

Here's
My Story
By PAUL ROBESON

MANY FRIENDS have asked me how it feels to have received one of the International Stalin Prizes "for strengthening peace among peoples." Usually I say

—as most prize winners do — "It's a great honor." But of course, this award deserves more than just passing acknowledgment.

Through the years I have received my share of recognition for efforts in the fields of sports, the arts, the struggle for full citizenship for the Negro people, labor's rights and the fight for peace. No single award, however, involved so many people or such grave issues as this one.

The prize is truly an international award. The committee of judges includes the Soviet academician, D. V. Skobeltsyn, president; vice-presidents Kuo Mo-djo of China and Louis Aragon of France; and the following members: Martin Anderson Nexø, the greatest modern Danish humanist; John Bernal of England; Pablo Neruda of Chile, one of the world's greatest poets; Jan Demborsky of Poland; Michael Sadovnyany of Roumania; and A. A. Fad'yeev, a leading Soviet novelist.

And the prize winners include outstanding figures from many lands. It is a matter of pride to share the award with such distinguished leaders as Yves Farge of France; Sayfuddin Kichloo, spokesman for the All-Indian Congress of Peace; Eliza Branco, a leader of the Fedn. of Brazilian Women; Johannes Becher, one of the foremost writers of the German Democratic Republic; Rev. James Endicott, fearless Canadian minister and fighter for peace, and Ilya Ehrenberg, the leading Soviet novelist and journalist.

MOST IMPORTANT, it must be clear that I cannot accept this award in a personal way. In the words of an editorial written by A. A. Fad'yeev in Pravda, "The names of the laureates of the International Stalin Prizes are again witnesses to the fact that the movement for peace is continuously growing, broadening and strengthening. In the ranks of the active fighters against the

(Continued on Page 12)



Freedom

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

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ON THE INSIDE

The Rosenberg Case and the Negro People

By William Patterson

(see page 3)

McCarran Anti-Negro Law Bars West Indian Migration

By ALEC JONES

With the beginning of the New Year a new era dawns for the 14 million foreign-born people of the United States. For the non-citizen within our borders the recently-enacted McCarran-Walter Law spells registration: carrying on one's person at all times a registration card badge of inferiority; notifying the Attorney General of one's current address and, in the event of changing addresses during the year, notification of that change within 10 days. And all this is under penalty of jail, fines or both — or deportation.

For the naturalized citizen, the law spells loss of citizenship for having failed to disclose information at the time of getting citizenship — information which wasn't asked for. To both non-citizen and naturalized citizen it means the careful screening of thoughts, associates, organizations belonged to, friends and relatives.

Further, if the Attorney General finds that the non-citizen has engaged in any activity which he (the Attorney General) doesn't like, deportation may result. For the naturalized citizen revocation of citizenship is the first step toward deportation.

Target: West Indians

While the McCarran law immediately affects 14 million foreign-born Americans, it spells special danger for the entire Negro people. More than 150,000 West Indian Negroes live in the United States. Of this number, 132,000 have settled in the five boroughs of New York; they form a vital segment of the 750,000 Negroes who constitute the largest Negro community in the world. The second largest group of West Indians in the United States is in Boston. Other smaller groups are found along the eastern seaboard from Florida to Virginia and in mid-Western cities such as Chicago.



MOULDING THE FUTURE: Will he grow up in a world of equal opportunity? Not if Senator Pat McCarran (D.-Nev.) has his way. The McCarran immigration law is based on the fascist idea that children like this one are inferior to Western European "Aryans" and should be kept out of the country. Photo by Bernard

Heretofore immigration from colonial areas to the United States has been counted in the quota of the dominating colonial power. Thus West Indians could enter the United States under the general quota assigned to Great Britain. Under the new law, however, Britain will have in 1953 an immigration quota of over 65,000—but only 100 of this number can be used for immigration from the British West Indian Islands! The same discriminatory policy holds for the French and Dutch West Indies.

For West Indians the McCarran law means an insignificant quota within a quota—practical exclusion from the United States!

"Anglo-Fascists" Favored

West Indians are not the only group on the receiving end of McCarran's legal shot-gun.

The law decrees special racist provisions to limit entry of all colored peoples. It has set up an Asia-Pacific Triangle which includes an area populated by one-and-a-half billion people—almost two-thirds of the world's population. Immigration from this area cannot exceed 2,000 yearly. Yet Great Britain with about one-thirtieth the population of the Triangle is granted a quota 30 times as large.

