Black owned and operated newspapers represent and advocate African-Americans’ interests and concerns that the mainstream media have marginalized or ignored (Huspek, 2004; Hutton, 1993; Kessler, 1984; Lacy, Stephens & Soffin, 1991; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995; Wolseley, 1990). Appealing to principles of democracy and human rights, the black press has fought against the dominant society’s oppression and mistreatment of African Americans in the United States but also other groups worldwide. In editorials, articles and political cartoons, black press news coverage during both world wars pointed out the hypocrisy of a nation that symbolized democratic freedom to the world yet mistreated its own citizens at home (Kornweibel, 1994; Washburn, 1986). Human rights abuses anywhere, they argued, threatened human dignity and security everywhere (Carson, 1998). This was especially true regarding black-owned and -operated newspapers’ uses of the Jewish Holocaust of the 1930s and 1940s as an opportunity to expand their human rights advocacy for groups other than African Americans. Although the mainstream press in the United States published vivid reports of the Nazi brutality, it did not focus on the immorality of the practices in the way the African American press did. Drawing upon two leading newspapers, we will highlight how The Chicago Defender and The Pittsburgh Courier, in contrast to mainstream coverage, underscored the importance of human rights as they related to issues of the Holocaust.

This study thus seeks to remedy a tendency in a century’s worth of academic description and analysis of the black press in the

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United States to place little or no emphasis on black newspaper coverage of foreign issues. We believe our remedy is needed in order to provide a fuller understanding of the advocacy role of the black press, not only as it relates specifically to the African American experience, but also for its contributions to the larger political culture as well.

We selected the Defender and Courier as sites of examination because during the 1930s and 1940s they were well established, nationally circulated newspapers that regularly commented on the Nazis’ mistreatment of Jews on the one hand, and that protested whites’ mistreatment of African Americans on the other. We emphasize editorials and political cartoons as our bases for analysis not only because they best exemplify both newspapers’ advocacy function, but also because there was little information on the atrocities in either of the newspapers’ general news sections. With respect to the Holocaust, we specifically analyze themes common to both papers as well as those unique to each paper. We also compare the comments of these alternative newspapers with those of the general, mainstream press.

**Development of African American Newspapers**

By the end of World War I, black newspapers evolved from a small number of short-lived publications serving limited readerships to a large number of stable publications serving readers in all regions of the country (Bayton & Bell, 1951; Kessler, 1984; Tripp, 1998; Wolseley, 1990). African Americans relied on these publications to address specific issues and to advocate their interests in the early years of Emancipation and Reconstruction (1863-1871).

Although black newspapers existed prior to Emancipation, most were published in northern cities where non-enslaved African-Americans resided (Bryan, 1969; Kessler, 1984; Tripp, 1998). Although these pre-Emancipation newspapers provided a foundation for future endeavors, they were noted principally for advocating the abolition of slavery and many stopped publishing after slavery ended (Bryan, 1969; Kessler, 1984; Tripp, 1998; Wolseley, 1990).

As the growth of the black press coincided with the growth in African-American literacy and movement of the black population to different regions of the country, it reflected the challenges of newfound freedom in the face of many obstacles (Domke, 1994; Kessler, 1984; Ross, 1995; Tripp, 1998). After the Civil War, amendments to the U.S. Constitution respectively prohibited slavery, granted all African
Americans citizenship rights and granted African-American men voting rights. But in the following 50 years, U.S. Supreme Court decisions, such as *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, formally eroded these rights while the specter of mob violence always threatened to entirely destroy them. African Americans turned to their newspapers, not only as they articulated these impediments to freedom, but also as a beacon of hope along the long and painful quest for full citizenship rights. By the beginning of the First World War, black newspapers were so highly influential in the African American community that the government called on editors and publishers to use their influence to encourage African Americans to support the war effort (Kessler, 1984; Kornweibel, 1994).

*The Chicago Defender* (1905) and *The Pittsburgh Courier* (1907) were established during this 50-year period (Buni, 1974; Ottley, 1955; Walker, 1996) and their long, continued existence, as of this writing, represented the stability and assertiveness of African-American newspapers. The *Defender* and *Courier* did not hesitate to protest the mistreatment of African Americans and to provide strategies for successfully redressing these wrongs.

