

Here's  
My Story  
By PAUL ROBESON

"Man, who are you telling?" said the fellow in the first chair. "First the Republican and then the Democrats. It seemed like every time I looked at the TV here was one of them Dixiecrats right up there in front laying it down for states rights and no FEPC. And then they roll-called and polled and voted and tallied

it up—and I guess you know who won?"

The barber sighed. He knew.

"And I guess you know who got counted out?" the man went on.

"Yes," said the barber sadly. "You!"

A waiting customer turned to me and said: "You know, the worst part about those conventions was not so much the way the Southerners got up on their hind legs and demanded their way, but it hurt me to my soul that not one of our delegates got up to straighten them out. Just seconded the motion. Even when it came to nominating that man from Alabama for Vice President—nobody said a mumblin' word."

Then my neighbor cut his eyes at me and said: "But you would have said something. I bet you would."

I thanked him for that and assured him that indeed I really would have talked up for my people . . . and then I got to thinking about something I read in the morning's paper.

It seems that when Gov. Battle got back home to Virginia, a couple of thousand white folks met him with "rebel" yells, Confederate flags and a brass band playing "Dixie." It was a fixed fight, but he won all right—along with Byrd and Byrnes and Talmadge and Sparkman, with Stevenson helping.

And I wondered: where in all this land would even two dozen Negroes welcome back the Negro political leaders who sold out in Chicago? And if such a strange thing could be imagined, would the band play "Lift Every Voice" in honor of these silent ones? Or would a choir sing "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?" But there was nothing like that in the papers.

Some of these big-shots are back home now—"explaining." But what can they say? The plain truth is that the Republican party refused even to make a platform gesture about civil rights and the Democrats showed what they intend to do by breaking their "loyalty" rule even before the ink was dry, seating the Klan-backed delegates and adding an outspoken advocate of Jim Crow to their ticket.

Now, some people are saying  
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YOU MUST  
REGISTER  
TO VOTE



# Freedom

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

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## Can They Be President or Veep?



## Negro in 'Kitchen' Gov't Jobs After 85-Year 2-Party Rule

By JAMES W. KELSAW

The Negro people of the United States in 1952 find themselves in a situation similar to that which led the colonial settlers to fight the American Revolution. We are taxed by a government in which we are not represented.

After almost 90 years of "freedom," Negro Americans have little or no say in making the laws by which we are governed, interpreting them, or carrying them out.

It is the boast of our July Fourth orators that ours is a country in which a boy can rise from rags to riches, from shoeshine boy to president. There have been scores of thousands of Negro shoe-shine boys—but never a Negro president or vice-president.

From 1865 through 1951 there have been 246 U.S. Cabinet members who received in that time \$8,343,500. Not one was a Negro.

Ninety-six U.S. Senators draw \$1,200,000 a year. Not one is a Negro. The salaries of 435 members of the House of Representatives total \$5,455,500 a year. Of this Congressman Powell (Dem.-N.Y.) and Dawson (Dem.-Ill.), the two Negro members, get \$25,000.

Nine Supreme Court justices are paid \$225,000 a year. There has never been a Negro among them. Approximately 228 Federal judges of the U.S. Courts of Appeals, the U.S. Court of Claims, Washington, D.C.; the U.S. Court of Customs and

Patent Appeals, Washington, D.C.; the U.S. Customs Court, New York, and the U.S. District Courts, receive about \$4,872,125. Only three of these judges, William H. Hastie (U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals) Irving Molli-son (U.S. Custom Court, New York) and Herman Moore (U.S. District Court, Virgin Islands) are Negroes.

If it is amazing that in a nation where the Negro is one-tenth of the population, he is 1/265th of that nation's federal law making body, it is equally amazing that on the state level the situation is no better. Of 7,676 state legislators throughout the country, about 30 are Negroes. Furthermore, in the South where the majority of Negroes live, where there is one Negro for every three whites, there are no Negro state legislators. If Negroes were adequately represented in state government, there would be approximately 767 Negro state legislators in this land, not 30.

(Continued on Page 5)



VINCENT HALLINAN



MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS

The two standard bearers of the Progressive Party are pledged to fight vigorously for full equality and first-class citizenship for the Negro people. Mrs. Bass, the first Negro woman ever to be a candidate for Vice-President of the U.S., will join Mr. Hallinan, PP candidate for President, in campaigning throughout the country for peace and civil liberties for all Americans.

# Dickerson Gives Progressives Answer to Old-Party Pleaders

On July 28, the Greater New York Urban League held a "Sound-Off for Civil Rights" luncheon at Harlem's Hotel Theresa, with 100-odd Negro community leaders as its guests. Speakers at the affair were Earl Brown, N. Y. Democratic city councilman and reporter for Life magazine; Harold Burton, Harlem political leader, who seconded the civil rights plank at the Republican convention, and Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago businessman, president of the National Lawyers Guild, and chairman of the platform committee of the Progressive Party.

In the course of explaining why he called upon Negroes to support Eisenhower, Burton admitted that "a platform is just something to stand on—it doesn't mean a thing." He further recalled his pre-convention telegram to New York's Governor Dewey in which he stated that Eisenhower's "position on civil rights is worse than that of Sen. Russell of Georgia."

Mr. Brown, for his part, volunteered that the Democratic platform is a "masterpiece of semantics," and that "in politics you have to take the bad with the good."

Among the speakers only Earl Dickerson could speak with full pride and conviction of the record and performance of his party. But strangely, the



**Earl B. Dickerson**  
With full pride and conviction of the record

daily press and some of the Negro weeklies failed to make any reference to Mr. Dickerson's participation in their coverage of the meeting.

FREEDOM is therefore happy to present the following excerpts from Mr. Dickerson's speech:

"There are two overriding issues in the 1952 election campaign. One is peace. The other is civil rights. The Conventions of both Democratic and Republican Parties are discouraging on both issues. To bring about civil rights we must have the atmosphere of a world at peace. The Republican Party invites a war against China; the Democrats offer to continue the war in Korea. Neither offers the perspective of a peaceful world. Only the Progressive Party has demonstrated both in words and action the overwhelming demand of the American people for peace in Korea now—and for full equality and civil rights in America now.

"Two months ago twenty leading organizations of the Negro people expressed their fears that both Democrats and Republicans and their leading candidates showed every sign of retreating on the fundamental issue of civil rights. The conventions of both old parties proved these fears to be correct. There has been a retreat, a retreat that fills every American with dismay. . . .

"The words of the platforms are less important than the realities of the convention. We are not grammarians or medieval scholars. We are concerned with actions, not only words. The only comment I need make on the two planks has already been made by their chief proponents. My honored colleague at this luncheon, Mr. Burton, is quoted by the press as having said of the Republican plank that 'we didn't like the present plank as it is but we did not want to go before the Convention and be defeated.' And Mr. Humphrey commented on the Democratic plank that it was a compromise. . . .