The proscriptions of the new immigration law do not end with colored peoples. Any substantial migration is practically limited to the so-called "Anglo-Saxon" stock of Western Europe, and even this group is subject to new restrictions. The first 50 per cent of all migrants is to be composed of persons possessing skills "vital" to U.S. big business, and all who enter must pass a new political

thought-control test. This test encourages the fascist dregs of Europe and, in the name of "anti-communism," rules out trade unionists, progressives, and fighters for colonial freedom.

Thus, of those who do get through the McCarran screen into the U. S. A. it is likely that very few will have or dare show any active sympathy for the Negro's struggle for first-class citizenship.

Divide and Rule Plan

There can be no doubt that this law is a carefully planned weapon to disrupt the unity of the Negro people and the foreign born in the United States and, most especially, to disrupt through fear and intimidation unity of all the Negro people,

(Continued on Page 2)

The American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born

The American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born has been fighting for the rights of foreign-born Americans for 21 years. Dedicated to the principle that there must be no discrimination because of country of origin, political beliefs, race, creed or color, its main task is aiding persons with problems rising out of foreign birth.

National Office of the American Committee is at 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y. Regional and local offices are located in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and other cities.

In New York the Committee maintains a Harlem office at 35 West 116th Street from 1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Mondays and Thursdays. Any person with problems of naturalization and immigration will be helped without charge. If you have questions regarding the Walter-McCarran Law call Mrs. Dorothy Strange at LEhigh 4-7758 or MU 4-3457 for an appointment.



HARLEM STRIKES BACK: Shown in meeting with Rep. Adam C. Powell (left) in Abyssinian Baptist Church are leaders of New York West Indian community at a meeting of the Citizens Committee to Act Against the Walter and McCarran Bills. Standing at right is Richard B. Moore. Seated, left to right: J. A. Rogers, Stanley Lowe (hat in hand), W. A. Domingo (arms folded), Reginald Pierrepont, Judge Herman Stoute, Capt. Hugh Mulzac and A. M. Wendell Malliet.

McCarran Law Aimed at Negro Unity

(Continued from Page 1)

foreign born and native born.

One might ask, "How?" The answer is that government officials have been granted powers so broad and sweeping that they can arrest, without warrant, any person they suspect is a non-citizen in this country in violation of any law.

The McCarran Law is an unjust law. It is a discriminatory law. It shoves naturalized citizens into second-class citizenship and completely strips non-citizens of any rights the Attorney General need respect. It is a violation of our democratic interests and a mockery of the tradition of asylum which the Statue of Liberty symbolizes.

Fight For Repeal

But it doesn't have to re-

main the law. West Indian leaders were among the first to recognize its dangers. They have taken the leadership in a repeal movement which ought to involve all sections of the Negro communities from coast to coast.

You can write your Congressman today, demanding that he introduce or support legislation for repeal. You can urge him to support new legislation including the following democratic provisions:

- (1) that no citizen who has lived in this country for five years be subject to deportation;
- (2) that naturalized citizens should not be subject to loss of citizenship on any ground except that their citizenship was obtained by clear fraud;

(3) that immigration be based on need with no regard to race, creed, color, political belief or country of origin;

(4) that non-citizens who have lived in the U. S. A. for two years be allowed to become citizens if they entered the country legally.

The McCarran-Walter law takes its place beside the Taft-Hartley law, the Smith Act, the McCarran police-state law and other measures, as legal bridge-heads toward fascism in the United States. It is a dagger aimed at efforts for full equality of the Negro people and should be opposed by a united Negro community, the labor movement, and all democratic sections of the population.

West Indians Have Played Major Part in Negro Life

West Indians have played a significant part in the struggles of Negroes in the United States for equality and full citizenship. Prince Hall, the founder of Negro masonry, came to Massachusetts from Barbadoes in 1775 at the age of 17 and was one of the early opponents of slavery and the slave trade. Emancipation in the West Indies, preceding the Civil War by 20 years, was a great stimulus to anti-slavery agitation and organization in the States.

In later years sports fans marvelled at the prowess of Joe Walcott, the "Barbadoes Demon," and when a boxer named Arnold Cream adopted the name "Jersey Joe Walcott" as he rose to the heavy weight championship of the world he did so because he, too, hailed from the West Indies.

