to United Nations soldiers. However, you reject General Carl von Horn's recommendation that UN troops forcibly disarm ANC soldiers.

Third, you intend to enforce the UN Security Council's resolution calling for an end to Katangan secession. If Katangan secession is successful, you believe, other provinces will leave Congo as well, possibly igniting a civil war. At the same time, you reject Lumumba's urgent demands for a UN invasion of Katanga. Such an invasion, you believe, might also spark a war, pitting Katangans against the UN. With just 20,000 soldiers, you do not believe that UN forces are strong enough to withstand a sustained attack by either Tshombe's Katangan army or Lumumba's ANC.

Fourth, you oppose any effort of the United States or the Soviet Union to gain military influence in Congo. You are worried about growing support in the United States Congress for Katangan secession. You are equally worried about the Soviet Union's decision to side with Lumumba.

In sum, you want to restore order and unity to Congo through negotiation. The use of force will only make a bad situation worse. Over time, you believe, an agreement can be found.

Constraints and Opportunities

As a well-respected expert on Africa and long-time advocate of African independence, you are largely trusted by Congolese leaders, though these leaders disagree with UN policy.

Any solution requiring further UN action will also require Soviet and American support. Both countries sit on the Security Council and have veto power over any proposed resolution.

Though the two countries are engaged in the Cold War, both have so far cooperated on the Congolese situation. However, American President Dwight Eisenhower is concerned that Lumumba may be a Communist sympathizer;

many American officials support Tshombe, a committed anticommunist. Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev supports the Lumumba government and has accused the United Nations of moving too slowly to enforce its resolutions supporting Congolese unity.

Soviet and American support is not enough. Prime Minister Lumumba's supporters control "the street" throughout much of Leopoldville, Equateur, and Orientale provinces, where contingents of UN troops remain small. You want to make sure that Lumumba has no reason to declare an open break with the United Nations. The same can be said of Tshombe and Kasavubu. Any settlement you impose without their consent risks open conflict.

Tshombe does not want to compromise with the United Nations and has rejected efforts to send UN troops to Katanga. On the other hand, Katanga seems largely dependent upon Belgian troops. Force Belgium to withdraw these troops, and Tshombe may be compelled to bring Katanga back under Congolese authority.

Lumumba absolutely opposes any compromise on Katanga. Committed to the idea of a united country, Lumumba considers secession a direct threat to Congo's future.

Policy Options

Your goals, consistent with United Nations Security Council resolutions, are to preserve Congolese unity, ensure the transfer of power from Belgian to Congolese officials, and encourage the development of democratic institutions in the country. Your options include:

- Set a deadline for the withdrawal of all Belgian troops and officials, particularly from Katanga. Promise that if the Belgian government objects, UN troops will join ANC troops in an invasion of Katanga. Meanwhile, allow the ANC complete control throughout Congo, subordinating UN troops to ANC command.
- Mobilize United States and Soviet opposition to Katangan independence. Isolate Katanga diplomatically, and encourage Prime Minister Lumumba to establish some protections for Katangan self-government within Congo. This will take more time but might avoid violence.
- Accept the advice of the American Ambassador Clare Timberlake and UN General Carl von Horn: use UN troops to forcibly disarm ANC troops and enforce public order in Congo, rejecting Lumumba's objections.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
CONGO PRESIDENT JOSEPH KASAVUBU
(1917?–1969)**



Joseph Kasavubu
Leopoldville, Congo
July 28, 1960

Background

You are a member of the Ba-Kongo people, whose kings had created the 14th–16th century kingdom of Kongo. The Ba-Kongo remains, in the mid-20th century, one of the Congo's largest ethnic groups. (Your own ancestry is mixed since one of your grandfathers was Chinese.)

During the 1940s and early 1950s, you worked for the Belgian colonial administration, rising as high as Belgian authorities permitted any African to rise. Secretly, you joined and led anticolonial independence organizations, which were strictly prohibited under Belgian law.

In 1955, you became president of the Alliance des Ba-Kongo (the Ba-Kongo Alliance, or **Abako**), dedicated to winning Congolese independence. To protect Ba-Kongo regional interests, you want a weak central government and stronger provincial governments. Apart from visits across the river to Brazzaville, before 1959 you have never been out of Congo.

Abako won the 1957 elections in Leopoldville, but encountered tough opposition from the **MNC** (Mouvement National Congolese, or Congolese National Movement) in the 1960 parliamentary elections. Unlike Abako, MNC and its leader Patrice Lumumba seek a strong Congolese central government. Lumumba has argued that African

“tribalism” is as great a threat to the continent’s future as was colonialism. He talks of uniting Congo with other newly independent African states in a single black African state. You find such proposals a direct threat to the interests of your people. You see Lumumba as a power-hungry and dangerous opponent.

Even so, the MNC won more representatives than Abako in the June 1960 parliamentary elections, forcing Abako to compromise with the MNC. While you became President of Congo, your political adversary Patrice Lumumba became prime minister, with power over day-to-day decision making in Congo.

Goals

You ultimately want Belgian troops out of Congo. However, you also fear the power Lumumba has accumulated in the new army, the ANC. In the interim, you support the disarmament of the ANC and a larger role for UN troops in maintaining order.

You oppose Katangan secession but would be open to compromise with Moise Tshombe. Like Tshombe, you would be much happier with a weak central government and stronger provincial governments.

Constraints and Opportunities

Your party, Abako, is the smaller of the two major parties now in control of Congo. Lumumba, who is very popular with the newly-created National Army (ANC), enjoys wide support throughout the country and from many African leaders, particularly Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah, hero of the first successful African independence movement.

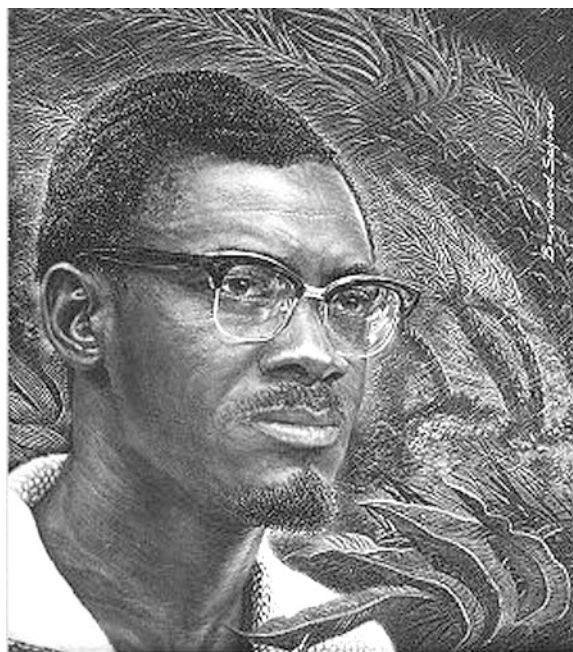
While you trust Bunche personally, you are unhappy with his policy of gradually disarming the ANC. However, you are relieved that he has previously opposed the use of UN troops to attack Katanga.

Policy Options:

As President, you have few powers. However, you can form a government, deciding who will serve as Prime Minister. While Lumumba's MNC has more parliamentary representatives than Abako, it does not have a majority. Your options include:

- Support Lumumba's views on Katanga and the withdrawal of Belgian personnel. Lumumba is, after all, the prime minister and controls a larger faction of the Parliament than does your party, Abako.
- Urge UN representative Ralph Bunche to authorize UN troops to forcibly disarm the ANC and negotiate with Tshombe.
- Dismiss Lumumba from power, and choose a new Prime Minister. Note that this option comes with enormous risks. Those risks would be more manageable if you could win the support of the United States for this action. You may also be able to find individual officers of the ANC who are willing to put some of the army at your disposal.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
CONGO PRIME MINISTER PATRICE LUMUMBA
(1925–1961)**



Patrice Lumumba

Background

You were born in Kisai province in 1925, into a Catholic farming family. Your family is Batetela, one of Congo's smaller ethnic groups, far less powerful than either Moïse Tshombé's Lunda or Joseph Kasavubu's Ba-Kongo peoples, or the Luba elements that follow your sworn enemy, Albert Kalonji.

Building on your education at a Protestant mission school, you wrote essays and poems for Congolese journals, developing a circle of contacts among Congolese political and cultural figures. Married in the early 1950s, you supported your family as a postal clerk and later as the distributor for a brewing company. Meanwhile, you helped organize labor unions and early political organizations.

Arrested for embezzlement of postal funds in 1956, you spent a year in prison. On your release, you organized the Mouvement Nationale Congolaise (MNC) and soon became its principal leader, although you were unable to hold the allegiance of most Luba speakers from Kasai Province. In December 1958, you attended the inaugural meeting of the All-African People's Conference in newly independent Ghana and formed a strong bond with Kwame Nkrumah, the Pan-Africanist Ghanaian president.

In 1959, under growing international and internal pressure, the Belgian government promised independence to Congo in five years. You rejected this offer. Like other MNC activists, you believed the Belgians would use this time to install a puppet government of their own choosing. When the MNC launched public protests calling for immediate independence, Belgian authorities once again arrested you for inciting the October 30, 1959 riot in which 30 persons lost their lives. In your view, Belgian authorities had opened fire without provocation and were themselves responsible for the violence.

Finally, Belgium agreed to grant independence sooner and opened negotiations with all Congolese parties. At the historic "round table" conference of January 1960 in Brussels, the representatives of all Congolese political groups unanimously demanded your release from prison. Upon your arrival at the conference, you were widely acknowledged to be the principal leader of the Congolese delegation.

In the 1960 parliamentary elections, the MNC won 41 seats out of 137, three times more than Joseph Kasavubu's Abako party. Neither MNC nor Abako won the majority necessary to form a government. After much debate, parliament named you Congo's first prime minister and named Kasavubu the country's first president.

You are committed to a strong central government in Congo. You believe that only an all-Congolese policy can protect smaller ethnic groups from the more powerful peoples who dominate several of the provinces. Influenced by the Pan-African views of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, you hope that Congo can become part of a larger black African confederation. You envision an Africa whose people reclaim the resources and lands colonizing Europeans took from them after the 1885 Berlin Conference.

Constraints and Opportunities

Your majority faction of the MNC, known as MNC/Lumumba (or MNC/L) is the largest political party in Congo, and your kind of nationalism is very popular among non-Bakongo people in Leopoldville. You have strong support as well in the Armee Nationale Congolese (ANC), whose officers you have recently promoted. The army chief of staff, Col. Joseph Mobutu, has been a MNC/L supporter and might be expected to continue to support you.

Your views also have won support from Kwame Nkrumah, the best known and perhaps most widely respected of newly independent African leaders.

Finally, United Nations representative Ralph Bunche has told you that he and UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld oppose Katangan secession. Soviet Ambassador Sergei Nemchina has conveyed Premier Nikita Khrushchev's support.

However, you face growing hostility in the United States and in certain European governments. Your stinging rebuke to King Baudouin's speech at independence day celebrations (a speech you found insulting and patronizing), angered Belgian officials. Your decision, a few days later, to abolish the Force Publique, was portrayed in much of the European press as rewarding mutiny and army violence against Belgian citizens. Meanwhile, the Belgians have shown their support for Katangan secession—a move which some American senators have already endorsed.

Dr. Bunche has explained to you that any resolution in the UN Security Council will require the support of all five permanent Security Council members. Britain, France, and the Republic of China [Taiwan] will vote with the United States. The question is, will the United States and Soviet Union both support your position?

Policy options:

- Allow Ralph Bunche to negotiate an end to the conflict and trust him to bring the Katanga secession to an end.
- Insist on the *immediate* withdrawal of Belgian officials and the immediate UN military occupation of Katanga. If the UN refuses to help, ask the United States for help. If the Americans refuse, ask the USSR (Soviet Union) for assistance.
- Order the Armee Nationale Congolaise (Congolese National Army) to physically expel all Belgian officials, to invade Katanga and fight Belgian forces there, and to arrest Moise Tshombe on charges of treason.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
KATANGAN HEAD OF STATE MOISE TSHOMBE
(1919–1969)**



Moïse Tshombe
December 21, 1961

Biography

Born in 1919, you inherited your father's businesses and wealth. One of the few Congolese to earn the trust of the Belgian colonial government, you served in the 1950s on the Katangan provincial council alongside white Belgians.

In 1959, you helped found the *Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga* (the Katangan Federation of Tribal Associations, better known as **Conakat**). This political party received its greatest support from the Lunda people, one of the largest ethnic groups in Congo, who once controlled the region's most powerful pre-colonial states.

Conakat also receives assistance and funds from the Belgian mining company **Union Minière du Haut Katanga**, which has a monopoly on all Katangan mining operations.

Like Joseph Kasavubu, Congo's President, you are committed to a federal organization for Congo—a weak central government and stronger regional states. Also like President Kasavubu, you oppose Patrice Lumumba. In your judgement, it was Lumumba's unwise concessions to rebellious soldiers, who caused rioting, destruction to property, and assaults on persons. All of these events harmed Congolese business interests and undermined the new state. You believe that the new *Armée Nationale Congolaise* is nothing but Lumumba's personal army.

In response, Conakat declared Katanga independent. As Katanga's new leader, you must mobilize world support for Katanga, gaining American recognition if you possibly can. In the meantime, you will resist, as far as possible, any effort to send UN troops into the new country.

Goals

You support Katangan independence and welcome Belgian support. If independence proves too difficult to achieve, you are willing to negotiate with the Lumumba government through the United Nations, so long as provincial rights are protected in any new Congolese constitution.

Constraints and Opportunities

No government except Belgium recognizes Katangan independence. The United Nations Security Council has, in fact, demanded that you surrender power to the Congolese government.

In Leopoldville, United Nations representative Ralph Bunche clearly opposes Katangan secession. Both he and Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld are urging Belgian forces to withdraw from Katanga and to allow UN forces in. This would clearly undermine your independence, and must be prevented.

