

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON
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FREEDOM

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

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Stop Murder of Innocents: Save Willie McGee

An Editorial

The life of Willie McGee, the innocent Laurel, Miss., Negro worker, can be saved.

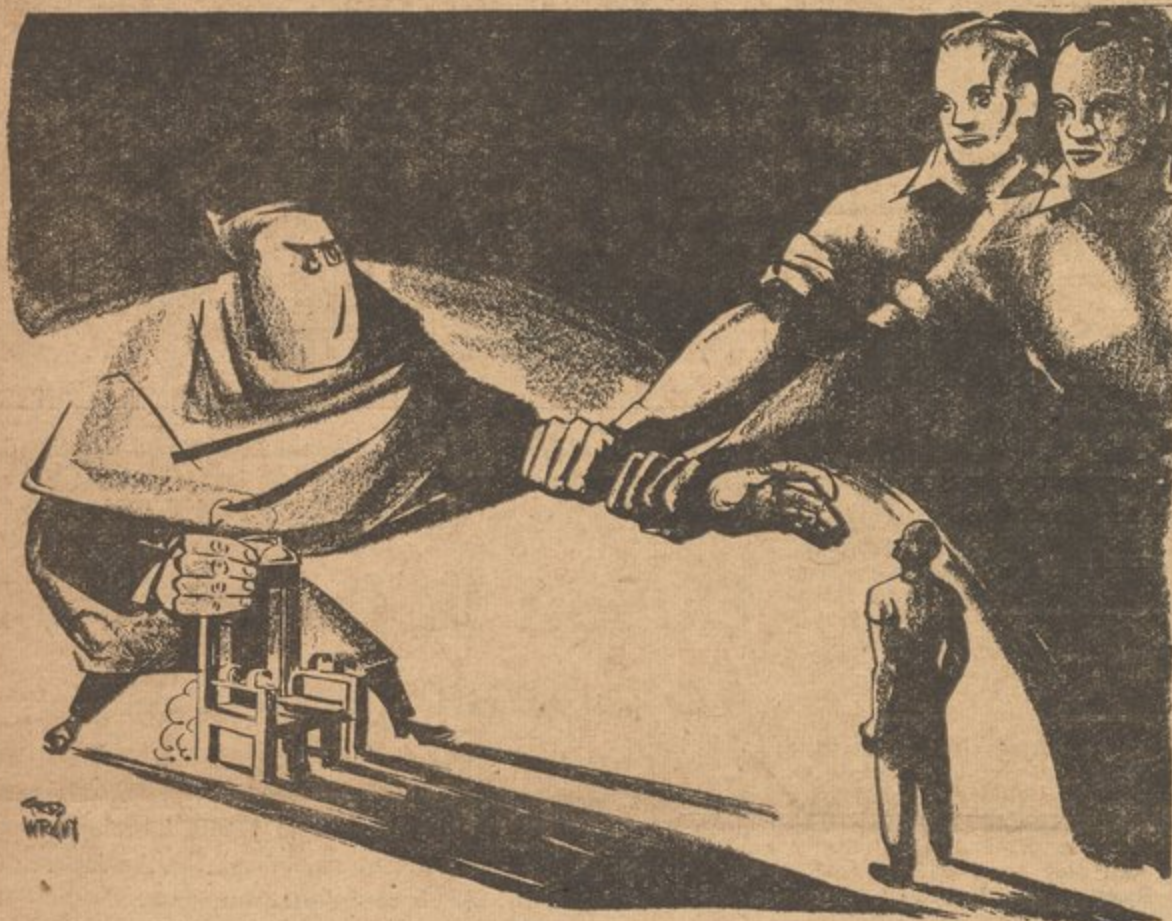
The carnival of death which the blood-thirsty Mississippi Dixiecrats had planned to stage on March 20 has been POSTPONED. But it has not yet been CANCELLED.

McGee's lawyers have presented to the U. S. Supreme Court new evidence which proves his innocence. The court will decide within the next few days whether to review the evidence.

Whatever the court decides on March 26, McGee's life can only be saved by the continued protests of an aroused nation. McGee lives today only because the people have responded to the inspired leadership of the Civil Rights Congress in its crusade against American lynch law.

He can be set completely free only by multiplying the mass meetings, the letters, telegrams and petitions to President Truman, the demonstrations and the work-stoppages of his fellow working men and women.

Don't wait until tomorrow. When you put this copy of FREEDOM down, make a phone call, write a letter, call a meeting—ACT TO SAVE WILLIE MCGEE.



'Set Him Free to Labor On' — A Tribute to W. E. B. DuBois

By Paul Robeson

W. E. Burghardt DuBois is a human being full flowered—of the highest intellectual training in most diverse fields, and with it all so direct, so devoted to the finest simplicity. His is a rich life of complete dedication to the advancement of his own people and of all the oppressed and injured.

First, let us not forget that he is one of the great masters of our language: the language of Shakespeare and of Milton on the one hand; and, on the other, of the strange beauty of the folk speech—the people's speech—of the American Negro. He is a great poet, one of whom all America is proud.

In these days of stress and struggle I often pick up one of his many volumes, most frequently "The Souls Of Black Folk." How I love to give myself up to those rich cadences, to receive sustenance and strength from those lines so deeply imbedded in the folk style of our people, yet enriched and heightened by the artistic gift of this deep-feeling prophet.

For Dr. DuBois gives us proof that the great art of the Negro has come from the inner life of the Afro-American people themselves (as is true of the art of any group)—and that the roots stretch back to the African land whence they came. He, like so many other great artists, turned to the people for the deepest fount—like Haydn, Bach, Schubert, Dvorak, Bartok, Tchaikovsky, Pushkin, Moussorgsky, and Mayakovsky, great poet of the Russian revolution.

And by his very participation in the people's political and economic struggles,

he underlines this most important fact: that culture comes from and belongs to the people; that one aspect of our struggle is the obligation to bring this culture back to the people.

DuBois has a sense—nay, a profound knowledge—of history, and striking it is that at the most decisive moment in the history of colored America DuBois is in the ranks of the Negro people—that he is a part of the people's peace movement in the world—that he is a friend of the Soviet peoples, of the Chinese people, of the new Eastern European People's Republics—that he

is a part of progressive America—that he hates and exposes the shams of the ruling class of this country, together with their would-be big-shot Negro stooges who dance to any tune they're told.

Dr. DuBois brings with him the best and most honest of his former associates and joins with the working-class leaders of the Negro people—those closest to the masses—in giving common leadership to a fierce and uncompromising struggle. Today the essence of that struggle is the fight for peace—the fight for the rights of hun-

dreds of millions of colonial and semi-colonial colored peoples—to choose their own ways to freedom, their own ways of life. The American Negro's liberation lies in this stream—a most powerful and untamable stream.

