4 The Struggle for Justice at Home

SECTION PREVIEW

Objectives

1. Describe the kinds of discrimination that African Americans faced and the steps they took to counter them.
2. Compare the experiences of Mexican Americans and Native Americans at home during World War II.
3. Explain why Japanese Americans were interned during the war.
4. *Key Terms* Define: "Double V" campaign; Nisei; internment camp.

Main Idea

While the war brought new job opportunities for some racial and ethnic minorities, Japanese Americans were the victims of widespread intolerance.

Reading Strategy

Organizing Information As you read, create a graphic organizer including information about the experiences of African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and Japanese Americans during the war.

President Roosevelt, in his 1942 Columbus Day speech, expressed the need to overcome bigotry for the sake of the wartime effort: "In some communities employers dislike to hire women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudice."

In fact, the war did bring greater opportunities for some groups of Americans. Nevertheless, racial and ethnic prejudices did not disappear during the war years. Instead, the pressures of wartime made some of those injustices more obvious. Japanese Americans in particular faced hardship and hostility because of Japan's part in the war.

Discrimination Continues Against African Americans

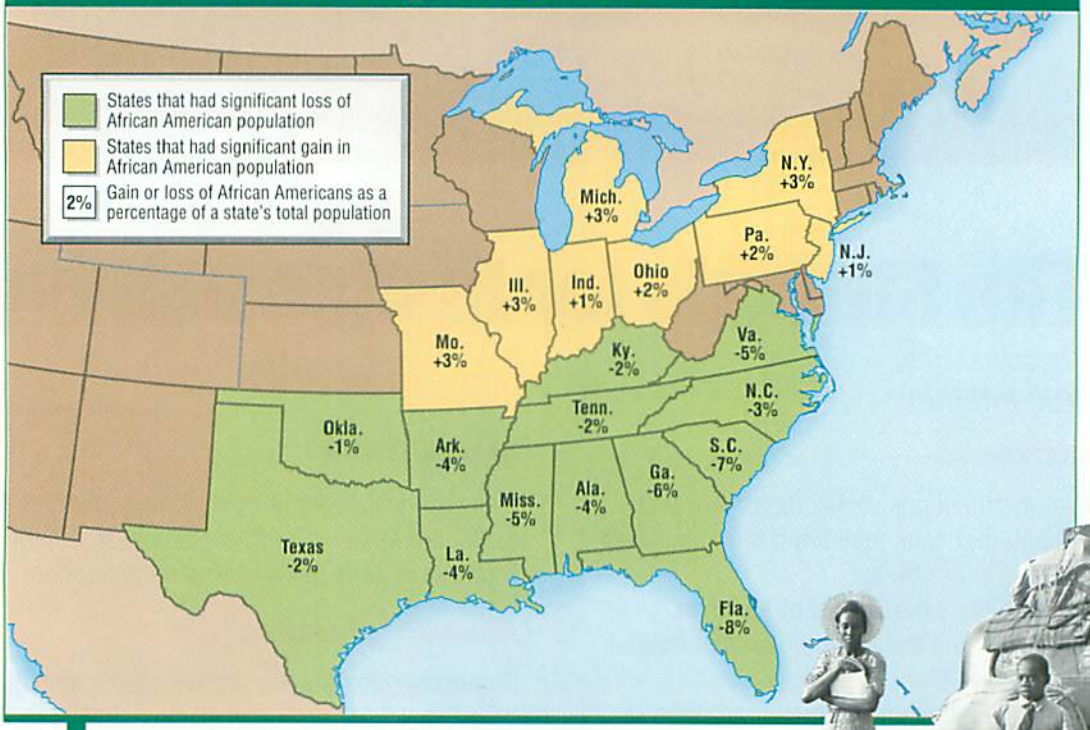
When the war began, the struggle to end discrimination against African Americans had been under way for decades. Yet the Jim Crow system, which established the strict legal separation of the races, was still strong in the South. The North had fewer laws enforcing segregation. In reality, however, African Americans in the North faced discrimination in employment, education, and housing.

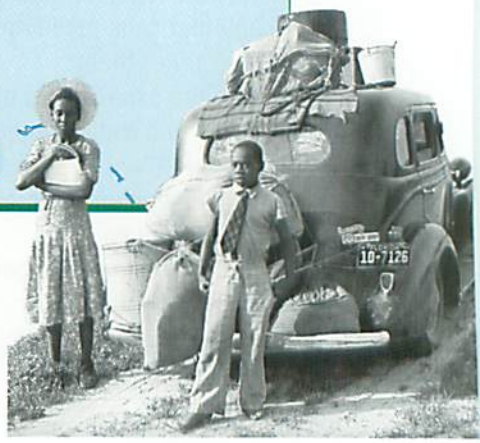
The "Double V" campaign urged victory over enemies overseas and over racial discrimination at home.