However, beneath the unanimous UN Security Council opposition to Katangan independence, there are signs of dissent. In the United States and France (both Security Council members), some conservative politicians are

publicly supporting Katangan independence. If you can hold on long enough for that support to take root, Katangan independence just might succeed.

There are rumors that Lumumba wants to seek assistance from the USSR. If you can persuade the Americans that Lumumba is a threat to their interests, President Dwight Eisenhower might become more sympathetic to your views.

Policy Options:

- Protect Katangan independence at all costs. If Bunche threatens to send UN troops into Katanga, tell him that Katangan soldiers will resist. Make immediate overtures to the United States for aid, painting the Lumumba government as pro-Soviet.
- Since you are isolated diplomatically, open negotiations with Ralph Bunche but demand that the Lumumba government guarantee greater power for the provinces.
- Since the United Nations has condemned Katangan independence and you have so far been unable to win official American support, it is time to face reality and work out a compromise with Lumumba in order to gain some limited autonomy for Katanga.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO CONGO
CLARE H. TIMBERLAKE,
REPRESENTING PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER (1907–1982)**



Dwight D. Eisenhower

Background

Educated at the University of Michigan, Harvard University, and the National War College, you have been an officer in the American foreign service for thirty years. You have held diplomatic posts in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, India, and Africa.

In May 1960, President Dwight Eisenhower appointed you to represent the United States at Congo's independence ceremonies. The President then nominated you to serve as American ambassador to Congo, a position you have officially held for the past two weeks.

In your embassy, you oversee American military, economic, and other experts, as well as consular personnel responsible for assisting and protecting 2,000 American citizens in Congo. On your staff are also operatives for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), whose duties involve spying and (if ordered by the Eisenhower Administration) covert action in support of American policies.

However, you prefer to actively engage in what you call "shirt-sleeve diplomacy" and have been in daily contact with the Congolese government and with UN representatives, particularly Ralph Bunche.

Goals

The recent violence in Congo is a risk to the 2,000 Americans still in the country. On a day-to-day basis, your staff is attending to their concerns and, in many cases, assisting those who wish to depart.

You share with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles a commitment to the chief goal of United States foreign policy: "containment" of Soviet communist expansion and influence. You believe that Lumumba harbors Soviet sympathies and may be building the ANC as a personal military force. A few Congolese soldiers have already attacked an American cargo plane on the ground at the airport, and you have filed a vigorous protest with President Lumumba. There are rumors that Lumumba will soon seek direct Soviet aid if he cannot win direct aid from the United States.

You believe that the United Nations should move swiftly to disarm the ANC, and you have privately urged the Eisenhower Administration to adopt a more aggressive stance at the UN. Afterwards, you believe, the ANC should be trained to serve Congo as a professional military; you have offered United States military training and equipment to assist in this process.

Many newly independent countries have rejected alliances with the United States, and a "nonaligned movement" formed at a 1956 conference in Bandung, Indonesia, has publicly resisted involvement in the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Newly independent African states have been particularly enthusiastic about this nonaligned movement—most notably Ghana, whose leader Kwame Nkrumah has achieved international stature.

Like Eisenhower and Dulles, you believe that the Soviet Union is actually behind this so-called “neutrality.” Undermining containment, these “neutral” countries will develop political relationships with the Soviet Union which will allow Communists to subvert and ultimately take control of their governments. This, you believe, is exactly what is happening in Cuba, where a 1959 revolution propelled Fidel Castro to power just 90 miles from American shores. Though he declared his regime neutral, he has recently resumed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and the United States is concerned that he will soon openly declare himself a Communist (which Castro did the following year).

Patrice Lumumba, you suspect, may be the next Fidel Castro. Hostile to European economic interests, his Force Publique has run amok and is attacking Europeans in Congo. Perhaps the United States should support Moise Tshombe in Katanga Province. Even so, the breakup of Congo might result in a civil war, which would give the USSR great opportunities for mischief.

Constraints and Opportunities

Every course of action poses risks. Lumumba may consolidate his power through the army if you do nothing. A more aggressive UN disarmament of the ANC risks civil war in Congo. Failing to support Katangan independence practically guarantees its collapse, but providing such support might lead to the country’s breakup. However, open support for the pro-Belgian government of Moise Tshombe would anger many people in the world’s newly independent states, a fact which would benefit the Soviet Union.

Policy options:

- The United States has little to gain from appearing to obstruct the international community. Therefore, cooperate fully with UN representative Ralph Bunche.
- Cooperate publicly with Bunche, but urge the Eisenhower Administration to remove Lumumba from power, perhaps with the support of Kuvubu. The CIA might also arrange an assassination. This would, however, require commitment to a unified Congo.
- Leave Lumumba in power—there is nothing you can do any longer to stop him. Instead, recommend that the United States reverse its previous policy and support Katangan independence.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO CONGO SERGEI NEMCHINA
REPRESENTING PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
(1894–1971)**



Nikita Khrushchev

Background

As the Soviet Ambassador to Congo, your job is to protect Soviet interests in the country. To accomplish this, you have a staff of over a hundred military, economic, and political experts. Among these are officers of the KGB, the Soviet agency responsible for spying and covert action.

These negotiations come at a time when tensions are high between your country and the United States. On May 1, 1960 an American U2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union as it lost power and the pilot remains a prisoner of the Soviet Union awaiting trial. Eisenhower, faced with photos, has been forced to admit that he authorized the flight. The tension over this incident has already unraveled the “Big Four” summit between the Soviet Union, the U.S., France, and Britain that was scheduled in mid-May. The meetings never made it past the preliminary proceedings. Patrice Lumumba has considered appealing to your country for help since the UN has remained neutral.

Goals

For the past twelve years, the United States has sought to surround the Soviet Union with anti-communist alliances: NATO in Europe, CENTO in the Middle East, SEATO in Southeast Asia, as well as alliances with Japan and South Korea.

Recently, this United States effort to strangle Socialism has expanded into the so-called “third world” states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. There, impoverished masses can see for themselves the oppression of American-style capitalism. Rejecting American and European corporate power and low wages, many of these peoples have embraced Communism. In Cuba, for example, a revolution recently catapulted Fidel Castro to power. Castro confiscated American properties and has just resumed diplomatic relations with your country.

In Congo, the United States and its Western European ally Belgium are already moving against Socialist interests. While the United States claims to oppose Katangan independence, it has failed to push aggressively for Moise Tshombe’s surrender. And who supports Tshombe? Belgium’s monopolistic mining interests.

Your goal is to provide all possible support for the government of Patrice Lumumba. Though inexperienced, Lumumba is the only Congolese politician committed to African economic independence and political unification.

Constraints and Opportunities

Should Cold War rivalries turn hot, the Soviet Union does not have the military power to directly challenge the United States military in Congo. Therefore, you must support the Lumumba government without using military means.

The United Nations—including the United States—have endorsed Congolese unity and have opposed Katangan secession. Your task is to advance this goal even more assertively.

While you trust Ralph Bunche personally, you see the United Nations as a tool of the United States. If the UN succeeds in disarming the ANC, Lumumba's movement will have no protection against his rivals, Moise Tshombe and Joseph Kasavubu.

Secession of Katanga, if successful, would deny the Lumumba government a large share of its resources and cut deeply into its tax revenues. Worse, leaders in the province of Kitai have threatened secession as well. You will work for more aggressive United Nations opposition to the Katangan secession.

"Third World" nationalists in the nonaligned movement founded at Bandung in 1955 support your position. Indian Prime Minister Jawarahal Nehru, Egyptian President Abel Gamel Nasser, Cuban President Fidel Castro, Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, and other world leaders have all endorsed the Lumumba government and condemned Katangan secession. If you can help him maintain power, Lumumba may be able to keep Congo outside American control.

Policy Options:

- Use the KGB against Tshombe and Kasavubu. (Caution: if discovered, this will certainly result in American action against Lumumba).
- Increase Soviet aid to the Lumumba government. Offer Lumumba Soviet military and economic experts to assist his work. If necessary, provide this aid covertly (secretly) to prevent a reaction from the United States. Meanwhile, offer public cooperation to Bunche's UN mission
- Publicly condemn the UN mission to Congo as pro-American. Recommend to Premier Khrushchev that the Soviet Union work for Dag Hammarskjöld's resignation. Meanwhile, increase covert support for Lumumba.

**BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO CONGO MARCEL DUPRET
REPRESENTING PRIME MINISTER GASTON EYSKENS
(1905–1988)**



Gaston Eyskens

Background

As ambassador, you have been responsible for the safety and well being of the thousands of Belgian citizens living and working in Congo. Congolese soldiers have, in your judgement, provoked rioting and attacks on these citizens and their property. In the wake of the recent violence, you have demanded that the United Nations and the world community guarantee the safety of Belgians in Congo, as provided in the independence agreement between Belgium and Congo. Gaston Eyskens, your prime minister, is facing internal economic problems at home and, while anxious to continue economic influence in Congo, wants to extricate Belgium as much as possible from the political upheaval.

Goals

Reports of the *Force Publique* mutiny and violence have angered many Belgians; the mutiny has become a major issue in the Belgian parliament.

You deeply distrust Lumumba, who, you believe, has ties to the Soviet Union. The United Nations, you believe, is doing nothing to protect Belgian property and lives.

In Congo, you want to restore order, protect property and persons, and suppress the ANC. Meanwhile, you enthusiastically support the newly independent government of Katanga, whose leader Moïse Tshombe welcomes continued Belgian participation in administration and economic development.

Constraints and Opportunities

Belgium is a small country, dependent upon its NATO ally, the United States. If the United States decides to vigorously oppose Belgium's interests in Congo, Belgium will be forced to withdraw.

You do have two cards to play. First, against Ralph Bunche's urgent advice, you can bring the Belgian army back into Congo to protect the lives and property of Belgian citizens. Your threat to do so might motivate the United Nations to disarm ANC soldiers.

Also, there is some American support for an independent Katanga. The longer Belgian soldiers can prevent the UN military from entering the former province, the more chance there is that Tshombe will survive.

Policy Options:

- Withdraw all Belgian civilians from Congo and Katanga immediately.
- Bring in the Belgian army to protect Belgian citizens in Congo. The United Nations strongly objects to this, but you know that Bunche will not order UN soldiers to fire on either Belgian or Congolese soldiers unless fired upon. This option can succeed only with American support.
- End Belgian involvement in Congo, devoting all Belgian resources to protecting Katanga.

POLICY OPTIONS ANALYSIS FORM

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete this form, ranking your policy options and choosing the best option. Each group will then post their negotiating position in the classroom.

Once all the positions are posted, you have fifteen minutes to influence Ralph Bunche's decision. You may do so by negotiating on the side with the other groups, so that they alter their negotiating positions, or by trying to persuade Bunche himself. You may, of course, choose to withdraw entirely from negotiations—but notice that such a decision may create unacceptable risks for your group's interests.

If you are in the Ralph Bunche group, you will use these fifteen minutes to draft an agreement ending the Congolese conflict. You can use-or reject-the positions posted by the other participants in negotiations.

The Ralph Bunche group will, at the end of fifteen minutes, post its decisions. Note the following

1. It is essential to win the approval of both the United States and the Soviet Union since these countries sit on the Security Council and can veto any UN resolution they dislike.
2. Belgium's approval is not necessary, so long as the United States accepts the Bunche proposals. If they do, Belgium, which is an American ally and has little military power of its own, will have to obey.
3. Bunche's proposals do not have to be acceptable to the Congolese parties. However, any plan that fails to win the support of Congolese political leaders is likely to face problems further down the road (see the Bunche briefing for more on that).

POLICY OPTIONS ANALYSIS FORM

Character: _____

Students in Group: _____

Rank your options in order, from 1 (best) to 3 (worst). Explain the advantages and disadvantages of each option. As well, estimate its prospects for success.

Record the negotiating position you choose here. Then write it on the board or on butcher paper so that all groups can see it.

DEBRIEFING

Character: _____

Students in Group: _____

Your group should respond to each of the following questions:

1. Did your group get what it wanted during negotiations? If so, how did you accomplish this? If not, what prevented you from attaining your goals?

2. Was Bunche able to successfully negotiate a solution in this simulation? If so, how did he accomplish this? If not, what stood in the way of success?

3. Compare Ralph Bunche's challenges in Congo to those he faced in the Middle East (**Lesson Three**). How were the two situations different? How were they similar?

4. From your own perspective (not from that of the character you played in the simulation), what do you believe Bunche and the UN ought to have done? Why?

5. Without knowing what actually happened after July 1960, what outcomes do you guess, based on this simulation, would have most likely have followed?

THE UNITED NATIONS' OPERATION IN CONGO (Ralph Bunche Reviews the Congo Crisis, 1964)

Historical Background: Congo After July 1960

In July 1960, Lumumba left Congo for Washington and New York. The Eisenhower Administration refused his request for aid against the Katangan secession, urging him instead to rely on the United Nations (UN). But the UN Security Council had not authorized UN troops to fight on Lumumba's behalf, and his trip to UN headquarters was also unsuccessful. Returning home, Lumumba accepted an offer of aid from the Soviet Union. The Eisenhower administration swiftly concluded that Lumumba represented a threat to American interests in the region; the CIA began plotting his assassination.

Meanwhile, Bunche, at some personal risk, flew to Elizabethville to negotiate with Tshombe. What he saw of Belgian and Katangan soldiers convinced him that sending in a small UN force to disarm the European mercenaries would be a disaster. Kasavubu agreed. Lumumba, however, believed that Tshombe would never negotiate unless forced to do so and blasted the UN for what he considered a betrayal. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev supported Lumumba, blasting Hammarskjöld (and Bunche) for weakening the Lumumba government. Meanwhile, United States officials took Bunche and the UN to task for failing to forcibly disarm the Congolese National Army.

