

tee "Negro rights" but the stipulation was so unclear that for decades the Fourteenth Amendment was more useful to big business than it was to the freedmen and their children.

The wider obligations of the Government more recently for employment and welfare and now for the culturally disadvantaged indicate a grudging realization that sooner or later our National Government will have to do what India and Soviet Russia have already done in their Constitutions — clearly outlaw discrimination and bias. The Supreme Court has led the way with its desegregation decrees. The Civil Rights Laws of 1957, '60, and '64 indicate that Congress will follow suit.

No doubt the most consistent and deliberate effort of the United States Government to influence attitudes on race relations is made through the USIA (United States Information Agency). Interestingly, this is one of the few Federal agencies that is under the direction of a Negro,** albeit one who is conservative enough to denounce both Malcolm X and W.E.B. Du Bois. The USIA in reality is an arm of our diplomatic service; its messages are beamed abroad. Its announced policy is to report, swiftly and accurately, developments in race relations but to emphasize the "positive elements" of each situation in order that our image to the world may remain as bright as possible. Negro achievement and the *improvement* of race relations are recurrent themes of the flood of news-stories, films and books that stream from our shores.

Other Government agencies, supplying the home market, seem not to have so affirmative a policy. There is a great

deal of "neutralism" in government programs. Agency people say that they are under orders to avoid the charge that Washington is attempting to tell the citizens of the various states what to do. For example, in the "Publications of the Office of Education," 1963 edition, there is no category in the table of contents for race relations, human relations, minority peoples or anything similar. The listing is strictly according to the structures of the education systems. Any number of the printed items may be in fact helpful to inter-group relations but the reader gets little assistance from the Government in locating them as such. However, there are any number of manuals for those who ask for them. One of the best of these how-to-do pamphlets was done some years ago by the late Ambrose Caliver, who was at first a specialist on Negro Education in the U. S. Office of Education and was finally made assistant to the Commissioner. His little booklet on *Education of Teachers For Improving Majority-Minority Relationships*, Bulletin 1944, No. 2 was an excellent guide to books and other instructional materials.

As with the UN, it may well be that what the U. S. Government does with respect to desegregation may be indirectly more influential in shaping attitudes than what the Government does directly in image making. This is to say that the Supreme Court's decisions and the directives of the Federal Housing Authority against jim crow and the U. S. Office of Education's notice that Federal funds may be withheld from institutions that do not pledge themselves to a nonsegregation policy must have quite an effect upon public attitudes, especially of the people who are involved in the action areas of these agencies,

** He resigned July 1, 1965.