

Here's  
My Story  
By PAUL ROBESON

ONE OF THE associations I am most proud of is my connection with the hundreds of millions of people all over the world who are members or supporters of the World Council of Peace. This international body, which is the ardent spokesman for peace-loving humanity in all lands,



has for some time sought an interview with Trygve Lie and other leaders of the United Nations for the purpose of presenting a few simple proposals aimed at avoiding the catastrophe of a World War III.

When Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie, distinguished French scientist and president of the Council, addressed a request for support to Warren Austin, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, Mr. Austin unburdened himself of the most impolite reply.

I felt obliged as an American member of the peace committee to answer Mr. Austin; and since peace is everybody's business, I am making my letter public. Here it is, in part:

Dear Mr. Austin:

ADDRESS THIS letter to you as an American member of the World Council of Peace, which plans to present specific proposals on ways to peace before the United Nations at an early date. Your summary and discourteous dismissal of the request for support of this committee's proposals constitutes a distinct disservice to the peace-loving people of the United States and the world.

Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie, chairman of the Council, in directing a request to the United Nations for a conference, carries out the mandate of literally hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world. And included in these millions are great sections of the American people, especially women and youth, who today are finding new courage and strength to sign petitions for peace, participate in the various peace polls, attend peace conferences, and march in magnificent peace parades and caravans. They are making it clear that they, as well as the peoples of Europe and Asia, want peace and not a senseless war of mutual destruction.

The governments of the United States, Western Europe, Latin America, England and India must hearken to the voices of their people. These population majorities say: negotiate a five-power peace pact and give the new Chinese Republic of 475 million people its rightful seat in the United Nations, if the world is to have a United Nations that bears any resemblance to the intent of its founding Charter.

You may recall that M. Joliot-Curie has received the respectful and seriously-considered replies of many world organizations devoted to peace, including the world organization of Quakers and the Vatican.

(Continued on Page 6)

# Freedom

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

Vol. I—No. 7

178

JULY, 1951

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## ON THE INSIDE

"Dear Edith"—Open Letter to Edith Sampson

by Eslanda Goode Robeson p. 2

Wars Abroad, Jim Crow at Home

by Herbert Aptheker pp. 4-5

Bert Williams: "A great comedian, a great Negro, a great man"

by Yvonne Gregory p. 7

## Dixie Plus Hitler Race Hate KOs 'Ambassador' Sugar Ray

Jim Crow has KO'd Sugar Ray Robinson — something no man who has traded punches with the champion has been able to do.

The trouble is, the famous middleweight titleholder still doesn't know what hit him. For the record, it was a mixture of Dixie "white supremacy" and Hitler race hate, as deadly as a bolo punch.



SUGAR RAY ROBINSON receiving plaudits from French celebrities before his recent bouts with Jim Crow. Here Georges Carpentier, famed retired French boxer, presents a trophy to the Champ while film star Louise Carletti makes with the fists.

It happened in West Berlin recently during an exhibition bout with Gerhart Hecht. Sugar Ray swung a jab and the German turned away just as the blow landed. Robinson's lightning fist caught Hecht in the kidney and he went down for the count.

But the crowd of 30,000 began yelling "foul" and tossing pop bottles at Robinson and even Negro GI's among the spectators. The referee, claiming the blow was illegal, awarded the victory to the badly beaten German boxer. Sugar Ray and his wife were forced to take refuge underneath the ring and finally left the arena with a police escort.

Immediately, Robinson blamed the rioting on "Communists," still groggy, no doubt, from Mr. Jim Crow's Sunday punch.

When — and if — the Champ "comes to" he will realize that the Army of Occupation under Gen. Lucius Clay of Marietta, Ga., brought along the "white supremacy" ideas of old Dixie and spread them among the Germans, who learned their "Aryan" theories of race hate under Hitler. He might also remember the recent rioting in a German night club between Negro and white GI's sparked by the Army's policy of segregation.

Although Robinson was later

cleared of tossing a foul blow, this has been a rough trip for him. This is the second time within a few days that the famous Negro boxer, whom the New York Times appointed "ambassador," has had his credentials crudely snatched away from him during his current European tour.

The first time was at the swanky St. Cloud Country Club in Paris. Sugar Ray was floored by the same Mr. Jim Crow that 15 million of his black brothers and sisters in this country are fighting every day.

Robinson and his party were bluntly told to leave the exclusive club where they played golf every day, after white Americans objected to the presence of the Negroes.

Following his previous triumphant tour through Europe, Sugar Ray proudly referred to his spectacular rise as a boxer and his success as a businessman and said, "Where else but in America could I have done what I have done?"

On this trip, Americans in

(Continued on Page 2)

## Courier Interviews MacArthur

### Cloudland HQ Issues a Dud

By BOB LUCAS

High among the clouds in Gen. Douglas MacArthur's penthouse GHQ, the Negro reporter for the Pittsburgh Courier found the rarified atmosphere so awe-inspiring that he ecstatically datelined his articles "Waldorf Towers, N.Y.C."

The stories were front-paged with banner headlines that have been strangely missing on the real issues involving the fight for Negro rights and against the attacks on civil liberties for all.

Being granted an "exclusive interview" with the deposed militarist, who has never even bothered to talk to common reporters when he ruled Japan, apparently proved to be too much for the interviewer. He muffed the chance of a lifetime.



Bob Lucas

According to his own statement, MacArthur and his gold-braided press agent were both ready for the \$64 question. "Before I entered the MacArthur suite, Major General Courtney Whitney, his chief aide, gave me a detailed briefing on the General's contact with colored people," the reporter wrote.

This was a perfect setup for the query—"What contact? When? Where?"

At MacArthur's General Headquarters in the Dai-Ichi building in Tokyo?

"... there was not one single Negro," reported Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel who dug into the flagrant

racial bias in the General's Far East Command.

The five-star general told his gullible visitor, "Far from being an advocate of white supremacy, I know and understand and sympathize with the aspirations and needs of colored peoples throughout the world."

This "need" was fulfilled by plastering "colored" and "white" signs—Dixie style—all over Japan, according to Negroes who have been there.

While the General's right-hand man was speaking in terms of "millions" of dark skinned peoples who give MacArthur their "undying devotion"—"six million Filipinos, 80



million Japanese, and uncounted millions of colored peoples throughout the Orient"—the colored reporter neglected to ask:

"How many Negroes were in your honor guard, General? How many in the GHQ band?"

NONE, says the Thurgood Marshall report, and Walter White, NAACP head, commented after reading this series, "But when I was in Japan in 1949, I saw little evidence of any compliance with [Pres.

(Continued on Page 6)



DEAR EDITH:

# Negroes Ask: Why Not Tell The World Our Troubles?

Dear Edith:

Our good friend P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier in one of several very interesting articles about you, said that you would like Negroes as individuals, or through our organizations, to write and tell you our point of view on various phases of our foreign policy. I therefore take my pen in hand to give you my views.

As a Negro woman, along with millions of my fellow Negro Americans, I was glad and proud to see you, a Negro woman, appointed as alternate U.S. delegate to the UN General Assembly. We are pleased that at last our government has seen fit to give representation to the Negro people in the world organization.

We have high hopes that you will truly represent us at the United Nations, because we Negroes know that you have been Negro for 40 years, you are Negro now, and you will be Negro for the rest of your life—when you are finished with the State Department and the Administration, or when they are finished with you.