"There can be no compromise with equality. There can be no standpatism, no pussy-

footing, no appeasing of political cliques. That is the challenge offered by the Negro people today. That is the challenge of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment. The simple fact is that ever since 1875 both old parties have compromised with this challenge—and they can do so no longer. . . .

"The Progressive Party platform does not creep up on equality, or talk of 'making progress' toward equality. We recognize equality now. We say that right now all are equal and deserve equal treatment—not in the indefinite tomorrow promised by Mr. Eisenhower or Mr. Stevenson. We say this not only in words or pledges, but in actions and candidates. For the first time in the history of this nation, a party has chosen a Negro woman as its vice presidential candidate. Can you see the party of Eisenhower and Nixon, or the dubious



**Earl Brown**  
A masterpiece of semantics

coalition that paired Stevenson with Sparkman making such a choice?

"... the Negro must depend on his political strength to secure equality, and for the development of that strength he must have freedom to organize and freedom to voice his views. That freedom is seriously impaired in the present atmosphere of reaction. And I see nothing in the platforms of either the Republicans or Democratic parties which attacks the roots of that reaction, the illiberal atmosphere of war. . . .

"Today, only the Progressive Party offers the American voter the chance to vote for peace and the chance to vote for equality."

## Freedom Salutes

### Mr. Negro News-Front: Oscar Brown Jr.

At the youthful age of 25, Oscar Brown Jr. is already an institution in Chicago among thousands of radio listeners who tune in daily to his "Negro News-Front" broadcast. His 7 a.m. program has made him a breakfast-guest to many families and a favorite rider-companion of drivers on their way to work. Started as an experiment, "Negro News-Front" became a radio feature in 1948 and has had a stormy life ever since. Here was a voice that told the news (most of which was ignored by other commenta-

tors) and did even more—it told the score and named names.

Station owners never ceased their nagging efforts to silence this spokesman of the Negro people. Their most blatant attack came in 1951 after a broadcast which expressed deep appreciation for Paul Robeson and his magnificent contribution to America and the struggle he has made for Negro rights. "Negro News-Front" was promptly banned by the station owners. Hundreds of phone calls, telegrams and letters poured into the station protesting the ban. A community rally participated in by hundreds of listeners, the NAACP, the Chicago Negro Labor Council, the Urban League and other radio artists, was held. Protest

mounted. "Negro News-Front" was back on the air within three days!

What about this veteran of ten years of radio work? Who is "Mr. Negro News-Front?" How does he explain his crusading spirit?

We put the question to him, real bluntly and he answered likewise, but first gave a shy, fond glance at his beautiful wife, Irene and their two bouncing babies, David and Donna.

He put it like this: "Some generation will have to take on the task of making the sacrifices and struggles to win a decent future for our kids. . . . I've decided it might as well be my generation."

FREEDOM salutes Oscar Brown Jr., and "The Negro News-Front!"

## It Happened Last Month

**BALTIMORE, MD.**—Privates Allen Wainwright and Alexander Sivels, two Fort Meade soldiers, got "red hot" when they asked a waitress for "hot dogs" and got the cold shoulder instead. The soldiers were hauled before Police Court for disorderly conduct but Magistrate Rifman dismissed the case.

**RICHMOND, VA.**—The Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company lost its appeal in a racial discrimination case. The Federal Appellate Court upheld a verdict awarding \$50 compensatory damages to a North Carolina teacher who charged that he was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge at Emporia, Va., because he refused to move from the coach in which he was riding to one marked "colored."

**TALLAHASSEE, FLA.**—Bill Hendrix, who received 11,203 votes as candidate for Governor of Florida, started a drive to organize a "confederate army" to "bear arms" to uphold segregation in the South. He said that already he has ordered 10,000 colonel's commissions printed for members of his proposed army. General opinion is that the confederate commissions will be worth about as much as confederate bills.



**BALTIMORE, MD.**—Maddened into action by the Governor's recent dedication of segregated beach facilities at Sandy Point Park, Masons all over Maryland declared war on Jim Crow. "We are tired of it," declared Grand Master Williard Allen, "and we're not taking any more of it."

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**—The Rev. George W. Thomas was put forth as a candidate for election to the U. S. Congress on the Republican ticket.

**WHITEVILLE, N. C.**—Thomas L. Hamilton, Imperial Klan Wizard of the Carolinas, pleaded guilty along with 12 others in Superior Court to charges of assault and conspiracy to assault Negroes and other citizens during a series of night riding incidents.

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**—At an emergency conference sponsored by the Council on African Affairs a campaign was launched to secure 100,000 signatures by Sept. 15, to a petition dealing with the present crisis in South Africa. Identifying Malanism with Hitlerism as "a matter of world concern," the petition calls upon President Truman "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa and to denounce publicly that Government's racist program as an international menace."

**CHALMETTE, LA.**—A new ruse was discovered by the St. Bernard Parish registrar to keep Negroes from registering. Eugene Cager of Fazendville and Jules Brown of Violet were told that although they were eligible to register, they could not do so because "the books were locked up."



**Harold Burton**  
Eisenhower is worse than Russell

**Freedom**  
Where one is approved, all are in chains

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**YOU MUST REGISTER TO VOTE**

# Airlines Bar Negro Aces of World War II; Labor Council Launches National Campaign

No great deal of memory is needed to recall the glorious exploits of Negroes in the air forces, whether flying, servicing planes or building super-fortress bases, in World War II against Hitler fascism.

"Colored troops are a part, and a vital part of our team," said Major General Ira C. Eaker, Deputy Commanding General of Army Air Forces.

From that day early in June, 1943, when the "red tails" as the men of the 99th Pursuit Squadron were called, went into combat and received their first baptism of fire in the bombing of the Island of Pantelleria, the value of the "red tails" was established. Their record of 15,553 missions and 10,730 sorties shows they remained vital to allied air supremacy over the skies of Nazi-occupied Europe.

The fearless Negro pilot, escorting a flying fortress—piloted by a white boy from Texas with a Mississippi bombardier, undoubtedly felt that he was earning the right of full citizenship, the right to work according to his ability and training.

Where is he now? Where are those brave men of the 99th who shot down eight Nazi planes in one day?

They are porters and janitors if they sought employment with the airlines of America and were hired. Except for such jobs, in the words of William R. Hood, president of the National Negro Labor Council, the airways of America are a "shocking and disgraceful example of lily-white industry."

Hood's words are taken from a letter to C. R. Smith, president of American Airlines. Part of the text of the letter follows:

"The National Negro Labor Council is engaged in a national campaign to win 100,000 jobs for Negro workers in areas of employment, now barred to them.