Funny men in important offices in our land dare attack and even indict Dr. DuBois. The great masses will give their answer and set him free to labor on.

Dr. DuBois, by his full participation and dedication to the people's struggle, gives new meaning to the history of the Negro in his long and courageous fight for full liberation.

Who Are the Real Criminals in the United States?

The ex-mayor of New York City has admitted that he appointed cronies of notorious racketeers to high positions in his administration. As District Attorney he failed to prosecute known gangsters who were members of the Murder, Inc., gang.

Seemingly as a reward for his admitted connections with the underworld, William O'Dwyer was himself appointed by Harry Truman as Ambassador to Mexico. Mr. Truman should know a good ambassador when he sees one: his political apprenticeship in the Missouri Pendergast machine provides the qualifications needed to lead the army of grafters, five-percenters, parasites and racketeers who infest our municipal, state and federal governments.

The biggest racket in the country today is the war scare and the "national emergency" of Mr. Truman. The people of the U.S. (and of the world) want peace, but the bi-partisan politicians have involved them in a

disastrous war in Korea, have turned the United Nations into an exclusive mouthpiece for U.S. policy, and have made the bomb, not negotiations, the basis for conducting our relations with the non-capitalist world.

Because elections are drawing near the war-minded politicians and the underworld scum face each other from opposite sides of the table in the crime hearings. But one thing they have in common: the war scare is a good thing for them all. It helps them pick the people's pockets with more taxes, wage freeze, speed-up in industry, higher rents and unlimited prices.

No wonder, then, Truman's Justice Department has indicted the great advocate of peace, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. His leadership embarrasses their game.

No wonder the government withdraws Paul Robeson's passport and bribes banjo-players, baseball players and all descriptions of "leaders" to

denounce him. His thunderous voice calls the American people to fight against the biggest crime of all—war.

No wonder the politicians frame Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, Mrs. Rosa Ingram and countless other victims of Jim Crow justice. They must frighten the Negro masses to stifle their demands for peace, jobs, and equality.

In the hands of the profit-seeking, war-hungry industrialists and politicians, the moral standing of our government has sunk to a new low.

It is not too soon to point to the task which will face American voters in 1952. The job will be to place the government in the hands of true representatives of the peace-loving, democratic-minded masses of the American people. Meanwhile every decent American is called upon to raise his voice against the circus of war-jitters, corruption and oppression which the rulers of the country have visited upon our land.

FREEDOM'S Roundup

News Around the Nation

OUR CIVIL RIGHTS

CHILD-KILLER: Grass-roots fight for punishment of the murderer of 15-year old Charles Wilson in Denver being spearheaded by newly formed Colorado Citizens Committee, headed by Mrs. Juanita Irving, deaconess of Zion Baptist Church and long-time civic leader. Wilson was shot last Dec. 20 by policeman Delmar Reed while being arrested for "drunkenness." Trial began March 6.

HORSE'S MOUTH: The Durham (NC) Morning Herald, discussing the double standard of American justice, remarked: "It is as though some jurors, some prosecutors, some judges consider Negroes as but an amusing form of life, which needn't be taken too seriously, and thus Negroes have less than full protection of the law."

MORE WITCHES: Negroes saw a "clear and present danger" in rash of "anti-subversive" bills in Southern legislatures: Texas, Tennessee and North Carolina. Fisk U. faculty officially protested against Tenn. version of McCarran monstrosity.

KEEPING PROMISES: C. C. Spaulding, 75-year old president of \$140 million NC Mutual Life Ins. Co. got a medal from the Freedoms Foundation for an article which said "the promise of America . . . could be realized only by years of sweat, thrift and enterprise." Meanwhile Malthus Avery, young Negro student, was dead. Two white hospitals refused him admittance after an auto accident; he finally reached a Jim Crow institution in time to die an hour later. No more promise of America for him.

EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE? NAACP's Thurgood Marshall returned from Korea to reveal that in 32 cases of Negro GI's sentenced under the 75th Article of War, punishment had been reduced from total of one death and 255 years to 102 years. Only eight white soldiers accused under same Article; only two received punishment, totaling eight years. Must be a powerful lot of Negroes and mighty few whites under MacArthur's command!

ON THE LABOR FRONT

TIMBER! Lumber industry of the U. S. Northwest, accounting for 50% of State of Washington industrial payroll, has long been

lily-white. Now the Seattle Labor Council for Negro Rights, supported by Northern Washington District Council of CIO Woodworkers of America, is fighting for skilled and unskilled jobs for Negroes.

YOUR POSTMAN NEEDS A RAISE: N. Y. Local 20 of United Public Workers has written President Truman debunking Civil Service Commission's recent report that postal workers need no wage increase. "This can only be considered as a deliberate attempt . . . to depress still further the standard of living of federal and postal workers," they wrote, and quoted statistics proving need for a minimum \$900 yearly increase.

24 HOURS A DAY: Marine Cooks & Stewards Union (50% Negro membership and progressive leadership—Hugh Bryson, Pres.), is engaged in a two-coast, three-front struggle: against Fed. Maritime Adm. for a 13-point bill of rights including FEPC; against shipowners for 25% raise, improved conditions and 40-hour week at sea; against National Maritime Union paid raiders. "MCS is the only seafaring union that puts into practice 24 hours a day the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which includes the 14th Amendment," says Bryson.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

TWO OF A KIND: Entertained by Nicaragua's Pres. Somoza, Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan, Truman's military aide, told the press later the Strong Man could "just as easily be President of the U.S. After all, he and Harry are just alike. They both like the same things—a friendly poker game, a good story and a stiff drink."

SAME OLD STORY: Draft boards in nine Southern states are rejecting an average of 46% of all examinees, including 39% who can't pass intelligence tests. South Carolina (the "learned" Gov. Byrnes is former Sec'y of State) has the highest rejection rate—65.3% including 60.7% who flunked intelligence tests.

LAST WORDS: In the last letter to his wife before death in action in Korea, Mississippi-born Jesse Brown, first Negro Navy pilot, wrote: "But my biggest hope still is that somehow, thru the mercy of God, this war can come to a close without us getting into an all out war with China."

Burrs and Barbs



"Ophelia, Mr. Roberts and I are doing our bit toward exposing Red lies about our democracy. So you need no longer come in through the back door . . . we'll have one built around the side for you."

DuBois Defends Right To Speak for Peace

The recent indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for his refusal to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act has called forth a storm of protest from the Negro people, labor and peace-loving Americans. The indictment was brought by the Justice Department because Dr. DuBois served as chairman of the now-disbanded Peace Information Center, which collected millions of signatures of American citizens on petitions calling for outlawing atomic weapons. Below, Dr. DuBois expresses his determination to continue the fight for peace.