Our friend Prattis suggests that your appointment is "Truman's recognition of the disturbing influence of race and color in the current world

*An Open Letter to Mrs. Edith Sampson, alternate U.S. delegate to the UN General Assembly, from Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson.*

struggle," and "world-wise, brings Negroes out of the kitchen into the living room to meet the family guests." (Pittsburgh Courier, Sept. 2, 1950.)

The white press expressed another opinion concerning your appointment. They were practically unanimous in saying that you were appointed to represent Negro opinion, in an effort to offset Soviet criticism of racial conditions in this country. The New York papers said flatly that your appointment to the UN delegation was to counteract Russian propaganda. "It serves as answer to Russian propaganda that Negroes in the United States are an oppressed people deprived of opportunity, influence and position." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 3, 1950.)

Of course, Edith, you know, we know, and all the world knows that whether you are on the United Nations or not, the only effective way to counteract that propaganda is simply to stop oppressing Negroes.

Some of the press went even further and said that with Mrs.

Sampson as a delegate from the U.S., the Asian and African peoples will not be able to accuse Washington of racist and imperialistic moves against them.

Of course, Edith, you know, we know, and all the world knows that whether or not you are at the United Nations, the only effective way of preventing the Asian and African peoples from accusing Washington, is simply for Washington not to make any racist and imperialist moves against them.

I feel sure that Asian and African peoples were surprised and bitterly disappointed when you, a Negro woman, said of them recently: "I believe we must be careful lest in our eagerness to speed up the movement toward freedom and self-government for subject peoples, we take steps to deliver them from the threshold of a new freedom to the back door of a new colonialism," and when you warned that granting full freedom to dependent nations "before they are prepared to use it in their own interests, might result in their subjection to the 'new colonialism of the Soviet Union.'" (N.Y. Times, Oct. 16, 1950.)

Now Edith, it is only common

(Continued on Page 8)



MRS. EDITH SAMPSON, reputedly on a "secret mission" in Europe for the State Department, confers with Secretary of State Dean Acheson (left), John Foster Dulles, Presidential adviser, and Warren Austin, chief UN delegate.

## In the Freedom Family

Because she has done such an excellent job of building FREEDOM in her community, selling more than 200 copies monthly, the Friends of Freedom in Boston awarded Miss Mary Ann Johnson a trip to New York.

"There is nothing unusual about it," Mary Ann told us in our office. "I believe in Paul Robeson, and I think this paper fights for our rights like he does, so I just go and tell this to my friends and neighbors, and get them to see it too."

With her tremendous energy and vitality, Mary Ann kept all of us on our toes. Together with Mrs. Charlotta Bass, she was FREEDOM'S guest at one of the most magnificent cultural festivals ever held in New York, put on by American Women for Peace at Manhattan Center before some 2,500 people from every walk of life.

She was the house guest of Paul Robeson Jr., his wife Marylin and their fine baby boy. A group of Harlem young people took her to parties and receptions. She visited the United Nations new headquarters. She talked with Paul Robeson and received an autographed picture of the great people's artist. She went to the movies and had lunch with the heroic woman fighter for civil rights, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, one of two Trenton Six still in jail.

Mary Ann's visit was an inspiration to us all. Boston has shown the way. We hope friends of FREEDOM in other cities and towns throughout the country will follow Boston's example.

June was quite a concert month for Paul Robeson. Two thousand people stood outside Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom and listened through loudspeakers because 5,000 inside took up every available inch of space. Hope Foy, soprano, Allen Booth, pianist, and the Harlem Youth Chorus were the supporting artists. Sponsored by the Harlem Trade Union Council, it was the biggest concert ever held in the Golden Gate. Ferdinand Smith, known to thousands as a fighting trade union leader, is secretary of the Council.

Two smaller but equally successful concerts were held in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., both sponsored by Friends of FREEDOM. Leaders of the Boston committee were Janet Johnson, Jack Lee, Cedar Lee, the Rev. J. E. Jeltz, and Roy Atus, secretary of the Boston Trade Union Council for Negro Rights. The committee in Cambridge included Eleanor Warner, chairman; Rachel and William Crooks, Elizabeth Robinson, Frances Siegel, Bess Hawes, Leigh Cauman, Mary and Reginald Yonkers. Despite futile attempts by the Cambridge chapter of Veterans of Foreign Wars to halt the concert, Father Kenneth Hughes, rector of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church and his members and their friends filled the church's parish hall, where the concert was held.

Friends of FREEDOM in Newark, N. J., saw to it that the Masonic Temple Hall was packed for a memorable concert on June 10.

## War Is Sharpening Beak Of Old Jim Crow Buzzard

By THOMAS RICHARDSON

**ABOUT THE AUTHOR:** When Thomas Richardson left his post as chairman of the anti-discrimination committee of the progressive United Public Workers of America to become co-director of the American Peace Crusade, FREEDOM asked him why. His answer is found in this article.

Jim Crow is a buzzard, and war has sharpened his beak. The policy of fighting a colored people in Asia has brought death and courts-martial to Negro troops in Korea, and legal lynching and Dixiecrat rule to our people here at home.

Business as usual in the fight against Jim Crow just isn't good enough any more!

The 20-year sentence against Lieutenant Gilbert and the murder of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee have made this plain as plain can be.

Two years ago, the major parties gave their solemn word they would support the passage of the civil rights program. But every time we ask about it, we're told that something more important must be given priority—war bills.

So Congress passed measures approving more armaments for the war in Korea (3 million Korean casualties and 15,000 American dead and wounded, to date.) Have war priorities brought our people freedom?

Have higher taxes brought us freedom? Or the McCarran Act? (You can go to a concentration camp if you speak up for freeing Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and



Thomas Richardson

her children.) Or the Smith Act? (Five years in jail if you simply teach that Jim Crow is an evil!)

That's what war means to the Negro people.

With all my heart I believe in the program of the American Peace Crusade: that war is not inevitable if the people speak up; that peace can be won; that peace and freedom are inseparable.

All who want freedom must stand up for peace. And just as the key to every victory won in the trade-union movement has been unity of Negro and white, so the key to victory over war must be this same unity for peace. I never was more confident of anything in my life than that this unity will be achieved.

Peace is America's Best Defense. End War—Make Peace Now.

## Sugar Ray KO'd By Race Hate

(Continued from Page 1)

Paris showed Robinson what he couldn't do.

After his first trip abroad, the Harlem boxer—businessman—goodwill ambassador lashed out in a bitter attack on Paul Robeson, "Communists" in Paris, and gave his blunt opinions on various other subjects. But when Jim Crow hit him, the Champ tossed in the towel.

All he said was, "I was told we could play only in the mornings when not many golfers are on the course, but I was opposed to that on principle. Finally, they asked both myself and my friends to leave."

Observers familiar with present-day conditions in Europe, commented that it is not surprising that if Robinson ran into trouble in Europe, it would be in those spots where Jim Crow has been dragged in by the American military authorities and Marshall Plan officials. They expressed regret that Sugar Ray Robinson, who looks much better in boxing trunks than in striped pants of the diplomat, has welcomed into his corner such "handlers" and "seconds" as the State Department, Hearst columnist Walter Winchell, and New York's Mayor Vincent Impellitteri.

The U.S. State Dept. has made no protest of the insult to its unofficial "ambassador."

There was no comment from talkative Winchell or Sugar's pal, Mayor Impellitteri.

And Mme. Auriol, wife of the President of France, on whose cheek Robinson planted a goodwill kiss, had nothing to say.