On September 14, 1960, Lumumba's former protégé Joseph Mobutu staged a military coup d'état (seizure of government power) on Kasavubu's behalf. At the same time, President Kasavubu fired Prime Minister Lumumba, a move Lumumba declared illegal. For three months, trapped in his home under guard, Lumumba contested both the coup and his own dismissal. Finally, to join forces with his supporters, Lumumba slipped out, only to be captured by Mobutu's soldiers and sent to Katanga where, in January 1961, he was tortured and executed. Though the CIA was long suspected of complicity (and indeed the United States had considered doing the job), it was Belgians who assisted Tshombe. As for Mobutu and Kasavubu, they apparently hoped that sending Lumumba to Tshombe would open the way to negotiations.



Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld at an official reception in Leopoldville, Congo, with Premier Adoula (right), and Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga, 15 September 1961. Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash two days later.

They were wrong: discussions between Congolese and Katangans led nowhere. Bunche monitored UN efforts from New York, but they yielded only the Congolese Parliament's unanimous selection of a new Prime Minister, Cyrille Adoula. Hoping to advance talks between Adoula and Tshombe, Secretary General Hammarskjöld himself flew to Congo. The mission ended catastrophically when Hammarskjöld's plane crashed, killing all aboard.

Over the coming months, as the UN recovered, Tshombe now built up his forces with the assistance of foreign mercenaries (hired soldiers). At last, in November 1961, the Security Council authorized UN troops in Congo to use force to disarm Katanga's mercenary army. In December 1961, UN forces fought Katanga's European mercenaries. The use of force as well as pressure from European and American governments compelled Tshombe to negotiate directly with Adoula.

U Thant, Hammarskjöld's successor, appointed Ralph Bunche as his personal representative to the negotiations. By late December 1961, Bunche had facilitated the Kitona agreement, which provided that Congo reassert its control over Katanga while allowing Katangan secessionists to return, unmolested, to Congolese politics. Though he had signed the agreement, it was a year before Tshombe implemented it. Confronted again with UN troops, Bunche, again on a mission to Congo, refused to negotiate further. Resisting pressure to again meet with Tshombe, Bunche told the Americans that only by leaving Tshombe no choice could the UN compel the Katangans to honor the Kitona agreement. Bunche's gambit succeeded, and Katangan secession ended.

Though Bunche's work in Congo was done, the country did not long remain at peace. In September 1963, Adoula, aiming to increase his own power, dissolved Parliament. Revolts against Adoula spread throughout the country until, in 1964, he was replaced with a new Prime Minister: none other than Moïse Tshombe. Tshombe called in European mercenaries, crushing the revolts. But within a year, he and President Kasavubu were again contesting political control.

Joseph Mobutu once more led a coup d'état. This time, though, Mobutu did not share power with Kasavubu. Instead, he declared himself President and turned Congo into a one-party state. To ensure a steady flow of aid and arms, he cultivated an alliance with the United States, presenting himself as a bulwark against Soviet ambitions in the region. Among the world's most brutal dictators, he lost American support soon after the end of the Cold War and was overthrown shortly before his death.

Mobutu left a broken country. His death renewed a struggle for power that led to a civil war that ultimately drew in many of Congo's neighbors. As of this writing (summer 2003), three million Congolese have died in that war.

Ralph Bunche: "The United Nations Operation in Congo"
(Bunche 1965, 119–165)



Lt. Col Merritt Frank (from the UN forces) and Ralph Bunche.
Leopoldville, July 14, 1960

There was to be trouble in Congo, profound and shattering trouble, and it came only a week after independence, when the ANC (The Armée Nationale Congolaise, which had been the Force Publique under Belgian rule) mutinied in early July and arrested or chased away all of its Belgian officers, which at that time meant quite literally all of its officers.

Soon after the mutiny of his troops, Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first prime minister, who only a few months later was to come to such a tragic end, called me into a meeting of his Cabinet members to make the government's first request for assistance from the United Nations. At that time the government was thinking only of military technical assistance and not a military force. When, however, only a few days later, the Belgian troops,

to protect Belgian nationals, moved outside of their bases in Congo without the consent of the Congolese government, Mr. Lumumba, on July 12, 1960, urgently called on the United Nations for military assistance in getting the Belgian troops to withdraw and in helping to protect the country's territorial integrity. There was not at this time very much understanding on the part of any Congolese official about the nature of the United Nations, or about what it could or could not do, its functioning and structure, and particularly about the meaning and status of the United Nations secretariat. . . . The feeling in Leopoldville in July 1960 seemed to be that

the United Nations would quickly respond with everything that was wanted and needed and that the United Nations personnel, military and civilian alike, would be constantly at the bidding of Congolese government officials, even at times to serve the most petty personal aims. Mr. Lumumba bluntly stated in his bitter letter of August 14, 1960 to Mr. Hammarskjöld, that the Security Council, by its resolution of August 9, 1960, "is to place all its resources at the disposal of my government." Congolese officials holding such views have naturally suffered profound disillusionment.

The United Nations experience in Congo has demonstrated, sometimes painfully, the serious difficulties that will inevitably be encountered by a United Nations peace force stationed in a country under a specific mandate to provide the government with military assistance in preserving its integrity and in maintaining internal law and order, without clear, precise, and full directives about its function and authority in relation to the government of the country in which it is to be deployed, and prior agreement about these with the government concerned.

In July and August of 1960, I was seeing Patrice Lumumba almost daily. He was an electric figure; his passionate oratory could entrance an audience and, as it sometimes appeared, even himself; he was indefatigable; he was quickly perceptive and shrewd; also he was deeply suspicious of almost everyone and everything. He may have been subject to leftist influence, but I did not regard him as anyone's stooge and felt that he was not greatly concerned with ideology. Mr. Lumumba, it must be said, was one of the few Congolese who seemed to grasp the vital necessity of national unity in a new nation, and he strove against all the divisive forces of tribalism and special interest to promote this unity. Unfortunately, however, he and most of his colleagues in his Cabinet had little knowledge of and apparently no deep interest in government and administration as distinct from crude politics and political maneuver. It was this, combined with the mutiny of the ANC, the inability . . . of Kasavubu and Lumumba to reconcile their differences, the extraordinary atmosphere of rumor, fear, suspicion, and violence which pervaded Congo at that time, that soon brought Congo to near chaos.

It must be said that the Belgian decision to move their troops out of their Congo bases against the will of the Congo government . . . was a disastrous step. Some in Leopoldville at that time, including myself, had advised Belgian authorities that it would likely be so, before the fateful move had been undertaken. I had suggested that a wiser tactic than unilateral military action would have been an appeal to the Security Council for assistance in protecting the thousands of Belgian nationals remaining in Congo. The move of the Belgian troops left Mr. Lumumba furious and desperate and led him to broadside appeals for outright military aid to the United States (President Eisenhower advised him to turn to the United Nations), to the USSR, and, only as a last resort, to the United Nations. In response to this second appeal, I assured Mr. Lumumba that the United Nations would most likely respond sympathetically, but even with my deep faith in the United Nations, I could not have imagined at that time that the United Nations response to Mr. Lumumba's call would be as rapid and as immense as it turned out to be.

. . . [T]he first United Nations troops—the Tunisians, quickly followed by Moroccans, Ethiopians, and Ghanaians—landed at Ndjili airport in Leopoldville on July 15, 1960. . . .

The Congo issue, when it came before the United Nations, was not in the context of the East-West conflict or of the Cold War. This accounted for the unanimity and spontaneity of the early support of the Congo's appeal, the Security Council resolutions, and ONUC [Opération des Nations Unies au Congo, or United Nations Operation for Congo]. But it was not long before this changed and the United Nations Operation in Congo came to be an issue between East and West, with Dag Hammarskjöld caught squarely in the crossfire because of his responsibility, as Secretary General, for the conduct of the operation. . . .

Considering all the delicate circumstances the relations between the Congolese government and the United Nations by and large have been tolerable, although they have seldom been really happy. . . .

I suppose one cannot speak of the United Nations Operation in . . . Congo without some reference to the attempted secession of Katanga, which has . . . complicated and bedeviled the post-independence history of . . . Congo . . . I first met Mr. Tshombe in my suite at the Stanley Hotel a few days after Congo independence. He was peeved, rather justifiably I think, at having been ignored by Messrs. Lumumba and Kasavubu. Mr. Tshombe at that time also expressed great dissatisfaction that the concept of a centralized government had been adopted and informed me, with a surprising knowledge of the United States Articles of Confederation, that he favored a loose (and weak) federation in . . . Congo along those lines. He seemed only to be encouraged when I protested strongly that the United States Articles of Confederation had failed woefully to work.

A few days later, Mr. Tshombe returned to Katanga and proclaimed secession. This declaration of July 11, 1960, was about the only basis Katangese secession ever had, and it would have had little or no meaning if Mr. Tshombe had not acquired disputed access to very large financial resources as well as the support of the European community in Katanga and of mining interests in and outside that province. He was thus able to raise a Katangese army and employ non-African mercenary officers to lead it. Even so, Mr. Tshombe and Katanga and *the mercenaries* would not have been able to cause nearly as much trouble as they did had it not been for the utter incapacity of the central government and its army.



Major General Carl C. Von Horn saying good-bye to Bunche (who is returning to UN headquarters in New York).
N'doula Airport, Leopoldville, Republic of Congo (8/30/1960)

REVIEW OF THE CONGO CRISIS

1. What did **Document IV–E** add to your understanding of the Congo crisis? How did the events described differ from your own expectations?
2. How does Ralph Bunche himself account for the results of his work in Congo (keep in mind that Bunche wrote his comments before Mobutu's final coup in 1965).
3. Had the UN not existed, do you think the outcome of the Congo crisis would have been different? If so, how? If not, what institutions, countries, or individuals would have taken the UN's place?

Away from the Job

Bunche's responsibilities often took him from his home for days and weeks at a time. These separations were difficult, both for Bunche and his family—the more so as he became older and his health deteriorated. Though sometimes strained by the demands of his position, his relationship with his wife Ruth was very close.

When at home, Bunche devoted time to Los Angeles cousins and old school friends as well as to Ruth and their three children. Just as he responded to virtually every letter sent to him at his UN office, he kept up with letters, phone calls and family trips with a large network of relatives and friends.

How did Bunche enjoy spending his time? Long after his days in college basketball, Bunche remained an avid fan and, until his health prevented it, a very competitive player. Indoors (during the 1948 Arab-Israeli talks, for instance), his games were billiards and snooker. At home, he and Ruth enjoyed listening to jazz, blues, and gospel; Lionel Hampton, Grover Washington, and Josephine Baker, Fats Waller, and Mahalia Jackson were favorites. Living in New York, they were able as well to indulge their delight in ballet as well as modern dance.

Away from the job, Bunche developed a reputation as an entertaining conversationalist, a man whose lively wit and amusing stories entertained dinner party guests in New York penthouses (and, in more difficult situations, diffused tensions among adversaries).

While others may have remembered him as a talker, his family recalls him as a caring listener. Brenda Brown, Bunche's eldest niece, remembers "how kind and gentle he was when he talked to us. . . . He always made it a point to ask us what did we like, what did we want to do, how [we wanted] to achieve our goals. . . . He always turned the focus onto the children. In fact, I didn't realize how powerful he was until I was about nine, because he never came off as [a] person who had all this authority."¹

¹ Interview with author, September 2003.



(1) Ruth and Ralph with daughters Jane and Joan (ca. 1937).

(2) In Hawaii: Ralph Jr., Ruth, and Ralph Sr. (March 1960).

LESSON FIVE

“Never Too Late”

1962–1971

A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ Understand how Bunche viewed and responded to the Civil Rights movement and the Black Power movement in the United States.
- ◆ Assess criticism and praise for Ralph Bunche’s work.
- ◆ Evaluate Ralph Bunche’s career, taking into consideration both his work in diplomacy and in civil rights.

B. LESSON ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY ONE: Ralph Bunche and the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements

1. Have students take turns presenting the selections in **Document V–A**, “The Documents Speak.” The documents in this reading alternate between praise for and skepticism of Bunche’s significance to African-American civil rights.
2. Have students read the **Historical Background** for this unit. Though this background gives the information necessary for discussion of civil rights, reference to materials in other resources—student textbooks, videotapes, and the like—can further enrich the lesson. The **Historical Background** also provides information on diplomatic crises of the 1960s. For considerations of space, a lesson focusing on these issues is not included here, but may be obtained through the National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA Web site <<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/nchs>>.
3. Conduct a discussion and/or solicit student writing based on the activities presented in **Worksheet 21**. Use the following points to guide the students in their evaluations:
 - Bunche brusquely rejected African-American nationalism (or “blackism” as he called it).
 - Apart from serving on the Board of Directors of the NAACP and marching with Martin Luther King in Selma, Bunche’s involvement in civil rights during the 1960s was largely by pen and word rather than activism.
 - Bunche’s UN employment required that he refrain from more direct and militant involvement in civil rights. An international figure, his comments in the press and in writing could have more impact than his personal participation.
 - Bunche was serving the cause of civil rights worldwide, not just in the United States.
 - The opinions of individuals (such as Adam Clayton Powell, Malcolm X, and Stokeley Carmichael) are not, by themselves, adequate evidence one way or another of Bunche’s commitment to civil rights.

