

Details How to Ship Negroes Back to Africa

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A practicing lawyer in New Orleans, Mr. Smith has long been associated with Conservative causes.

In this article, Mr. Smith analyzes the history and the practicality of the Repatriation idea, and concludes that there is no other solution to this problem.

The most outstanding nature of a race problem is its gnawing persistence, no matter what may be done to alleviate that problem. One so-called reform leads to others, but the perplexing question remains unsolved, often in a more aggravated form.

Abolitionists thought the end of Negro slavery would eventually lead to the solution of the racial question. Integrationists now believe that the complete destruction of segregation will result in the elimination of the race issue. *Yet as integration increases the problem of race remains amid the wreckage of some of our most basic freedoms and honored customs.* Indeed, it is abundantly clear that the closer races come together in daily contact the greater grows the racial problem. What then is the solution to the problem of race?

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in his book, *Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization*, concluded that there were only two permanent solutions to any race problem, either a separation of the races or amalgamation. *There is, however, but one permanent solution to that problem, the physical separation of the races.* That amalgamation is not the answer to the question is best evidenced by Haiti, where a complete interbreeding of the White and Black races has occurred over a long period without the problem of race being settled. Indeed, racial friction continues to be the fundamental basis of the turmoil and chaos that endlessly prevails in that country as the blacks and mulattoes struggle for ascendancy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE NEGRO QUESTION

Viewing the problem of race in America, as a result of Negro importation, we find the serious advocacy of Negro emigration by highly responsible sources as the answer to that question. After 1800, in Virginia, interest developed to the point where the Virginia legislature requested Governor James Monroe to enlist the support and aid of President Jefferson regarding the purchase of a tract of land on the west coast of Africa, or other foreign place, for a haven of free persons of color.

Jefferson was very receptive to such a proposal having been much interested for a long time in the deportation of American Negroes. In consequence, he requested Rufus King, the American Minister to the Court of St. James, to obtain English permission to send them to Sierra Leone. This plan was not carried out, but Jefferson never lost his interest in Negro colonization, writing on January 21, 1811, "*Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*"¹

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

As a result of the Virginia legislative action and the growing interest in the Negro deportation idea, the American Colonization Society was formed in 1817. To strengthen the effectiveness of the Society such famous men as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Henry Clay, John Marshall, William H. Crawford, John Randolph, Lafayette, Daniel Webster and Andrew Jackson were named to high office in the organization, and for several years ex-president

James Madison served as its president.

In addition to securing the support of prominent leaders, the Colonization Society sought the aid of religion and patriotism urging, "every minister of Christ, as he values his country or his race, the cause of humanity, or the cause of God, to preach on the subject of the Colonization Society, on or about the Fourth of July next, and invite public charity to its object."²

In 1820 the Society sent its first ship to Sherbo Island on the west coast of Africa with eighty-eight Negro colonists. Later on in 1822 a larger tract of land was secured which was called Liberia and the first settlement named Monrovia in honor of President James Monroe. From this beginning some 2,228 Negroes were transported to this territory from 1820-1831. The Society, believing it had demonstrated the practicability of Negro colonization, sought the support of the National Government, presenting a memorial to the Congress in January, 1827, asking that it lend its aid, which unfortunately never materialized. This appeal to the General Government recognized the magnitude of Negro emigration, and had the Federal Government given its assistance and support, the race question could well have been brought to a conclusion in America within a few years, ending once and for all our most dangerous and ruinous domestic problem. Upon the failure of Federal support the Colonization Society gradually declined in effectiveness although it had performed magnificently, sending all told some 20,000 Negroes to Africa. With the advent of the Civil War, new impetus was given to the cause of Negro colonization for many people felt that this terrible conflict could have been avoided had the National Government assisted in the Negro emigration movement.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND COLONIZATION

*Abraham Lincoln, the new war-time President, having long been convinced that Negroes and Whites could not live together on a footing of equality, had advocated that free Negroes should go elsewhere. He believed that all free colored people if they desired to go, should be colonized in a climate suitable for them.*³ That Lincoln fully understood the gravity of the Negro problem in America may be seen from his following words, contained in his annual message of December 3, 1861:⁴ "*On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity—that without which the Government itself cannot be perpetuated?*"