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Editorial

Preachin' Discontent

**D**URING SLAVERY, the rulers of the Southern states exacted the death penalty from any Negro, or white friend, found teaching, advocating, or organizing for deliverance. And the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the barbarous repressions of the slaveholders with a Dred Scott decision which affirmed that Negroes had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

But Negroes, of course, taught, advocated, and organized for freedom despite the unconstitutional ruling of the highest court and all the fiendish deeds of the man-hunters.

They did this first of all through their churches.

In his memorable poem, "The Ante-Bellum Sermon," Paul Lawrence Dunbar described the Negro minister as saying:

"Don't you run and tell your master I've been preachin' discontent. . . .  
I'm just talkin' 'bout our freedom in a Biblicistic way!"

**T**ODAY, ANOTHER HIGH COURT has desecrated the First Amendment of the Constitution by prohibiting the teaching and advocacy of an idea—the idea of socialism. Even the majority opinion in the court's 6-2 ruling reveals that none of the Truman justices really believes that socialism is on the order of the day in the United States or that there is any "clear and present danger" of the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Why then this monstrous decision?

The answer is that the Communists have been "preachin' discontent."

Discontent with the senseless slaughter of colored Asians in Korea. . . .

Discontent with the Jim Crow oppression of Negroes at home. . . .

Discontent with the fantastic witch-hunting which is transforming the "home of the brave" into the homes of the scared. . . .

Discontent with the high taxes, the out-of-reach prices, the scuttling of social services and FEPC which are the domestic results of the Administration's hell-bent for war program. . . .

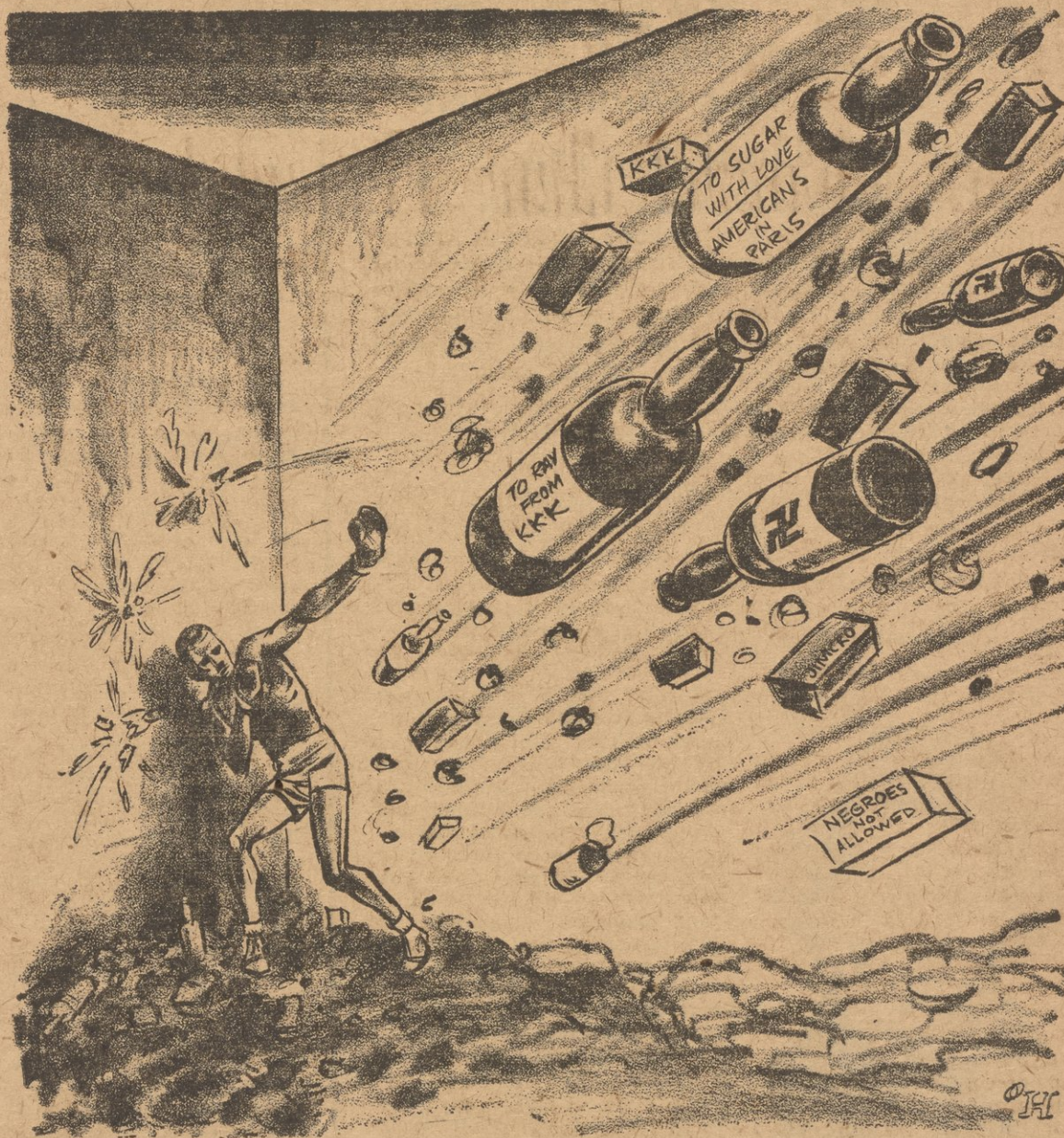
Discontent with the "white supremacy" superman doctrine which American militarists and diplomats are spreading all over Europe, Asia and Africa.

**"PREACHING DISCONTENT"** is the sacred right of every American, guaranteed by the Constitution's First Amendment which says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." If it is abolished for the Communists, it will soon be withheld from others—especially Negroes, because our entire perspective for freedom depends upon our rights to tell the world about our troubles.

Already, Negroes figure prominently among those who are targets of the Justice Department's dragnet. Benjamin Davis Jr., Henry Winston, Claudia Jones, James E. Jackson Jr. and Pettis Perry have been indicted and face jail.

Let no Negro Truman-Democrat or Taft-Republican believe that he is safe while these Negro Communists stand in the jail or in its shadows. Not if he wants to preserve the right of "preachin' discontent," which is the time-honored duty of every Negro worthy of the name.

In This Corner . . . Ray Robinson



LETTER COLUMN

Get It Off Your Chest

Appreciation

Just a brief note of appreciation and thanks for the newspapers that arrived yesterday. I have just been through them and must tell you what an excellent piece of work is being done. FREEDOM achieves that difficult task of maintaining highest quality without ever talking down to its readers or sacrificing any of its great fighting attributes.

Asa Zotz,  
Mexico City

The Good Fight for Peace

Keep up the good work. Your publication is extremely vital for all of us and we will strive to get more subs.

I shall never forget how very proud I was to chair the meeting here when Eslande Goode Robeson spoke. What a wonderful woman! The complete records (from tape recording) of Paul Robeson's major address, with his great songs, here in 1948 still serve to acquaint new people with that memorable meeting.

Yours for the good fight, for peace!

Bill Lewis,  
Portland, Oregon

FREEDOM Goes Sailing

Enclosed are 31 subscriptions to FREEDOM from rank-and-file members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

We are happy and more than proud to support a paper such as yours which courageously fights for the freedom of all

peoples, for that is also the program of our great union, the Marine Cooks and Stewards.

FREEDOM goes on board all our contract vessels as they come in and is read with avid interest by our members.