They did not limit their protest to domestic issues, however, but joined other black newspapers in criticizing the United States and its allies' global policies and activities that adversely impacted people of color. For example, both the *Defender* and *Courier* (among others) opposed the U.S. Marines' presence in Haiti—the *Defender* contrasting conditions in Haiti with the American South's lawlessness and social proscription (Suggs, 1988). And between the world wars, the papers covered and criticized Italy's invasion of Ethiopia—the *Courier* framing the conflict as just one more example of white imperialists exploiting people of color (Buni, 1974; Walker, 1996). It was within this tradition that both newspapers, upon learning of Hitler's persecution of Jews, strongly denounced the practice.

**The African American Press and Other Human Rights Issues**

A primary goal of the black press was to act as an advocate for the African American community, and it did so by paying attention to the human rights abuses—often downplayed or dismissed by white society—in order to seek accountability, promote respect and to reform the rigid structures responsible for such abuses. Such issues included women's rights, war, imperialism, political activity and military justice for other cultural groups (Hutton, 1993; McBride, 1996; Weill &
The black press recognized, for example, the double oppression of racism and sexism and advocated for women's suffrage and their full participation in all aspects of life (Bryan, 1969; Hutton, 1993; Rhodes, 1998; Streitmatter, 1994). And although the press supported America's involvement in wars, it continued to hold the nation accountable for its moral failure to provide equal rights at home (Clark, 1943; Finkle, 1975; Kornweibel, 1994; Washburn, 1986).

The black press has consistently stressed active African American political participation by advocating the acquisition and exercise of voting rights (Reeves, 1997). Throughout its history, the black press has promoted specific political agendas and has pushed candidates or parties deemed to be in the best interests of the community (Barger, 1973; O'Kelly, 1980; Ross, 1993, 1995; Stevens & Johnson, 1990). Black newspapers have also revealed flaws in the criminal justice system ranging from police brutality to jury selection (Barger, 1973; Huspek, 2004; O'Kelly, 1980; Ross, 1999), and they have exposed how the health care system has exploited blacks (Pickle, Quinn & Brown, 2002) and other groups. It is within this tradition that the Defender and Courier joined mainstream publications in recognizing and denouncing the brutal treatment of Jews (Lipstadt, 1986; Tifft & Jones, 1999) and used these atrocities as a forum to reiterate their protest against the mistreatment of people of color worldwide.

In the remainder of this study, we raise and explore the following questions: How did the two black newspapers react to specific events of the Holocaust? What themes are common to both newspapers? What themes are unique to each paper? And, finally, how did these themes differ from the comments and information in the mainstream press? In addressing such questions we hope to broaden the scholarship on alternative media's voice and relevancy during historical, human rights milestones and, in this specific case, illustrate how black press reactions to the Holocaust fulfilled its role as America's moral conscience.

**Method and Procedure**

Reading all of both black newspapers' issues published from 1933 to 1945, we selected editorials and editorial cartoons that directly or indirectly referred to Nazi Germany's persecution of Jews. Direct references were headlines and texts of editorials and cartoons that either used words such as race/Jewish persecution/terror in Germany or focused on a specific Holocaust activity as listed in The Holocaust
Timeline. Indirect references were the headlines and texts of editorials or cartoons that focused on the ideologies and tactics of Hitler and Nazis as they related to African-Americans and other people of color. For *The Pittsburgh Courier*, our method produced a total of 44 editorials, and 0 editorial cartoons. For *The Chicago Defender*, our method produced 30 editorials and six cartoons.

**Results**

*Comments On Specific Events of the Holocaust*

Of the 277 incidents listed on the Holocaust Timeline between January 30, 1933 and April 30, 1945, 11 were the subject of editorials published in either the *Defender* the *Courier* or both. Although all of the listed incidents either directly or indirectly affected the treatment of Jews, the editorials that made a direct reference to this treatment form the gist of our commentary.