Economic Discrimination African American unemployment was high in 1941, with one out of five potential workers jobless. Even government agencies set up to help workers during the Depression honored employers' requests for "whites only." Such attitudes allowed old patterns to continue.

During the 1940s, more than 2 million African Americans migrated from the South to cities in the North. (See the map on the next page.) They found new job opportunities but also encountered new problems. Segregation severely limited the houses and apartments where African Americans were welcome. In addition, many could not afford good housing. As a result, many ended up living in urban ghettos, neighborhoods where members of a minority group are concentrated. A survey taken in 1941 showed that 50 percent of all African American homes were substandard, versus only 14 percent of white homes.

African American Migration, 1940–1950





MAP skills

Many black southerners, such as this family, packed up their lives and headed north.

Movement *According to this map, what states lost the greatest percentage of their African American populations in the 1940s?*

To make things worse, white workers and homeowners often feared and resented the newcomers in their workplaces and neighborhoods. In some places, resentments escalated into violence and riots. In June 1943, riots in Detroit killed 34 people and did millions of dollars worth of damage. Later that summer, riots broke out in New York City.

Soldiers and Segregation Even in the American military, where men were risking their lives for their country, white and African American troops were strictly segregated. At home, an army uniform was no block to prejudice. Alexander J. Allen, who worked for the Baltimore Urban League during the war, remarked, "It made a mockery of wartime goals to fight overseas against fascism only to come back to the same kind of discrimination and racism here in this country." In Kansas, for instance, the owner of a lunch counter refused to serve a group of African American GIs. One of them told this story:

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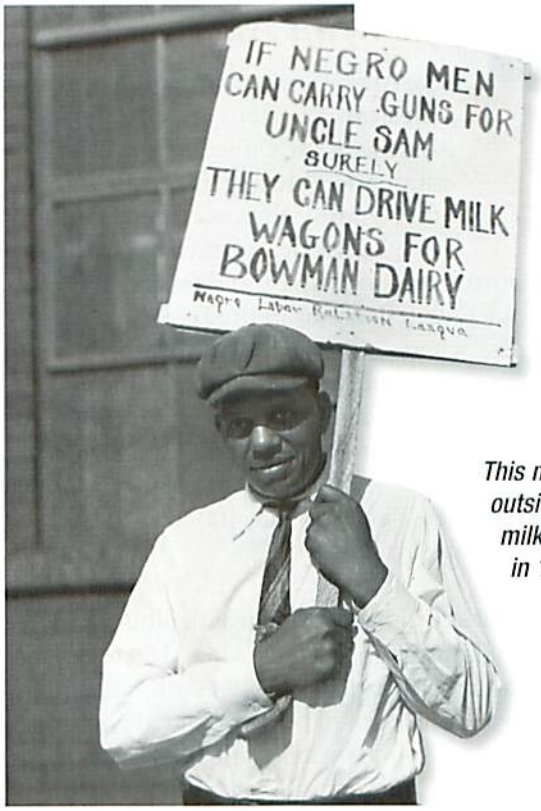
"'You know we don't serve coloreds here,' the man repeated. . . .We ignored him, and just stood there inside the door, staring at what we had come to see—the German prisoners of war who were having lunch at the counter. . . .We continued to stare. This was really happening. It was no jive talk. The people of Salina would serve these enemy soldiers and turn away black American GIs."

—Lloyd Brown

Divided Opinions In a 1942 poll, six out of ten whites felt that black Americans were satisfied with existing conditions and needed no new opportunities. Government attitudes mirrored this lack of concern. Franklin Roosevelt was not willing to disrupt the war effort to promote social equality. "I don't think, quite frankly," he said in late 1943, "that we can bring about the millennium [a period of human perfection] at this time."

African Americans, however, worked for change on their own. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, an African American newspaper, launched a **"Double V" campaign.** The first V was for victory against the Axis powers, the second for victory in winning equality at home.