Here's hoping to see FREEDOM grow daily until it becomes a bi-monthly, then a weekly, even daily weapon of the people.

We will continue to support FREEDOM until there is real freedom in our country, realizing that full and complete freedom in America has never existed for the majority of the American people, especially minority groups and working people. We join hands toward the achievement of this goal.

Chuck Drury,  
San Francisco, Calif.

Join Hands in Brotherhood

I am so thrilled with the ringing message FREEDOM conveys that I must write to you and say, "Thank you, thank you for all the priceless things you are doing to help bring about peace and freedom all over the world for the oppressed and the weak!"

When you, Paul Robeson, and your able colleagues raise your mighty voices, it must echo all over the world, where men and women struggle against the shackles that would bind them forever — if the evil men who profit from the misery, degradation and murder of their fellow human beings could continue to carry on in their monstrous way.

Beulah Richardson in her beautiful and glowing poem, "Paul Robeson," has put into unforgettable words what millions feel and echo.

Yours for the kind of world where all mankind will join in brotherhood.

Barbara B. Nestor,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Road Is Rocky

Our publishing committee for Don West's new collection of poems, "The Road Is Rocky," believes that many people will want to join with us in publishing these powerful, timely poems. And we, in turn, are anxious to get "The Road Is Rocky" to the public at as near the actual cost of printing and distribution as is possible.

We plan a first edition of 5,000 copies. We already have orders for nearly 2,000. The proposed price is \$1 for the popular edition and \$2.50 for the cloth-bound.

To help in financing the initial printing—and for a limited time only—we are offering a special pre-publication price of only fifty cents each for the popular edition in lots of 25 or more — and \$1.50 for the cloth-bound book, the latter singly if desired.

This book should be in the hands of every American worker and everyone who is interested in building a better America. Copies can be ordered from me at 110 West Cypress St., San Antonio, Texas.

Grace Koger,  
San Antonio, Texas

**Freedom**

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

Published monthly by Freedom Associates  
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y. Phone: ENright 9-3980

EDITORIAL BOARD: PAUL ROBESON, Chairman;  
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10c per copy; subscription rate—\$1.00 a year



# Robber Wars Abroad and Jim Crow at Home

## "We Beseech Our Countrymen" — Frederick Douglass, 1848

"The present disgraceful, cruel and iniquitous war. . . . Grasping ambition, tyrannic usurpation, atrocious aggression, cruel and haughty pride . . . The groans of slaughtered men, the screams of violated women, and the cries of orphan children, must bring no throb of pity from our national heart, but must rather serve as music to inspire our gallant troops to deeds of atrocious cruelty, lust and blood."

Whose words are those? When were they written? What government is being denounced in such blistering terms?

The words come from Frederick Douglass, and they were published in his Rochester newspaper, *The North Star*, in January, 1848. The government being condemned is that of the United States and Douglass denounced it because it was then conducting, on behalf of its ruling circles, a robber war against the people of Mexico.

And Douglass, like many of his fellow great Americans of the period, including Abraham Lincoln, was denouncing the robber war while it was on; he wasn't waiting until it was over and the booty was in and the dead were buried and the bands had stopped and it became safe—but useless—to lament and regret and deplore the unfortunate slaughter of the gulled and the misled.



No, Douglass denounced it while it was on and in the face of the greed and might of the merciless whip-wielders because he truly loved his country and because he loved his own people, the Negro people. That's why he wrote, "We beseech our countrymen to leave off this horrid conflict, abandon their murderous plans, and forsake the way of blood." That's why he urged "let petitions flood the halls of Congress by the million, asking for the recall of our forces."

Yes, he fought for peace, while the war was on, because it was an unjust war and the best interests of the Negro people and therefore of all American people would be served by ending the slaughter. And that is what Frederick Douglass was loyal to—to his people and to all plain people of his country and that is what real patriotism is. Of course, Douglass was called a traitor, but his slanderers were the traitors, not Frederick Douglass.

Don't get Douglass wrong. He was no meek and mild lamb. He was a tiger in fighting for freedom. It was Douglass who said, "He is whipped most who is whipped easiest"; it was Douglass who issued his stirring "Call To Arms" in the Civil War and who saw his two sons fight in Lincoln's army against the slaveholders. Douglass would fight, but only FOR freedom, only FOR justice; therefore he opposed wars for slavery and for money.

In Douglass' uncompromising stand against unjust wars, as in his unyielding battle for liberty and equality, he epitomizes the heart of all Negro history. The words of the Negro people themselves back over one hundred years and coming down to our own day prove this to be true.

In Douglass' uncompromising stand against unjust wars, as in his unyielding battle for liberty and equality, he epitomizes the heart of all Negro history. The words of the Negro people themselves back over one hundred years and coming down to our own day prove this to be true.



CIVIL WAR: The Battle of Milliken's Bend, showing Negro troops attacking the Confederate lines. Negroes contributed decisively to saving the Union and winning Emancipation, with 200,000 serving in the Union army and another 30,000 in the Navy.

## Fought Heroically For Emancipation

In 1842 war threatened between Great Britain and the United States. One of the causes of tension was England's refusal to return some slaves who had revolted aboard a domestic slave-trading ship and had gained freedom in the West Indies. Said the leading organ of the Negro people—the *Colored People's Press*, edited in New York by the Reverend Theodore S. Wright: "If war were declared, shall we fight in defense of a government which denies us the most precious right of citizenship?" "No," answered the Rev. Wright, he wanted nothing to do with unjust wars and he urged that "until" the Negro people were "free and equal citizens" they oppose the aggressive wars of their oppressors.

What did the Negro people do during the Civil War? Here were two governments, that of Lincoln and that of Jefferson Davis, and 90 percent of the Negro people were within the limits of the slaveholding government. The Negro people fought for Lincoln's government and against Davis'. There were exceptions; there were a few well-to-do Southern free Negroes who crawled up to the slavedrivers and said: "Your country is mine; let me fight for it, let me be loyal to it." These people were spat upon by the mass of Negroes in their own day and their dishonored names remain buried with their bones, because they betrayed honor, people and country.

No, the mass of Negro people fought against their home government and on the side of Lincoln, Douglass and Harriet Tubman. Two hundred thousand Negroes fought in the Union army and 30,000 in that navy, and over 200,000 more worked for that army and navy and a total of half a million slaves succeeded in fleeing from Jeff Davis' Southern paradise, and thousands more conspired and rebelled in that paradise.

In doing this and in a dozen other ways the Negro people contributed decisively to their own emancipation and to saving the Union. The Negro's emancipation required the Union's salvation; the Union's salvation required the Negro's emancipation. In the Civil War, the entire Negro people opposed in action an unjust war and upheld a just one.



THE SILENT MARCH down Fifth Avenue in New York on July 28, 1917. Thousands of Negroes, including large contingents of white-clad children, demonstrated against the war.

## 60 Lynchings Year Call to Halt 'War'

World War I, participated in by the United States from 1917 through 1918, produced deep opposition among the masses of Negroes. Here is not the place to tell of the government's promises and how they were broken, of the lynchings which averaged 60 each year during the "War for Democracy" and of the mass murders of Negroes in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Washington, D.C. and elsewhere, nor of the peonage clamped on the Negroes in the South through the "work or fight" policy—from which almost a million Negroes fled, despite every obstacle.

The point is that Negroes hated this unjust war and wanted it stopped. Tens of thousands of Negroes, men, women and children marched with muffled drums, July 28, 1917, through the heart of New York City while scores of thousands watched and the sullen police dared not stop them. Their banners read, "Make America Safe For Democracy" and "Mother, Do Lynchers Go To Heaven?"