*Olympics.* In 1936 Berlin hosted the quadrennial summer Olympics. By that time, the world had already heard reports of the way Nazis had been mistreating Jews. Hitler and his regime used the Olympics as a means for gaining world favor, showing Olympic spectators hospitality while simultaneously hiding its persecution practices from public view. Editorials concerning the German-hosted event began appearing in the *Courier* a year before and referred to the concerns of white Americans participating in an event in a foreign country that mistreated its own citizens. Yet, the editorials also focused upon such concerns in the context of how white-dominated America treated its own people of color. For example, in its first editorial titled “Much Ado About Olympics,” the *Courier* wrote that it was “laughable” that America was making an uproar about the Nazi persecution of the Jews when U.S. Americans had virtually exterminated the Indians and continued to discriminate against African Americans. And in keeping with the spirit of human rights, the *Courier* reiterated its denunciation of the way the Jews were being treated (“Much Ado About Olympics,” August 10, 1935, p. 10).

In a subsequent editorial, the *Courier* disagreed with a letter published in another newspaper that called for African American athletes to boycott the Olympics as an open protest against Hitler’s ideology of Nordic supremacy. While the *Courier* praised the motive behind the call, it pointed out that a greater blow to Hitlerism would be for African American athletes to beat the Nazi athletes: “it will lift the prestige of the despised darker races and lower the prestige of the proud and arrogant Nordic” (“Unwise Counsel,” August 31, 1935, p. 10).
The boycott issue appeared again in later editorials specifically related to a threat by all Olympic teams to withhold their participation and that caused Germany to pull its anti-Jew signs and placards. The issue of U.S. hypocrisy returned in an editorial following the Olympics when it questioned whether or not the United States was going to show its appreciation to the victorious African-American athletes by allowing them to fully benefit from the fruits of American society ("The Nazis Bow to Agitation," November 16, 1935, p. 10; "After Berlin—What?" August 22, 1936, p. 10).

Kristallnacht. Also known as "The Night of the Broken Glass," is an incident that took place in November of 1938 in which German storm troopers, along with SS and Hitler Youth, beat and murdered Jews while vandalizing their synagogues and places of businesses. The broken glass represented the shattered windows of the vandalized stores. The Defender’s editorial warned that the same type of incident could occur in the United States because of the effectiveness of hate propaganda. The editorial pointed out that African-Americans would be in worse shape in this event because they do not have the financial support or places to appeal for assistance, and the editorial urged African Americans to reach out to other oppressed minorities ("It Can Happen Here," November 26, 1938, p. 16).

Common Themes
Editorials reacting to Nazi atrocities appeared in the Courier and Defender respectively in March and June of 1933. By the time of the Courier editorial, Hitler was already Chancellor of Germany and the notorious SA and SS men had law enforcement powers. By the time of the Defender’s comments, concentration camps had already been opened and functioning, and the infamous Gestapo had been mobilized. Neither editorial focused on any one particular incident of the Holocaust, but both reflected awareness that atrocities against Jews existed and related them to the experiences of African Americans in the United States.

A unifying theme of the editorials was the connection between mistreatment of German Jews and African Americans, from which Hitlerism and American Hypocrisy emerged as sub-themes.

American hypocrisy. These editorials were analogous to the saying: "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones." They called for white and Jewish Americans to denounce the mistreatment of African Americans in the United States in the same way that they
denounced such treatment of Jews in Germany.

The earliest editorials in both papers focused on the hypocrisy theme. In an editorial offering reasons for the Jewish persecution, the Courier criticized Jewish Americans for not reaching out to or showing outrage against the persecution of African Americans:

They are ready to denounce the discrimination practiced against Jews in Germany, but seldom have anything to say about the discrimination practiced against Negroes in America. Jewish merchants, bankers and hotel proprietors are not noted for any unusual liberality and helpfulness toward ambitious and talented young Negroes emerging from colleges with scholastic honors but no jobs. ("Economic Background of Mobbism," 1933, p. 10)

Both the "glass house" analogy and lack of sympathy toward African Americans were evident in a Defender editorial reacting to a U.S. senator's denouncement of the persecution:

White men cannot march into the palace of justice gushing with high-sounding words and critical analysis of other nations and their cruelty toward their subjects, when they themselves are unable to conceal their own hands stained with the blood of our defenseless people and against which they have uttered no public word of complaint. ("Sen. Robinson Decries Jewish Persecution," 1933, p. 14)

This "glass house" analogy was also illustrated in a 1939 Defender cartoon titled "You Made Me What I Am Today" in which a U.S. American white man wearing clothes labeled "American hatred (?) for Nazi ideals" is putting out a man looking like Hitler carrying a black doll wearing a tag labeled "Race Hatred, Disfranchisement, Segregation, Brutality To Minorities" ("You Made Me What I Am Today," December 9, 1939, p. 14).