Another step was the founding of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago in 1942. CORE believed in using nonviolent techniques to end racism. In May 1943 it organized its first sit-in at a restaurant called the Jack Spratt Coffee House. Groups of CORE members, including at least one African American, filled the restaurant's counter and booths. They refused to leave until everyone was served. The sit-in technique ended Jack Spratt's discriminatory policies and quickly spread to CORE groups in other cities. These efforts paved the way for later civil rights actions.



This man protested outside a Chicago milk company in 1941.

A. Philip Randolph

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

While organized labor won better working conditions for many people in the early 1900s, many unions did not accept African American members. Through two world wars, A. Philip Randolph worked to overcome that discrimination. He made a place for black Americans in the labor movement.

While working his way through college in New York and later as a ship's waiter, Randolph began work as a union organizer. He also entered politics and became a lecturer. Starting in 1925, Randolph gradually won recognition for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a railway union. At the time, most railroad maids and porters were African Americans. For years, railway companies had stopped them from unionizing. The new union won its first major victory in 1937, getting higher wages and cuts in working hours and travel requirements.

A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979)

Even as war production grew, many factories still turned away African Americans. To protest, Randolph planned a massive march on Washington for July 4, 1941. Worried about the effect on national unity, President Roosevelt tried to talk Randolph out of the march. Finally, on June 25, 1941, the President signed Executive Order 8802 and Randolph called off the march. The order opened jobs and job training programs in defense plants to all Americans "without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin." The order also created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to hear complaints about job discrimination in defense industries and government. Though this law was weakly enforced, it was still a beginning.

After the war, Randolph continued as a labor leader. He became a vice president of the combined AFL and CIO labor union in 1955. When the civil rights movement got under way, the march that Randolph had wanted to hold years before finally took place. In August 1963, he directed the March on Washington, D.C. There, more than 200,000 people gathered to call for jobs and freedom. Randolph, then 74 years old, stood beside Martin Luther King, Jr., as King gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

Main Idea CONNECTIONS

How did the wartime economy benefit Mexican Americans?

Mexican Americans

Like African Americans, both Mexican American citizens and Mexicans working in the United States faced discrimination during the war. On the other hand, the wartime economy brought Mexican Americans new job opportunities in defense industries. By 1944, about 17,000 had jobs in the Los Angeles shipyards, where none had worked three years before. Mexican Americans also found jobs in shipyards and aircraft factories elsewhere in California and in Washington, Texas, and New Mexico. Some headed for other war production centers such as Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, and New York.

The Bracero Program In agriculture, a shortage of farm laborers led the United States to seek help from Mexico. In 1942 an agreement between the two nations provided for transportation, food, shelter, and medical care for thousands of *braceros* (Spanish for "workers"), Mexican farm laborers brought to work in the United States. Between 1942 and 1947, more than 200,000 braceros worked on American farms and, occasionally, in other industries. The program brought a rise in the Latino population of Los Angeles and other cities in southern California. Many lived in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods called *barrios*. Crowded conditions and discrimination caused tensions to rise within the *bracero* communities.

Zoot Suit Riots In the 1940s some young Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles barrio began to wear a style known as the "zoot suit." It had a long draped jacket and baggy pants with tight cuffs. "Zoot-suiters" often wore a slicked-back "ducktail" haircut. This look offended many people, especially sailors who came to Los Angeles on leave from nearby military bases. Groups of sailors roamed the streets looking for "zoot-suiters," whom they beat up and humiliated for looking "un-American." One Spanish newspaper, *La Opinión*, urged the Mexican American youths not to respond with more violence, but some took revenge on the sailors when they could.

Early in June 1943, the street fighting turned into full-scale riots. Local newspapers usually blamed Mexican Americans for the violence. Police often arrested the victims rather than the sailors who had begun the attacks. Army and navy officials finally intervened, restricting soldiers' off-duty access to Los Angeles.

VIEWING HISTORY

Mexican American "zoot-suiters" were the targets of attacks in 1943, but they themselves were often blamed by police for the violence. ***Diversity*** *Why do you think soldiers and police were set against zoot-suiters?*

Native Americans

The war also changed the lives of Native Americans. About 25,000 Native Americans joined the armed forces (as you read in the previous chapter). Many others migrated to urban centers to work in defense plants. Nearly 50,000 Native Americans worked in war industries around the country.

Life in the military or in the cities was a new experience for Native Americans who had lived only on reservations. They had to adapt quickly to white culture. At the end of the war, those who had moved away often did not return to reservation life. For some, the cultural transition brought a sense of having lost their roots.