- Martin Luther King believed that Bunche served as a “token” African American, to whom American politicians could point when making the case for U.S. progress on civil rights; however, King personally respected and frequently consulted with Bunche.
4. Relate to students the following: On June 9, 1963 Associated Press reporter William Oates interviewed Ralph Bunche; excerpts from the interview were published in newspapers throughout the United States. Oates focuses on the recent civil rights campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, where Police Commissioner Eugene “Bull” Connor used attack dogs and firehoses against children peacefully protesting segregation of the city’s parks and other facilities.
 - a. Instruct students to read “References for William Oates’ Interview with Ralph Bunche” (**Document V–B.1**) to familiarize themselves with the places, people, and terms discussed in the interview.
 - b. Have students work in pairs, writing what they predict will be Bunche’s responses to the interview questions (“Questions in Oates Interview,” **Document V–B.2**). One student should ask a question and take notes on the other student’s reply; then the partners should reverse roles. Students should base their responses on the perspectives on Bunche they have developed since **Lesson One**.
 5. Distribute the Oates interview (**Document V–B.3**) for students to read as a homework assignment or an in-class reading. After reading the interview, have students respond to the questions on **Worksheet 22** either in writing, in discussion, or both.
 6. **Documents V–C** and **V–D** are excerpts from two essays: one Bunche wrote in response to the 1963 Medgar Evers assassination and the other he wrote in response to the riots in Watts (Los Angeles), Newark, Detroit, and other American cities in the middle and late 1960s. After reading the excerpts, students should answer the questions in **Worksheet 23** either in a class discussion or in writing. As part of the worksheet, students will be instructed to return again to the questions in **Worksheet 22**, adding to their original responses.

Question number 4 asks that students imagine a second Oates interview conducted between 1967 and Bunche’s death in 1971. Students should write questions based on events in the civil rights movement from 1964 to 1970, and come up with answers based on their understanding of Bunche’s views from the 1920s (**Lesson One**), 1930s (**Lesson Two**), as well as the original Oates interview. Two pairs of students can perform their interviews for one another, or students can perform their interviews before the entire class.

ACTIVITY TWO: Evaluating Ralph Bunche’s Life Work

1. Have students write an obituary for Ralph Bunche using **Worksheet 24**. The worksheet instructs them to post their obituaries on the wall, surrounding the comments about Ralph Bunche generated by the survey conducted for **Lesson One**. The worksheet describes what an obituary is and how it is written. After writing the obituary, give students the *New York Times* obituary (**Document V–E**) for comparison.
8. **Document V–F** presents excerpts from three obituaries: *The Nation*, the *New Yorker* and comments from Brian Urquhart, a longtime colleague and friend of Bunche at the UN as well as his biographer. These may be read aloud, concluding the unit.

THE DOCUMENTS SPEAK
RALPH BUNCHE AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

A retrospective on Bunche's life in the *Americas* journal appeared a year after his death (1972). The article recalled Bunche's views on civil rights.

I have a number of strong biases. . . . I have a deep-seated bias against hate and intolerance. I have a bias against racial and religious bigotry. I have a bias against war, a bias for peace. I have a bias which leads me to believe in the essential goodness of my fellow man, which leads me to believe that no problem in human relations is ever insoluble. And I have a strong bias in favor of the United Nations and its ability to maintain a peaceful world.



In a 1964 interview, Robert Penn Warren asked Malcolm X about “Negroes” who held “a prominent place at the federal level.”

Negroes [like Ralph Bunche] have been given those jobs by the white political machine, and they serve no other function other than . . . as window dressing. . . . Any Negro who occupies a position that was given to him by the white man, if you analyze his function, his function never enables him to really take a firm, uncompromising, militant stand on problems that confront our people. He opens up his mouth only to the degree that the political atmosphere at the time will allow him to do so without rocking the boat too much.



Mary McLeod Bethune was a leader in the African American community with many accomplishments to her credit, including president of the National Association of Colored Women, consultant to the U.S. Secretary of War regarding the selection of female officer candidates, and Vice-President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). She gave the following description of Bunche (Keppel 1995, 61).

Ralph Bunche . . . Is a model for all young men to follow. All parents can hold him up to their children as an example to which to aspire. All peoples the world around can see in him the great heights that the human spirit may reach—even in the face of great difficulty.



A representative of a younger generation of civil rights leaders, Martin Luther King crossed paths with Ralph Bunche several times in Bunche's later career, including at the 1957 independence ceremonies of the Gold Coast in Africa. Bunche participated with King in the 1963 “March on Washington.” King gave the following opinion of Bunche's role as an African American leader (Keppel 1995, 61).

[So,] [t]he Negro wanted to feel pride in his race? With tokenism, the solution was simple. If all twenty million Negroes would keep looking at Ralph Bunche, the one man in so exalted a post would generate such a volume of pride that it could be cut into portions and served to everyone.

A. Philip Randolph, labor and civil rights leader, also participated in the 1963 March on Washington—like Ralph Bunche, as a member of the early phase of the civil rights movement of the 20th century. He praised Bunche in a memorial article “Leaders Hail Ralph Bunche” that appeared in the journal *Crisis* in 1972.

Important as Dr. Bunche’s work with the United Nations has been, I remember him best for his early commitment to the civil rights campaigns during the 1930s and 1940s. Our movement was young then, and it was totally committed young people like Ralph Bunche whose spirit and resilience, in the face of overwhelming odds, gave strength to the rest of us. . . . Ralph Bunche was an early militant, in the finest tradition of the term, whether he was fighting for an end to racial injustices in his native land or attempting to reach a just compromise between two warring nations.



Stokeley Carmichael moved to the United States from his native Spain as a teenager. He attended Howard University and there became involved in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an organization committed to nonviolent civil rights protests. Carmichael continued his involvement in various civil rights movements and organizations. He is credited with coining the phrase “Black Power” and he eventually joined the Black Panthers. (Carmichael 2000)

Integration speaks not at all to the problem of poverty, only to the problem of blackness. Integration today means the man who “makes it,” leaving his black brothers behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him. It has no relevance to the Harlem wino or to the cotton-picker making three dollars a day. As a lady I know in Alabama once said, “The food that Ralph Bunche eats doesn’t fill my stomach.



The popular magazine *Jet* reported on the mourners who came to Bunche’s funeral (1971).

There were very few young Black faces among the mourners who came to pay their respects at a short service for former United Nations Undersecretary Ralph Johnson Bunche at the Riverside Church in New York. Perhaps, if many young Blacks had checked out the Black history books that they fought to put on university campus shelves and in classrooms, they would have found many reasons to . . . [pay their] respects to Bunche, who was more than a great statesman or Nobel Peace Prize laureate and who definitely was no equivocator when it came to expressing how and what he felt as a Black man who found honor in the world’s highest deliberative body, but who, like his other Black brothers and sisters, was denied first-class citizenship.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: BUNCHE'S LAST YEARS

The last ten years of Ralph Bunche's life were plagued by illness. Diabetes took an increasing toll on his health, as did the long-term effects of athletic injuries sustained at UCLA. His eyesight failing, Bunche had to rely on others to prepare documents with extra-large type and to serve as his drivers. Tragically, in 1966 Ralph and Ruth suffered a terrible blow when their eldest daughter Jane died, leaving behind three children.

Bunche's professional life also became more difficult. In September 1961, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld—with whom Bunche had developed a warm friendship—journeyed to Congo in yet another effort to negotiate a solution to that crisis; he died when his plane crashed en route to Moïse Tshombe's temporary headquarters in Ndole, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia).



UN Headquarters. From left clockwise: Rev. James Hevel, Mr. David Dellinger, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Mr. Cleveland Robinson, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Mrs. D. Wilson meet after a rally against the Vietnam War to discuss their opposition to the war with Ralph Bunche (far right). (July 9, 1967)

Though he had high regard for Hammarskjöld's successor, U Thant, Bunche never developed as close a relationship with the Burmese diplomat. During the same period, Bunche's quiet but committed opposition to the escalating war in Vietnam strained his relationships with U.S. diplomats he had known for years.

Despite emotional turmoil, political pressure, and sometimes debilitating physical pain, Bunche remained devoted to his work throughout the 1960s.

There was enormous work to do. In most parts of the world civil strife, regional warfare, anti-colonial revolution, terrorism, and inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence intensified. Many of these conflicts were then absorbed into the global Cold War between the U.S. and Soviet alliance systems. Though the two powers had stopped short of using nuclear weapons in the Berlin crisis (1961) and the Cuban missile crisis (1962), local conflicts could, if they spun out of control, still lead to

nuclear catastrophe. Nor was it difficult to imagine such a disaster. In a local conflict pitting two political factions against one another, one would typically appeal to the U.S. for aid, while the other would seek assistance from the USSR. Once the two superpowers had publicly taken sides, it proved very difficult to disengage. Though continued engagement often carried considerable risk, the appearance of retreat would undermine prestige and power.

Ironically, U.S. and Soviet reluctance to appear weak reinforced UN negotiating power. A Security Council resolution and a UN peacekeeping force could justify US and Soviet withdrawal from the scene. For example, in the aftermath of a coup in Yemen, both the current and former governments found outside allies in rivals Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The USSR backed Egypt while the United States stood behind the Saudis. A wider war served the interests of no one outside Yemen, so UN involvement provided a face-saving means of standing down from what might have been a much uglier conflict.

Negotiating such agreements was not easy. Local rivals understood that their erstwhile Cold War patrons might abandon the fight and had no interest in letting them leave. The U.S. and USSR both found that "proxies" (countries allied with the Cold War superpowers, but engaged in actual fighting) had their own agendas. Ultimately, Bunche hoped that the UN would lay the groundwork for an international legal order. In the meantime he worked tirelessly to ensure that local conflicts did not combust.



This picture appeared in the *New York Daily News* March 26, 1965 with the headline: “Approaching the Goal. The Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. lead 30,000 civil rights marchers into Montgomery, Ala., on last leg of trek from Selma. With them in the front line are John Lewis (2d left) of SNCC; the Rev. Ralph Abernathy (3d left); Dr. Ralph Bunche (next to King), and the Rev. Hosea Williams (carrying girl).

dom March (1965) were well known, at enormous personal risk ministers, school teachers, school children, and other ordinary people in small towns throughout the South fought much of the battle far from television cameras and journalists.

The President and Congress supported the civil rights movement slowly and reluctantly. As in the 1930s, southern senators and representatives dominated congressional leadership positions. Most Republicans and Democrats were reluctant to directly challenge the power of such committee chairmen who could kill important legislation and undermine administration programs. President John F. Kennedy, elected to the presidency by a razor-thin margin, moved very cautiously on civil rights issues, fearing that an aggressive civil rights program would alienate Southern voters and officials, endangering both Kennedy’s prospects and those of future Democratic candidates. Kennedy therefore did not order the desegregation of interstate buses until white mobs attacked the “freedom riders” who defied bus company policies in 1962. Only in 1963 did continued confrontations compel Kennedy to throw some support to the movement. Even these limited efforts earned Kennedy the hostility of many white southerners.

With Kennedy’s assassination in November 1963, Vice President Johnson became president. Johnson initially encouraged segregationists. A native Texan, as a young congressman and senator he rarely had challenged the Jim Crow system. Southern whites were shocked to discover that as president, Lyndon Johnson was deeply committed to civil rights. He was responsible for more civil rights legislation than any other national leader since Reconstruction, most notably the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and the Fair Housing Act (1968). Like Kennedy, however, Johnson tried to contain the damage that repudiation of southern segregation would do to the party. In 1964, for instance, the biracial Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) challenged the right of Mississippi’s official all-white Democratic Party to represent the state at the Democratic National Convention. A compromise seated the official party but promised to ban segregated delegations in the future. Some civil rights leaders saw this as a victory. Others, having just buried three civil rights workers murdered for their work registering African-American voters, saw Johnson’s gradualism as a betrayal.

During this period, Bunche again became involved in American civil rights struggles. Drawing on the experiences of the 1930s, NAACP attorneys, led by future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, won *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) which declared school segregation unconstitutional. In response, southern segregationists promised “massive resistance,” a strategy aimed at fighting desegregation in every school district, bus system, and restaurant until the civil rights movement collapsed or the Supreme Court’s membership changed. Championed in towns and counties throughout the South by newly created White Citizens Councils and by segregationist governors such as Georgia’s Lester Maddox, Alabama’s George Wallace, Arkansas’ Orville Faubus, and Mississippi’s Ross Barnett, this “massive resistance” forced civil rights activists into grueling and often dangerous confrontations. Though events like the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1954–1955), the March on Washington (1963), the Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964), and the Selma Free-

Federal reluctance to intervene, unyielding Southern resistance, and the violence visited upon civil rights workers opened divisions within the civil rights movement. During the 1950s, Reverend Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) had promoted non-violent civil disobedience, galvanizing support through African-American Churches. Inspired by the SCLC's work, both black and white college students joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, or "Snick"), which revived the strategy employed by Howard University students in the 1930s of boycotting businesses that enforced racist policies. SNCC achieved national attention with its sit-ins at Woolworth's lunch counters (1959) and interstate bus stations (1962).

Under the leadership of John Lewis, SNCC hewed to the nonviolent tactics and biracial coalition-building King had championed. Other SNCC activists—notably Stokeley Carmichael (later Kwame Toure), a student at Howard University—considered this approach a futile one which invited violence without responding to it and put whites in decision-making positions within an African-American political movement.

It was Carmichael who coined the slogan "Black Power." In Carmichael's view, African Americans had to take control of a civil rights movement and use it to more militantly defend themselves. Many of the older civil rights organizations promoted biracial coalitions—most notably the NAACP. Carmichael, however, urged that any organization seeking to win full freedom for African Americans be led by African Americans. In the face of murderous violence in the South, Carmichael was also skeptical of non-violence, asserting instead that those who sought full liberties should be able to defend themselves against brutality, whether it came from mobs or from police. Like Malcolm X—and like Marcus Garvey in the 1920s—Carmichael also urged that African Americans become more self-reliant culturally and politically as well as economically.

This division widened in the mid-1960s. The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act finally put teeth into the Supreme Court's civil rights decisions, all but ending the battle to topple the segregationist legal system. However, racism and segregation left enormous economic and social divisions in place, not only in the South but in cities throughout the United States. In northern cities, for instance, white homeowners frequently refused to sell their property to African-American buyers; employers (including many police departments) refused to hire or promote African-American applicants, and banks refused to lend to African-American borrowers. The result was that residential segregation continued, frequently accompanied by impoverishment.