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

It was the 19th century which taught us a new concept of the causes of war; namely, that whatever war was against, it was always mainly fought for personal gain, for income and control of the labor of men.

In the decade when I began my life work it was natural for me to seize on gain as the main cause of war and to find its chief example in Negro slavery and in that excuse for slavery, race hate. But instead of beginning with the exploitation of white labor as did most reformers of my day, it was the twist of my peculiar situation that made me begin with black slavery and the subjection of the darker people as the cause of the subjection of white labor and consequently the chief cause of war.

Once I grasped this idea, I did not wait until 1949 to fight for peace, but I began at the very threshold of the 20th century. . . . War in this century takes on new meaning. It is a great and evil monster set to destroy civilization, at first sight out of sheer madness and inborn evil, but on second and clear sight with the determination to place control of the world's wealth in the hands of one international clique of unscrupulous men. . . .

Certainly in our day war itself is the embodiment of an evil which must be fought head on, to clear the way and give the time and save the life to rescue the future progress of mankind.

For this reason, since the beginning of the Second World War, I have given all the thought and energy I could to peace, whenever and wherever I found an opportunity. . . .

Thus I stand . . . facing the possibility of celebrating my future birthdays in prison. . . . The prospect is not pleasant. Yet I continue to maintain that advocacy of peace is not treason; that I am the agent of no foreign principal and never have been; that I am the champion of no idea alien to this nation; and that I have the right within the law in the future as in the past to fight for peace.

. . . If we seem at present worsted in our effort to halt war, this may be in part due to our failure to see in war the vast evil it has recently become, and in part too because we do not yet know how much we have really accomplished. Victory may be nearer than we think.

A Salute to the Hills of Detroit



FREEDOM salutes Capt. Charles A. Hill, Jr. This veteran of World War II was accused of "disloyalty" and ordered to resign his reserve commission or face a board of inquiry. Hill chose to fight against the "charges"—and won. "Charges" were that his father, the prominent and militant Rev. Charles A. Hill, Sr., had been identified with Communists while running for the Common Council in 1949, and that Capt. Hill "had been seen reading the Daily Worker."

Hill answered: (1) "I have heard much about guilt by association. . . . This goes even farther. This is guilt by relationship. . . ."; and (2) "My education has taught me that no ideas written or spoken should be closed to the enquiring mind."

Rev. and Mrs. Hill with four of their eight children are shown reading the good news that Air Forces Sec'y T. K. Finletter had dropped charges against Charles, Jr. (inset).

They Planted a Union — With Their Sweat — In Carolina's Boss Ridden Tobacco Empire

By Louis E. Burnham

"The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company has pioneered in developing excellent working conditions for Negroes at the factory and is rapidly expanding its Negro sales force whose efforts are familiar to many of you."

If you read the Negro press and have noticed that chummy little sentence in the Camel ads during the past few weeks — don't take it seriously.

The workers in the Reynolds empire in Winston-Salem, N.C., with whom I spoke recently don't have money to pay for big newspaper ads, but they have their own story to tell about the "excellent working conditions for Negroes at the factory."

Their story is also that of conditions in the plants of the other three of tobacco's Big Four (Liggett and Meyers, American Tobacco and P. Lorillard). It is a story the anti-labor commercial press refuses to tell.

North Carolina is the principal seat of the U.S. tobacco empire. It is the chief manufacturing center for the more than 3 billion cigarettes Americans smoke every year.

And the tobacco industry provides the fabulous profits and huge salaries of a handful of tobacco stockholders and executives whose record of union-busting and anti-Negro bias would be hard to beat.

40 Cents an Hour

Far from having "excellent working conditions" Negro workers at Reynolds in Winston-Salem complain that increasingly they find themselves with no jobs at all. In the past few years the number of Negro workers has been reduced almost by half—from 6,500 to 3,500. And anybody in this tobacco town can tell you the reason for the wholesale firings—the union.

Almost ten years ago the Negro workers at Reynolds took the leadership in organizing the famous Local 22, which is now an affiliate of the

Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (Ind.). Men and women like Robert Lathan (int. vice-pres.), Robert Black (int. organizer), Velma Hopkins (bus. agent), and the late Miranda Smith (former regional director), were tired of 40c an hour jobs, back-breaking toil, long hours, inadequate sanitary facilities and scores of other abuses.

So were thousands of other workers. By 1943 there were few Negroes in the Reynolds buildings were not members of Local 22. And a substantial number of the 4,000-odd white workers joined too.

Still the bosses at Reynolds refused to recognize the workers' organization. But the union—with a tightly-knit set-up of militant shop stewards who fought workers' grievances on the spot with the white foremen—got things accomplished, and the workers knew that recognition had to come eventually.

Then the big break occurred. On June 17, 1943, a Negro worker in one of the stemmeries complained that he was dizzy and asked the foreman's permission to see the doctor. The foreman refused. The worker continued on the job, went to lunch and returned when the half-hour period was over. In a short while he suffered another dizzy spell and fell to the floor—dead. In five minutes the stemmery was empty. In three days the Reynolds empire was closed down tight as a drum with 11,000

LEADERS OF TOBACCO WORKERS UNION



Robert Lathan
Vice-Pres, DPOW



Velma Hopkins
Bus. Agent, Local 22



Robert Black
Int. Org., DPOW



Marie Winston
Bus. Agent, Local 10

workers, white as well as Negro, on strike.

Try as they might, the tobacco barons couldn't close their eyes to Local 22 any more. For the first time the exploited Negro tobacco workers went up to the top floor of the Reynolds building which stands on Main Street and dominates the Winston-Salem skyline. They met with Whittaker, president of the company and a battery of big-shot tobacco lawyers, and pressed their demands for improved conditions in the plant. They were, in fact if not in law, the official bargaining agent for more than 9,000 dues-paying members.

First Contract

The results of the stewardship of Local 22 are legendary in Winston-Salem. One of its first achievements in 1943 was winning \$1,250,000 retroactive pay for low-paid Negro workers in the leaf-houses and stemmeries. The first contract was signed on April 24, 1944, and wages began a slow but steady climb. Negro stemmers received 40-53c an hour before the union. Today the minimum is 93c and night workers start at \$1.03.

Before Local 22 went to work there were 163 Negro voters in Winston-Salem, which has a population of 86,000 almost half of whom are Negroes. Today more than 8,000 Negroes vote as a result of campaigns by the union to qualify its members, and Winston-Salem in 1947 became the first Southern city in the 20th Century to send a Negro (Rev. Kenneth Williams) to the City Council. The Rev. Williams has since turned his back on the Negro workers who were responsible for his election, but the end of the Winston-Salem story has not yet been told.