*Lincoln consistently connected the abolition of slavery with the re-settlement of America's Negroes outside the United States. This is significantly shown from his famous Emancipation Proclamation where in the second paragraph of this most important declaration he once again expressed his convictions concerning Negro colonization as follows: "And that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments there, will be continued."*⁵

*Revealing further his dedication to the subject of Negro emigration, Lincoln in his second annual message, December 1, 1862 proposed the following amendment to the United States Constitution: "Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States."*⁶

Pursuant to Lincoln's deep devotion to Negro colonization a Bureau of Emigration was organized in the Department of the Interior with the small sum of \$600,000 appropriated to initiate a beginning of Negro deportation. Two attempts to do this were made with the actual

establishment of a colony at Ile a Vache, in Haiti, consisting of 453 Negroes transported from Virginia, and the attempt to establish a colony in Colombia. Both of these projects failed for lack of support.

Although Lincoln's efforts did not meet with success, he never seemed to lose hope that his plans would finally materialize. This is clearly evidenced by his return to the subject of colonization even during the last hectic days of the Civil War, when early in April, 1865, just before his death, he expressed himself as follows in a conversation with General Benjamin F. Butler: "But what shall we do with the Negroes after they are free? . . . I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves."⁷

In view of Lincoln's recurring interest in Negro colonization and the great importance he ascribed to it, there can be little doubt if he had lived, that he would have made a vigorous campaign to enlist the full support of the Federal Government to insure the final success of his plans. With the cares of the war laid aside Lincoln undoubtedly would have devoted a great deal of attention to coordinating the colonizing of the Negroes as a fundamental part of his program to bring about the reunification of the Nation. Indeed, if he had lived the chaos of Reconstruction could probably have been avoided altogether, and with nearly four full years of his second term remaining, he well could have set a national program of Negro colonization into full movement, that would have finally solved once and for all the problem of race in America.

PRESIDENTS FILLMORE AND GRANT FAVORED COLONIZATION

Other presidents of the United States have also been interested in Negro emigration. Millard Fillmore during his presidency expressed his views concerning the dangers arising from the presence of the African race in America. He included his opinion on this question in his annual message to the Congress in December, 1852. Inexplicably these convictions of which the below quotation is a part were deleted from his message and never reached the Congress: "*But after the most anxious and mature consideration of this perplexing question in all its bearings, I confess that I see no remedy but by colonizing the free Blacks, either in Africa, or the West Indies, or both. This, it appears to me, is all that Congress can do . . . it cannot be commenced too soon for the good of the country . . .*"⁸

Ulysses S. Grant also turned his attention to the problem of the separation of the races, advocating a program of Negro colonization. Pursuant to this conviction he negotiated a treaty with San Domingo for this purpose. He expressed himself on this point as follows in his personal memoirs: "It was looking to a settlement of this question that led me to urge the annexation of San Domingo during the time I was President of the United States. . . . I took it that the colored people would go there in great numbers, so as to have independent states governed by their own race."⁹

NEGROES EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT OF COLONIZATION

Marcus Garvey, a truly black Moses, stands out among the members of his race as having been the greatest exponent of Negro emigration from the United States. Garvey believed in the physical separation of the races and thought the destiny of American Negroes lay in Africa, the home of their ancestors. In furtherance of his beliefs in Negro racial integrity and his conviction that the Negro race should return to Africa to build a mighty civilization, Garvey became intensely active in the promotion of Negro repatriation. He organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association which was dedicated to the resettlement of American Negroes in Africa, and which at one time reported a total of 6,000,000 members.

To transport Negro emigrants to Africa, Garvey attempted to establish a steamship company, called the Black Star Line. This company unfortunately never functioned as a result of Garvey's deportation to his native Jamaica, following his release from a Federal Penitentiary, where he served part of his sentence under a conviction for what was considered to be a fraudulent use of the mails to sell stock in the Black Star Line. With Garvey no longer in a position to lead his repatriation movement it greatly declined in strength and effectiveness.