For some in the Civil Rights movement, the end of Jim Crow legislation was the end of the battle. For others, it was the beginning. While the split between "militants" and "moderates" was dramatic, each camp was also divided from within. After 1965, for instance, Martin Luther King publicly opposed the Vietnam War, to the dismay of associates (including Ralph Bunche) who believed that doing so would alienate the Johnson Administration and cost the civil rights movement dearly.

As in the 1930s Bunche joined often acrimonious debates over African-American strategy. However, Bunche was no longer a fiery young professor. He was now among the country's most visibly successful and internationally honored citizens. For older liberals, black and white, Bunche symbolized what African Americans might achieve with full integration. For many black nationalists of the 1960s, Bunche instead was a symbol of compromise and cooperation, his achievements irrelevant to their struggle.

Ironically, the upheavals of the 1960s renewed Bunche's own sense of militance. While unalterably opposed to the urban violence of Los Angeles's Watts district (1965), Detroit (1967), Newark (1967), and other American cities, Bunche argued passionately that this violence had its roots in persistent racial injustice. Bunche counseled against black nationalism—"blackism" as he called it—but urged instead a national commitment to greater equality of opportunity. Here, Bunche was returning to his roots as a Democratic Socialist.

During these years, Bunche's health deteriorated. Though committed to the United Nations even as he went blind and could no longer walk, his illness finally forced him to resign his post in the autumn of 1971. Two months later, he died.

RALPH BUNCHE AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE 1960s

Name _____ Date _____

Review the statements in “The Documents Speak.” Based on what you learned from the civil rights debates of the 1930s (**Lesson Two**), and from the **Historical Background Five** in this lesson, consider the following activities:

1. Each speaker identifies something worth admiring or criticizing about Bunche’s career. Note the judgment portrayed in each excerpt. You will notice that in some cases, you will have to *infer* the judgment. Work to determine just what the speaker believes Bunche has—or has not—achieved.

Americas journal:

Malcolm X:

Mary McLeod Bethune:

Martin Luther King:

A. Philip Randolph:

Stokeley Carmichael:

Jet magazine:

2. Choose one judgment above that is favorable to Bunche. In one paragraph, discuss whether you think this *praise* is merited. Refer to all available resources to reach your conclusions. (Use the back of the worksheet or another sheet of paper.)
3. Choose one judgment *unfavorable* to Bunche. In one paragraph, discuss whether you think this *criticism* is merited. Refer to all available resources to reach your conclusions. (Use the back of the worksheet or another sheet of paper.)

References for “William Oates Interviews Ralph Bunche”

Birmingham, Alabama

Site of the “Birmingham Campaign,” (1962–1963), a key act in the Civil Rights Movement. Birmingham, the South’s largest industrial city, had a reputation for being among the nation’s most brutally racist cities. In the spring of 1962, Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth (see below) organized a campaign to force an end to segregation in Birmingham. Believing that a victory in Birmingham would open the way to victories throughout the South, Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) joined Shuttlesworth. The strategy: pressure Birmingham business owners to make concessions on the issue.

By Spring 1963, the Campaign’s organizers had decided to combine public demonstrations with a commercial boycott. Birmingham leaders asked for a delay while the city sorted out a bitterly contested municipal election. Finally, however, organizers decided that they could wait no longer. Defying a restraining order issued at the City Council’s request, the demonstrations began in March.

Soon after, in May 1963, organizers mobilized over a thousand students aged 6 to 18 to conduct sit-ins and protests. Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene “Bull” Connor (who was contesting the outcome of the recent election) turned fire hoses and attack dogs on the students, an act televised to the nation and the world. Between the boycott, the protests’ disruption of downtown business, and adverse national publicity, Birmingham’s business community buckled, pledging on May 10 to desegregate public and commercial facilities and end discriminatory hiring.

The violent response—the bombing of King’s Atlanta home and of the Gaston Motel where King and his associates stayed while in Birmingham—was a prelude to the ghastly bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church (see below). These events helped galvanize political support for the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Black Muslims

Common name for the Nation of Islam (NOI), a religious movement originating in the 1930s. The NOI originated in the work of Wallace Fard Muhammad and carried on after his death (about 1934) by Elijah (Poole) Muhammad. Though sharing some of the practices of Islam, particularly its emphasis on duty to family and God, Elijah Muhammad taught that whites were demons holding blacks in submission, that Wallace Fard was God incarnate, and that until the defeat of whites, Africans the world over had to cultivate economic and cultural self-reliance. The most famous member of the NOI, Malcolm X, broke with Elijah Muhammad in 1964 after a pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) and conversion to Sunni Islam. Following his death, Elijah Muhammad’s son Wallace repudiated his father’s teachings and (with many others in the movement) converted to orthodox Islam. However, Minister Louis Farrakhan remained loyal to Elijah Muhammad’s precepts and now leads the NOI.

Connor, Eugene “Bull”

Birmingham, Alabama Police Commissioner. Connor used fire hoses and attack dogs against nonviolent protesters in the summer of 1963, an act which increased public support for the civil rights movement throughout the United States.

Gantt, Harvey

First African-American student to attend Clemson University in South Carolina, now a successful architect. Gantt later became mayor of Charlotte, South Carolina and made two unsuccessful bids to become a U.S. Senator.

<i>Hastie, William H.</i>	Federal judge, Third Circuit Court of Appeals. Hastie roomed with Ralph Bunche while the two were at Harvard University in the late 1920s; their friendship continued when Hastie joined the faculty of Howard University's law school in 1931. Appointed by President Harry Truman to the Third Circuit, Hastie was for some years the highest-ranking African American in the U.S. court system and an architect of legal strategies devised to end segregation.
<i>Jackson, Mississippi</i>	Though civil rights activity in Jackson dated back to the early 1950s, the city first came to national attention during the Freedom Rides (1961), in which black and white students challenged segregation in terminals serving Trailways and Greyhound interstate bus lines. When they stopped in Jackson the students were arrested; following their arrests more students came—and were also arrested. The actions spurred involvement of Jackson's own high school and college-age students, who contributed to the success of the Mississippi Freedom Summer voter registration drive in the summer of 1964.
<i>Kennedy, John F.</i>	President of the United States, 1961–1963; Democrat. See Historical Background Four for details on his approach to civil rights. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963.
<i>Kennedy, Robert F.</i>	Attorney General of the United States, 1961–1964. The President's brother, Robert F. Kennedy was also his closest political advisor and confidant. After political clashes with President Kennedy's successor Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy resigned from the Justice Department and won a Senate seat from New York. He was assassinated in June 1968 while celebrating his victory in California's Democratic presidential primary.
<i>King, Martin Luther</i>	Bunche recorded his interview before Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, the high point of the 1963 March on Washington. At the time of the interview, King had been in the public spotlight for nearly ten years, but was still in his mid-30s. King would later win the Nobel Peace Prize (1964) and lose his life to an assassin (1968).
<i>Meredith, James</i>	Student admitted to the University of Mississippi in 1961 by court order. Opposition against Meredith, encouraged by Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett, led the Kennedy Administration to send federal marshals to provide Meredith protection. The ensuing riot injured over 150 of the marshals. Meredith graduated in 1964. In 1966, Meredith undertook a one-man march across Mississippi to dramatize that state's continued resistance to civil rights reforms. He was injured by a sniper's bullet, yet returned after recovery to complete the march in the company of prominent civil rights activists.
<i>Philadelphia, Mississippi</i>	In 1963 (the year of the interview) Philadelphia was a center of resistance to the civil rights movement. However, it was not until the following year that the town became notorious for the murder of three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman. The three young men were beaten and shot by Ku Klux Klan members when they volunteering for the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer voter registration drive.
<i>Powell, Adam Clayton</i>	Member of Congress representing New York City's Harlem community. As a minister in the 1930s, Powell had used boycotts, picket lines, and protests to win a fair share of federal funds for local projects, force local businesses to hire African-American employees, and combat discrimination. Elected to Congress in 1945,

Powell challenged segregation in Congressional lunchrooms, often angering southern Democrats. In the 1950s, he accused the Democratic Party of dragging its heels on civil rights and supported Dwight Eisenhower's reelection (1956). During the Kennedy and Johnson years, he became instrumental in pushing civil rights legislation through Congress. Flamboyant and unafraid of confrontation, he made many enemies. In the late 1960s he was ousted from Congress and stripped of his seniority for financial and managerial irregularities.

Shuttlesworth, Fred C.

Minister of the Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, Reverend Shuttlesworth organized the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). When Shuttlesworth attempted to register his son at an all-white school, he was brutally beaten; in another confrontation, a water canon knocked him against a wall. His physical and moral courage in the face of such violence made him one of the most important leaders Alabama's civil rights struggles. He worked closely with Martin Luther King organizing the 1963 Birmingham protests.

16th Street Baptist Church

African-American Church in Birmingham, Alabama where the 1963 demonstrations were organized. The church was bombed in August, two months after Bunche gave his interview. The explosion killed four young girls, causing an international outcry.

Tallahassee, Florida

Florida's state capital, Tallahassee was the site of a successful bus boycott (1957).

Wallace, George C.

Governor of Alabama, 1963–1967; 1971–1979; 1983–1987. Wallace started his political career as a racial moderate, winning the NAACP's endorsement in an unsuccessful campaign against a candidate endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan. Wallace's defeat convinced him that political success demanded a hard line on racial issues. Promising resistance against federal court-ordered desegregation, Wallace won the 1962 governor's race, and immediately developed a national reputation for his steadfast refusal to permit the registration of African-American students at the University of Alabama. Wallace was a candidate for President (1968, 1972) and survived an assassination attempt that left him paralyzed from the waist down. He later renounced his support for segregation and won his last gubernatorial contest with a large share of the African-American vote.



Over the years Bunche worked with several presidents.

(left) Ralph Bunche and Lyndon B. Johnson (ca. 1968); (right) John F. Kennedy, U Thant, and Ralph Bunche (1963)

QUESTIONS IN OATES INTERVIEW

1. Do Africans and Asians [in the United Nations] criticize the United States because Negroes do not have equal rights, or do they commend the United States because the government is trying to get Negroes equal rights? Does the fact that Negroes do not have equal rights hurt the United States' image in the world?
2. Attorney General Robert Kennedy [disagreed with] the timing of the Birmingham demonstrations . . . What do you think about that?
3. Do you think the Birmingham people themselves would have acted without leadership?
4. Attorney General Kennedy also said that using children in the demonstrations was dangerous. What do you think about that?
5. Did Birmingham police commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor use dogs and firehoses on the Negroes mainly because he is a segregationist himself, or because he figured most of the white people there were segregationists?
6. Do you think President Kennedy has been doing enough, and doing it soon enough, to get equal rights for Negro citizens?

7. When do you think that will happen? [When do you think Negroes will achieve full civil rights?]
8. Do you think Negroes can win equal rights through the nonviolence preached by the Reverend Martin Luther King, or do you think there will be violence before they succeed?
9. How soon do you expect there will be a Negro in the U.S. cabinet? On the Supreme Court? In the White House?
10. Representative Adam Clayton Powell [Democrat, New York] said Negroes should boycott the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] because it had white people in high places. What do you think about that?
11. The Black Muslims seem to favor dividing the United States into two parts, one for whites and another for Negroes. What do you think of that idea? Does it have any appeal for Negroes?

WILLIAM OATES INTERVIEWS RALPH BUNCHE
June 9, 1963

Order of questions and answers rearranged through successive drafts.

Oates: Do Africans and Asians [in the United Nations] criticize the United States because Negroes do not have equal rights, or do they commend the United States because the government is trying to get Negroes equal rights?

Bunche: They do both, depending on what's happening at the moment. At the present time, with Birmingham [Alabama] and Jackson [Mississippi] spotlighted, I've heard a lot of criticism, and not just from Asians and Africans, but also from representatives of friendly European states. On the other hand, when good things have occurred, for example the Supreme Court decision on integration in the public schools [*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954)], there has been very favorable comment. I've heard favorable comments on the admission of the Negro student Harvey Gantt to Clemson and on the sending of federal troops to the University of Mississippi to protect James Meredith. There's been quite strong reaction to the press reports about Birmingham, which was inevitable in view of the vivid pictures that were carried of police brutalities—those pictures of the police dog slashing at the Negro man [and] of the policeman with his knee on the neck of the . . . Negro woman. They've had wide circulation and they've inspired some very bad reactions.

Oates: Does this hurt the United States' image in the world?

Bunche: It definitely hurts the image of the United States, because the basic image of the United States is that of a democratic nation leading the cause of freedom in the world, as the leading protagonist of the rights and dignity of the individual in society. Anything running contrary to this basic image is damaging, and this is definitely the case with regard to the repressions and brutalities of Birmingham.

Oates: Attorney General Robert Kennedy [disagreed with] the timing of the Birmingham demonstrations. . . . What do you think about that?

Bunche: [T]he fact is that the Birmingham Negro has been suffering brutalities of various kinds for many long years. It is by far the worst city in the South in terms of repression of the Negro. There has been a long history of harassment of Negroes, of bombings of Negro churches and the homes of Negro leaders, with no one ever punished. . . . [T]he demonstrations had already been postponed two or three times, once I think in order not to interfere with the Easter season. Moreover, for a long time beforehand, every effort of Negro leaders to get some kind of dialogue started with city authorities had been rejected flatly . . . The fact has to be faced by the whole country and people, North and South, that there is a real social revolution in progress, involving the unshakeable determination of the Negro to escape from second class status. It involves the Negro's complete release from the fear of the white man that gripped him, particularly in the South, only a couple of decades ago. It involves a new realization by the Negro of what he can do by organized collective effort, and a very great impatience. It's aided and abetted also by much more understanding and sympathy, and even active support, from many more white people, South as well as North, than ever before, and by the fact that the white populations, in Southern as well as Northern communities, do not react violently to racial events as they once did.