Recent Election

Of course, the R. J. Reynolds company has never stopped fighting the union. In a recent election Local 22 defeated the combined raids of the Jim Crow Tobacco Workers International Union, AFL, and of Willard Townsend's puny catch-all United Transport Service Employees, CIO. The workers are still burning mad that Townsend came to town with money provided by Philip Murray to try to smash the union that had won so many gains for them. They were also not pleased that Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune permitted herself to be brought in to a mass meeting just before election to talk against Local 22.

And the raiders were not the only worry of the local. The mayor of Winston-Salem took to the radio the day before the election in a frantic appeal for the defeat of the militant union.

But despite all this, "22" defeated the raiders and achieved a run-off election with the company. In the run-off the local won again—4450 to 4400 for no union. But there were 130 foremen's ballots uncounted. And any union member will tell you that the National Labor Board "counted for the company" which was eventually awarded the election by 60 votes.

Since the election, there has been no recognized bargaining agent for the workers at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. And the tobacco executives are doing everything in their power to smash Local 22.

Showcase Jobs

That explains the current firings. Ninety-five per cent of the Negro workers are found

in the low-paid, unskilled jobs in the leaf-houses and stemmeries. In the skilled departments (cigarette manufacture) the 4-5000 Reynolds white workers make more money and enjoy better working conditions. As one worker put it: "All the jobs with the work picked out of them, they give to the white workers; all the jobs with the work still in them are for the Negroes."

A handful of Negroes (about 150) work on machines on a Jim-Crow floor in the manufacturing department—as a show case for the Reynolds public relations department when it carries the public through the plant on conducted tours!

The Negro stemmers and leaf workers who are losing their jobs at Reynolds are overwhelmingly women, and they have no place in Winston-Salem to go for employment—except as domestic servants for \$17 a week in the homes of the Reynolds executives!

No Negroes Hired

All the other industries in the city are practically lily-white. The Hanes (underwear) knitting and hosiery mills in town hire no Negroes. Arista Mills has a big working force—all white. DuPont has a plant on the outskirts of town—no Negroes hired. The huge McLean Trucking Company hauls goods all over the South, needs drivers badly—white. The big General Electric plant is lily-white.

The tactic of firing militant union members is not new to the Reynolds executives. In 1928 and '29 they broke the effort of white workers to organize by firing 2,000 white employees.

But Local 22 is fighting back. It is strengthening its support among the Negro workers and launching a special effort to bring the majority of the whites into the union.

Upon the success of its efforts—and not the advertising hokum of the R. J. Reynolds Co.—depends the prospects of establishing "excellent working conditions" for the Negro and white workers at the factory.

Local 22 deserves the support of the whole labor movement and the entire Negro community in the struggle which lies ahead.

Tobacco leaf-house workers handling drums in which tobacco is cured before it goes to factory for processing.



Here's My Story

By Paul Robeson

I HAVE JUST RETURNED from a most instructive and deeply moving journey around the East and Middle West. All the cities brought back memories of concerts in the past to thousands—in the Philadelphia Academy of Music, with the Orchestra in Symphony Hall, Boston, in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, and the Mosque, Detroit, and the beginnings of "Othello" at Brattle Hall, Cambridge, outside of Boston.



Most precious of recollections was Cadillac Square, Detroit, when CIO took over Ford, and the picket lines in Packing, Farm Equipment and United Electrical, and Steel in Chicago and elsewhere.

Everywhere there was deep concern and troubled anxiety about our country's policies: about the open attacks upon honest forces of labor; deep sorrow and anger about attacks on the Negro people of this nation.

A decisive change has come, as far as I could judge. The fight is on to bring thousands and thousands of the people into militant struggle for our rights, economic, political and social—and, most of all, for our very lives.

Today Big Business is back in power in Washington, and men like the Johnstons and Wilsons cackle and slap their thighs in contempt as they literally throw labor out of their offices. The Big Boys tell the Negro people they must not dare fight for their rights, to organize in the South, to fight for better jobs in the North, to get out of the ghettos, to move toward full national liberation—and the Big Brass fight fiercely for a war economy and continued threats of war to beat the Negro people into submission.

THIS TRIP MADE ME more than ever deeply proud and happy that I decided way back to give my talents and energy to the working masses.

They threw their arms around me literally and in spirit. They said, "Paul, you look fine." "Take care of yourself." They gave me the best of their experiences and knowledge to bring back to our paper FREEDOM and to our common struggle. They said, "Paul, sing us a song—and take care of your voice. We've got to have some concerts soon. They can't stop you from singing—you belong to us." And they certainly saw to that in Detroit, Boston and Philadelphia—and the other night in Chicago.

THAT EVENING I SHALL NEVER FORGET. A packed Southside Chicago church—Metropolitan Community Church—a concert, beautifully arranged by the Southside Negro Labor Council, with its emphasis on the struggle of the Negro people for full freedom and liberation.

The church was full of workers and their families, including the children—proud working-class leaders of the Negro people helped and supported by their white working brothers and sisters, challenging the few Negro big-shots like Townsend and Dawson—challenging them in the heart of the Negro community. And there too was Rev. Evans of the militant ministry, giving a stirring plea for peace, God bless him!

During this trip my mind went to the Black Belt of the South, the real heart of the problem. Measured by what happens there we Negroes in this great land survive or perish. We can move around in Harlem, the South Side,

(Continued on Page 8)

HOW LONG, OH LORD?



LETTER COLUMN

Get It Off Your Chest

Justice—Oklahoma Style

I write you a few lines about things that are going on here in the deep south against the Negro. First, I will mention my thoughts and my thanks to your little paper. . . . I have some truths to pass on to you. Our hands are tied. We can not do anything by ourselves. The KKK here in the south are against us black people. There is a colored man here who is a World War II veteran. His home is in Paul's Valley. He was living independent, running his own business. They teamed up on him; came and handcuffed him and beat him over the head with their guns. They turned him loose and gave him just so long to get out of Paul's Valley, Okla. So now he lives in Oklahoma City. A white man here in Wiletke, Okla. ravished a little teen-age colored girl in November, 1950. They have not let the case be brought to court yet. So many things have been done to colored people here in Okla. by the whites and they will never let these cases be tried in court.

Matt Turner
Oklahoma

Best There Is

I received the February issue of Freedom today and immediately devoured it quite eagerly. It has my vote, as being the best monthly paper there is. When I subscribed, I received the January issue soon after, and a friend borrowed it to

read. I haven't seen it since. I only hope that it passed through many appreciative hands.

George H. Redding, Jr.
Jamaica, N. Y.

Rights Ignored

The whole world is upset. Our boys are slaughtered—colored boys fighting to save a system that ignores their rights. This last election was a mistake. We just got high prices and the money goes to thieves so they can grab more. And Truman wants close ties with Franco Spain! Enclosed you will find money for a subscription for a friend.