Old timers remember the inimitable Bert Williams who came from his island home to become the leading musical star of his time. Hazel Scott is one of Trinidad's contributions to modern show business, and Pearl Primus remains a top-flight modern dancer.

Among professionals Dr. E. Y. Williams, head of the department of neurology and psychiatry at Howard U. Medical School, and Dr. Arnold B. Donowa, former dean of the Howard Dental School, are outstanding.

Political leaders include Justice Herman Stoute of the municipal court in New York and Julius A. Archibald, first Negro Senator in the Empire State. A year ago another citizen of West Indian origin, Z. Alexander Lobby, became one of the first Negroes elected to the Nashville, Tenn., board of aldermen since Reconstruction. Attorney Looby is now Dean of

the Law School at Southern University at Baton Rouge, La.

Outstanding West Indians in religious circles include AME Bishop Ormond Walker, former president of Wilberforce U.; AME Zion Bishop C. C. Alleyne; Archbishop Reginald Grant Barrow of the African Orthodox Church, and Rev. O. O. Carrington of the First AME Zion Church of Brooklyn, one of the leading scholars of the denomination.

Among the most notable of West Indians today is a woman who stands trial in the federal court in New York's Foley Square because of her political beliefs. Claudia Jones came to the United States from Trinidad at the age of eight and as a youth plunged into organizational activities on behalf of working people and the Negro people. She is an alternate member of the national committee of the Communist Party and secretary of its women's commission and is conducting, along with 11 co-defendants, a vigorous defense against Department of Justice persecution under the infamous Smith Act.

In the fields of labor, Dan Benjamin, vice-president of the Dining Car and Food Workers Union; Ewart Guinier, secretary of the United Public Workers; Ashley Totten, secretary of the Pullman Car Porters, and Ferdinand Smith, former secretary of the National Maritime Union, recently deported to Jamaica, are but a few examples of Caribbean leadership in union affairs.

The contributions which all these leaders have made and are making to the fight for equality for the Negro people make them prime targets of the Walter-McCarran Law.

Fighting for

Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains

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The Rosenberg Case and the Negro People

With the granting of a stay of execution by Federal Judge Samuel Kaufman the fate of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg rests in the hands of President Truman. An outpouring of messages to the President from all parts of the world registers the growing popular sentiment that the unprecedented death sentence imposed on the young Jewish parents charged with "conspiracy to commit espionage" is based on flimsy evidence and should be set aside.

The voice of Negro Americans has begun to be heard in this celebrated case. The Baptist Ministers Alliance of Washington, D. C. and Vicinity has sent the President an appeal for clemency. Literally thousands of other church, labor, civic and social groups throughout the country are awakening to an understanding of their stake in the Rosenberg case. FREEDOM is privileged to present this article on the case and its significance for the Negro people by the distinguished leader and champion of civil rights, William L. Patterson.

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg shall not die! The cry of the outraged progressive world resounds even more stridently than did the cry for the life of the innocent Willie McGee. The reasons are not hard to find. In every land on earth, thinking men and women associate the fate of the Rosenbergs with the cause of peace and world democracy.

The Negro press of America is strangely silent. It does not accept or associate itself with this position of the progressive world; it pretends to see no parallel between the struggle for the lives of Negroes framed by "legal" lynching courts and that for this Jewish man and woman.

This blindness is more than blindness that comes through mortal fear of those who seek to perpetrate this murder. It is the blindness of corruption, the blindness that holds that the oppressed of the world need not think in terms of unity in struggle. It is the blindness of the covetous, who believe that they can get out of the hell of misery if only another victim can be found to substitute for them. It is the blindness of a folly that has cursed the Negro liberation struggles and sapped their militance, for only unity with labor and the people can win those rights which belong to Negroes.

Substitute the word "spy" for the word "rapist"—or "murderer," as in the case of the innocent Rosa Lee Ingram of Georgia—and the Rosenbergs MIGHT WELL BE BLACK. The issues in the titanic struggle for the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are similar, although more far-reaching than when any Negro man or woman is framed by criminals high in government. For no other people, not excepting the Jewish

people, with whom this framed-up man and woman are joined by cultural ties, has the titanic battle for the lives of the Rosenbergs greater significance than for Negro Americans. The criminal character of the persecution must be made clear; its relation to the continued exploitation, oppression and spoliation of minority groups must be explained.