Oates: Do you think the Birmingham people themselves would have acted without leadership?

Bunche: Well, I am much impressed with Birmingham. I spoke at the church where the demonstrations

originated, the 16th Street Baptist Church, two years ago last February. I ran into bad weather on my flight down, and my plane landed in Macon, Georgia, far away. I finally got to Birmingham and the 16th Street Baptist Church by car, arriving late, around 10:30 at night. I was there to speak on integration. The church was packed and there were hundreds standing. They had been singing and having a sort of rally among themselves for three hours; nobody left, and it was midnight before the meeting was over. The spirit I saw there that night was the finest and most resolute I've ever seen anywhere, and I was convinced then and there that these people weren't going to take the Birmingham treatment very much longer. This was no response to leadership at all. This was just a random Negro audience in a church to hear a speaker. But they would have marched out of there that night if I or anyone else had suggested it.

Oates: Attorney General Kennedy also said that using children in the demonstrations was dangerous. What do you think about that?

Bunche: Perhaps it could be seen as a measure of the Negro's determination, even desperation.... What were the children actually doing? They were participating in a march through city streets in broad daylight to a park where they were to pray; to pray in parks they were not permitted to play in. That's all they were supposed to do. These were Negro children, by the way, who every day were walking in humiliation to segregated schools. My understanding is that not only were the parents in favor of this action but many of the children would have participated themselves whether their parents agreed or not. The Negro children have the biggest stake in the struggle for equality. Their future is at stake. Their whole lives are ahead of them. The young American Negro today insists on having all that is his due as an American and having it now.... If I had been living in Birmingham I would have been proud to have had my children in those marches. There shouldn't have been any danger at all to the children in merely marching, singing, and praying. The only danger to them came from police using brutal methods of repressing peaceful demonstrators – dogs and firehoses and mass arrests. This was utterly abominable. The children shouldn't have experienced any danger at all, and wouldn't have, if there had been responsible, civilized action on the part of the city authorities in Birmingham... The blame for what happened was all on the Police side—first, the city police and then the state police, when Governor George C. Wallace unwisely sent them in, apparently over the objection of the Birmingham authorities.

Oates: Did Birmingham police commissioner Eugene “Bull” Connor use dogs and firehoses on the Negroes mainly because he is a segregationist himself, or because he figured most of the white people there were segregationists?

Bunche: I think they were used by Bull Connor as a typical expression of his personal attitude toward Negroes. He's a racist and a bitter-ender segregationist, and he has only contempt for the Negro. He's utterly reckless in his attitudes and statements. Take for example, what he was quoted in the press as saying about the Reverend Fred C. Shuttlesworth—a Negro Birmingham preacher who's shown great courage over the years in the campaign there—he's had my congratulations on that. Connor on being informed that Shuttlesworth had been knocked down by the firehose and injured was quoted as saying that he . . . was sorry he had missed it but that he was really hoping to see Shuttlesworth carried away in a hearse. That is typical of Bull Connor, but I do not believe that Bull Connor is typical of Birmingham.

Oates: Do you think President Kennedy has been doing enough, and doing it soon enough, to get equal rights for Negro citizens?

Bunche: As a Negro myself, I have to say that no government, national, state, or local, has ever done enough so long as the problem of racial repression persists. That's because there is a built-in impatience

among those who suffer the disabilities of racial discrimination; the individual who is deprived must always feel that the measures taken by the government are inadequate; and they are. The Kennedy Administration clearly has done more on civil rights, and has done it more boldly, than any government since [Abraham] Lincoln, but the fact is that we're in the climactic phase of this struggle; consequently, the impatience and determination on the part of the Negro will grow stronger day by day, and the pressure on the government to do more and do it faster will be ever increasing until the decisive breakthrough is achieved.

Oates: When do you think that will happen?

Bunche: Well, I don't think it can be long removed. This is the climax of a century-long struggle. I don't mean that we're going to quickly reach any paradise. But I think the decisive breakthrough, the break through the legal ramparts of segregation, is taking place already, and I think the social revolution will move very fast from now on. As you know, the pressure is on now in Jackson [Mississippi], Tallahassee [Florida], and Philadelphia [Mississippi] and it will be applied wherever overt discrimination prevails.

Oates: Do you think Negroes can win equal rights through the nonviolence preached by the Reverend Martin Luther King, or do you think there will be violence before they succeed?

Bunche: There is always a danger of violence because there's the danger that if nonviolent measures do not produce results, pent-up impatience will lead some elements in the Negro population to turn to more forceful means, and then there could be clashes involving violence, which could just as well be in the North as in the South.

Oates: How soon do you expect there will be a Negro in the U.S. cabinet? On the Supreme Court? In the White House?

Bunche: In the cabinet and on the Supreme Court, qualified Negroes should have been appointed long ago. This is way past due. I've long felt that a natural for the first Negro on the Supreme Court would be U.S. circuit court judge William H. Hastie, who's an outstanding legal scholar and practitioner. As to the White House, I wouldn't venture any guess, but in a democracy skin color should not be a bar even to the highest office.

Oates: Representative Adam Clayton Powell said Negroes should boycott the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] because it had white people in high places. What do you think about that?

Bunche: I think such a statement is absurd and deplorable. It is basically a racist statement, and I'm against racism, whatever its source. Racist doctrine professed by Negroes is just as vicious as racist doctrine professed by whites. So I think this was an ill-advised and irresponsible statement which runs exactly contrary to the basic objective of the struggle the Negro is making, namely integration; the fact that the Negro wins, increasingly, white supporters in his struggle for equality is to me a most encouraging and reassuring social fact, and I would wish to encourage it—not to reject it.

Oates: The Black Muslims seem to favor dividing the United States into two parts, one for whites and another for Negroes. What do you think of that idea? Does it have any appeal for Negroes?

Bunche: I think the Black Muslims are pitifully wrong and misguided. As a Negro who's been in the struggle for Negro rights all his adult life, I see their position as essentially defeatist. I have always held, and still hold, that the Negro can and will win his struggle for full equality in this society. Implicit in the doctrine of the Black Muslims is resignation to the Negro's inability ever to win this struggle and therefore he must accept the doctrine of separation of the races which, ironically, is the core of the

philosophy of the white supremacists. This is familiar Negro escapism. Marcus Garvey in the [Twenties and] Thirties tried to lead Negroes on a fanciful escape to Africa. Others, at the same time, dreamed of a 49th . . . Black state. The American Communist Party also at that time was advocating “self-determination for the Negro in the black belt.”



(1) Robert Kennedy (then Attorney General), Secretary-General U Thant, and Ralph Bunche; (2) Jackie Kennedy visits the United Nations (February 7, 1963). Seen shaking hands with Ralph Bunche. Jackie's sister Lea Radzwill is seen to the far left talking to Adlai Stevenson and U Thant; (3) Hubert Humphrey and Ralph Bunche (November 26, 1968); (4) Ralph Bunche with Ed Sullivan (far right). The photo is signed “To Ralph—Merry Christmas, Ed Sullivan.” This photo is undated and was likely taken when Bunche was in the audience. He did “appear” once on the Ed Sullivan show (Episode 1031, March 8, 1970)—by way of a National Urban Coalition commercial promoting racial harmony. The commercial featured among others: the cast of “Hair,” Henry Fonda, Leonard Nemoy, Ali McGraw, Ed Sullivan, Ray Charles, Eli Wallach and Anne Jackson, Steve Lawrence and Eydie Gorme, Flip Wilson, Merv Griffin, Leontyne Price, Ralph Bunche, Roy Wilkins, etc.

READING THE OATES INTERVIEW

Name _____ Date _____

Document V-B.3 presents a transcript of the original 1963 Oates interview with Ralph Bunche. Once you have read the transcript and answer the following questions:

1. What are the differences between the responses you *predicted* to Oates's questions and Bunche's actual responses?

2. Given Bunche's responses, do you believe that he had changed his views since the 1930s? (You may need to review the **Lesson Two** materials to come to a conclusion).

3. Finally, review your responses on **Worksheet 21**, questions #2 and #3. To each of these two questions, *add* another paragraph, based on the material you have read in the Oates interview.

“WHY I WENT TO JACKSON”

Medgar W. Evers, the NAACP's Mississippi field secretary, was among the most active organizers of resistance to that state's entrenched segregationist system, organizing a boycott of merchants in Jackson, Mississippi and coordinating the campaign to force the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith as a student. On June 12, 1963, Evers was assassinated in front of his own home. Bunche, a member of the NAACP's Board of Directors, flew to Jackson for the funeral. On the plane back to Jackson, he wrote this essay which later appeared in the journal *Crisis* (Bunche 1963).



New York Post headline (June 17, 1963)



Medgar Evers

I went to Jackson, Mississippi to attend the funeral service of Medgar Evers because of a feeling of personal obligation. I went to join in the mourning of his tragic death and to offer my personal condolences to his widow and to his now fatherless three children. He was my brother, racially and in the cause of Negro liberation. He fought and died for me and mine, to the end that I, my wife, my children and my grandchildren might live in the country of our birth and of our citizenship with the dignity befitting men and with the rights to which all are entitled, free and unfettered by the iniquitous bonds and stigma of color and race.

I went to Jackson to thank a dedicated and courageous man who died for a cause as righteous as any cause can be, and who was a hero and is a martyr in the truest and noblest sense.

To me, the trip to Jackson was thus a pilgrimage.

The murder of Medgar Evers was a foul and cowardly deed, and is a national disgrace. Had there been any conscience or sense of decency among the white citizens of Jackson, they would have flocked to the funeral service for Medgar Evers as a mild expression of their shame over the outrage for which they and Jackson must bear responsibility. They did not come. One must conclude that white Jackson of today has the morality of the jungle.

The question in the minds of everyone at the funeral service was the question raised by Mrs. Evers herself: "Did Medgar Evers die in vain?"

The answer, I am sure, is that he did not. It is to be found in the determination and courage being demonstrated daily by the Negro citizens of Jackson and throughout the state of Mississippi as elsewhere in the country. It is to be found in the awakening of the National Administration to the true dimension and the moral level of this problem. It is to be found also in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the peoples and governments of the entire world are deeply in sympathy with the struggle being waged by the American Negro. The answer is firm and clear that this struggle will be won. . . .

The Negro of today can be infuriated, but no longer can he be intimidated. This is the lesson of Jackson and of Medgar Evers.

UPHEAVALS IN THE GHETTOS

Four years later, Bunche again spoke on 1960s race relations. His topic this time was the violence which had shaken cities throughout the United States, from Watts in Los Angeles (1965) to Newark and Detroit (1967). The following are excerpts from his 1967 speech (Henry 1995, 279–95).

Ghettos today spell trouble—increasing, violent trouble. . . . The urban upheavals sweeping American cities, large and small, today, are the products, the bitter fruits, of the urban ghettos. The ghettos, in their turn, are the ugliest, meanest, and most dangerous manifestation of American racial bias.

The blow-ups, in Newark and Detroit especially . . . were sheer, raw catastrophe—for the Negro communities, for the cities, the states, and the nation. . . . The savage lawlessness of those reckless and misguided Negroes who perpetrated the outrages in Newark and Detroit has caused a sense of burning shame in many Negro citizens throughout the nation. But make no mistake about that: this sense of shame is not shared by all Negroes by any means; that shame is felt mainly by those relatively few Negroes who have escaped from the ghetto and, I suspect, very little by the great majority who are trapped in them. Many may, and I believe do, disagree with and deplore the acts of violence, particularly because the Negro communities are so hard hit, but in the ghetto shame is counteracted by bitterness. After all, the ghetto itself is the constant, over-riding shame. The ghetto spreads cynicism, and the ghetto dweller becomes callous. There are many Negroes who will have mixed emotions over what happened in Newark and Detroit. There will be others who will applaud it in their resentment against the white community in the spirit of “they had it coming,” and this is the only way to make “whitey”—white America—realize how costly it is going to be henceforth to keep the Negro deprived and apart. There are angry people in the ghettos these days; some, with good reason, are very, even desperately angry.

The Newark and Detroit outbreaks, each in its own way, were a madness, a murderous exercise in futility. They achieved nothing but death and destruction: in Newark, 28 lives [lost], hundreds injured, at least \$15 million in property loss; in Detroit, 41 lives lost and a billion dollars in property damage, the highest toll ever in the saddening history of American racial violence. . . . There can be only deepest sorrow for such senseless loss of life. As usual in riots in which there is extensive gunfire, most of the dead were Negroes.

These urban upheavals are not, I fear, a passing epidemic. They can be suppressed, but the underlying causes will remain and in one or another form they will recur. They are a sobering and unmistakable signal for the nation that white and black Americans must find the way to live together as one people in harmony, equality, and mutual respect or this land could become unfit to live in for anyone. . . . The danger is even present that the conflict would broaden into a Cyprus-like communal warfare, that is, a war between substantial numbers of the white and black communities. The whites would be motivated by fear, by resentment against what Negro action is inflicting on their cities, by an inability to comprehend the causes of such action, and by racial animosity. On their part, the Negroes would be motivated by . . . frustration, hopelessness, bitterness . . . and plain desperation. . . . We already know too much about the tremendous pain and cost of guerrilla warfare in Vietnam. . . . The possibility of guerrillas, guerrilla tactics, and guerrilla fighting in our cities has to be averted at any cost.

RALPH BUNCHE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 1963-1967.

Name _____ Date _____

After you have read the excerpts in Documents V–C and V–D, answer the following questions.