Mrs. Brewer
Portland, Oregon

Expose Uncle Toms

We must expose the falsehoods of the phonies and Uncle Toms who didn't speak out for the seven men of Martinsville who were framed for crimes they did not commit. Freedom is what we need so bad in these United States. I mean a complete liberation for Negroes and any of the oppressed people all over the world. Then, in the near future everybody can live a happy and peaceful life. I am definitely with you and nobody is going to make me think untrue to my people.

Jesse Maxwell,
Packinghouse Worker
Roxbury, Ma

Self-Thinking Reader

I see that Paul Robeson is to furnish a column. While many

may disagree with Mr. Robeson, he is still a great Negro whom all the gods have blessed with talent and superb ability. He is one who understands so well our Constitutional rights that he would permit that Un-American committee on Un-American activities to gouge his eyes out with hot irons before he would tell them his political beliefs. I subscribe to your paper because I want every viewpoint from extreme right to extreme left so that I may make up my mind, for as long as I live I shall certainly do my own thinking, thanks to the American Bill of Rights.

A. Preston Gray
Kingsport, Tenn.

Gibraltar

In times like these Paul Robeson and the new newspaper are the new Gibraltar of freedom and hope!

Rev. David W. Jones
Moberly, Missouri

God Speed Freedom

I see the Freedom of the Negro people on any day. God speed it. I am white, 75 next month, a shut-in, mostly bed-ridden and down with arthritis for 15 years. All of my waking time I have written for any progressive, humanly working and advancing publication that cares to use my work. All power to you! Keep your feet in the plan you have organized upon, and your service will be essential and great.

Julia W. Cockerott
Seattle, Washington

Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

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True 45 Years Ago — And Even Truer Today!

DuBois and Niagara Founders Voiced Negro Protest and Demand for Equality

On this page are printed excerpts from the 1906 resolution of the Niagara Movement, written by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The movement was organized by DuBois in 1906. That same year leaders of the movement met at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid, and, in DuBois' words, "had in significance if not in numbers one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes have ever had. We made pilgrimage at dawn barefooted to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that has been given voice to by black men in America."

THE men of the Niagara Movement, coming from the toil of the year's hard work, and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing.

In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes will sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies. Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests.

We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the Thief and the home of the Slave—a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment.

Five-Point Program

IN DETAIL our demands are clear and unequivocal.

First. We would vote; with the right to vote goes everything.

Second. We want discrimination in public accommodations to cease.

Third. We claim the right of free men to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black.

... We want Congress to take charge of the Congressional elections. We want the 14th Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters.

Fifth. We want our children educated. ... We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. ... We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

THESE are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we



W. E. B. DuBOIS is shown, second from right center row, with a group of the founders of the Niagara Movement. Organized in 1906 at a meeting held in a little hotel on the Canadian side of Ft. Erie, the Movement was launched by 29 Negro men from 14 states. It was eventually absorbed by the NAACP, founded in 1909.

may; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe

in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free.

Southern Students Defend DuBois

Campus leaders from several leading Southern colleges have formed a Committee of Southern Students to Defend Dr. DuBois. In an appeal to President Truman for dismissal of the federal indictment against the noted scholar, the Committee supports the contention of Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch, that the case is "one of the most shameful acts ever committed by the government of the United States against the Negro people."

Petitions are being circulated on every Negro campus in the South and on several white campuses, including Tulane, U. of Texas and U. of North Carolina.

Initial sponsors of the Committee are: Charles Moore, president, Student Union, Dillard Univ.; William Larshe, president, North Carolina Intercollegiate Student Legislature; Edward Pinkney, president, Student Council, Fisk Univ.; James W. Kelsaw, editor, The Talladega Student, Talladega College; Nathaniel Bond, founding president, NAACP Youth Conference, N. C.; Stephen S. Edley, editor, Campus Echo, North Carolina College; Chathan M. Ross, Beta Delta Mu, N. C. College, and Howard Linnard, Methodist Fed. for Social Action, U. of Texas.



THE POST-WORLD WAR I years witnessed a wave of lynchings and mob attacks against Negroes throughout the United States. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (arrow) is shown in 1919 participating in an anti-lynching parade which made its way down New York's Fifth Avenue. At DuBois' left is the late James Weldon Johnson, noted poet and author, and first Negro secretary of the NAACP.

AFRICA • ASIA • CARIBBEANS • LATIN AMERICA

News of Colored Peoples in Other Lands

American Trusts Bolster South African Racists

By ALPHAEUS HUNTON

American liberal opinion was shocked by the news that the United States government would grant a loan to Dictator Franco of Spain, and there was more dismay expressed over reports that even now more money and arms are to be squandered on Chiang Kai-shek. But these same liberal circles have displayed little or no concern about the recent \$80,000,000 loan to the fascist government of the Union of South Africa!

The fact that the big American bankers provided \$30,000,000 of the recent loan and advanced another \$10,000,000 to South Africa in 1949 is a token of the interest of U.S. big business in the land of gold, diamonds and rampant racism. Morgan and Rockefeller interests have been entrenched there for a long time. Ford was established there over 25 years ago; General Motors, which recently built a \$20,000,000 plant at Port Elizabeth in South Africa, has also been on the scene almost as long. In the mining industry are found American Kennecott Corporation and Newmont Mining Corporation. The latter, which has General Lucius Clay, pardoner of Ilse Koch, as a director, made profits of \$9,000,000 in three years on an investment of just \$7,000,000 in South West Africa.

Also operating in South Africa are Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric, and a long list of other American corporations too numerous to mention. Their number and the total investment of American capital in the country have increased sharply since 1945. It is no longer to England but to America that the rulers of South Africa now look for the bulk of foreign investment capital. And the American trusts are hard bargainers.

Even though it had all the necessary anti-Communist qualifications, the South African government had no easy time winning Washington's dollar-blessings.

You might expect that the ugly things said in the U.N. General Assembly about the South African regime had something to do with the difficulty, but you're wrong. No, the real trouble was a little matter of America's uranium requirements in South Africa, and how much South Africa and Britain would settle for.

Finally, last December, the agreement on the uranium deal was announced. The \$80,000,000 loan followed in January.

The agreement, the terms of

which are top-secret, gives the U.S. government purchase rights to "great quantities" of uranium ore in "one of the world's largest sources" of the stuff, the vast gold fields of South Africa. (The biggest source of uranium, in the Belgian Congo, was grabbed up by the U.S. during the last World War.) Along with the acquisition of the new South African source came Truman's demand for a special billion-dollar appropriation to expand and speed up the manufacture of atomic weapons. So you can readily understand what South African uranium ore has to do with the amount of change left in your pocketbook.