All of the murderous, criminal incantations used to make the lynching or gory burning at the stake of a black man or woman palatable and justifiable in the eyes of the non-thinking white American have been used to make the wanton murder of this Jewish couple acceptable to the non-Jewish world. The verdict did not flow from a conviction following due process of law. Yet, just as no one can hold the murder of innocent black Americans necessary to the security and well-being of the people, so no one can hold that the safety or security of the American people demands the death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. If, then, the interests and security of the people are not furthered, their death can only be an act of terror. In whose interest? In the interest of those who fatten on lynching and mob violence, the interest of those who would destroy the rights and security of the people, the interest of America's ruling clique.

All the wild hysteria with which the metropolitan press prepares to halt the mobilization of the people's protest against a legal or extra-legal lynching has been stirred up in preparation for these murders. The press has viciously catered to and incited the passions of the most backward in this case. The rigged jury—just as fraud and criminal machination are needed to get an all-white jury in the South, so these twin evils were invoked in this case to get a jury without a Jewish man or woman in the City of New York. The evidence adduced against this man and woman was in all respects comparable to those lies, slanders and calumnies which sent the innocent Martinsville Seven to a martyr's grave.

The objectives of the murder crew are to sow confusion in the people's ranks, split the people in segments whose rights can then be more easily destroyed. But the interests of the governing clique go infinitely deeper than to divide and rule.

War Is the Aim
The rulers of America want

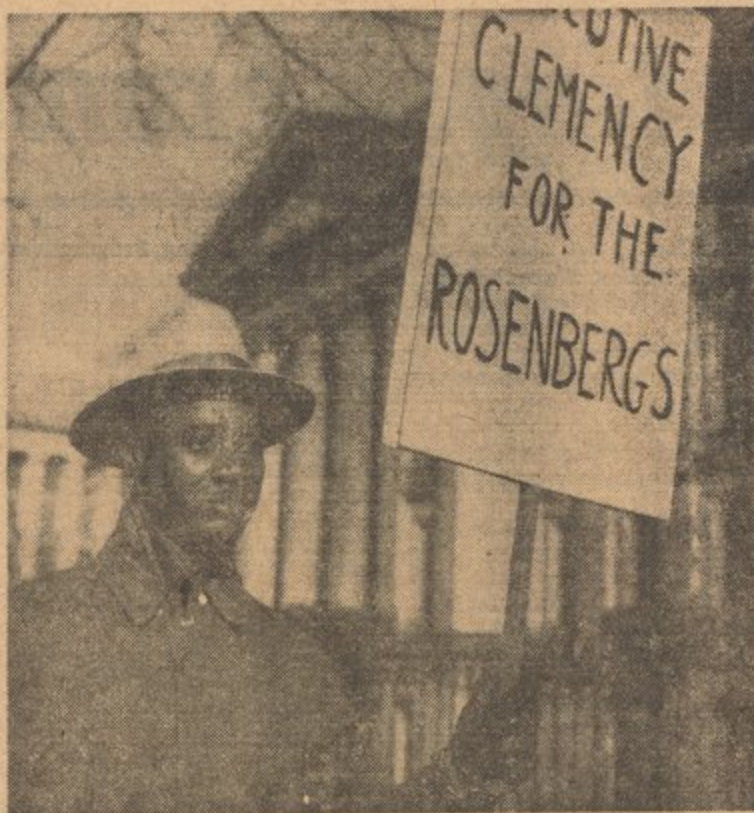


Photo by Alfred Balcombe

VIGIL: One of the thousands who have maintained a 24-hour picket line at the White House holds sign expressing popular demand for Presidential clemency.

war upon all freedom-loving peoples. They support the bloody regime of Malan against the South African blacks, while they use American Negroes to fight the freedom struggles of

colonial peoples everywhere.

The Rosenbergs have spoken out against these wars. The Rosenbergs were for peace. The spy frame-up against them was as necessary for the warmongers, who desire to silence the voices of peace, as are rape frame-ups to silence those who seek a people's justice and a people's democracy in the U. S. A.

Only the interests of the warmongers and those seeking fascism in America will be served through the murder of the Rosenbergs. Therein lies the depth of this proposed crime. Therein lies its menace to the world.

But for the Negro people, desperately seeking allies in their fight at home, the cause of the Rosenbergs is doubly their cause. The enemy is the same. The courts that framed Julius and Ethel Rosenberg also framed Rosa Lee Ingram and Willie McGee. The executives in government who deny clemency to innocent Negroes show their contempt of the people when the constitutional and democratic rights of the Rosenbergs are fought for.