It is interesting to note that although Garvey's movement failed, it nevertheless attracted to its cause the attention, enthusiasm and membership support in his organ-

ization of over one half of the Negro population in the United States at that time (1925). Had Garvey been able to carry on the direction of his organization there is every reason to believe that a great many Negroes would have left the United States to make their permanent residence in Africa.

United States Senator Theodore C. Bilbo, took a life-long interest in Negro colonization, fixing more attention on the Republic of Liberia for this purpose than had been shown since its establishment, as a result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society. Bilbo managed, over a period of many years, to secure the signatures to petitions of more than two and a half million Negroes appealing to the Federal Government to help them migrate to their native Africa. To gain the support of the National Government, he introduced a Bill in the United States Senate on April 24, 1939, called the Greater Liberia Act. S. 2231 which provided in detail for the voluntary resettlement of American Negroes in Liberia. This Bill was never enacted into law, as any chance of its being passed was prevented by the turbulent years just before World War II, the War itself, and the death of Senator Bilbo shortly thereafter.

Highly significant and indicative of Negro interest, in their resettlement in Africa, is the great number of individual Negroes who supported the repatriation plans of Senator Bilbo, and the several Negro organizations working for the colonization of their race. Prominent among these groups is the Peace Movement of Ethiopia that obtained the signatures of 400,000 Negroes to a memorial sent to President Roosevelt in 1932, which stated in part . . . Given an opportunity in our ancestral Africa, the knowledge of farming and of simple farm machinery and implements, which we have acquired here would enable us to carve a frugal but decent livelihood out of the virgin soil and favorable climate of Liberia . . . President Roosevelt unfortunately took no interest in this appeal, which could have opened the way to the support of the Federal Government for Negro colonialization.

Following Senator Bilbo's efforts to colonize the nation's Negroes in Liberia, United States Senator William Langer introduced in the Senate Bill S. 276 designed to aid persons in the United States desirous of migrating to Liberia for permanent settlement. This Bill was introduced in behalf of the Universal African Nationalist Movement, Inc., an organization supporting Negro colonialization. It also has the support of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which has submitted to the Congress a petition signed by more than 2,000,000 Negroes requesting Federal assistance for those wishing to migrate to Liberia.

THE LANGER BILL

On January 22, 1957 Senator Langer introduced a new Bill S. 759 also providing for aid to persons desirous of migrating to Liberia. This Bill would create a commission to be known as the Liberian Migration Commission. The Commission would have the power to employ necessary personnel and make provision for the necessary supplies, facilities and services to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of the Act. *It is interesting to note that the Langer Bill applies only to those who may qualify as eligible for citizenship in Liberia, for the Constitution¹⁰ of that country provides that only Negroes may become citizens.* This proposed law has been referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and hearings have been held before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee by Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana who favors the measure. Senator Long also plans to introduce his own Bill, providing transportation for those persons who prefer to live in Africa. The new Langer Bill also has the support of the above referred to Negro organizations, in addition to others in various parts of the country.

Importantly, it is not only American Negroes who are receptive to the idea of their repatriation to their African Fatherland. Their African brothers are also interested in their returning to the land of their forefathers. An Associated Press report appearing in the New Orleans States-Item of March 22, 1962, states as follows: "President William V. S. Tubman said today the government has been asked by the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., to grant 100,000 acres of land on which young American Negroes could settle. Dr. John Taylor, vice-president of the convention and president of the New England Baptist Training Union of America is now in

Monrovia conducting negotiations with the Liberian Government."

On a broadcast over radio station WNOE in New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 21, 1960 an ambassadorial delegate from Somalia (formerly Italian Somaliland) stated that his new country, which had just obtained its independence, would welcome American Negroes who would desire to establish permanent residence there.

A PLAN FOR NEGRO COLONIZATION

These two Negro nations in Africa, one the old Republic of Liberia, and the newly independent Somalia could open the way for the recently emerged, and rapidly emerging African nations, to accept each an annual quota of American Negro colonists according to their respective capacities, considering their size, population and other essential factors. For example, Liberia, with an area of 43,000 square miles and a population of 2,500,000 could very easily accommodate another 2,500,000 additional inhabitants. Ghana with 91,843 square miles, and a population of 6,691,000 could comfortably absorb another 1,000,000 people. Smaller countries with fewer people, like Togo, could participate in such a program with a lesser number of settlers.