"Our initial survey of discriminatory hiring practices in American industry reveals the airlines as a shocking and disgraceful example of a lily-white industry, employing over 61,000 workers on domestic routes alone, including pilots, co-pilots, stewardesses, stewards, dispatchers, mechanics, office employees, etc., with Negro workers barred from all classifications except that of porter and janitor.

"The Jim Crow hiring policies of the airlines becomes even more shocking when it is revealed that they are subsidized by national and local government at every level, by money taken from the taxes of all the people, Negro as well as white.

"Over 45 million dollars is handed over to the airlines annually in the form of air-mail subsidies by the federal government. American Airlines alone, the company of which you are the President, and which is the largest of the domestic air-lines, received six



NEGRO FIGHTER PILOT shown taking off in his plane in Italy during World War II.

million dollars of this government handout.

"The federal Airports Act of 1946 authorized federal expenditures of \$500 million over a seven year period for the construction of airports, provided local sponsors at least match these expenditures. This means an even billion dollars of taxpayers money spent on airports alone in a seven year period.

"This amounts to government

subsidy of the Jim Crow hiring policies of the American and other airlines.

"We have selected American Airlines as our starting point. Around the country our local Councils are now compiling lists of qualified Negro applicants who have applied for job openings at American Airlines and who have been turned down.

"We feel that we will have

the support of the American people, white as well as Negro, of the labor movement, and of all freedom loving citizens in our fight against American Airlines' un-American hiring policies."

The National Negro Labor Council is asking all persons who are acquainted with Negro

pilots or others who are capable of holding jobs as dispatchers, mechanics, office employees, stewardesses and stewards, to have the applicants get in touch with the Council immediately. Letters should be written to Mr. Coleman Young, executive secretary, National Negro Labor Council, 410 East Warren, Detroit, Michigan.

## Mrs. Graham Rests After 79 Yrs.

Etta Bell Graham was born April 30, 1873 near the town of Kidder, Missouri. Her restless father moved his family to a city more open to the prairies—St. Paul, Minnesota.

Here Etta Bell Graham was the first colored graduate of St. Paul's High School. In 1925 she married the Reverend D. A. Graham pastor of Bethel AME Church in Chicago. Thus began for pretty Etta Bell forty years as minister's wife, mother, community worker, missionary.

In 1927 Dr. Graham was appointed head of Monrovia College in Liberia. In Monrovia Etta Bell was so esteemed by the native churches that she was the delegate chosen to represent them in the AME General Conference which met in Philadelphia in 1930, becoming one of the first women delegates to sit in that body. Dr. Graham died in 1935 in Crawfordville, Indiana.

For ten years, thereafter, Sister Graham traveled about the country talking on Africa for the Home Missionary Society, took courses in nursing,

took a lively interest in civic affairs and realized a long ambition and for two summers matriculated at the University of Indiana.

Later in 1945 she moved to Corona, Long Island, where she soon made her presence felt. Her voice was heard at NAACP meetings, in ALP Clubs. She presented herself as witness to the Peekskill riot, briskly traveling to Harlem to sign her affidavit. She attended the trial of the Communist leaders at Foley Square. A few months ago she went with a body of women to the United Nations to petition for peace.

Sunday, July 7th, she passed away, while her daughter and eldest son were at her bedside.

Left are four sons and a daughter, Shirley Graham DuBois, 10 grandchildren, two great grandsons, nieces and nephews. FREEDOM joins a host of friends all over this country, in Africa, England, Australia, young and old, in blessing her name and honoring her memory.

# Make It Clear -- Boycott Schaefer!

By JOHN ELMORE

NEW YORK—"Make it clear. Boycott Schaefer!" is the latest appeal of the Greater New York Negro Labor Council to the public to support its current campaign to win jobs for Negro workers in the brewery industry. Of the 7,000 production workers hired by New York City breweries, only 9 are Negro. These companies which collect a substantial percentage of their profits from Negro consumers in some instances are attempting to camouflage their discriminatory employment policies by hiring a token number of Negro office workers and a few popular Negro salesmen to curry favor with Negro beer drinkers. But even these steps were taken only in recent years after pressure had been placed on the companies by several Negro organizations.

To date Schaefer has refused to meet with NLC representatives. Its only reply to our request for a conference was a "buck-passing" attempt to place the main responsibility for personnel selection upon the union from which it hires the bulk of its workers.

Brooklyn Negro Labor Council members on June 29th and August 3 distributed thousands of leaflets at Ebbets field, urging the ball fans to boycott this brand of beer. The next day several Negro workers who had

been "shaping up" since last April for jobs as temporary platform leaders were given a few days work. This summer is the first time that Schaefer admitted Negroes to even these non-union seasonal laboring jobs. This small victory is limited, however, because in order to apply for membership in the Brewery Workers Union a worker must accumulate 266 hours of work. At the rate of a few hours worked annually, many, many years must pass before Negroes can get a foothold in the basic section of the brewery industry. Both the union and the industry agreed to meet with the Urban League, but so far nothing concrete has developed to change this situation.

The campaign to break through Jim Crow in this industry, initiated by the Brooklyn chapter of the Greater New York Negro Labor Council has now become a city-wide project. Leaflets have been enthusiastically received, and bars and grills have been very cooperative in accepting our posters for display. In addition to applying pressure where it hurts the company most—through boycott of its product—all supporters are urged to write, wire or call the company at 430 Kent Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, protesting its discriminatory employment practices.

While we will mount our drive for signatures to our FEPC petition for national legislative action, we are determined to "make it clear" to key

industries in New York City that we will also hit the streets and organize the wide-spread sentiment against Jim Crow wherever it exists.

# DON'T DRINK JIM CROW BEER



NEGRO WORKERS ARE HIRED IN ONLY 'TOKEN' NUMBERS IN LIMITED JOBS FOR THE SHORT SUMMER SEASON.

Make it clear: **BOYCOTT**



**YOU MUST REGISTER TO VOTE**



# Record Shows Democrats & Republicans Are Tools of Dixiecrats; Don't Deserve Negro Vote

"We are watching the race but we haven't picked our horse yet. We are going to vote in November, but nobody knows for whom." These were the words of Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. at a meeting in Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom early this month.

Congressman Powell who in explaining his position said "I was a Negro before I was a Democrat," made no mention of third party as an instrument Negroes could well use to register a powerful and positive counter-offensive against the open offensive both the Republican and Democratic parties have most recently initiated against civil rights.

### What is the record?

#### 1948

**FEPC:** Bill S 984 sponsored by four Republican Senators and three Democrats. Opposed in Committee by Republican Senators Taft and Ball and Democrats Donnell, Ellender and Hill. Bill was never called up on the floor.