The editorials under the hypocrisy theme continued through World War II and were seen in topics including Jewish prejudice against African Americans, physicians protesting Hitler, American Federation of Labor boycotts of German products, and the German use of American race legislation as a model for its racist practices.
The African American Press and the Holocaust


While denouncing the hypocrisy, the papers did not hesitate to preface it with denunciations of persecutions in general and with statements of sympathy for Jewish victims:

While we join in the denunciation of the vicious Hitler regime and our sympathies go out to persecuted individuals everywhere regardless of race, creed or politics, we cannot tolerate the nauseating hypocrisy of those who are all against race prejudice and intolerance in Germany, but are unable to see it in the United States. (“American Hypocrisy,” July 22, 1933, p. 10)

We also include in our efforts any people, in any country and of whatever race, who are victims of oppression, hate and prejudice. Our sympathies are accentuated by the belief that freedom, liberty and love of fellow man are the only witnesses to the existence of a just God. (“Sen. Robinson Decries Jewish Persecution,” June 17, 1933, p. 14)

Hitlerism. Editorials used this term to describe Hitler's oppressive tactics and the racist ideologies behind them. It was not uncommon to see phrases such as “policy of the ‘Hitlerites’” and “…there is Hitlerism much closer to us....” (“The Silver Lining of Hitlerism,” November 25, 1933, p. 10; “A Startling Comparison,” March 15, 1941, p. 10).

Defender cartoons used the Hitlerism term to depict the discriminatory treatment against people of color in America and the fact that it was occurring at the same time U.S. Americans were fighting it in Europe. A cartoon titled “If the Democracies Win,—What?” shows a white foot labeled “British and American Attitude Toward Darker Races” stepping on a dark-skinned couple holding a note to Florida Senator Claude Pepper asking if this was what the democracies were offering in place of Hitlerism (“If The Democracies Win,—What?” May 17, 1941, p. 16). Another cartoon titled “The Enemy Is Still Here,” shows an American soldier with Hitlerism written across his shirt.
stepping over his Negro buddy. Just in front of him is a sign that reads "Democratic America." Over his shoulder is a cloud labeled Hitlerism in Europe ("The Enemy Is Still Here," August 23, 1941, p. 16).

Cartoons showing Hitler's likeness depicted politicians as supporters of legislation that discriminated against African Americans. A cartoon titled "Bed (Bad?) Fellows," showed U.S. Senator Martin Dies in bed with Adolph Hitler. On the foot of the bed is "Persecution of Minorities and Hypocrisy" ("Bed (Bad?) Fellows," December 16, 1939, p. 14). Another cartoon showed Georgia Governor Eugene Talmadge being made to look like Hitler with the word Georgia pinned on one lapel and a button with a swastika on it with the words race hatred pinned on the other lapel ("Artist's Conception Of Gov. Talmadge," July 26, 1941, p. 16).

These commentaries reminded readers of U.S. American hypocrisy, and were used to unify all oppressed groups. The Courier stressed this unity in an editorial titled "Hitler Invades America" which revealed Nazi recruitment efforts in U.S. cities:

It appeals to American race prejudice, and that is sufficient to win favor in the eyes of large numbers of citizens. It should sweep the South. Negroes had better organize to fight this Nazi movement and seek alliance with the Jews, Catholics and non-Aryans, and do so quickly. ("Hitler Invades America," April 7, 1934, p. 10)

An editorial titled "The Silver Lining of Hitlerism," suggested that Hitlerism had caused Jews who had been previously indifferent to racism against African Americans to more critically question ongoing practices of white supremacy in the United States:

The Jews are properly aroused. They are beginning to see that their position here is not as secure as they have been led to believe.... The "Aryan" racial superstition has been flayed and ridiculed. ("The Silver Lining of Hitlerism," November 25, 1933, p. 10)

Themes Unique To Each Paper
Each paper had one theme that distinguished it from the other. The Defender tended to link human rights values to democratic values. The Courier's editorials tended to focus more on Jewish resistance to Nazi
oppression.