Leading commercial publications worried because "discontent and unrest among Negroes have been spreading," and newspapers reported many arrests among them, "upon the charge of rebellion and treason" as in Birmingham and in Columbia, Tennessee. President Wilson feigned amazement, in 1917, that "many of the members of the colored race were not enthusiastic in their support of the Government in this crisis." People like ex-President Taft and Dr. Frissell of Hampton Institute and Dr. Wilcox, president of the New York City Board of Education and a Tuskegee trustee, made Southern tours to generate such "enthusiasm"—while every week another Negro was lynched!

Early in 1918 the *Amsterdam News* demanded "autonomy" for the Negro people and wanted to know: "Can America demand that Germany give up her Poles and Austria her Slavs,

by Herbert

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# Go Hand in Hand

Herbert Aptheker



New York... violence, terror and loss of civil rights at home that accompanied the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Arrow points to W. E. B. DuBois.

# Early Brought Angry War for Democracy'

...the American still holds in harshest... violence, terror and loss of civil rights at home that accompanied the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Arrow points to W. E. B. DuBois.

over 1,500 men and women, Negro and white, were thrown into jail as political anti-war prisoners. Some renegades appeared, and this is how A. Philip Randolph greeted them in The Messenger in May, 1919: "There are no doubt a few more left who will choose whom they will serve as organized reaction, drunk with power, adopts all kinds of harsh and inexcusable laws. . . . But no one trusts the renegade . . . the radical renegade is worst of all. He deserts the people for the predatory interests." That is what A. Philip Randolph said in 1919.

Editor's Note: The articles on this page, prepared by the eminent authority, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, illustrate the important historic truth that the Negro people have consistently opposed imperialist wars and supported the progressive wars in which our nation has been engaged. We hope FREEDOM'S readers will use this spread in the fight for peace today.

## War With Spain Widely Attacked

In April, 1898, the United States precipitated war with Spain, defeated that nation, and then seized Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and Guam. Wars raged against Spain and the people of these islands from 1898 through 1902. The Negro people opposed these wars and openly sided with the raped island peoples.

A leading Negro paper of the period, the Richmond Planet, warned in July, 1898, that "the American Negro cannot become the ally of Imperialism without enslaving his own race." A mass organization, the Colored National League, issued, the next year, an Open Letter to President McKinley and called upon the President "to pause in pursuit of your national policy of criminal aggression abroad to consider the criminal aggression at home against humanity and American citizenship, which is in full tide of successful conquest at the South."

Frederick Douglass was dead but his son, Lewis, a veteran of the Civil War, denounced the war and the conquest of colonies. The President, he said in 1899, promises the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans "a government of liberty" but he knows that "whatever the U.S. government controls, there injustice to dark races prevails"; he knows that "the expansion of the United States means extension of race hatred and cruelty, barbarous lynchings and the grossest injustices. . . ."

Douglass' son-in-law, Nathan W. Sprague, lived too, and in 1899 he resigned from the Maryland Committee of the Republican Party in protest against imperialism. He said the United States left "millions of American-born citizens to be lynched and burned at the stake, saying that they have no power to prohibit such crimes, and yet this Administration feels justified in forcing a warped civilization upon the Filipinos."

The Republican newspaper, the Philadelphia Recorder, spoke for a near unanimous Negro people when it said in January, 1900, referring to the "pacification" of the Philippines, that "those who have the spirit of independence and human liberty in their breasts are called traitors if they raise their voices against this diabolical outrage."

The sentiments of the Negro GIs sent to fight the Filipino peoples—many of whom went to their side—were expressed in a typical letter from a Private William R. Fulbright of Indiana. He was with the 25th Infantry Regiment in Manila and in June, 1901, he told the folks back home, briefly and to the point: "This struggle on the islands has been nought but a gigantic scheme of robbery and oppression."

## 'This Isn't Our War'—AME Bishop on China

The question of Negro Americans bearing arms against the colored people of Asia came up half a century ago, when there was talk of sending Negroes to help suppress the Chinese people's democratic "Boxer" rebellion in the summer of 1900.



Bishop H. M. Turner

At that time Bishop Henry M. Turner of Georgia, one of the leading figures of the AME Church, said: "This is not our war, and the black man that puts a gun upon his shoulder to go to fight China should find the bottom of the ocean before he gets there."

## 'Morning Breaks'--- Du Bois Looked to Freedom in 1906

All of the foregoing is but the briefest sampling of the rich tradition among the Negro people of opposition to robber wars. In 1906, Dr. DuBois, writing the Address to the Country of the Niagara Movement, said, "The morning breaks over the hills." He called, "Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing." He saw, did this man of genius, in 1906, that "The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

So it has come, and is coming, to pass. Now 800 million people from Berlin to Peking hold power in their own hands and Africans, black and white together, are demonstrating for peace and freedom and the working classes of western Europe are more powerful and more militant than ever before.

When Paul Robeson told 900 delegates to the National Labor Conference for Negro Rights in Chicago in 1950 that the united masses would "help to bring to pass in America and in the world the dream our fathers dreamed—of a land that's free, of a people growing in friendship, in love, in cooperation and peace"; and when Dr. DuBois said, in 1951, "I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry for PEACE—NO MORE WAR!" both these great Americans were speaking in direct extension of the real traditions of the Negro people in the United States.

All honor to Dr. DuBois and Paul Robeson, mighty sons of the American Negro people, true continuers of the democratic struggles of Frederick Douglass. Security, equality, freedom, peace—these are at the heart of Negro history, and they are deep within the heart of world humanity. With unity and firmness they shall be achieved everywhere and the dreams of our fathers—of the fathers of all of us of every color, every clime and every nation—shall be realized.



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS is shown at his desk at Atlanta University where, in the first decade of the twentieth century, he initiated and edited the famous Atlanta U. Studies on the American Negro.

Vol. II, 7 JULY, 191

THE MESSSENGER

ONLY RADICAL NEGRO MAGAZINE IN AMERICA"

Edited by Chandler Owen — A. Philip Randolph



A. Philip Randolph

Summing Negro feeling were these in The Messenger (November, 1911) edited in New York by a radical Negro named A. Philip Randolph. "The real issue of this country is peace. . . . The people in every city have been bled to death in wars, starved to death by the shortage of food and the high cost of living. Over the smoldering ruins of cities and villages, over lost treasures of civilization, men in trenches, women in black habiliments of woe, an emaciated and hungry, cry out, reverberating note for PEACE"



# Indian People Express Solidarity With Struggles of Negroes in U.S.

BY KUMAR GOSHAL

The struggle of the Negro people in America for full freedom, justice and equality is a familiar story to the people of India. For a long time the Indians have identified this struggle with their own struggle for the same goal. This is not difficult to understand; for, dark-skinned themselves, they have suffered from the same handicaps at home and abroad.

Progressive, politically mature Indians, of course, understand the reasons underlying racial discrimination and the color bar. What is significant is the fact that other Indians, even those who are politically conservative and economically secure, are acutely aware of this problem.

In the summer of 1948, when I visited India, tenant farmers in Indian villages as well as business and professional people in the cities asked me embarrassing questions regarding the application of American democratic ideals to the American Negroes. When I asked some farmers in a village in West Bengal how they felt about American assistance to raise the standard of living of people in under-developed areas such as India, one elderly farmer replied: "We will believe in America's altruistic motives after we see the American government raise the living standard of the Negroes and extend to them full justice and equality."