1. What, in Bunche's view, caused the urban riots of the middle and late 1960s?
2. In Bunche's view, what should the government have done to prevent recurrence of this violence?
3. Review your responses to **Worksheet 21**, questions #2 and #3. Add another paragraph to each, incorporating materials from the two essays you have just read to further extend your arguments.
4. Imagine that William Oates were to have interviewed Ralph Bunche between 1967 and his death in 1971. With a partner, prepare at least five questions and answers, performing your interview before other students as directed.

RALPH BUNCHE OBITUARY

Ralph Bunche died on December 9, 1971 at the age of 68.

When a person of note dies, newspapers publish *obituaries* recalling highlights of the individual's life. For someone of Ralph Bunche's prominence, an obituary can run several thousand words—the equivalent of 5–10 typed pages.

Newspapers do not organize obituaries chronologically. Many readers, skimming the news, stop after reading the headline, the first paragraph, or the first few paragraphs. Most news stories therefore start with the big picture: the major accomplishment(s) that distinguished the individual described in the story and sum up the most significant facts. Later paragraphs provide greater detail about these achievements. Obituaries are tributes, but they are tributes aimed at catching the reader's attention and drawing the reader into the story.

In writing obituaries, newspapers assume that many—perhaps most—of their readers may never have heard of the individual profiled. Even readers familiar with the individual's later career may know nothing about his or her childhood, early setbacks, or youthful achievements.

You will shortly receive excerpts from an obituary published in the *New York Times* on December 10, 1971. Before reading it, though, write your own obituary for Bunche of about 1–2 typed pages. In planning your obituary, identify what *you* believe are the events, issues, and achievements *most* important for readers to learn about Bunche.

After you have completed your own obituary, read the one in the *New York Times*. Add to your obituary a separate paragraph describing the differences between *your* choice of important events in Bunche's life, and that of the *New York Times*.



Though much of Bunche's life was consumed with his UN activities around the world, he was also a family man. He was one of six national figures voted "Father of the Year" in 1949. (left) Family portrait—Jane, Joan, Ruth, Ralph Jr., Ralph Sr. (n.d.); (right) Ralph Bunche and family on a family trip (n.d.).

DR. RALPH BUNCHE OF THE U.N., NOBEL WINNER, DIES

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, former United Nations Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs and winner of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize, died early yesterday in New York Hospital. He was 67 years old.¹

Dr. Bunche, who suffered from a kidney malfunction, diabetes, heart disease and near blindness, was frequently hospitalized in recent months. He entered the hospital for the final time last Tuesday and died at 12:40 A.M. yesterday.

As the architect of the Palestine accord, he won the Nobel Peace Prize of 1950. And many of his associates at the Secretariat and in governments around the world could cite his accomplishments and accolades, mentioning their contacts with him proudly.

But in spite of his stature and reputation, Dr. Bunche was essentially a private man, eschewing personal publicity and disclaiming political ambition.

Few people, save those closest to him, knew the details of his middle-class childhood in Detroit, his youth as an orphan in the care of a grandmother, his adventures as a young stowaway and seaman, his toil in menial jobs in working his way through college and his real ambition as a young man—to be a teacher.

Nor could many recount his confrontations with racism, including his close escape from a lynch mob in Alabama, where he and Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist, were gathering material in 1938 for “An American Dilemma,” the book that forecast many developments in race relations in this country.

At a negotiating conference table, he usually gave the outward appearance of being calm, soft-spoken, unflappable. But there were signs, for those who would note them, of the deeper turmoil in the man; the chain-smoked cigarettes, the darkening circles under his grave eyes, the hoarseness in his baritone voice.

Energy and Timing

He could haggle, bicker, hairsplit and browbeat, if necessary, and occasionally it was. But the art of his compromise lay in his seemingly boundless energy and the order and timing of his moves.

His diplomatic skills—a masterwork in the practical application of psychology—became legendary at the United Nations, for which he directed peace-keeping efforts in the Suez area in 1956, the Congo in 1960 and Cyprus in 1964.

At his unannounced retirement last June, he was Under-Secretary General for Special Political Affairs—Secretary General U Thant’s most influential political adviser.

The apex of his diplomatic career—and, perhaps, the best example of his negotiating psychology—came during the Palestinian talks on the island of Rhodes in 1948 and 1949. He had been thrust into the role of chief mediator after the assassination of the original appointee, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, who was cut down by a terrorist fusillade in Jerusalem.

The Israeli and Arab delegations from the start were cautious, aloof and occasionally hostile. Dr. Bunche met with both sides separately to determine what kind of agenda to draw up, then called the delegations together to approve the agenda. These preliminary moves seemed simple and straightforward, but there was more to them than met the eye.

“There was a double purpose,” Dr. Bunche later explained. “Primarily, it was to get both sides to meet—but also, I wanted them both to get accustomed to taking formal action, and to signing something.” It didn’t matter what—just anything that looked official, he explained.

Eventually, the force of Dr. Bunche’s personality melted the frigid atmosphere of the talks. There were thousands of pages of documents, drafts and counterdrafts, hundreds of compromises and ultimatums. But ultimately, an armistice was signed.

“He drove himself and his staff night and day,” an aide said afterward. “He plunged into every problem as though his life depended on getting it solved. He had an uncanny ability for grasping a situation and sizing it up completely.”

Despite the arduous negotiations and the pressure, Dr. Bunche took time off occasionally to play billiards, at which he was adept. “Now you know how I spent my youth,” he said once after a dazzling shot.

His work days were 18 to 20 hours long, and he sometimes worked 48 hours at a stretch. If he despaired—as occasionally he must have—there were never any outward signs of it.

‘Bias Against Bigotry’

Dr. Bunche made friends easily and was a good conversationalist of an evening, mixing stories with a few whiskies. But his most serious words were not reserved for friends. In a speech at the Waldorf Astoria, he once said a great deal about himself and his convictions:

“I have a number of very strong biases. I have a deep-seated bias against hate and intolerance. I have a bias against racial and religious bigotry.”

For the author of these convictions, the road to greatness had been steep and rutted with obstacles. Ralph Johnson Bunche was born in Detroit on Aug. 7, [1903], the son of Fred Bunche, a barber, and Olive Agnes Johnson Bunche, a musically inclined woman who contributed much to what her son called a household “bubbling over with ideas and opinions.”

¹The *Times* erred in stating his age; he was 68.

In 1915, after the birth of Ralph's sister, Grace, his mother developed rheumatic fever and the family moved to Albuquerque, N.M., for the hot, dry air and sunshine. But Mrs. Bunche died in a short time, and three months later her husband died. At the age of 13, Ralph was an orphan.

He and his sister were left in the care of their maternal grandmother, Mrs. Lucy Taylor Johnson, a tiny woman with a towering will and what Ralph considered the wisdom of a sage. She took the children to Los Angeles, where they lived in a bungalow in a mostly white neighborhood, and enrolled them in local public schools.

At the 30th Street intermediary school, the principal advised that Ralph be enrolled in a commercial training course. But Mrs. Johnson wouldn't have it. "My grandson is going to college," she told the principal.

The youth was a brilliant student. He was valedictorian of the class of '22 at Jefferson High School, whose academic honor society denied him admission at the time and tried to correct the matter, to Dr. Bunche's amusement, 30 years later.

College on Scholarship

After high school, he continued working as a janitor and carpet-layer, jobs he had obtained to help support the family. But at the insistence of his grandmother, he accepted an academic scholarship and enrolled at the University of California at Los Angeles.

As in high school, he as a star in football and basketball at UCLA., but sustained a knee injury that bothered him for the rest of his life. Nevertheless, he always carried three little gold basketballs, reminders of three championship years on the varsity, and a United Nations associate said he thought they were Dr. Bunche's proudest possessions.

His passion for baseball and football also remained with him. Some United Nations officials never guessed that a few of the scribbled messages handed to him by security guards during meetings contained the scores of ball games.

To support himself in college, the young man spent his summers working on ships. The job began in 1923 when he stowed away on a ship to save the cost of railroad fare to a Reserve Officers Training Corps summer camp.

He was caught and put to work to earn his passage, but he liked the job so much that he worked ships for the next three summers.

Married His Student

He received his Bachelor of Arts degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1927, and went on to Harvard to take a Master of Arts in 1928 and his doctorate in government and international relations in 1934. He later did advanced work in anthropology at Northwestern University, the London School of Economics and the University of Capetown [South Africa].

Dr. Bunche joined the faculty of Howard University in Washington in 1928, and there, a year later, he met Ruth Harris of Montgomery, Ala., one of his students, who also was teaching in an elementary school. They were married on June 23, 1930, and moved to Harvard, where he was beginning his doctoral studies.

From 1938 to 1940, Dr. Bunche collaborated with Gunnar Myrdal in his researches on [*An American Dilemma*]. Their questions about interracial sex relations aroused a mob of angry whites who chased them across Alabama one night.

When the United States entered World War II, Dr. Bunche was rejected for military service because of his damaged knee and hearing impaired by a mastoid operation. But he joined the War Department as an analyst of African and Far Eastern affairs and quickly rose through the ranks of Strategic Services. In 1944, he moved to the State Department and became head of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs, dealing with colonial problems. By the war's end, he was in the mainstream of planning for the organization that was to become the United Nations.

In 1944, he was at Dumbarton Oaks, laying the groundwork. In 1945, he was at San Francisco, drawing up the trusteeship sections of the United Nations Charter. In 1946, he was in the United Nations delegation to the first General Assembly in London.

At Lie's Request

Later that year, he went on loan to the United Nations at the request of Secretary General Trygve Lie, and in 1947 he quit the State Department to join the permanent Secretariat of the new world body.

In the Secretariat, he directed the operations of the Trusteeship Division and set out the guiding principles under which numerous territories achieved statehood. His expertise on African affairs and the problems of the emerging African nations was broad and acquired first-hand, for he traveled extensively on that continent.

By 1955, Dr. Bunche held the title of Under Secretary and two years later Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs. During those years, he was the principal troubleshooter for Dag Hammarskjöld.

Among his tasks were the United Nations program on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and research on the effects of radiation.

When the United Nations managed to halt the British-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez area in November, 1956, Dr. Bunche organized and directed the deployment of a 6,000-man neutral force that acted as a buffer between the belligerents. This force was his special responsibility until 1967, when President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic demanded its withdrawal.

In 1960, he directed another peace-keeping force in the Congo, preventing the new republic's total collapse after the secession of Katanga province.

When the United Nations force in Cyprus was set up in March, 1964, Secretary General Thant put Dr. Bunche in charge of the 6,000 troops that stood between Cypriotes of Greek and of Turkish origin.

In all these efforts, Dr. Bunche viewed the use of troops as part of the larger work of bringing warring peoples to the conference table and hatreds under control.

In the last year Dr. Bunche became seriously ill. In June, a month after being hospitalized, he retired from his United Nations post. The retirement was not announced until later

because Mr. Thant had hoped Dr. Bunche would recover and be able to return to his duties. But this was not to be.

Dr. Bunche is survived by his widow; son, Ralph Jr.; daughter, Joan, and three grandchildren. Another daughter, Mrs. Burton Pierce, died in 1966.

Dr. Bunche's body may be viewed by the public at Frank E. Campbells, Madison Avenue, and 81st Street starting at 7 to-night. The Rev. Ernest T. Campbell will conduct the funeral services at the Riverside Church at noon Saturday. Private burial services will follow at the Woodlawn Cemetery.



These obituaries appeared in Bunche's hometown newspapers: *New York Times* (upper); *New York Daily News* (lower). The clippings are preserved in the Ralph Bunche papers at UCLA.

THREE TRIBUTES TO RALPH BUNCHE

I've known [Bunche] since 1946, and his devotion to the U.N.—I must say, greatly to his own cost—has been absolutely single-minded. He's usually the first into a dangerous situation and the last out. He regards life with the calm and compassion of a selfless man devoted to a great task. . . . He has a very, very tough, analytical mind. He's very uncompromising about anything he thinks is right or wrong. He's anxious to get the thing right, and that's *it*.

— Brian Urquhart, biographer (Ross 1972)

He was the son of a barber. As a boy in Los Angeles—not the Deep South—he could not use public swimming pools. In 1938, as a researcher for Gunnar Myrdal's classic study of the American Negro, he narrowly escaped lynching. More recently, he and his son were barred from membership in the West Side Tennis Club in Forest Hills. He turned down Harry Truman's offer of appointment as an Assistant Secretary of State because he could not stand the Jim Crow atmosphere of the nation's capital. That was Ralph Bunche's background.

From it, by sheer ability and abundance of good will, he rose to the highest U.N. rank held by any American and became the first Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize. He moderated a series of crises; some of his solutions failed, some endured. One of his diplomatic triumphs was the eighty-one day negotiation that led to the original Palestinian settlement in 1949. His friend and superior, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, was assassinated; Bunche could have suffered the same fate. But he was spared, and Israelis and Arabs alike praised him for his fairness and patience.

He was an internationalist in the best sense. He said: "I have come to believe that what is good for the world is good for my country." For the most part, the world puts it in the reverse order. The resulting mass anguish is what Ralph Bunche strove to avert, and he died still trying.

— *The Nation*

Ralph Johnson Bunche, who was an Under-Secretary and an Under-Secretary General of the United Nations for the past sixteen years, until shortly before his death last month, was one of the greatest Americans of our clouded and mind-numbing times. Whatever part of his life we have looked at . . . we see what we have come to think of as profoundly, almost quintessentially American. What to us is exhilarating about the life of Ralph Bunche is the way it was so marvelously bound up in the fabric of everything we love about this country.

— *The New Yorker* (Ross 1972)

Resources

Aptheker, Herbert (ed.) *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*. Volume 4. New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1990.

This collection of documents deals with issues facing African Americans during the New Deal through the end of World War II. The collection includes Ralph Bunche's 1939 essay "The Programs of Organizations Devoted to the Improvement of the Status of the American Negro."

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998.