Considering that the American Negro population is 18,871,831, as reported by the United States Census of 1960, it may be observed that the below listed African nations could receive the entire Negro population of the United States within twenty years, without disproportionate strain on any one nation, by accepting the annual quota of colonists appearing opposite the name of each country.¹¹

Country	Area— Sq. Mi.	Popu- lation	Annual Quota
Liberia	43,000	2,500,000	150,000
Congo	904,757	13,821,000	100,000
Ethiopia	398,350	22,000,000	25,000
Ghana	91,843	6,691,000	25,000
Sierra Leone	27,925	2,500,000	15,000
Niger	490,000	2,600,000	100,000
Nigeria	373,250	34,296,000	50,000
Tanganyika	362,688	9,238,000	10,000
Cameroun	168,880	3,225,000	50,000
Dahomey	44,290	1,720,000	25,000
Chad	495,000	2,580,000	55,000
Senegal	76,000	2,260,000	50,000
Gabon	102,290	410,000	50,000
Guinea	96,865	3,000,000	25,000
Ivory Coast	127,520	3,200,000	75,000
Mali	450,000	3,708,000	50,000
Somalia	262,000	2,500,000	25,000
Sudan	967,500	10,262,674	35,000
Togo	21,893	1,440,000	10,000
Upper Volta	105,000	3,500,000	25,000
Malagasy	228,000	5,200,000	25,000
Rwanda and Burundi	20,540	4,700,000	10,000
Uganda	93,981	6,683,000	15,000
Annual Total			1,000,000

By providing for the distribution of American Negro colonists among the African countries, as shown above, no one country would be overburdened with emigrants, making the problem of their resettlement much easier. Each nation would receive over the years its fair share of the settlers until all were absorbed. This entire program of Negro resettlement could be handled by the Commission, provided for in the Langer Bill, with the previously obtained consent of each nation in agreement with the plan.

THE COST AND FEASIBILITY OF COLONIZATION

The cost of the proposed resettlement of American Negroes in the countries named, though enormous, could be well begun on a substantial scale if the United States would contribute to it a sum equivalent to that which was given in foreign aid by this Nation to Communist countries alone during the period July 1, 1945 - June 30, 1957, shown in the below table:¹²

Country	Total
Albania	\$ 20,444,000
Czechoslovakia	215,410,000
East Germany	17,339,000
Hungary	31,938,000
Poland	442,698,000
Soviet Union	687,929,000
Yugoslavia	836,354,000
Total	\$2,252,112,000

Moreover, the emigration program could be further assisted by the use of the President's Asian Fund, in the amount of \$81,247,000 which was unexpended as of June 30, 1960¹³ plus the \$1,432,000,000 the Federal Government was seeking to spend during just two years, 1961 and 1962 for Federal Aid to Education.¹⁴ May it also be noted there were unexpended funds from previous years in the foreign aid program amounting to \$4,713,685,000 up to June 30, 1960,¹⁵ which also could be provided for colonization. If sums like the above, totaling \$8,459,024,000 were made available for Negro emigration it would necessarily give tremendous impetus to its development. The above sums of money do not, of course, include the huge amounts that would be saved, for instance, in all phases of social security as the emigrants departed. These savings could also be used to help defray the cost of colonization.

There can be no question that the United States has the financial capability of carrying to a conclusion the resettlement of American Negroes in Africa, when it is remembered that this country has poured \$82,730,000,000 into the foreign aid program from 1945 through 1960.¹⁶ If only one-fourth of such a sum of money was used for Negro Repatriation calculated on the basis of \$1,000.00 per person, it would cost a total of \$19,000,000,000 to colonize America's Negroes figuring their population on the basis of 19,000,000.

THE TIME FOR COLONIZATION IS NOW!

Considering the ceaseless friction in the United States between the White and Negro races, and believing that not even the calamity of racial amalgamation would eliminate these conflicts, or even check their increase, it is essential that the Congress hasten to enact into law the Freedom Law, as explained in WESTERN DESTINY, December, 1964, or similar legislation.