The Wall Street Journal (Dec. 8, 1948) warned that "one loan won't be enough because it is calculated that it will be at least five years before South African gold fields and base mineral and industrial production can earn enough dollars to bridge the estimated gap in the country's trade balance. This would mean loans from America over the next five years totalling \$1.5 billion."

But the Truman administration is apparently committed to bailing out Malan & Co., just as it remains committed to trying to bail out Chiang Kai-shek, regardless of the billions it may cost American tax-payers.

Why? President Truman, General Eisenhower, and Governor Dewey among others, have lately been busy explaining. "We" must hold Africa, they all say, because it is the source of "materials that are absolutely essential to our existence, our way of life."

Translated in plain language, what these gentlemen mean is that Africa, its resources and people, must remain the property of the Western world to be freely exploited in the future as in the past, only more intensively and systematically. The statesmen of the Western powers talk a lot about "developing" subject lands and "raising the living standards" of the inhabitants, but they say not a word about giving them their FREEDOM. When these gentlemen speak of preserving their



PART OF THE HUGE PROFITS of the giant General Motors Corp. comes from the exploitation of the semi-slave labor of black workers in the Union of South Africa. Picture above shows sign announcing construction of a new \$20,000,000 GM plant at Port Elizabeth, S. A. GM recently announced its 1950 profits—\$834,000,000—largest annual "earnings" in history of American industry.

"free world" they mean maintaining the freedom to exploit other peoples.

The South Africa that Truman and Dewey and the Big Bosses for whom they front want to preserve as part of their "free world" is a South Africa in which eight million Africans are forced to labor at slave wages, under slave conditions, completely disfran-

chised, restricted by pass laws, crowded into Jim Crow ghettos poverty-stricken and disease-ridden beyond belief, denied freedom of assembly and every elementary human right.

American wealth and the American Government have joined hands with South Africa's reactionary ruling circles in the effort to preserve this vicious system of exploitation.

It is high time that American progressives, Negro and white workers together, joined hands with their African brothers who are today organizing and fighting back against their oppressors, determined to smash the system and live as free men.

—Reprinted from New Africa bulletin of the Council on African Affairs.

WORLD REVIEW

BRITISH WEST INDIES

British marines and airborne police forces from Trinidad were required to aid local police in crushing a strike of plantation workers in Grenada, Windward Islands, last month. The strike was in protest against harsh and dictatorial repressive measures embodied in recently passed laws.

PUERTO RICO

All school children in this U.S. colony have been required to contribute to a fund for the widow of Truman's bodyguard, slain in the shooting at Blair House involving Puerto Rican nationalists. All government employees were required to sign a statement begging President Truman's pardon for the alleged assassination attempt. Two distinguished teachers who refused to sign were summarily fired.

LIBERIA

Having turned over the port of Monrovia to be used as a U.S. military base, and the resources of the land to Firestone and other American corporations, the self-perpetuating Liberian government has placed

the country deeper in hock to Washington and Wall Street by signing a Point Four agreement and a pact providing for the sending of a U.S. military training mission to Liberia. It was the strike of Liberian workers for more pay on American-owned concessions in Liberia just a year ago which prompted President Truman to ask for U.S. arms and the services of U.S. military advisers.

HAITI

Recent news appears to confirm the view that the country liberated by the great Haitian revolutionaries from French domination is today coming more and more under the domination of U.S. Big Business. An advertisement in the N.Y. Times not long ago announced, "Haiti's doors are open wide for your trade and industry," and noted among other enticements that "Labor costs in Haiti are among the lowest in the world." About the same time the ad appeared the government announced it had outlawed the popular Socialist Party and militant peasant workers' movement

and banned five publications of the two parties because of an alleged plot to "sabotage foreign investments in Haiti." They were held responsible for strikes against the American-Haitian sugar company and other U.S.-financed firms. And just the other day President Maglorie of Haiti exchanged greetings with President Trujillo, dictator of the neighboring Dominican Republic, and the two presidents agreed to work together to "fight Communism" on the island—which means keeping labor costs low and promoting U.S. investment and trade.

Injustice and Hypocrisy

In November 1899, a Negro attorney, Lewis H. Douglass, wrote the following in an open letter to the press:

"It is a sorry, though true fact that whatever this government controls, injustice to dark races prevails. The people of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Philippines know it as well as do the wronged Indian and outraged black man in the U.S...."

"It is hypocrisy of the most sickening kind to try to make us believe that the killing of Filipinos is for the purpose of good government and to give protection to life and property and the pursuit of happiness."

"The expansion of the U.S. means extension of race hate and cruelty, barbarous lynchings and the gross injustice to dark people..."

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Why Do Communist Leaders Face Jail?

By BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

I have been asked by the editors of FREEDOM to comment upon the meaning of the threatened imprisonment of the Communist leaders to the Negro people.

The appeal of the Communist leaders against the Smith Act—the Nazi-like statute under which we were framed and sentenced to five years—is now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The eleven of us who were convicted are on bail—virtually imprisoned within two counties of New York City. Two of us among the eleven are Negroes—Henry Winston and myself. Winston is a stalwart young Negro Communist leader, the national Administrative Secretary of our Party, with a long courageous record of struggle for American youth, for Negro rights and for the working class.

We are threatened with imprisonment because the American ruling class wants neither peace nor freedom. The billionaire monopolists of Wall Street are driving headlong toward another world war and toward fascism in their mad dream for world domination. They are the main enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism.

The atomaniacs of Washington are itching to attack the Soviet Union—world bulwark of peace and freedom—and they are feverishly trying to spread their gangster aggression against the Korean and Chinese people into a global conflict.

The Morgans and Rockefellers are sinking their teeth into Africa, already bleeding from centuries of brutal oppression. The whole of Latin, South and Central America—with its large Negro and Indian populations—is but a preserve for the greedy profit-seekers of Wall Street.

The Truman Administration is the obedient tool of the American monopolists. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are flunkies of the capitalist warmakers and of the oppressors of the Negro people.

Although Pres. Truman has tried to camouflage his reactionary program behind hypocritical talk of "civil rights" and by giving jobs to special hand-picked Negro "leaders," it is well-known that the lot of the Negro workers and rank and file is getting worse all the time.

Mass Misery

Lawless policemen shoot down Negroes like dogs, not only in the deep South, but in broad open daylight on the streets of Harlem, Detroit and Chicago's South Side. Rotten food and extortionate high prices from the food trusts are rampant. The ramshackle slums, in which rats have practically taken over, make life for the Negro parents and their children hazardous. Starvation relief pittance and job-discrimination are a form of mass murder of the Negro people.

Hunger and destitution suicides are beginning to be a feature of Negro working class life. The capitalist lynch system, over which Truman presides, in "legally" murdering the Martinsville seven, has reached an unspeakable depth of barbarity. Nor is it satisfied—it now wants to murder Wil-

lie McGee in Mississippi, the Trenton (N.J.) Six, the Groveland (Fla.) Three, and still others.