Sixteen bills were introduced in the House. There was no action on any of them.

**POLL TAX:** No action in either house on proposed anti-poll tax bills.

**ANTI-LYNCHING:** Republican Congressman Case (N. J.) introduced bill which never came to a vote in the house. Similar bill introduced in the Senate never came to a vote because of early opposition of Southern Democrats and failure of Republicans to fight for it.

#### 1949

**FEPC:** Cong. Marcantonio's (ALP, N. Y.) bill reported on. No action in House. Similar bill introduced in the Senate by Sen. McGrath (D., R. I.). No action in either house on either bill.

**POLL TAX:** Cong. Marcantonio's anti-poll tax bill ap-



Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.  
Just another horse race

proved in the House, 273-116. Similar bill died in committee in the Senate.

**ANTI-LYNCHING:** Hearings held on anti-lynching bills, including those introduced by Rep. Powell (D., N. Y.) and Rep. Helen G. Douglass (D., Calif.). Similar bills were introduced in the Senate by Senators McGrath, Humphrey and Morse but no action was taken on any of the bills in either house.

#### 1950

**FEPC:** A "voluntary" FEPC bill was approved in the House in substitution for the original bill which called for government enforcement. No action in the Senate.

**POLL TAX:** No action in either house.

**ANTI-LYNCHING:** No action in either house.

#### 1951

**FEPC:** A compromise bill was voted out of the Senate in June of that year. No action in House. The bill made no provisions for enforcement.

**POLL TAX:** No action.

**ANTI-LYNCHING:** No action.

#### 1952

There has been no action this year on any civil rights legislation.

### Progressive Platform

That's the record of the Republicans and Democrats. What about the Progressives?

The Progressive Party was born in 1948. Under the leadership of men like Elmer Benson, former Governor Minnesota, C. B. Baldwin, ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio, and Paul Robeson, the new party ran up almost two million votes in the Presidential election of that year.

Reflecting the dissatisfaction of the American people with the two old parties, the PP makes one of the most important features of its platform, a comprehensive plank on civil rights.

Who are its candidates?

**FOR PRESIDENT: VINCENT HALLINAN.** Mr. Hallinan is a California attorney who led a one man crusade to sweep out corruption in the San Francisco jury system. He came out of retirement to defend the longshore leader Harry Bridges. In the course of the trial Hallinan was cited for contempt and sentenced to a six months term, which he is now serving on McNeil's Island in the state of Washington.

**FOR VICE-PRESIDENT: MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS.** Mrs. Bass, for 40 years the editor of the militant Negro weekly, the *California Eagle*, reports of herself: "I think back now over the 30 years I spent as an active member of the Republican party. I remember 1940 when I was chosen as Western Regional Director for Wendell Willkie. When I entered the Republican headquarters . . . in Chicago, I found two worlds—one upstairs for white Republicans and down below was the world for Negro Republicans. There was no future for my people in the Republican Party. With the death of Roosevelt I saw the Democratic Party fall into the hands of lesser men. I saw it become the party of Truman and war, of Rankin and the poll tax. There was no future for my people in the Democratic party either."

The Progressive Party plank is the only one that spells out

civil rights demands. It calls for:

1. A Federal Fair Employment Practices law with effective enforcement powers.

2. A Federal anti-poll tax law. Federal legislation to guarantee the right to register and

vote to the Negro people. . . .

3. A Federal anti-lynch law.

4. A presidential executive order to prohibit discrimination in employment, under any contract entered into by the federal government or any of its agencies.

## A Man Could Break His Neck!



## Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 1)

(this month, anyway) that they can't swallow all that and Sparkman too. "Let's sit this one out," they say. "Both decks are stacked in November."

Along with all Negroes who aren't bought and paid for, I share these Democrats' disgust. But as for sitting it out—oh, no! We can't afford to sit anything out, anymore than we can afford to have so-called leaders who sit and take it.

I've got two good reasons for saying that. For one thing, there was a third convention in Chicago that didn't get all that ballyhoo. I mean the Progressive Party convention that nominated Vincent Hallinan, a fighting labor attorney, for President and one of our militant women leaders, Mrs. Charlotte Bass, for Vice President. You'll hear more about these candidates and their platform before this campaign is over, and I hope that you'll come to believe as I do that here is the only ticket for Negroes in November.

And there is another reason for not stringing along or sitting it out, regardless of what your politics are. When you look a little closer at what happened in Chicago you'll see something that never showed up on the TV screen: the fact is that civil rights for Negroes was the cen-

tral issue behind all the wringing and twisting at the big conventions. And the fact is that it was OUR DEMAND for those rights which made that the issue! And we've got to keep on demanding.

Sure, civil rights, FEPC and all the rest of our needs got kicked around out there, but brothers and sisters I'll tell you one thing: this fight is just starting good.

Truth is, you're telling me. Wherever I go about this land, on the streets, in the churches, in the unions, I hear what you the people say about wanting our civil rights now. Not next year, not in some great day a-comin', but now, this year, 1952.

So all of us together—and there's no strings on us, no gag on us, no political boss to make us second his motions—all of us have got some talking back to do. Not on TV, not on radio, not long-distance—but face to face with the powers that be. I mean mass action and mass pressure. I mean delegations that will represent us, the 15 million Negroes and all decent, progressive white Americans who know our cause is just and that equal rights for us means more democracy for them.

Sitting it out? Oh, no. I say we got some fighting and struggling and unifying to do.



STEVENSON

"Civil rights administered by the States."



EISENHOWER

"I really believe in . . . States . . . action in civil rights."



SPARKMAN

"I am against . . . civil rights . . . always have been and always will be."



NIXON

People who support civil rights are "leftist" to him.

YOU MUST REGISTER TO VOTE



# FEPC Would Help Negro Workers Get \$4½ Billion Paid to Jim Crow

In 1941, faced with the threat of a national march on Washington, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802. With one pen stroke FEPC became law of the land. To the Negro people—too long last hired and first fired—Executive Order 8802 opened the doors to jobs hitherto held by whites only.

FEPC ended on a federal basis in 1946. For five years, no discrimination against minority groups in employment had been the law of the land. For six years since, there has been a constant battle to reinstate it. During all these years three Democratic and one Republican congresses have failed to pass FEPC laws. And President Truman hasn't had the strength or will to issue an executive order similar to 8802. At the major party conventions in Chicago, neither Re-

foundries make \$2.07 an hour; in Birmingham, \$1.32. Woolen weavers in Lawrence, Massachusetts' textile mills average \$1.56 an hour and \$1.12 in Virginia and North Carolina. Hand shovelers in fertilizer plants on the Pacific Coast get \$1.41 an hour; in Southeast states 72c.