In June, 1948, after I gave a talk before a group of well-to-do business and professional people in Bombay about the then forthcoming American elections, most of the questions dealt with the character of American democracy as manifested in the treatment of American Negroes.

Many years ago, in his "Glimpses of World History," Nehru wrote: "Sometimes (in America) there are terrible race riots between the whites and the Negroes. Frequently in the south there are horrible cases of lynching. . . . Cases have occurred in recent years of Negroes being burned at the stake by white mobs. All over America and especially in the Southern states the lot of the Negro is still very hard. Often when labor is scarce, innocent Negroes, in some states in the South, are sent to jail on some trumped-up charge, and the convict labor is leased out to private contractors. . . . This is bad enough, but the conditions accompanying it are shocking. So we see that legal freedom does not amount to much, after all."

Nehru's sister Mrs. Pandit, now Indian Ambassador to the United States, has often demonstrated her sympathy for the cause of the American Negro. When Nehru was here last, he stressed the fact that Asians, colored peoples themselves, supported the demands of the American Negro.

When Mrs. Edith Sampson, as a member of the world Town Meeting of the Air, spoke in New Delhi in the summer of 1949, she was the target of some very embarrassing questions from the floor. The audience observed that,



Kumar Goshal

when she mentioned the late George Washington Carver, Jackie Robinson and others as Negroes who have risen high under American democracy, she significantly omitted the names of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Paul Robeson. The Indians remembered that the British government continued to discriminate against and exploit their colored colonials even as they promoted a few colonials to higher posts and admired a few colored sportsmen of outstanding ability.

The Indians believed that genuine democracy guarantees to all the people full equality

in all aspects of life, and they can, therefore, sympathize with and support such demands on the part of the American Negro.

The well known Bombay weekly Crossroads made the following front page comment:

"This is the freedom, liberty and equality the ruthless rulers of America are bringing to Asia! They have executed seven Negroes—the Martinsville 7—on the trumped-up charge of raping one white woman. At this very moment 30 young Negroes await a fate similar to the Martinsville 7. The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to stop these 'legal lynchings.' Let us tell the representatives of murder-land in this country what we think of their beastly civilization. Bombard the U.S. Embassy with your protests."

Indians, individually and in mass meetings, have protested against the treatment of the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, the denial of a passport to Paul Robeson and the indictment of Dr. DuBois. Both the left and the right wing press have commented unfavorably against the denial of civil rights to the American Negro. I am afraid it will be impossible for the Voice of America to explain to the Indians the legal lynching of Willie McGee just when both President Truman and General MacArthur were expressing their deep solicitude for the colored peoples of Asia

## Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 1)

agreeing with the eminent scientist on the basic need for peace.

In our time, Roosevelt fought the neo-fascists, and today the American people have the deep responsibility of recapturing some part of our honest democratic heritage to hand on to those who follow. Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court, in his ringing dissenting opinion in the case of the eleven Communist leaders, gave evidence of this democratic honesty.

For if these military and profit-hungry men had their will, they would bequeath to our children Ku Klux Klan terror and the legal murdering of a long-suffering people. They would bequeath contempt, hatred and destruction for the working masses, colored and white, all over the world.

These modern conquerors are the spiritual descendants of the robber barons who, a half-century ago, under the banners of Anglo-Saxon superiority and American Manifest Destiny, took Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, and a half-century earlier robbed Mexico of Texas.

It is becoming increasingly clear that this senseless dream of American world domination will remain a dream. The colonial peoples of the world are not interested in a new serfdom. They will reject all efforts at American domination of their economies and their

political institutions, even though such domination is attempted under the benevolent phrases which describe the Point Four program.

AS AN AMERICAN of African descent born and raised in these United States of such horrible contradictions, I am certain that the people of Asia, Latin America, the West Indies and especially Africa, want us to keep our Jim Crow practices as far away from them as possible. They say to us:

"Stop the terror and age-long oppression of 15 million of our brothers and sisters over there, and let us go our own way. We will pick and choose our own friends."

— And these colonial peoples cry out to us, their brothers and sisters of African descent: "Why do you come over here to harm us; why don't you root out Jim Crow and Ku Klux Klan terror in the South of James Byrnes, Talmadge and Rankin?"

The struggle today is one of peace, not war with anyone. The people will never lose their courage and strength to shout for peace at the top of their voices, to fight fascist persecution and death, to labor diligently every moment to save themselves and mankind for the constructive building of new and rich cultures for the universal attaining of full equality and full human dignity.

## Sam Sage Says:

Talkin' the other day to a lady who had just got off one of those New York subway trains. And she was fit to be tied! Now she's a fine lady sitting next to her height of style and carrying herself like she just left one of the finishin' schools.

Well, this lady was ridin' along fine in the subway when all of a sudden a white lady standing next to her gets a gleam in her eye and says, "Pardon, but you look like such a fine girl, I was just wondering if you'd like to come and work for me. Just light housework. I've had a number of nice girls at my place, but now I need someone and you look like just the type."

Well! But my lady friend didn't lose her bearings. She turned just as polite-like to the other lady and said, "You know, it's strange, but I was looking at you and thinking just the same thing. I need someone to help me out around the house, too, and I was just wondering if you wouldn't be inter-



ested. You look just the type."

She was cool when she said that, but by the time she got off the subway she was hot as a pistol and fittin' to be tied. I didn't see the white lady (of course she got off at another stop) but I reckon she was kinda heated up too.

## Cloudland HQ Issues a Dud

(Continued from Page 1)

Truman's] integration order. I saw a few instances of integration in housing of officers and some in a service club in Yokohama. But the pattern of segregation otherwise was as rigid as ever."

Then, in hushed tones, the man who has called for all-out bombing of the Chinese people, stated to his hypnotized guest, "Believe me when I tell you that any all-out war in the future will be disastrous to the world . . . but a racial war would throw us back to the Dark Ages. I dread the thought."

But the MacArthur Plan for the mass extermination of the people of Asia who have thrown off the shackles of imperialism differs only in scope from the Truman Plan, which to date has produced three million Korean casualties—the bulk of them women and children. MacArthur admitted to the reporter that "Anyone who wants to stir up racial confusion and strife can always find ways and means to do it."

Where the General made his mistake was in differing with

Truman on the timetable. So he was fired by Truman, who says he'll be the one to say "when."

A close study of what came out of this cut-and-dried tete-a-tete raises the question of why the articles were written in the first place. The author confesses that "Details of the incidents leading up to the May 22 interview cannot be revealed at present."

Could it be that the editors of the newspaper, who ran the interview "without comment," are adding their peashooters to the General's big guns that are aimed at the 1952 Presidential elections?

Was the series of pro-MacArthur articles suggested by his Republican backers in an attempt to cover up the courts martial of Capt. Leon Gilbert and 36 other Negro GI's within two short months?

It may be considered by some sheer audacity to confront the General with such questions. But then, the Negro people don't have their heads 37 floors above Park Avenue—their feet are solidly on the ground.

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Bert Williams

# 'The Smile That Hovered Above Blood and Tragedy'

By YVONNE GREGORY

Believe me, I'm gettin tired of always bein the 'dub.'  
They've worked on me so faithful til I'm worn down to a nub.  
You all have heard about the straw that broke the camel's back—  
Well, a bubble added to my load will surely make mine crack.  
But BELIEVE me,  
Woe unto he or she  
Who tries to ease me  
That bubble!  
BELIEVE ME!