From the viewpoint of the Negro, both in America and in Africa, the time for American Negro colonization in the continent of his origin has rarely been more propitious. The emergence of the new African Negro nations affords American Negroes the magnificent opportunity to become a part of this development, and with it to reassert his African personality in his ancient homeland. For the first time American Negroes are offered the chance to proudly associate themselves with their African racial brothers in the development of their rising new nations. This growth of new independent Negro nations gives the American Negro a far greater incentive to return to Africa than the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who liberally gave their money to Marcus Garvey for the creation of a Black Star Line of vessels that would carry

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them to an Africa which was then almost exclusively owned by White nations. Then only the free Republic of Liberia* beckoned and now nearly all of the vast Central African area stands free and independent.

Those few Negro expatriates from the United States already living in West Africa are being received as long-lost brothers who have returned after their long pilgrimage to America. The African Negro realizes that

REPATRIATION

the better trained and educated American Negro can be of inestimable value in the development of their new nations.

From the standpoint of the White American the resettlement of the nation's Negroes in Africa would offer the only permanent solution of the Negro problem that has plagued him from the beginning. It presents the only chance for the perpetuation of White civilization in the United States. For the White and Negro American, Negro colonization would insure the racial integrity of both races.

The Repatriation suggestions that have been made here are merely offered as a basic plan or central idea that may be modified or changed, according to developments. The figures as to the amounts of money needed, the time

within which the Repatriation movement could be carried out, as well as the emigrant quotas for each African nation may be in need of material amendments, and even drastic revisions, for the carrying out of a sensible emigration program. *The important issue is the adoption of such a project by the National Government with as little delay as possible, so that the Nation may be steered along a path that will lead to a final solution of America's Negro problem.*

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REPATRIATION OF ALL NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA HAS BECOME AN EMERGENCY SITUATION REQUIRING PRIORITY OVER ALL OTHER ISSUES, BECAUSE--

- 1) Negroes have become dissatisfied with life in America.
- 2) Billions spent in welfare, poverty aid, rent supplements, and free food have failed to make Negroes happy. In fact, Negro resentment and hatred for Whites grows in ratio to the aid given them. This hatred is expressed in their vicious hostility and spireling assaults, rapes and murders committed upon innocent White people.
- 3) Organized Black riots have hit every major city. Negroes have proclaimed the need for armed revolution and guerrilla warfare against White people.
- 4) Negro demands have reached the point White taxpayers cannot afford. Negroes insist on a Guaranteed Annual Wage for not working. They now want special cities and even states set aside for their exclusive use.
- 5) The very existence of the Negro within our midst poses the constant threat of mongrelization of the White race through interracial marriage.
- 6) Anthropologists have proven that the Negro has never been capable of creating a civilization of his own. This is due to the fact that his small brain weighs 14 ounces less than that of the Whiteman. Every nation which has interbred with Blacks was destroyed. This makes it mandatory for Whites to take immediate remedial action as a matter of sheer self-preservation.

THE BACK TO AFRICA LAW

Wherefore, in recognition of the above stated facts, the National States Rights Party hereby proposes swift enactment into law of the following:

- A) Due to the Negroes' failure to adapt to our American civilization, they shall be stripped of their citizenship.
- B) All those willing to voluntarily repatriate back to Africa shall be rewarded with cash bonuses and a prefabricated home in Africa provided by the U.S. Government.
- C) Those who resist shall be forcibly deported without the benefit of bonuses.

This action will thereby correct the great error made when the Negroes were first brought to this land. It will be a fulfillment of God's plan according to the Holy Bible when he created the various species and "set the bounds of their habitation.

This is a humane plan which will save many White and Black lives and bring peace and prosperity to our nation and eliminate all the evils of negro crime and ghetto filth. There should be no criticism of this plan because the deportation of races has been soundly established by recent history, such as the expulsion of thousands of Indians from Negro nations in Africa, the deportation of one million Greeks by Turkey and the expulsion of the Chinese by the Indonesians last year.