Dress makers in New York City average \$1.87 an hour; they get 95c in Atlanta, Ga. Workers in flour and cereal mills of Minnesota average \$1.37 an hour; 75c is their wage

hower.

E. I. Dupont de Nemours has rayon, nylon, plastic, explosives and chemical plants throughout the South. Through the Standard Oil Company and the Socony Vacuum Company the Rockefeller interests operate one of the South's greatest natural resources—petroleum. The huge tobacco industry is a giant monopoly dominated by the six leading tobacco companies whose giant Southern plants supply the nation cigarettes.

### Northern Interests Control

The compressing and warehousing of cotton is dominated by the world's largest merchandiser of cotton—Anderson, Clayton & Company, whose stock is handled through the Morgan banks. Second largest cotton factor in the South is the family of South Carolina's Senator Maybank. The rubber industry, the meat packing and cottonseed oil crushing industries, the pulp and paper mills, are all dominated by northern industrialists. And much of the textile industry which has been steadily migrating to the South is now controlled by northern firms.

From these firms come the financial backing of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Negro people of the United States have too long suffered from tragic and appalling human consequences which super economic exploitation places upon us. The time has come for an FEPC with "teeth that will bite anyone who attempts to evade the letter or the spirit of fair employment practices." Such an FEPC cannot come voluntarily from the Democrats or Republicans, because they are the parties of big business which reaps superprofits from discrimination in industry.

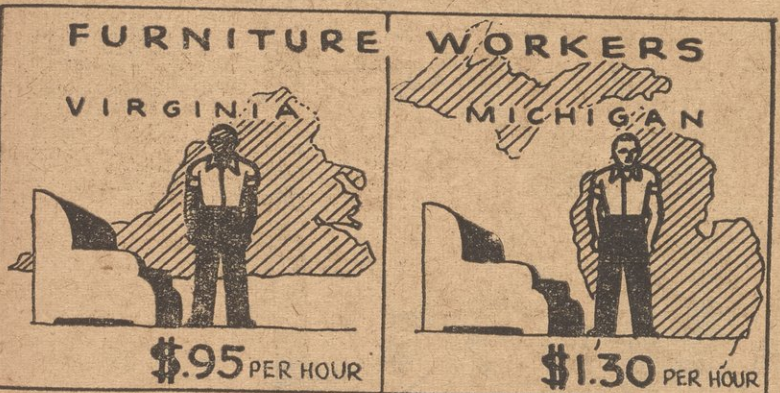
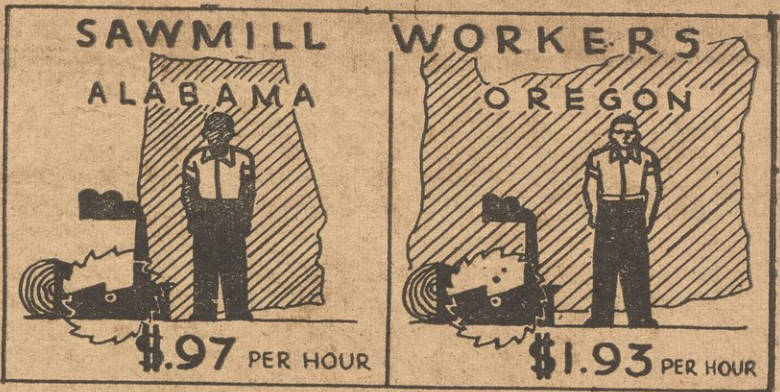
### Who Backs Old Parties?

Where would the money for this equalization come from? From the present profits of the people who own and operate Southern industry.

The Morgan interests, through U.S. Steel Corporation, own the steel plants in the South, the iron ore mines and coal veins in Alabama and Tennessee, and also control leading southern utility companies and the Southern Railway Company. Phillip Reed, board chairman of Morgan's General Electric and director of Morgan's Bankers Trust, is on the board of Citizens for Eisenhower. Other Morgan men who are backers of Eisenhower include John L. Collyer, president of B.F. Goodrich and director of J.P. Morgan & Co.; Franklin D'Olier, retired president and director of Morgan's Prudential Life Insurance Co.; General Lucius Clay, chairman of the board of Continental Can (Morgan-Goldman-Sachs-Lehman Bros.); and a host of others.

Morgan interests not only back the Republican Party. Finances from the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. which Morgan interests own, support Southern Democrats.

In Louisiana, Freeport Sulphur Co. is gaining a complete monopoly over the mining of sulphur, so important to the production of fertilizer and munitions. W. Walter Williams, director of Freeport Sulphur and Great Northern Paper, is a backer of Eisen-



publicans or Democrats pledged action for an enforceable FEPC. The words "fair employment practices" are not mentioned in either platform.

Why?

When the situation was last looked into in 1950 the median wage of a white worker in the United States was \$2,481. For the Negro it was \$1,295. The difference is \$1,186 extra profits that employers get from the average Negro worker. Multiply that by the 3½ million gainfully employed Negro workers and super-profits total \$4.5 billion a year. A federal FEPC with teeth means that somebody lets go of 4½ billion dollars a year.

### Negroes Get 56% Less

Who? The backers of the Democratic and Republican parties. That's general. Let's look at the specific.

In sections of the country other than the South, the Negro is paid 42% less than white workers. Discrimination in employment is a national industry-wide affair. However, the basis of this super-exploitation of the Negro people lies in the fact that the South is practically a colony of Northern financial interests. So let's look at the situation from a Southern view.

The Southern Negro worker is paid 56% less than white workers.

Sawmill workers in the South, mostly Negroes, get 97 cents an hour. Sawmill workers on the west coast, mostly white, get \$1.93. The average production worker in manufacturing industry in Michigan gets \$1.71 an hour; in Georgia, \$1.08. Coremakers in Detroit's ferrous

## Negro in 'Kitchen' Gov't Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

I spent a week in Washington trying to dig up figures showing the number and grades of Negroes in the Department of Labor, Agriculture, and Interior. The secrecy which surrounds such information in itself points to the fact that, despite the much-ballyhooed Presidential Order banning discrimination in federal employment, the Administration is not proud of its record. It certainly was not anxious to reveal it.

A half dozen Negroes known as the "Black Cabinet" are high-publicized civil servants. But it is clear to the observer that they are used as "window dressing" to cover up the shameful discrimination against Negroes in the employment policies of their agencies.

An authoritative source reports that of the 70,020 employees in Agriculture, about 2,000 are Negroes. Negroes are 23.3 percent of all custodial help and errand runners but only 0.5 percent of all professionals in the department.

### "Except for Color"

Thomas Richardson cites a case in the July 1949 issue of Labor Review in which four Negro women who had been employed by the wartime Wage Stabilization Board sought placement in the Department of Agriculture. The personnel officer at the Department sent the women's application to a supervisor with a note on official stationery saying:

"Attached are the applications I talked to you about. Except for color, they look like good girls."