The Chicago Defender stresses human rights. A Defender editorial titled “Germany Will Repent,” predicted that the Nazi government’s mistreatment of Jews would one day haunt the German nation. Rather than focusing on the oppression of African Americans, this editorial focused on the immorality of persecution and linked moral principles to the principles of democracy.

...but the day will come when this ghost now frightening the Jewish people of Germany with poverty and destruction will reappear to haunt the lives—if not of the Germany of today—the Germany of tomorrow. The constitution and liberty of a nation when invested in the power of one man is destined to be destroyed by idiosyncrasies of self-adulation. This alone would be sufficient to retard future Germany, but coupled with this will be the apostate of a world opinion massed on the side of right against the sinister influences of evil. (“Germany Will Repent,” July 22, 1933, p. 14)

Human rights values and their connection to democracy were also evident in a Defender editorial published just after the start of World War II:

Fascism means war. Fascism means the death of democracy. Fascism means an increase of mass unemployment, starvation, mob terror and violence, the material and spiritual degradation of men, women and children, the destruction of the church and of the family. (“Truth Cannot Be Crushed,” September 9, 1939, p. 16.)

Resisting oppression. The Courier used its editorials describing Jewish resistance to the Nazis as guidelines for African Americans to use against their own oppression. Most of the resistance-themed editorials focused on how American Jews effectively used boycotts against German businesses and products to mobilize support and to lessen the persecution of their “brethren in Germany” (“A Successful Boycott,” March 24, 1933; Jewish Pogroms in Germany,” April 1, 1933, p. 10; “The Economic Boycott,” April 15, 1933; “How the Jews Do It,” September 16, 1933, p. 10).

While pointing out the effectiveness of Jewish resistance tac-
tics, the editorialists chastised African Americans for their failure to support organizations such as the NAACP and hence African Americans' inability to mobilize support to protect or advance their civil rights ("Jewish Pogroms in Germany," April 1, 1933, p. 10; "How the Jews Do It," September 16, 1933, p. 10). The editorial excerpted below is typical of this sentiment:

We do not adequately support the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, our one efficient defense organization. Even during times of crisis we contribute only grudgingly to it...And they [Jews] are powerful because they are organized. Four million American Jews have more influence on Congress than twelve million Negroes, not just because they have votes and know how to use them, but because they are able to bring financial and commercial pressure to bear on those who oppose them. ("Jewish Pogroms in Germany," April 1, 1933, p. 10)

Themes Distinctive from Mainstream Press

Although the U.S. press overall denounced the persecution of Jews, the mainstream press and its black counterpart differed in the way that they denounced it. Although the mainstream press claims to present the truth in an unbiased way, the way it handled the Holocaust reflected a particular set of biases. Specifically, the mainstream newspapers' skepticism of the atrocities reflected that they did not identify with Jewish oppression in the way African American newspapers did. It was not unusual to see editorials and people quoted in articles suggesting that the reports of oppression were exaggerated and was part of a Jewish agenda for political power and financial support (Lipstadt, 1986; Tift & Jones, 1999). Furthermore, they tended to provide reasons for the anti-Semitism with some editorials suggesting that the mistreatment reflected German unhappiness with losing World War I, while other editorials blamed it on Jewish activism (Lipstadt, 1986).

As with black newspapers, the mainstream press highlighted the question of whether U.S. athletes should boycott the 1936 Olympics to protest Jewish persecution, allowing for both sides of the debate to be reflected. But black newspapers as a whole tended to oppose the boycott. Some mainstream newspapers reflected the African American call for U.S. athletes to beat the German athletes; but the overriding reasons for the mainstream's opposition of the boy-
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cott was based on the principle that the United States should not get involved in Germany's internal affairs. Lipstadt (1986) has suggested that the mainstream press exhibited blindness toward its own hypocrisy so as to avoid confronting the reality of racial division and mistreatment of minority groups in the United States.

While black newspapers expressed fear that African Americans could be subjected to a Kristallnacht-type terror, mainstream papers avoided the issue. In their condemnations of this German atrocity, they suggested that it represented not racial or ethnic hatred but merely the frustration of German citizens in response to their poor financial conditions (Lipstadt 1986).