The cry, "Free the Rosenbergs!" should ring out through an America seeking freedom. The fortunes of Negro America are in the balance with those of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs must not die!

West Indian Labor Fights For Unity and Federation

By HARRY DRAYTON
(Continued from last month)

In Jamaica since 1938 there have been two main political parties, one led by the demagogue Bustamante, frankly pro-imperialist and pro-big business; the other avowedly socialist, led by the lawyer Manley.

The "Independence" party, the P. N. P., contained within its ranks all sections of the population (except the really big-business interests) united in their desire for self government. In the elections at the P. N. P.'s Annual Conference in 1951, Trade Union representatives gained a large number of seats on the Party's executive and General Council. The right wing leaders on the Executive boycotted the meetings and financed the formation of a splinter union headed by two officers of the Trades Union Congress, the P. N. P.'s industrial ally.

Last March four militant leaders, Ken and Frank Hill, Richard Hart, and Arthur Henry were expelled from the P. N. P. by the corrupt right wing clique in leadership. Thousands of workers withdrew from the Party. Today the P. N. P. remnant still pays lip service to self-government and its leaders still make speeches in favor of it in the House of Representatives. But the fact that they saw fit to split the Party at a time when self-government was within its grasp, lends credence to the belief that Manley and his associates are now prepared to accept from Britain a modified

version of self-government, which would enable them to retain their special privileges while the masses of the workers continue to live under the intolerable conditions of British domination.

Caribbean Labor Unity

In 1938, a conference of labor leaders from all over the British West Indies met in British Guiana and formed the British Guiana and British West Indies Labour Congress. The conference was unanimous in its demand for West Indian self-government and federation with Dominion status. The Congress met again in 1944 and reiterated its 1938 demands.

The following year the Caribbean Labor Congress, embracing trade unions, political organizations and cooperative societies throughout the West

Indies, was formed in Barbadoes. At this and succeeding conferences of the C. L. C. the representatives of the West Indian people pledged themselves to work in unity in the C. L. C. for SELF-GOVERNMENT, FEDERATION AND FREEDOM.

Divide and Rule

In the summer of 1952, Grantley Adams, leader of the Barbados Labor Party and Barbados Workers Union, President of the C. L. C. and member of the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, attempted to persuade affiliate organizations of the C. L. C. that the time had come for a division in the C. L. C. and that the trade unions still affiliated with the militant World Federation of Trade Unions should be expelled. Knowing that a full Congress of the C. L. C. would never agree to this proposal, Adams tried to have the issue decided at an unrepresentative Council meeting, but member organizations refused to sanction the meeting and voted in favor of a full Congress to decide the issue.

The efforts of petty politicians like Adams and Manley to help their imperialist masters in creating a division in the ranks of the West Indian people are doomed to failure.

In every West Indian territory today there are powerful popular movements which because of their militancy and their mass support, will eventually sweep all obstacles before them and will win for the West Indian people, independence and freedom.



Alexander Bustamante



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One Hundred Years in the S

By W. E. B.

Any attempt to write on Negro freedom in the United States involves curious contradictions. One could scarcely imagine greater social change than between the years 1853 and 1953. The group of 3½ million dark people a century ago has grown to 15 million, about as many persons as live in the Union of South Africa, Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia.

A century ago this mass of intermingled African, American Indian and European blood was nearly 90% slaves, and bought and sold in open market. In the year 1853 particularly, the spirits of their leaders were low, and many of them practically had surrendered the fight for freedom in the United States and looked for hope in migration. Others fought with the white abolitionists

led by Garrison and Phillips but they had been almost driven to the wall. The slave owners of the South were triumphant in political power and social philosophy. It was the current scientific opinion that Negroes could not progress and that any attempt to emancipate Negro slaves in the United States meant disaster to black and white.

Contrast this with the situation of 1953. The 15 million descendants of those Negroes are legally free men. They are, to be sure, subject to certain caste conditions in residence, employment, education and public esteem. Most of their children are in school, and from an illiteracy of over 90% certainly 3/4's of the Negroes 10 years of age can read and write; 90,000 Negro students are in college, and the number of Negro Americans who have achieved distinction in the professions, in science and in literature and art is considerable. Negro ownership of land and property has increased, while lynching and mob violence against them have greatly decreased. Their political power is such that in the election of 1952 they were recognized as having the balance of power in many cities and states. Of 8½ million possible Negro voters perhaps 3,750,000 voted, or 43% as compared with 60% of the nation. This is due, naturally, to the legal and customary disfranchisement of most Negroes living in the South. From a largely rural people they have become 50% urbanized and have migrated by millions from the former southern slave states to the northern and western states. This has greatly increased juvenile delinquency and added to the number of the poor, unfortunate and sick, which counteract the movement forward of the group in general.