In the Bureau of Printing

and Engraving Negroes are 53 percent of the employees, but receive 25 percent of the pay.

William Graves in an article published in 1951 showed that in a typical government agency it took the average Negro seven times as long as the average white to get a promotion, "in spite of the fact that almost all of the variables which could effect promotion were exactly the same."

As I gathered this information in the nation's capitol, there came to mind a State Department publication, *Amerika* (no. 50), which is circulated by the U.S. Information Office in the Russian language, in Moscow. The publication includes a picture of a Negro woman registering to vote. Under the picture there is a caption reading: "The participation of Negroes in the political life of their country is guaranteed in the main by over three million Negro voters and by their representatives in legislative organs."

If the U.S. Information Service wanted to tell the Russians the whole truth, it would have said that: (1) after 85 years of Republican and Democratic rule Negroes are practically left out of the legislative, judicial and executive organ of government, and (2) where they are hired by federal administrative agencies they are confined to menial and lower clerical jobs.

That is why Negroes are today joining hands in an unprecedented movement to demand their rightful place at all levels of government, and on any ticket that honestly seeks to advance their political representation.



MEMBERS of the Chicago Non-Partisan Committee, picketed both the Republican and Democratic Conventions.

**YOU MUST REGISTER TO VOTE**

## Editorial

### United Action Needed

**M**ILLIONS OF TELEVISION viewers will long remember the spectacle of the Fearsome Four—Governors Battle of Virginia, Byrnes of South Carolina, Talmadge of Georgia and Kennon of Louisiana—waving their arms like wild men and shouting at the top of their voices—that they would never sign the party "loyalty" pledge, that they would bolt if a real civil rights platform were adopted, that they would never betray the principles of Southern "white supremacy."

The stage was set. In thousands of homes Negro families sat in little groups around their video sets. Who would take up the challenge of the Dixiecrats and throw it back in their teeth? Who would say, on behalf of Negro Americans that we would not pledge loyalty to a party that could not be loyal to us, that we would bolt unless the convention adopted a civil rights plank with teeth, that we place loyalty to our people above political expediency?

Who? Would it be Powell, the well-known spell-binder? Or Dawson, who is no slouch as an orator? Or would Earl Brown, the spokesman for LIFE magazine seize the great moment and for once become a real spokesman for his downtrodden and angry people? Who would it be?

The answer is now one of the sorrier pages of our history. The Democratic politicians were no more vocal than Mr. Burton and company at the Republican sell-out. Nobody said a mumblin' word when the chips were down.

Now they are all back home talking big at the big gate, trying to convince folks what great champions they are. We say that, for all the good they did our cause when the talking really mattered, they should have stood in bed.

Both parties adopted planks so weak that the returning Negro delegates are afraid to stand on them. And in both gatherings, the Dixiecrat element came in like lambs and rode home like gangbusters.

**I**MAGINE, IF YOU WILL, a different cast of characters at the Chicago sell-out meetings. Let's give the microphone to Paul Robeson instead of Harold Burton at the critical moment of the Republican convention. Would he have meekly seconded, or would he have torn to shreds, the misnamed civil rights plank? Would W. E. B. DuBois have stood silently by and witnessed the foul betrayal of the people in whose behalf he has labored for more than half a century?

By the same token, what would have happened at the Democratic confab if William L. Patterson had been in the shoes of one of the speechless Negro big-wigs? Would the man who challenged Georgia Congressman Lanham's insult to the Negro people have failed to speak against Talmadge's? Or would Georgia's Ben Davis, now languishing in the Terra Haute penitentiary, have consented by his silence in the nomination of Sparkman of Alabama?

We can be sure that if the cast had been different, the result would not have been the same.

**T**HE CHALLENGE OF THE MOMENT is for the big-party politicians to stop pointing the finger at each other and start directing the wrath of the Negro people where it belongs—at the doorsteps of the men who really run the Democratic and Republican parties.

President Truman could make FEPC the law of the land by signing an executive order tomorrow, if he had the guts to put his money where his mouth is. He could abolish Jim Crow in Washington, D. C., by the same means.

Instead of simply more promises from the candidates we should demand that they press for a special session of the 82nd Congress, to meet before November, for the purpose of changing the filibuster rule in the Senate and enacting civil rights bills.

Whoever is elected President, Negroes want FEPC, voting rights and an end to "white supremacy" terror now. There's no reason, if we have the vision and strength to unite in our demands, why we should have to wait until after the elections to get them.

### Frederick Douglass Said:

"We are as a people often reproached with ambition for political offices and honors. We are not ashamed of this alleged ambition. Our destitution of such ambition would be our real shame. . . .

"We shall never cease to be a despised and persecuted class while we are known to be excluded by our color from all important positions under the Government."

### Can't Hold His Audience



### LETTER COLUMN

## Get It Off Your Chest

#### Thrilled by Mrs. Bass

I have had only three copies of FREEDOM but find it a magnificent little paper. I surely want it to survive and grow. . . .

We attended Mrs. Bass' lecture in our city recently and warmly applauded her very truthful, thrilling word. What a magnificent woman she is! Please let her know that I and my friend enjoyed and were uplifted by her great words of truth and justice and the strength of her wonderful voice.

We have long been admirers of Paul Robeson. To us he is a great man as well as a great singer and a great actor. We rejoiced over the great multitudes that came to hear him at the Border, also in Seattle and San Francisco here on the coast. We feel that in the not too distant future he will be singing again for America and the world.

Margaret M. Goss  
Portland, Ore.

#### Weekly Needed

I'd just like to say that with every issue your paper gets better and better. There is just one thing wrong. It doesn't come out often enough. FREEDOM is playing a great role as a monthly, but it would be much greater if it was a bi-monthly, and even greater if a weekly. The forces working to prevent the Negro people from getting their freedom and to take away the freedom of all Americans, are daily on the job.

Lonne Lewis  
Cleveland, Ohio

#### War's A Mess

I am a veteran of the Korean war. I have only been back home in the states a few months. I accidentally picked up a copy of your paper in my mother's house one day. I have been excited about FREEDOM ever since.

I never knew a paper like this existed. I hope you will go on forever. I don't know too much about a lot of the speeches I have been hearing since I have been home. But I do know one thing and that is war is a mess, and horrible. I hope you people will have more and more articles against it.

John T. Redpath  
Norfolk, Va.

#### Childress Fan

Precious gift that you are! I have lived on a farm most of my life in the farm community around Madison. There are not many Negro families in this district and it is a wonderful experience to read all that is going on with our people in the rest of the country, especially in the South where both my parents and my husband come from.