The man who made this song famous, over three decades ago, was Bert Williams. Egbert Austin Williams, as he was known offstage, has been called the greatest comedian that America has yet produced. He was a West Indian Negro, who came to the United States in his middle 'teens, and learned to portray the struggles, the sorrows and humor of his oppressed American Negro brothers with such love and skill, that he became the most famous stage personage of his time.

Although he was one of the greatest figures of his time (1875 to 1922); although more than 15,000 people, Negro and white, attended his funeral in St. Philips Episcopal church in Harlem; although more tens of thousands sang his songs both here and abroad during his lifetime, Bert Williams is not given his due honor today. At least two generations of America's children have grown up ignorant of the contributions of artistry and warmth that this made made to their country's culture.

Why? Is it because Bert Williams was best known for his work in "blackface"? Is it because his people are ashamed of him, feel that he did injustice to their struggles through his performances? The record says no. Among the many outstanding Negroes, who paid honor to Bert Williams at his death was the world-renowned scholar and leader in today's fight for peace, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Dr. DuBois said:

"When in the calm afterday of thought and struggle to racial peace we look back and pay tribute to those who helped

most, we shall single out for the highest praise those who made the world laugh; Bob Cole, Ernest Hogan, George Walker and above all Bert Williams.

"For this was not more laughing: it was the smile that hovered above blood and tragedy; the light mask of happiness that hid breaking hearts and bitter souls. This is the top of bravery; the finest thing in service. May the world long honor the undying fame of Bert Williams as a great comedian, a great Negro, a great man."

Since the "world" has appeared to shoulder the memory of the great performer into the shadows, the "why" must have an answer. Perhaps this statement from a white contemporary and great admirer of Williams' begin to indicate the nature of the answer: . . . "He struggled for years to overcome racial prejudice."

Perhaps the fact that Williams composed the tunes and wrote the lyrics for the majority of songs and stories that he made famous and received practically nothing for them, either in royalties or outright sales, is also part of the answer. He was part owner of a record company set up to record his works, and the record company failed.

One white writer has patron-

izingly and insultingly said that this was because Williams had no business sense. In other words, he was able to compose, to earn more than \$1,000 a week for his appearances, but it was "because he had no business sense" that he was unable to pass his art down to the future as he wished to do.

This "simple-minded fellow" Bert Williams, who didn't even "know" he was being rooked by the big song publishing and record companies, had this to say on the matter, however:

"I should have derived more revenue from my songs. . . . I think I have paid for three or four of the pillars in the Joseph W. Stern and Co. building and I know that I put the clock in the N. Witmark and Sons tower."

Williams, the student of Thomas Paine, Mark Twain, Darwin, and Goethe, was deeply concerned with the political happenings of his own day. A lawyer for a movie company interested in filming Williams' acts, recalls that he visited him in his dressing room. Williams was feeling quite sick, but he said to the lawyer: "Did you read the debate in the New Republic between James M. Beck and Felix Frankfurter on the Mooney case?" Williams had followed the trial and unjust jailing of Tom Mooney



THE BERT WILLIAMS that few knew was a keen student of scientific and political affairs. Here, as artist Gibbs Mason has drawn Williams, the familiar character that he created and who earned \$1,000 a week for him, seems to wonder how he could have popped out of Williams' head.

with great interest, as he also kept in sharpest touch with what was happening in the Negro communities of the north and south.

It was because of this close touch, this sharp identification with his people, that Williams was able to achieve his great stature as an artist. He drew from the lives of the Negro workers and farmers the material for his work. Since he grew to prominence during the period immediately before and after World War I, he dealt mainly with the Negro from the Black Belt farmlands who had come north during the great migration to crowd the ghettos and to enter industry.

The best evaluation of his work is certainly to be made from the fact that Negroes loved him. They recognized in his songs and stories the stuff of their own lives and they applauded his use of the humor which they had and have used

as a mighty weapon in their struggles toward freedom.

Great comedian though he was, Bert Williams might also have been a great dramatic actor. David Belasco, the theatrical producer thought so. But Williams felt that audiences would not accept him, a Negro, in serious roles. He probably knew what he was talking about, although many of his friends believed that the cost to him as an artist—to deny what he most wanted, was his health and eventually his life. As Heywood Brown, the late columnist said of Bert Williams: "The burnt cork has weighed him down. . . . It smothered what might have been genius."

Or as the artist himself said in one of his most famous songs, "Jonah Man" . . . "Why am I this Jonah, I sure can't understand, but I'm a good, substantial, fullfledged, real first-class Jonah man."

## American Slaves Were Stolen From a Free, Happy Land

Stories for Children

By MARGO

We are going back several centuries now to see how our people first came to this country. In 1619, the first large group of Freedom's people were brought over to America as slaves. They were stolen away from Africa, their beautiful homeland, by a group of Dutch merchants who were only interested in making money. These merchants found that they could make money by selling human beings into slavery so that is what they did.

Sometimes they came in the dead of night and made raids upon the African people. Sometimes they came bearing bright trinkets with which they lured the unsuspecting people of Africa onto the evil slave ships. And once they had gotten them there, they tied them up in chains and forced them to go for many days without food or proper clothing.

Many of these poor people sickened and died on the journey. Many who were the sons and daughters of brave African chieftains, refused to be taken captive. They threw themselves and their children overboard and perished in the



ocean rather than allow themselves to be taken to a land of bondage.

You can well understand why they did this. For after all, they lived free and happy lives in their own ways in their native land. They were not savages or cannibals as many books and movies might lead you to believe. They were quite intelligent people who had developed a high form of life and culture even before the people whom we know today as Europeans came out of the caves. They mined gold and silver and smelted precious metals. They carved beautiful objects out of wood and they didn't just put them up on the wall or the mantelpiece to look at, they used them in their everyday living. They made musical instruments which are cousins to many of the instruments that we know today. And they spoke proverbs to each other which many of us could learn much from. More than that, they spent long hours telling wonderful stories about the animals that lived around them.

There is much more to the history of these people than what I have told you, but this will have to do for a start. Perhaps you will go to the library and see what else you can find out about them.



## What's the Score?

By HANK HILL

There's a big rhubarb going the rounds these days. Pops up every now and then and never seems to get settled. It goes something like this: "If Negro athletes, with all the odds against them, can come through with such bang-up performances in baseball, track, basketball and boxing—then they simply must be better than white people, at least in sports!"

Well, that's the issue, so let's join it.

Let's divide everybody between pros and cons—and you'd better put on your chest protector and shin guards, 'cause these sessions can get mighty rough.

The pros usually begin with boxing. Who's the kingpin of the whole shebang? Young Ez Charles, heavyweight champ, of course. And who's the logical contender? None other than a fella named Barrow (Joseph Louis). And the next in line? A pappy of a guy called Jersey Joe Walcott. Move to the other divisions and who are the champs? Middleweight, Sugar Ray Robinson; lightweight, youngster named Carter, colored; lightweight, Sandy Saddler, colored too.

Then, before the cons can get a word in edgewise, the pros end up this recitation by saying, "Where does that leave old man 'white supremacy'?"

The proper answer would probably be "down for the count of ten." But the pros aren't finished; fact of the business, they've just begun. Let's take baseball.

Who's leading the leagues? Or runner-ups? Or making noises like serious contenders? The teams that have signed Negro players, of course! For instance: Dodgers—Campy, Newk, Bankhead, Robby; Giants—Thompson, Noble, Irvin, Mays; White Sox—Minoso; Indians—Doby, Easter, Simpson.