Neither did the mainstream press frame the Holocaust in the context of human rights values. Rather, they tended to treat the reported atrocities as isolated incidents rather than as a Nazi grand plan to exterminate the Jews (Lipstadt, 1986; Tiffi & Jones, 1999).

**Conclusion**

The *Defender* and *Courier's* treatment of the Jewish Holocaust was consistent with the general historical mission of the black press, that is, being a tool of advocacy in the interests of African Americans. Since its birth in the early 19th century, black press protest of racial discrimination has been a crucial element of this mission. The Hitler regime's record of persecution against Jewish people gave credence to black newspapers' protestations and complaints; however, this time the oppression was not limited to African Americans. Reporters and editors of black newspapers understood that tactical messages of hate were not limited to people's color, but may be effectively directed against anyone regardless of their wealth, social status, or religious belief.

The Holocaust was one of many news events that received the attention of the black press in the early 20th century. This was a time when mainstream society's traditional beliefs about race were challenged on a number of fronts. Black newspapers devoted space to Joe Louis' heavyweight boxing championship, African American athletes' triumphs at the 1936 summer Olympics, the Scottsboro Case, the invasion of Ethiopia, as well as vigilantly advocating for legislation to outlaw lynching and other forms of domestic terrorism. The reporting of athletic accomplishments challenged the belief of white supremacy. The Scottsboro Case brought to light southern racial injustice (Carter,
The Ethiopia invasion brought to the forefront an African nation led by a person of color, thereby negating unflattering mainstream perceptions about black intelligence and leadership. This coverage served to reaffirm African Americans' rights to full citizenship.

As in World War I, black newspapers were an influential voice leading up to the start of World War II. And its discourse was even more strident than during earlier years as African Americans between the wars were willing to outwardly, and sometimes violently, demand their civil rights. The black press, even in the face of intimidating surveillance and other harshly intrusive governmental practices (Washburn 1986), was an instrumental agent in the struggle for human recognition. Indeed, it was always positioned at the vanguard in the quest for human freedom and dignity.

We believe that our study clearly demonstrates that black press news coverage and analysis, filtered through the African American experience, are relevant to all U.S. Americans. Black press coverage of the Holocaust provided specifically an opportunity for African Americans to learn resistance tactics from Jews, and ultimately to ally themselves with Jews and other victims of discrimination when such alliances became a key element in the civil rights victories of the 1960's and 70's.

Beyond this, newspapers like the Defender and Courier pointed to German atrocities against the Jewish people, contextualized those atrocities within a larger historical framework, and later on, revealed U.S. hypocrisy as it castigated Hitlerian practices, on the one hand, but turned a blind eye to oppressive practices in its own backyard, on the other. In this sense, the black press challenged not only how the news was collected and reported upon by the mainstream press but also shined a critical light upon the values and biases that informed mainstream practices.

To conclude, our critical treatment of the role of the black press in what might be considered by many to be a non-African American event points up the need to elevate the value of alternative media and to do so in a way that also broadens our understanding of the mainstream media. The mainstream media is clearly not the only voice for democracy, and as our analysis indicates, sometimes it may not even be the best voice for democracy. Greater consideration of contributions
of the black press across a wide historical spectrum of human affairs provides, minimally, ways of critically assessing the mainstream press which, in the absence of scholarly treatment of the black press and its African American experiential point of view, have otherwise gone unacknowledged, not only by mainstream reading audiences but by contemporary media analysts as well.

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Truth cannot be crushed. (1939, September). *The Chicago Defender,* p. 16.


While looking for new worlds to conquer. (1941, November). *The Chicago Defender,* p. 16


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i This is a modification of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s statement in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail:" "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

ii Five black newspapers were published in the South despite laws prohibiting teaching African Americans how to read.


v Senator Pepper supported civil rights.

vi The cartoon erroneously stated that Representative Dies was a senator. Dies represented a district in Texas where the Ku Klux Klan was active and where he had spoken at several Klan rallies. Dies co-created the House Un-American Activities Committee which was criticized for failing to investigate the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

vii Governor Talmadge opposed civil rights legislation to the extent that it caused Georgia's public colleges and universities to lose their accreditation.

viii In the week prior to the publication of this editorial, Germany had invaded Poland and Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand had declared war on Germany.