This award-winning book chronicles the efforts of Martin Luther King Jr. in the civil rights movement during the chaotic years from the Montgomery Bus Boycott through the march on Washington. Branch's portrait of King "illuminates the stunning courage and private conflict, the deals, maneuvers, betrayals, and rivalries that determined history behind closed doors, at boycotts, sit-ins, on bloody freedom rides, and through sieges and murder."

Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. New York: Quill, 1984.

This reprint edition of Cruse's classic work, first published in 1968, is a penetrating study of the failure of African American intellectuals to combine their goal of achieving cultural nationalism with contemporary political and economic movements.

Farsoun, Samih K. *Palestine and the Palestinians*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997.

Palestine and the Palestinians provides an overview of the "Palestinian question" and Palestine's place in regional and global history with a comprehensive analysis of the political economy of Palestine in the twentieth century. The author explains the forces that resulted in the formation of Palestinian national identity and the establishment of the PLO.

Gérard-Libois, Jules. *Katanga Secession*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

This is a comprehensive study of the Katanga succession movement and the role that foreign interests played in the attempt to secure independence. The appendices include documents on party leaders, details of party programs, and proposals for ending the succession movement.

Greaves, William. *Ralph J. Bunche, An American Odyssey* (PBS home video, 2001).

This award-winning biography is based on Brian Urquhart's book of the same name. It is an ideal video companion for these lessons.

_____. "Ralph Bunche" (twelve 30-minute modules, available from William Greaves Productions, 230 West 55th Street, New York, New York 10019).

From the extensive archival material and interviews gathered for "Ralph J. Bunche: An American Odyssey," William Greaves has gathered here twelve 30-minute modules on aspects of Ralph Bunche's life. Much more detailed than "An American Odyssey," these programs provide an excellent supplement to curriculum materials on Dr. Bunche.

Halloway, Jonathan Scott. *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919-1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Colleagues at Howard University in the 1930s, Harris, Frazier, and Bunche urged that African-Americans adopt a class-based strategy for ending discrimination in the United States. This is an excellent introduction to a strand of thinking which remained important to Bunche throughout his lifetime.

Henry, Charles P. (ed.) *Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Henry has collected Ralph Bunche's major addresses and essays (a notable exception, however, is the Nobel Prize acceptance speech).

_____. *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

Why was Bunche for so many years such a neglected historical figure? Charles Henry argues that this difficulty and others stem from complicated American attitudes towards race, whose impact on Bunche's reputation Henry unpacks.

Holloway, Jonathan Scott *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Colleagues at Howard University in the 1930s, Harris, Frazier, and Bunche urged that African-Americans adopt a class-based strategy for ending discrimination in the United States. This is an excellent introduction to a strand of thinking which remained important to Bunche throughout his lifetime.

Keppel, Ben . *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Keppel focuses on the careers of Bunche, the sociologist Kenneth B. Clark, and the playwright Lorraine Hansberry in the 1950s and 1960s. Keppel argues that the media and public misconstrued their views, hearing their views very selectively.

Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–2001*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

A comprehensive history of Arab-Israeli conflict over land both parties claim as their ancestral home. Morris explores the roots of the conflict and examines the migration of Jews to Palestine during the British mandate, the establishment of the state of Israel and the wars that followed including the Intifada. The book includes the Camp David, Oslo, and Wye River accords.

Urquhart, Brian. *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey* (New York: Norton, 1993).

This acclaimed biography remains the standard account of Bunche's life. Urquhart, who succeeded Bunche as UN Undersecretary General for Special Political Affairs, conducted extensive interviews and archival research for the volume.

Illustration Credits

Lesson One

- p. 4 (top) Map by Marian M. Olivas.
(bottom) *Lucy Johnson, grandmother of Ralph Bunche ("Nana").* 1919. Los Angeles Public Library (LAPL) Photo Database, File number: S-000-212 200.
- p. 5 (top) *Graduating class of 30th Street Intermediate School.* 1922. LAPL Photo Database, File number: S-000-219 120.
(middle) *Cows graze on Slauson at Central.* ca. 1930. LAPL Photo Database, File number: N-003-549.
(bottom): *Jefferson High School.* ca. 1920. LAPL Photo Database, File number: S-001-183.
- p. 6 (top) *Jefferson High School.* November, 11 1922. Ralph J. Bunche Papers. Collection 2051, Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (RJB Papers, UCLA), Box 147, folder 29.
(bottom) *UCLA Vermont Avenue campus.* ca. 1922. LAPL Photo Database, File number: N-003-008.
- p. 7 (top left) *R. Bunche, guard in motion.* ca. 1925. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 29.
(top right) *Ralph Bunche (at right) and friends sitting on running board of car.* ca. 1925. LAPL Photo Database, File number: S-000-535 120.
(bottom left) [*Ralph Bunche, UCLA graduation photo.*] 1927. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 29.
(bottom right) *UCLA commencement program.* 1927. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 176, unlabeled folder.
- p. 13 *Lucy Johnson and her children*, [Front row] *Lucy, Tom*; [Back row] *Olive, Charles, Nellie, Ethel.* n.d. Urquhart (Brian) Collection of Material about Ralph Bunche. Collection 364, Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (Urquhart Collection, UCLA), Box 38, folder 13.
- p. 14 *Young Ralph Bunche (6 years old).* ca. 1909. (Urquhart Collection, UCLA), Box 38, folder 13.
- p. 17 *Ralph with his mother a year before her death.* ca. 1916. Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 13.
- p. 28 *African Americans at the 'cross,' boundary between the Black and White sections of Santa Monica and Venice beaches.* ca. 1925. LAPL Photo Database, file number: S-000-374-120.
- (bottom) *First Annual Inter-Collegiate Social Science Conference.* Howard University, April 29, 1932. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder "UN."
- p. 49 "Kelly Miller," *National Archives reproduction of May Howard Jackson sculpture.* ARC #559074.
- p. 50 *Loren Miller.* From dust jacket of Loren Miller, *The Petitioners: The Story of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Negro* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966). Photo by Harry Adams. Courtesy of the Loren Miller Bar Association, <<http://www.lmba.net>>.
- p. 51 *Lester A. Walton.* In *Crisis* (November 1932), 343.
- p. 52 *Washington, D.C. Doctor Robert C. Weaver, Chief of the Minority Groups, Bureau of Placement, War Manpower Commission.* April 1942. Farm Security Administration—Office of War Information Photograph Collection (Library of Congress), LC-USW3-001661-C [P&P].
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- p. 65 *Ralph Bunche's Nigerian Immigration Pass.* 1932. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 62, folder 5.
- p. 67 (left) *Chief Koinange [Kiambu, Kenya].* ca. 1937. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 71, photo #52.
(right) *Native Representative Council, Pretoria [South Africa],* ca. 1937. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 71, photo #12.
- p. 68 *Bunche Research Field Trips to Africa.* Map by Marian M Olivas

Lesson Two

- p. 41 (top) *Dr. R.J. Bunche house on 1510 Jackson St., N.E.* ca. 1940–1950. Theodor Horydczak Collection, Library of Congress (LC-H814- 2189-020).

(upper) *Ralph J. Bunche* [photos from Africa research trip], RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 70, photo #215.
(lower) *The old safari bus—"box-bodies over Africa,"* RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 70, photo #251.

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- p. 72 *Count Folke Bernadotte*. June 1948. Urquhart Collection, UCLA, Box 35, folder 3.
- p. 77 *Ralph Bunche stamp, United Nations issue*. Item No. 301.2908. Issue date: August 7, 2003. United Nations Postal Administration New Stamp Issues, "Ralph Bunche-Centenary of Birth." [2003]: <<http://www.un.org/Depts/UNPA/bunche/nylg.jpg>>
- p. 80 *Jamal al Husseini*. The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (Passia), "Personalities-Photos" [2003]: <<http://www.passia.org/images/personalities/Husseini-Jamal/jamal.htm>>.
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- p. 83 *Abba Hiller Silver*. Jewish Virtual Library. [2003]: <<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/biography/silver.html>>.
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Map 11

Zionist and Palestinian landownership in percentages by subdistrict, 1945 Source: United Nations map no. 94 (b); UN Presentation 574 (b). 2003. Adapted for black and white reproduction by Marian Olivas. Available: <http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/MAPS/Zionist_and_Palestinian_landownership.htm>.

Map 12

Distribution of population (Palestinian and Jewish) by subdistrict, 1946 Source: United Nations map no 93(b). 2003. Adapted for black and white reproduction by Marian M. Olivas. Available: <http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/MAPS/Distribution_of_population.htm>.

- p. 112 *Ralph and Ruth Bunche departing Oslo, Norway after he received the Nobel Peace Prize*. 12 January 1951. Urquhart Collection, Box 364, folder 35.

- p. 114 *Ralph Bunche, acting UN mediator in Palestine*. UN Photo 16307. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, [unlabeled folder].
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- p. 118 *Miss Emma Belle Sweet with Ralph Bunche*. United Nations Photo #73831. United Nations Headquarters (February 15, 1962). Miss Sweet received the Golden Key Council outstanding teacher award while Ralph Bunche received the Golden Key Council Citizen of the Year award. (Urquhart Collection, UCLA), Box 37, folder 11.
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- p. 121 *Congo: 1960*. Map by Marian M Olivas.
- p. 122 King Leopold II. Democratic Republic of Congo Permanent Mission-United Nations, "Our History." Available: <<http://www.un.int/drcongo/history>>.
- p. 123 *Native children shot and mutilated by Congo soldiery*. ca. 1903. From *Edmund D. Morel, King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (London: William Heinemann, 1904), following p. 112.
- p. 128 (left) *Man in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, points hand at banner proclaiming: "30 Juin 1960 Independance du Congo" [30 June 1960 Congo Independence]*. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-130459 (originally published in the *New York World-Telegram*).
(right) *Citizens parade through the streets of Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo celebrating their forthcoming independence*. 1960. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-130454 (originally published in the *New York World-Telegram*).
- p. 129 *Ralph J. Bunche with the United Nations*. ca. 1960. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 2.
- p. 131 *Joseph Kasavubu (greeting United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld at the Elisabethville airport)*. 29 July 1960. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 10.
- p. 133 *Patrice Lumumba*. Democratic Republic of Congo Permanent Mission-United Nations, "Our History." [2003]: <http://www.un.int/drcongo/history>.
- p. 135 *Moise Tshombe [in a meeting with United Nations officials]*. Kitona (Congo). 21 December 1961. UN Photo #73295. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 10.
- p. 137 *Dwight Eisenhower*, Library of Congress [Prints and Photographs], LC-USZ62-117123 DLC.
- p. 139 *Nikita Khrushchev [with Dwight Eisenhower]*, National Park Service, "Eisenhower Photo Gallery." [2003]: <<http://www.nps.gov/eise/gallery7.htm>>.
- p. 141 *Gaston Eyskens*. Belgian Government, *The Website of the Prime Minister of Belgium*, "Belgian Prime Ministers." [2003]: <http://premier.fgov.be/premiers/premiers/e_g_eyksen.html>.
- p. 145 *Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld at an official reception in Leopoldville, Congo, with Premier Adoula (right), and Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga*. 15 September 1961. 71816 UN/DPI Photo, Dag Hammarskjöld Library, "Dag Hammarskjöld: The UN Years." [2003]: <<http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/dag/time1961.htm>>.
- p. 146 *Lt. Col Merritt Frank (UN forces) and Ralph Bunche*. Leopoldville. 14 July 1960. RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 147, folder 2.
- p. 148 *Major General Carl C. Von Horn saying goodbye to Bunche (who is returning to UN headquarters in New York. N'doula Airport, Leopoldville, Republic of the Congo (8/30/1960). Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 37, folder 9. UN photo #66851.*
- p. 150 (1) *Ruth and Ralph with daughters Jane and Joan* (ca. 1937); Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 11. (2) In Hawaii: Ralph Jr., Ruth, and Ralph Sr. (March 1960); RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 176, unlabeled folder.
- Lesson Five**
- p. 155 *UN Headquarters. From left clockwise: Rev. James Hevel, Mr. David Dellinger, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Mr. Cleveland Robinson, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Mrs. D. Wilson meet after a rally against the Vietnam War to discuss their opposition to the war with Ralph Bunche (far right)*. Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 3. UN Photo #99044.
- p. 156 *This picture appeared in the New York Daily News March 26, 1965 with the headline: "Approaching the Goal. The Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. lead 30,000 civil rights marchers into Montgomery, Ala., on last leg of trek from Selma. With them in the front line are John Lewis (2d left) of SNCC; the Rev. Ralph Abernathy (3d left); Dr. Ralph Bunche (next to King), and the Rev. Hosea Williams (carrying girl)*. RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 144, folder "Clippings, 1965–March on Washington."
- p. 161 (left) *Ralph Bunche and Lyndon B. Johnson* (ca. 1968). Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 4.
(right) *John F. Kennedy, U Thant, and Ralph Bunche* (September 20, 1963). Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 8.

- p. 167 (1) *Robert Kennedy (then Attorney General), Secretary-General U Thant, and Ralph Bunche* Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 8; (2) *Jackie Kennedy visits the United Nations* (February 7, 1963). Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 8; (3) *Hubert Humphrey and Ralph Bunche* (November 26, 1968) RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 147, folder 29. UN Photo #107,123; (4) *Ralph Bunche with Ed Sullivan (far right)* (n.d.) RJB Papers, UCLA. Box 147, folder 15.
- p. 169 (top) *New York Post* headline (June 17, 1963). RJB Papers, UCLA, Box 144, folder "Clippings 1963." (bottom) *Medgar Evers*, ca. June 1963. Library of Congress, New York World Telegram and Sun Collection, LC-USZ62-109400.
- p. 172 (1) *Family portrait—Jane, Joan, Ruth, Ralph Jr., Ralph Sr.* (n.d.); (2) *Ralph Bunche and family on a family trip* (n.d.). Urquhart Collection, UCLA. Box 38, folder 11.
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