I especially enjoyed the fishing story in this last issue of the paper. And I can hardly ever wait to read Alice Childress articles each month. I wish there was a little bit more about the middle west each month. There are a lot of Negro workers in Milwaukee—and we out here are just like every one else, we like to read about our own.

Mrs. Toles F. Crawford  
Madison, Wisconsin

#### The Best Yet

This is a real honest to goodness fan letter. I have just finished reading the July issue of FREEDOM, and have to say that it was the best yet. I, incidentally say this every month.

I especially like the stories from your Southern Correspondent and felt real pride in the very good coverage given to the Menhaden Fishermen. Does your Southern correspondent plan to visit my home town, good ole Memphis? If so, I am very much interested as I have a mother there who would probably be very anxious to meet and talk with him and attend any affairs sponsored by or for him.

Here in Detroit we are planning big things for FREEDOM and will work hard to have a good report when your general manager, George Murphy, is here again.

Charlotte Neal  
Detroit, Mich.

#### \$5 Boost

When your paper first hit our town I read the first issue from cover to cover and I am sold on it.

I am just a hard working cement worker but I know that Paul Robeson is God's way of leading us out of the darkness into the light.

Here are five subs and a five dollar boost from me and some other people who want to help.

Will Lee Howard  
Louisville, Ky.

# Songs of Clarence Williams Inspire Today's Musicians

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

Today on Harlem's 125th Street there is a little thrift shop where you can buy anything from a mid-Victorian letter opener to a modern motion picture projector. Between people coming in asking the price of electric fans, every now and then someone will ask for "Mr. Williams?" and the smiling, friendly proprietor will look out from his glasses and say "Yes?"

"Mr. Clarence Williams . . . the composer?"

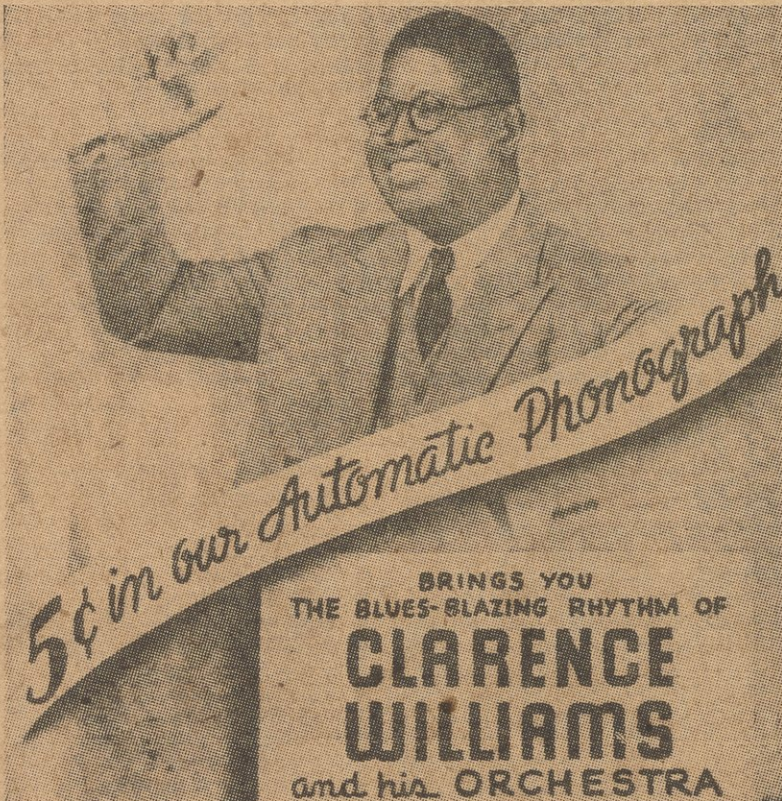
Everybody who has ever heard Clyde McCoy's famous Sugar Blues or the great Bessie Smith's Gulf Coast Blues or Louis Armstrong's Everybody Loves My Baby or Louis Jordan's I Can't Dance—everybody who remembers the music of the Twenties knows the work of Clarence Williams.

Clarence Williams started composing songs at the age of 14. That was back in 1910 in his native New Orleans. He says it was a pretty natural thing. "I heard music all my life. My father was a kind of musical railroad man. He could play the guitar, the accordion or bass fiddle."

The first Williams composition was "You Missed a Good Woman When You Picked All Over Me" which he sold to Columbia Records for \$1,600. Then came Royal Garden Blues and then Baby Won't You Please Come Home. He met the great Fats Waller and together they wrote the still highly popular Squeeze Me which has been recorded by a number of famous bands and singers including Duke Ellington and Lena Horne.

He married Eva Taylor who was one of the stars of Shuffle Along with the late Florence Mills.

Once in Memphis, on tour with Armand Piron, the encores were demanded so fast that he ran out of songs to play, so he composed a song right on the



AN OLD POSTER advertises a great songwriter.

stage, which was later called the Wildflower Rag.

Aside from the amazing production of over 100 songs, Clarence Williams has had a major influence on the song writers and arrangers of today.

What does he think about music today? "Its pretty much just a business.

"The oldtimers' stuff never dies, but these fellows today

mostly just borrow from us. There is hardly anything you can write where you don't run into either Handy or myself, unless you really put some thought and work into it."

And Bop? "We were doing that stuff back in 1911. There is no melody, it's just counter melody and scales and you can play the Star Spangled Banner or the Yankee Doodle against

## N. Y. Housing Development Bars Negro Artist's Family

Ed Strickland, a brilliant young New York artist who recently held a one-man show at the Harlem Branch Library and whose work is best known to FREEDOM readers in the illustrations of our monthly children's stories, is the latest victim of housing Jim Crow in one of New York's major housing developments.

Last January his brother, John Strickland, a disabled World War II veteran and the father of an 8-month-old child, applied for an apartment for himself and his family at the Knickerbocker Village. He was told he would have a "five year wait." Meanwhile, one Harold Garde was admitted after a brief three month wait. Mr. Garde is white.

When the Strickland family learned of this they notified the State Housing Commissioner and charged racial discrimination and the story was published in the Knickerbocker News, the Village newspaper.



Edward Strickland

The incensed management sent an eviction notice to the Ed Strickland family which, after spending the first six months of their marriage in an attic, had moved in to Knickerbocker on a sublet basis. The management declared that they were living on the premises "illegally"—while about one-third of the white families in the development are in sublet apartments.

New York Housing Commissioner Herman T. Stichman failed to see any discrimination involved and the Stricklands with community support brought the management and the commissioner into the State Supreme Court. The management was upheld by N. Y. Supreme Court Judge Brisach.

Community leaders and organizations have been quick to offer help and support to the 22-year-old artist and his wife Carmen. Over 1,000 signatures have been collected in the community opposing the eviction and a picketline of 50 people was organized in front of the Housing Commissioner's office by the Manhattan Tenants Council.

it."