And when you get around to track you just can't stop the pros. They point to the stand-out story of the cinder paths, New York's Pioneer Club. Interracial, without dough but rich in talent and tenacity, these youths, led by the veteran coach, Joe Yancey, finally beat the wealthy NYAC for the 1951 indoor national championship. Among Pioneer's individual indoor champs are: Ed Conwell, 60 yards; Hugh Maiocco, 600 yards, and Roscoe Brown, 1,000 yards. If you don't seem impressed the pros continue by reeling off the names of Mal Whitfield, Herb McKenley, Lloyd LaBeach, Andy Stanfield, Bob Rhoden, Dave Albritton, Arthur Bragg—and lots more!

At this point, somebody's supposed to say, "How great can you get!" And somebody else chimes in, "Just goes to show that Negroes are better than white folks—in sports at least!"

Well, so much for the pros. How about the cons? Most of them are pretty ugly characters. They deserve a piece all by themselves, so we'll deal with them next time around. And then we'll wind it up by telling you where we stand.



Larry Doby

# Jersey Guilty: People Win 2/3 Victory in Trenton Case

By CLAUDE BLANCHETTE

We had waited 19 suspenseful hours for the all-white jury's verdict. Some played cards in the sheriff's room. Others sneaked into vacant courtrooms in the Mercer County Courthouse for a few moments of sleep on the benches. Everybody guessed and buoyed up hope with the most optimistic phrase that came to hand: "I don't see how they can give any of them the chair." "If it was up to me I'd turn all of them loose. How can you convict those fellows without any evidence?"

On the nights of June 13-14, 1951, six Negroes known as the Trenton Six, were the center of interest. Newsmen and photographers, from the metropolitan press, radio and television, speculated on the results of their three-year fight for freedom against a trumped-up murder charge.

Another all-white jury had convicted them three years ago. Another white judge had sentenced them to the electric chair. Their heads had been shaved some time later, their pants slit as they awaited the executioner.

Their jailers tortured them sadistically that night, for their appeal had been filed and their execution stayed. The Civil Rights Congress snatched them from the "chair" and won a reversal of their conviction in the New Jersey Supreme Court. The six men—five directly from southern plantations, the other a native of Trenton whose parents were Georgia-born—became international figures. People in every country of the world knew their names.

Prosecutor Mario Volpe, representing the state of New Jersey, had charged the men with the robbery-killing of William Horner, a 72-year-old white store keeper on the morning of Jan. 27, 1948. In court the men proved they had been elsewhere at the time. Volpe's only answer to the men's protestations of innocence was three police-extracted "confessions." The prosecutor and the Trenton police had gone out on a limb. They had put witnesses on the stand who obviously perjured themselves. He made out the case to the jury as being "these people" against "respected officials." It was "possible," Volpe argued,



JEAN FORREST, 14-year-old daughter of McKinley Forrest, one of the four acquitted defendants in the Trenton Six trial, is shown presenting Paul Robeson with flowers at a June 10 concert in Newark, N. J. Miss Forrest, a student at Trenton's Junior High School No. 3, thanked the renowned artist for his leadership in the fight for peace, democracy and justice.

for the six Negroes to have killed Horner. Therefore, they should die.

Undoubtedly the jury had a tough job: They had to give a semblance of "justice" in their verdict and at the same time uphold their "respected officials." Never mind the fact that the only real evidence presented during the trial pointed to the guilt of the prosecutor and his staff. Never mind the fact that the same

evidence had been presented before and the crime of a "trial" of innocent men was being committed a second time. We were waiting for a verdict.

At 8:40 a.m., June 14 the jury rendered its verdict: Ralph Cooper, 26, "guilty . . . life imprisonment . . ." The same for Collis English, 26, McKinley Forrest, 38, "not guilty." The same for John McKenzie, 27, James Thorpe, 27, and Horace Wilson, 40.

Forrest, in the prosecutor's case, had hit Horner the fatal blow with a bottle. It was too much for the jury to believe. Wilson had struck down Horner's 60-year-old common-law wife, Elizabeth, according to the State. But the case was too flimsy for the jury. The six men had organized a conspiracy to rob, contended the prosecutor. But the jury smashed that contention with its verdict. English and Cooper became the Negro sacrifices to the integrity of white officialdom. Convicted of a murder that didn't happen, in a conspiracy that wasn't organized.

The court clerk's voice trembled as he read back the verdict. Two Negro women spectators fainted. The cops who lined the courtroom wall fingered their sticks. World protest had been answered and "Jersey Justice" had been upheld.

But the verdict proved one thing for those who have followed the Trenton Six case: the people's movement to free them was just two-thirds adequate. The freed men pledged to remedy that in efforts going on now to free the remaining two defendants.

## Dear Edith: Why Not Tell Our Troubles to the World?

(Continued from Page 2)

sense to assume that the subject peoples themselves know what is "in their interests."

Madame Sun Yat-sen, who has had much experience in these matters, expressed their feeling about freedom beautifully and very simply when she said the only way to make people free is to make them free, and went on to say: "The only way to learn to swim is to get into the water; no one has ever learned it any other way."

When Americans and other members of the "free nations" warn the Asian and African peoples that they must beware of the "new colonialism of the Soviet Union," they answer sensibly: "First things first; first we must get rid of the old colonialism of the 'free nations,' which we know from long and bitter experience and have been struggling against for so these many years; when we get rid of that, then we'll worry about a 'new colonialism,' if any."

Edith, many of us were surprised, embarrassed, and bitterly disappointed when you apologized in India during the Town Hall World Tour, for the second class citizenship we Negroes suffer here in the United States, and said: "I would rather be a Negro in America than a citizen in any other land."

Really, Edith, we just don't believe and we hope the Indian people do not believe that you or any other Negro would rather be a second class citizen in our own country. What on earth has citizenship in any other land got to do with the status of our citizenship here?

More recently in Vienna, when a reporter heckled you about conditions of the Negro people in the United States, you "defended the U.S. in a press conference, against Communist accusations . . . and denied that the color bar is universal and typical in the U.S." (N.Y. Times, May 12, 1951.)

Now Edith, this will never do. You know, and I know, and nearly everybody everywhere knows that the color bar is typical and practically universal in these United States. Therefore it is extremely confusing, contradictory and dangerous (or is it revealing?) for you as a representative Negro woman, yourself suffering under this typical and practically universal color bar, to dare deny that it is typical and universal.

We Negro people watch and listen to your every public and official act and word—anxiously and hopefully. I feel sure the colored peoples all over the world do likewise. We wonder: Will this Negro woman truly represent us at the United Nations, will she speak out for all our hopes and dreams, will she defend our basic human rights—or will she turn out to be just another politician?

As our friend Prattis ex-

pressed it: "If Mrs. Sampson should use the stage of the United Nations Assembly as a platform for double talk in which the injustices which her people suffer here will be glossed over, she will rue the day appointment came to her. If she follows her own best thought, she will not do so. Those of us who know and love her can but hope that she will not be overwhelmed, that she will not permit herself to be flattered, and that with the courage and skill which is characteristic of her, she will strike down the enemies of her race and her country, at home and abroad." (Pittsburgh Courier, Sept. 2, 1950.)

We all hope, Edith, that you will "follow your own best thought." We watch and wait and hope.

We are for you, Edith, if you are for us.

Sincerely,  
Essie Robeson  
(Eslanda Goode Robeson)