This sharp increase in the lynch terror and monstrous repression against the Negro people flows from the war program of Wall Street and the Truman Administration.

In order to defend the elementary liberties of the Negro



BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

people and all other minorities, and to advance the cause of their national liberation from the lynch system, every struggle for Negro rights has to be directed against the war program of Wall Street and Truman.

Butter, Not Guns

That means fighting for butter not guns, housing not battleships, hospitals not atom bombs, democratic liberties not loyalty oaths and thought-control. It means bringing our boys home from Korea. It requires the seating of China—the great new Asian Republic, of freedom and peace—in the UN instead of disfranchising 475 million colored Chinese as 9 million Negroes have been disfranchised in the South. It means outlawing the atom bomb—and using the money now being squandered in searching for a terrifying hydrogen bomb, to conquer cancer, arthritis, rheumatic fever, heart disease and all the other fatal ills which are killing the workers, the poor and all other victims of capitalism.

The war program is not only a threat to the existence of every one of us. The very drive toward war is the greatest menace to the democratic rights of the Negro people.

When asked a few days ago why she didn't help save the Martinsville Seven, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that it seemed to her all the organizations protesting the execution of these young Negroes "were Communist." This woman regards one as a "Communist" merely because he protests the lynching of innocent Negroes.

Peace—peace with the Soviet Union, the Eastern European Democracies, with China—is

EDITOR'S NOTE: Most newspapers ask every source except the Communists what the Communists stand for. FREEDOM on the contrary went directly to a Communist leader, Benjamin Davis, for his comments on the significance of the threatened imprisonment of the Communist leaders to the Negro people.

Mr. Davis is a native of Georgia. His father was a

what the American ruling class fears most. It fears the great voice of the Negro people for peace. That's why it "imprisoned" the heroic world leader Paul Robeson within the U.S. and barred this great artist from the concert stage. That's why it had indicted the noted Negro scholar, W. E. B. DuBois, and threatens this gentle and great man—83 years old—with a brutal 5 year prison term.

Wall St. Calls the Tune

That's why, too, Wall Street and Truman have bought out such Negro misleaders as Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Ralph Bunche, Edith Sampson, Adam Powell and A. Phillip Randolph and set them singing tunes of war to the Negro masses. When these so-called leaders accepted the pats on the head and the crumbs from the Jim-Crow table of the white ruling class in return for supporting the war program, they betrayed the whole struggle for Negro rights. Scratch an Uncle Tom agent of the warmongers—and you'll find a traitor to the cause of Negro rights.

When the Trumans and Rockefellers give their receptions you'll find these Uncle Toms on hand bowing and scraping their way in. But when the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee—who symbolize the plight of the Negro people as a whole—face death they're nowhere to be found.

The struggle for peace is the issue today which will unite the Negro people, advance their liberation and expose the traitors within their ranks. Main responsibility for providing the leadership for this struggle rests today upon the strong and expanding shoulders of the Negro workers and their white progressive allies organized in such bodies as the Harlem Trade Union Council, the Southside Negro Labor Council of Chicago, and in similar councils elsewhere.

In raising the question of peace as the central issue be-

fore the American working class and the Negro people, the Communists—guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism—are making the decisive contribution to the cause of Negro liberation. It is for this, more than anything else, that the Truman Administration, behind lying demagoguery, is trying to behead the Communist Party by putting its leaders in prison, beginning in the first place, with Wm. Z. Foster, the foremost leader of our Party who is hated by the Jim-Crow capitalists with a special venom.

The aim of the Truman Administration, and its Wall Street masters, is not alone to jail the Communist leaders—as vicious and unconstitutional as that is. Its main aim is to outlaw the Communist Party.

The aim of the Truman Administration, and its Wall Street masters, is not alone to jail the Communist leaders—as vicious and unconstitutional as that is. Its main aim is to outlaw the Communist Party.

Mr. Freedom

By Bill Cahn

He's got no manners,
don't know his place,
keeps intruding,
showing his face
where he ain't invited,
walking right up
to people who ain't free,
tipping his hat
and saying:
"Hello there, here's me!"

Hard to keep Mr. Freedom out.
He don't pay attention
to what laws say,
Hard to lock Mr. Freedom up.
He keeps slipping away.

Hard to fool this Mr. Freedom.
"Don't need you, Freedom man,"
you say.

"Go on about your business."
Bother somebody else.
Got all I want today."

But he takes a look
at what you've got:
right to slave all day,
right to lousy job,
dirty, dangerous, hot,
right to say "yes sir, yes sir."
And he just winks his eye
and says:

This is the path Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito took in establishing fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan. Truman is heading down the same road, in the name of democracy and under the guise of "saving the world from Communism." It's the technique of the Big Lie, and it will bring ruin, blood and tears to the American people as it did to Germany. Once the Communists were outlawed, it would not be long before all other organizations that spoke for peace and democracy were similarly outlawed.

For a Better Life

The threat of outlawing the Communist Party is of concern to the whole American working class and people generally. It is of special concern to the Negro people, irrespective of their political party, for they know of the long and pioneering battles of the Communists at the side of Negro people for their freedom and equal rights.

We, Communists who are marked for jailing, are confident that the Negro people will play an ever increasing role in a growing coalition for peace and freedom, and that this struggle will be won. All the terrors and lies of the Wall Street imperialists and their hired underlings cannot stop the march of humanity for peace, dignity and a better life.

"Freedom ain't a buick car
or a refrigerator
or a moving picture show,
No sir.
You ain't necessarily free
just because you own
a new TV.

"Freedom ain't reading,
and freedom ain't writing.
You ain't necessarily free
just because you know
your ABC.

"Freedom ain't fighting in
a war.
You ain't necessarily free
just because the papers say
you fighting for democracy."

This Mr. Freedom
don't know his place,
keeps intruding,
showing his face,
winking his eye
and saying:

"You ain't necessarily free
even when you own
a new TV.
No sir,
you ain't free!"

Negroes Demand Jobs at Ford Plant

NORFOLK, Va.—The recently organized Norfolk Committee for Fair Employment Practices is appealing to the citizens of this growing industrial community to correct one of the most glaring examples of job discrimination in the nation—the refusal of the local Ford automobile plant to hire Negroes in production jobs.

The Ford Co., which recently received a \$31,000,000 war contract, hires about 2,000 workers

in its Norfolk works. Of this number only 10 are Negroes, and they work as janitors and car washers. Negroes constitute approximately one-third of Norfolk's growing population of 188,000.

The Committee recently appealed to President Pendleton of Ford Local 911, United Automobile Workers, CIO, for support in its campaign. Pendleton excused the policy of the giant corporation and said that Ford was not discriminating

but merely trying to avoid "interracial conflict."