Japanese Americans

Japanese Americans suffered the worst discrimination during the war. In late 1941, they were a tiny minority in the United States, numbering only 127,000 (about 0.1 percent of the entire population). Most lived on the West Coast, where prejudice against them had

always been strong. About two thirds of the Japanese Americans were **Nisei,** or people born in the United States of parents who had emigrated from Japan. Although they were native-born citizens, they still often met hostility from their white neighbors.

Hostility grew into hatred and hysteria after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. Rumors flew about sabotage on the West Coast. The press increased people's fears with headlines such as "Jap Boat Flashes Message Ashore" and "Japanese Here Sent Vital Data to Tokyo." Americans were left with the feeling that Japanese spies were everywhere.

Japanese Relocation As a result of these fears and prejudices, the government decided to remove all "aliens" from the West Coast. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. It authorized the Secretary of War to establish military zones on the West Coast and remove "any or all persons" from such zones. For a few months, foreign-born Italians and Germans were also told to move away from the coast, but those orders were soon changed. The War Relocation Authority was then set up to move out everyone of Japanese ancestry—about 110,000 people, both citizens and noncitizens. They would go to **internment camps** in remote areas inland. (Internment means confinement, especially during wartime.)†

Relocation took place so fast that Japanese Americans had little time to secure their property before they left. Many lost their businesses, farms, homes, and other property. Henry Murakami, a resident of California, remembers losing the $55,000 worth of fishing nets that had been his livelihood:

AMERICAN VOICES

"When we were sent to Fort Lincoln [in Bismarck, North Dakota] I asked the FBI men about my nets. They said, 'Don't worry. Everything is going to be taken care of.' But I never saw the nets again, nor my brand-new 1941 Plymouth, nor our furniture. It all just disappeared. I lost everything."

—Henry Murakami

Japanese Americans had no idea where they were going when they boarded the buses for the internment camps. Monica Sone, who lived in Seattle, imagined her camp would be "out somewhere deep in a snow-bound forest, an American Siberia. I saw myself plunging chest deep in the snow, hunting for small game to keep us alive." She and her family packed their winter clothes, only to end up in Camp Minidoka, on the sun-baked prairie of central Idaho where the normal July temperature is about 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

All the internment camps were in desolate areas, with wooden barracks covered with tar paper. Inside the barracks, families had a room equipped with only cots, blankets, and a light bulb. People had to share toilet, bathing, and dining facilities. Barbed wire and armed guards surrounded the camps.

Legal Challenges A few Japanese Americans challenged the internment policy in the courts. Four cases eventually reached the Supreme Court, which ruled that the wartime relocation was constitutional. In one case, California resident Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu, a defense-plant worker, was arrested for refusing

† Similar fears swept Canada, which interned Japanese Canadians.

VIEWING HISTORY

At assembly centers for Japanese Americans, tags with family identification numbers were attached to each piece of luggage and likewise to each family member. Permitted to take only a few possessions with them, many were forced to abandon what they could not carry or sell.

Government *Why do you think the Supreme Court failed to uphold the rights of Japanese Americans?*

COMPARING PRIMARY SOURCES

INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

The forced internment of Japanese Americans produced strong feelings on both sides of the issue. Two views are given below. How does each of these viewpoints address the issue of constitutional rights?

For Internment

"It is a fact that the Japanese navy has been reconnoitering [investigating] the Pacific Coast . . . . It is [a] fact that communication takes place between the enemy at sea and enemy agents on land. The Pacific Coast is officially a combat zone: some part of it may at any moment be a battlefield. Nobody's constitutional rights include the right to reside and do business on a battlefield."

—Walter Lippmann, American columnist, February 12, 1942

Against Internment

"Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life. . . . All residents of this nation are kin in some way by blood or culture to a foreign land. Yet they are primarily and necessarily a part of . . . the United States [and are] . . . entitled to all rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution."

—Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy's dissenting opinion, Korematsu *v.* United States, *1944*

ANALYZING VIEWPOINTS **What different assumptions does each of these writers make about Japanese Americans on the West Coast?**

to report to a relocation center. Korematsu appealed, saying his civil rights had been violated.

The Supreme Court ruled in *Korematsu* v. *United States* (1944) that the decision was not based on race. The majority opinion said that "the military urgency of the situation demanded that all citizens of Japanese ancestry be segregated from the West Coast temporarily." The dissenting opinion, however, labeled the policy "an obvious racial discrimination."