He laughs when he remembers, "We use to do it in the band when he didn't like a singer. Bop is tricky, okay, to sit and listen to, but you can't dance to it. It's just scales and counter melodies and that's all."

If you ask about the thrift shop, he will tell you it's a hobby. He used to collect antiques and odd items and the collection grew and grew. Then he got the idea of turning it into a business for his children. But the sons grew up and went into other fields and his daughter—well she preferred music. She is Irene Williams of the Chittison Trio.

So one of the country's most influential blues composer is contentedly stuck behind the counters of his Harlem thrift shop while all of America goes on singing and playing and loving his music.

## Stories for Children

### A Great Elder Statesman Once Taught in Tennessee

The young student looked out the train window at the green and yellow fields and the great houses and the tiny shacks. He saw the beautiful dark people working in the fields and standing in the stations of the little towns. He was on his way to Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee, and he had never been in the South before.

He had been born "by a golden river in the shadow of two great hills" in the State of Massachusetts. He had worked since he was a small boy delivering papers and working in a quarry to earn money. Now he was on his way to college because he had won the church scholarship.

During the four years that he spent at Fisk, he learned to love the summers he spent in the countryside teaching in a rickety schoolhouse behind a rail fence and thorn bushes. He taught the children reading and spelling and they told each other stories and sometimes in the afternoons the children and the young teacher would stroll among the Tennessee hills picking wild flowers.

He saw the terrible conditions of his people, the poor houses and the thin little children. He learned about lynching, how a Negro was hunted and shot down or tortured and hanged to a tree, and he said: "Each death a scar upon my soul."



The young teacher, himself, continued to learn. He learned from his books and the professors at the University. He went to other universities and then to Europe. He met the great scholars and thinkers of the world.

And everywhere he was learning more about the problems of the black people of the world. A famous professor once ordered him out of his classroom, asking him what he, a Negro, wanted in his class. He had answered: "I believe I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well."

Then he began to write books about his people. He put into them everything he had learned, the science and the history and the folk tales. And he put into them beauty: that which he had seen in the faces of the small children he had taught in Tennessee, the feeling of the soft melody he had learned in his boyhood, the song his great grandmother had brought with her from Africa. The whole world was moved by the beauty and the wisdom of the books, as indeed they are today. For the young teacher is today the Elder Statesman of his people. Young students at Fisk and universities throughout the world carefully study the great thoughts in his books and essays and speeches. His name is William Edward Burghardt DuBois.

## Conversation From Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

Marge . . . I spent the weekend with Pearl and her husband. They have their place fixed up very nice. . . Oh, yes, they have their own home now, but Pearl says that what with taxes and mortgages and painting and patching fences, walls, plumbing, windows, basement, roof and 'bout ninety-seven other things, it keeps them busy and also broke.

Anyway, we watched the Democratic convention on their television, and it's just wonderful . . . no, not the convention—I mean her television set. It has a mahogany cabinet, a seventeen inch screen and very good reception. The convention itself was very interesting, what with the South callin' all the shots and tellin' the North off every other minute.

Well, what got me Marge was somethin' one of those news commentators said after the Democrats had picked out their platform. He announced that they had avoided usin' words like anti-lynch, FEPC, and other words which would not be pleasin' to the South. Ain't that somethin'! . . . Imagine! . . . If you just "say" stop killin' our folks that is displeasin' to the South. . . I was some hot, I tell you!

Then, they went ahead and picked out their candidates. . . Stevenson from Illinois and Sparkman from Alabama, and Pearl's husband, Leo, said, "That man from Alabama is just one heartbeat away from bein' president—ain't that a thought!"

We went on after that and had quite a pleasant weekend.

Leo has built a brick oven in his backyard and he fixed some nice hickory wook barbecue and we ate it outside under their tree. . . They begged me to stay and spend a week so that we could go out to the beach, but as much as I wanted to I just couldn't because I had to work for Mrs. J this week.

All the way back to the hot city I kept thinkin' of those "words" which are displeasin' to the South. Well, to make a long story short, when I report to work this mornin' the first thing Mrs. J does is to give me a weak smile and waggle her finger at me, sayin', "Mildred, you didn't water the geraniums last Friday . . . how many times have I told you that geraniums need sun and air and water!"

I don't know why I got so distressed, but I hollered at her. . . "Don't you waggle your finger at me! . . . Besides which I am not working for you this week because I need some sun and water and air myself and I will be back here next week, and furthermore if you don't like that you can get yourself somebody else!" And there I stood just so mad I could have snatched her. Well, she was shocked out of two years growth!

Yes, I am a little sorry that I screamed so loud at Mrs. J. . . although I would never tell her so. . . I know it isn't right to take out on one person what someone else has done, but that is how I am sometime. . . So, I'll see you next week, Marge . . . but wasn't that some nerve of them Southerners not likin' "words" like anti-lynch . . . ?

## Philadelphia Coalition Seeks To Elect Negro Congressman

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—"The time for a Negro Congressman is now! The need is greater than ever!" With that thought buzzing in their heads members of the Non Partisan Committee for Election of Negroes to Public Office are attempting to gather the strength of the 750,000 Negro citizens of Pennsylvania to send David P. Widamen, a registered Republican to Congress on the Progressive Party ticket.

Mr. Widamen is the only Negro candidate for Congress in all 30 Congressional Districts of Pennsylvania.

Negroes of Philadelphia are saying: "If 'Jim Crow' Rankin was elected with 8,994 votes,

people."

Widamen is a family man—has a wife and two children. Born in Greenwood, South Carolina, he moved to Philadelphia in 1921. Here he has lived since.

Early in life the Negro candidate for Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, began to take part in the activities of his community. He has rendered active service since. He is member of Miller Memorial Baptist Church, and for more than 15 years has been a worker in the Wharton Parish Center Neighborhood Council.

Widamen's program calls for full equality for the Negro people, for a National FEPC with teeth in it to guarantee equal job opportunities, for an end to the poll-tax, and for carrying on a struggle for the election and appointment of Negroes to high offices in federal, state and city governments.

For the election of Mr. Widamen, to insure the implementation of this program, the Non-Partisan Committee for Election of Negroes to Public Office strongly urge all citizens over 21 to register to vote, "to join in our campaign to win Negro representation."



David P. Widamen

Wood of Georgia with 20,000 votes, Smith of Mississippi with 6,259 votes, and Lanham of Georgia with 23,000—a total of 68,000—surely we—400,000 strong—have the right to a representative in Congress. It's plain democracy."

David P. Widamen, at present a press and machine operator, is a man that springs from the people. His working class experience gives him deep insight into the peoples' needs. "My principle aim in life is to secure full equality for the Negro

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