The Committee has now appealed for the support of Walter P. Reuther, intl. pres. of the UAW. Local observers express the opinion that only a mass protest campaign by the Norfolk Committee and supported by the Negro labor councils and progressive groups throughout the country will force Reuther, Pendleton and the Ford Co. to change the jimerow hiring policy.

CULTURAL CARAVAN

Explosive Social Currents Hamper Movie-Making in South Africa

By WALTER CHRISTMAS

"Hatred and fear run like a breeze through the Union of South Africa. It is always present and was the source of the first question asked us by the whites: 'What do the natives think of us?'"

The tall young man in the Air Corps jacket was Sidney Poitier, who recently returned from South Africa where he played the part of Msimangu in the London Films production of Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country." Other American Negro actors who played in the film were Canada Lee and Charles McRae.

Land of Segregation

"Whites were the only people we were allowed to see on a social level. The Africans living in miserable shantytown ghettos, without lights or the remotest comfort, were not permitted to entertain us. Our meetings with them were catch as catch can."

"We had been warned not to speak to the natives about politics. From this arose the rumor that we had entered South Africa as bonded servants. We were 'protected' and, actually, had few opportunities to speak to them at all. The whites fear for their lives, their possessions, their social and economic positions. They impose four way segregation, separating whites, colored, Indians and Africans, because of fear. This does not dispel it. It only grows."

"The native African has a deep and solid hatred for the white man. For him, the white man is a symbol of oppression,

starvation and the worst form of cruelty. The native is resentful and restless. Restrictive laws are enacted and enforced to quell the rumbling dissatisfaction of eight million people. A showdown is inevitable and there seems to be no hope for a peaceful solution. It is too far gone. There are too many years of suppressed anger and desire for revenge."

"We, as somewhat privileged American Negroes, lived on a farm. This was the base from which we worked. We were transported to and from location sites by private car. The buses and other transportation, segregating whites, coloreds, Indians and natives, we could not use."

"On our farm was an African who had been there for seven years working seven days a week. His day began at 5:30 in the morning and lasted until 11 at night. He had a wife and two children whom he had not seen in all these seven years. His was the typical plight of many farm laborers."

Curfew Time

"One day, we were on location in Alexandria township, a native village. I was surprised to learn there was a feverish rush to complete shooting by 4:30 in the afternoon. We were not told why, but, as we rushed

to finish up, I saw why. At 4:30 in the evening the men returned home from work. We had been working days in a village when only the women and children were about. The men, returning home to their unpoliced ghetto, didn't want to see white people. Our crew contained many whites as technicians and directors. The native men were in their own territory without the cruel, ever-present South African policeman. Uninformed whites had been set upon before in such situations. And that evening not many men returned home before our shooting was done, equipment packed and we were heading out!"

Poitier has none of the mannerisms or affectations generally associated with movie actors. When this was mentioned, he smiled and leaned back in his chair.

Classes for Children

"Why should I be affected? With the situation as it is for Negro actors, there might never be another film job for me. However, I'm still striving to learn. I have acquired certain basic techniques and some of these I'm trying to transfer to the youth of Harlem. Right now, I'm teaching an acting class for youngsters at St. Philip's Parish House. These classes were organized by the Committee for the Negro in the Arts. I'm trying, in my way, to give this section of Negro youth a part of the dream that they've missed."



SIDNEY POITIER, the fine young actor, is shown with Ruby Dee in a scene from the moving picture "No Way Out." Poitier, a member of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, is teaching acting classes in Harlem's St. Philip's parish house in order to give Negro youngsters a chance to learn the craft. The CNA has been in the forefront of campaigns to eliminate the traditional Hollywood and Broadway characterizations of the Negro and to win employment for Negroes in all branches of the arts.

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 4)

Antoine Street, Massachusetts Avenue, and South Street—terrorized, ghettoed, accepting the crumbs as they fall, being misled by a few top collaborators who boast of being go-betweens between the poor Negro and the millionaire whites—but the Black Belt will decide the age-old issue of whether or not the Negro has rights that the white Bourbon is bound to respect.

FOR as long as any boy or girl can be denied opportunity in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi—so long as one can be lynched as he or she goes to vote—so long as the precious land does not belong to the people of that area (and with land, the wealth that flows therefrom, in agriculture and in industry)—so long as they do not have full opportunity to develop and enrich their cultural heritage and their lives—so long are the whole Negro people not free.

Don't say it's impossible to change this. China was "impossible" not long ago. African freedom, West Indian freedom, Puerto Rican freedom are not impossible. Neither is ours.

These are some of our tasks.

I know that I, for one, after this trip, seeing and experiencing the collective power of my people and their true and honest allies—I know that we all should and must feel "powerful strong," that we should and must feel some of the mountain-moving strength of our legendary John Henry. So let us get into the fight, let us continue steadfast, let us journey on to a Mt. Zion right here on this American earth.

'Mr. Charlie' and Mr. Charles

By TAY TURNER

The belated recognition of Ezzard Charles as heavyweight champion of the world is another example of how the poison of white supremacy infects everything—even sports. Actually professional boxing is not a sport but a big business, and business has always found racial hatred a handy tool to keep about.

A Real Champ

Ezzard has done everything that can be asked of a champ, yet he's still the target for tongue-in-cheek remarks of sports writers. Why?

For one thing, Charles is walking in the footsteps of them all, Joe Louis, and that's a tough role to fill. But that isn't the main reason: Charles is a clever boxer, an intelligent and

highly skilled student of the ring. Those who run the business of boxing don't like "Fancy Dans," or "cuties." Boxing is a cruel business, and in the final analysis, the fans pay to watch sheer brutality—the bloodier the better. The "colorful" battlers who've packed the stadiums have always been the sluggers. The Dempseys, the Grazianos, the Tony Galentos, the Maxie Baers, will always outdraw a Tunney, a Tommy Loughran, a Billy Conn, or an Ezzard Charles. In addition to being clever, Charles has a dark skin and that gives the white supremacy lads a bad headache!

Can't Explain Him

They can always explain away a slugger (especially a tan one) as "brute force." In



Ezzard Charles

the acclaim Joe Louis' greatness finally won—despite the efforts of the sports and editorial writers to picture him as "slow-witted," "backward" and the rest of the slanders—his terrific punching powers were always lauded and his real boxing ability forgotten.

In Top Company

Charles isn't a flashy fighter nor a sensational one, but has been vastly underrated, and only now is slowly but surely coming into his own. If he does not rank with a Joe Louis, let's not forget that Charles belongs in the company of heavyweight champions. If any one doubts his real fistic powers, consider how carefully the fight crowd hide their white favorites from Charles. They well know Ezzard can take a Rex Layne, a Rocky Marciano, or LaStarza, all in the same night!

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