Early in 1945, Japanese Americans were allowed to leave the camps. Some returned home and resumed their lives, but others found that they had lost nearly everything. As time passed, many Americans came to believe that the internment had been a great injustice. In 1988 Congress passed a law awarding each surviving Japanese American internee a tax-free payment of $20,000. More than 40 years after the event, the United States government also officially apologized.

Nisei Soldiers Despite injustices against the Japanese Americans, more than 17,000 of them served in the armed forces. About 1,200 of the Japanese Americans who volunteered did so from relocation centers. Many other volunteers came from Hawaii, where there had been no internment.

The 442nd Regimental Combat Team was made up entirely of Japanese Americans. Fighting in France and Germany, its soldiers won more medals for bravery than any other unit in United States history.

SECTION 4 REVIEW

Comprehension

1. ***Key Terms*** Define: (a) "Double V" campaign; (b) Nisei; (c) internment camp.
2. ***Summarizing the Main Idea*** Did the wartime economy make workplace discrimination worse or just create more of it?
3. ***Organizing Information*** Make a tree-map chart comparing and contrasting the wartime experiences of the four different ethnic and racial groups discussed in this section.

Critical Thinking

4. ***Analyzing Time Lines*** Review the time line at the start of the section. Which of those events do you think had the greatest impact on conditions for minorities after the war? Write a short paragraph explaining your choice.
5. ***Recognizing Bias*** The government acted more harshly against Japanese Americans than against people of Italian and German ancestry. Why do you think this discrimination occurred?

Writing Activity

6. ***Writing a Persuasive Essay*** Imagine that you are an adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt and have been asked to give the President your opinion about A. Philip Randolph's idea for a protest march. Are you in favor of or against the march? Write a memo to FDR persuading him that your opinion is right.

Why Study History?

To understand that . . .

Most Women Are in the Work Force

Working women in the United States today are facing some of the same challenges that confronted working women during World War II.

The alarm clock rings at 5:30 A.M. Ann Bogar makes breakfast and packs lunches for her husband and children before leaving the house at 6:15. Bogar is an executive assistant in a oil and gas company based in Houston, Texas.

Millions of American women like Bogar begin each weekday by preparing breakfast and helping children get ready for school. They also work outside the home—as teachers, bankers, lawyers, secretaries, doctors, computer programmers, sales associates, rabbis or ministers, waitresses, or business executives.

Woman assembling aircraft during World War II

The Impact Today

During World War II, about 6 million American women joined the work force. They took jobs in factories and offices to help the war effort and replace the men who were fighting overseas. After the war, most women returned to their jobs as homemakers—some by choice, others as a result of pressure by government and industry. Still, women's work experience helped shape the expectations of later generations.

In 1940 only about 15 percent of married women worked outside the home. Today more than 60 percent do. Many women work to meet the challenges and reap the rewards of a career. Others work out of necessity, to help meet the living expenses of their families.

In the 1940s, working women earned significantly less money than men who performed the same jobs. Although women have made strides toward greater economic equality, they still experience wage discrimination. In 1996, for example, women's pay averaged only about 71 percent of men's earnings. This wage gap exists for women at all educational levels. Even female college graduates earn roughly 16 percent less than their male peers.

Women make up about 61 percent of employees in the nation's top 500 companies but only 2.4 percent of corporate executives. Why? In seeking to move up the corporate ladder, many women encounter a "glass ceiling" of gender-based barriers to advancement. Women often start in areas such as personnel and staff support, which do not generally lead to top management positions. Also, there are few women executives to act as sponsors to younger women, helping them to rise in the corporation. An important challenge for American corporations is to ensure that women have equal opportunity for advancement.

Office worker

The Impact on You

Create a typical daily schedule that shows the responsibilities of two working parents. You can base this schedule on your own family or that of a neighbor. Your schedule should show what each parent's typical day is like and how the parents divide household responsibilities.

Chapter 25 Review

Chapter Summary

The major concepts of Chapter 25 are presented below. See also ***Guide to the Essentials of American History*** or ***Interactive Student Tutorial CD-ROM,*** which contains interactive review activities, time lines, helpful hints, and test practice for Chapter 25.

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Wartime production ended the Depression, bringing prosperity and high employment. As factories stopped producing consumer goods and converted to making military equipment, government programs worked to keep popular support behind the war effort. War jobs brought new opportunities for women and members of most minorities, but discrimination continued.

Section 1: The Shift to Wartime Production

At the beginning of World War II, the government mobilized industries and workers to produce materials for the war.

Section 2: Daily Life on the Home Front

As the war economy brought both prosperity and shortages, the government worked to keep Americans at home involved in the war effort.

Section 3: Women and the War

During World War II, more American women went to work in nontraditional, war-industry jobs, but they were discouraged from keeping their jobs after the war ended.

Section 4: The Struggle for Justice at Home

While the war brought new job opportunities for some racial and ethnic minorities, Japanese Americans were the victims of widespread intolerance.

Working women today face many of the same challenges that confronted working women during World War II. Today about 61 percent of married women work outside the home.

Key Terms

For each of the terms below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to the chapter.

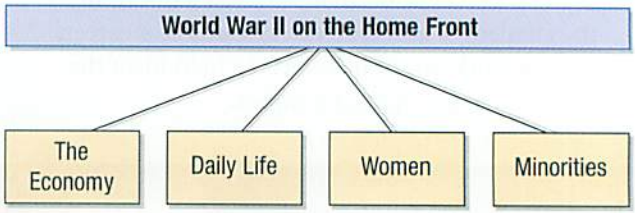
1. Liberty ship
2. wildcat strike
3. war bond
4. deficit spending
5. rationing
6. Office of War Mobilization
7. Office of War Information
8. victory garden
9. "Double V" campaign

Comprehension

1. How did World War II end the Depression?
2. What changes did American businesses make at the start of the war?
3. In what two ways did the government finance war costs and war production?
4. What were the responsibilities of the Office of Price Administration?
5. Name five items that were in short supply during the war. How did these shortages affect people at home?
6. What changes took place in the kinds of jobs women held before and during World War II?
7. Describe some of the benefits that women got from war work.
8. What strategies did African Americans use to gain equal rights during World War II?
9. What attitudes led to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II?

Using Graphic Organizers

On a separate sheet of paper, copy the tree-map organizer below. Using your own words, fill in the main ideas for each category.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What does the woman in the cartoon symbolize?
2. What is the significance of her having her own "man-size" pay?
3. What point does the man's speech make?
4. Examine both figures. What message is conveyed by the woman's huge size and the man's clothing?

Critical Thinking

1. ***Applying the Chapter Skill*** What assumptions did employers and society as a whole make about the women who took new jobs during World War II? How were these like or unlike those that were made about "Rosie the Riveter"?
2. ***Perceiving Cause-Effect Relationships*** Why were there shortages of sugar, coffee, and tropical fruits during World War II?
3. ***Drawing Conclusions*** Why did Americans generally accept rationing, bond drives, and other government programs to involve them in the war effort?
4. ***Predicting Consequences*** How might the changes that the war brought for African Americans have affected the later civil rights movement?

INTERNET ACTIVITY

For your portfolio:
CREATE A DIARY ENTRY

Access Prentice Hall's *America: Pathways to the Present* site at **www.Pathways.phschool.com** for the specific URLs to complete the activity. Additional resources and related Web sites are also available.

Read several interviews with women who experienced life on the home front in World War II. Create a fictional diary entry of a week in the life of one such woman. Choose a typical week or a week during which a major event happened. How did the war affect the lives of the people at home?

ANALYZING DOCUMENTS ▶ INTERPRETING DATA

Turn to the map on page 732.

1. One of these statements about this map is *not* true. Which is it? (a) Every state in the South lost population in the wartime migration. (b) Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina lost the greatest percentage of their populations. (c) Every state in the industrial Northeast gained population in the African American migration.
2. Which statement best reflects the information shown on this map? (a) African Americans moved mainly to northern industrial areas. (b) Wartime job opportunities were available to African Americans throughout the United States. (c) West Coast war industries did not draw African Americans.
3. ***Writing*** In one paragraph, summarize the events shown by this map and what they meant for African Americans.

Connecting to Today

Essay Writing Choose one of the groups whose wartime experiences are discussed in Section 4. Then research and write an essay about the changes that have taken place in that group's position in American society in the 50-plus years since World War II.

CHAPTER

26 The Cold War

1945-1960

CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter examines the post–World War II hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union that played out in large and small conflicts across the globe.

*The **Why Study History?** page at the end of this chapter explores the connection between defense spending before and after the cold war.*

VIEWING HISTORY
Artist Ben Shahn's 1945 painting entitled *Reconstruction* portrays the rebuilding process after World War II. ***Culture*** ***What feelings does the artist seem to depict?***