By stressing figures illustrating this change, a story of almost miraculous progress can be written. I myself have many times emphasized this progress and compared it favorably with similar progress of any group of people at any time. On the other hand, no sooner are statements of this sort made than there arise curiously contrasting and contradictory conclusions. Many Americans would say: "With such a record of progress why is there continued complaint and agitation among Negroes? How much faster could they reasonably have been expected to develop?" But the very fact that this nation boasts of its democracy and freedom emphasizes the failure in the case of a tenth of its population. Foreigners, people from Eu-



Dr. DuBois

rope; especially visitors from Asia and Africa, continually point out the discrepancies in American democracy.

Indeed, in the greatest study of the American Negro problem ever made, conducted by the Swede, Gunnar Myrdal, 1938-1942, assisted by native and foreign students, colored and white, the main conclusion was that the treatment of the Negro is America's greatest failure, and his almost universal segregation, America's outstanding denial of its own faith in human equality.

Growing Middle Class

Finally, among Negroes themselves there is a curious dichotomy in their attitude toward their own history and progress. They are at once proud and ashamed. They have done well but could have done better if they had not been deliberately retarded. They see immigrant groups like the

Irish, Italians and Slavs surpass them continually in accomplishment and preferment mainly because they are white.

On the other hand, there are large and increasing numbers of Negroes who are not complaining, because they personally are content; their comfort may be due to their own exertions; it may be due to exceptional circumstances; it may be due to winking at color discrimination by whites or to exploitation of fellow Negroes by themselves. In any case, they are content and uncomplaining. They have adequate incomes for their standard of living and that standard as compared with the world average is reasonably high. They do not complain and they do not countenance complaint from other Negroes. They admit discrimination but point out the changes and progress. They are apt to think success is personal and failure racial.

Nevertheless, within the Negro group there certainly are those who do complain; who point to failure due to racial discrimination and not to personal fault; who point to poor schools and low wages and scarcity of good homes and jobs, and deny that the present situation is generally good or that the average is bettering so fast that radical demand for improvement should be decried.

In the midst of such contradictions it is not easy for anyone to make a satisfactory

answer to the question as to how great progress the struggle for Negro freedom has made in the last century, and whether or not the progress should be regarded as satisfactory.

Three Comparisons

There are three sorts of comparisons that could be made and are made and which confuse the final answer. For a long time it has been the custom of the United States Census to compare the condition of Negroes with the corresponding facts concerning the white population. This of course is a crude and unfair comparison. There is not much to be learned by comparing a group of people less than a century removed from slavery

and still suffering grave social and economic discrimination, with the mass of the freer white citizens. A much more illuminating comparison could be made by studying the social and economic classes arising within the Negro group; and of course the most valuable comparison would be that of contrasting the group with itself at different times and places.

This kind of study of the American Negro has not been adequately done. It was started at Atlanta University in 1927 and for 13 years a body of fact which made a study of the inner development of the American Negro possible was carried on by Negro scholars. It was partially pursued further at Fisk Univ. and at Howard Univ., but there was no wide concentration of effort on the American Negro group and Negroes gradually lost leadership and direction in this field.

To supply this lack I tried in 1940 to rehabilitate the Atlanta University studies on a broader scale, and to unite some 50 colored institutions in the southern states in a concentrated series of social studies which might have proven the most interesting sociological experiment in the modern world. This project was allowed to lapse when I was retired.

In addition to the comparison between the American Negro group and the white group, and the more significant comparison of the Negro group with itself at different times and places, there is also an increasingly more significant comparison of the American Negro group with other groups in the world; as for instance, with various parts of Africa, with the nations of Asia and the peoples of the South Sea islands, the West Indies, South and Central America. Such comparisons are important because they point out the rela-



PROTEST MARCH: Dr. DuBois is shown (arrow) in Parade Against L



ESCAPE: An old print shows slaves fighting their way to the Underground Railroad and freedom.

Struggle for Negro Freedom

E. B. DuBois



March Against Lynching which marched down N. Y.'s 5th Ave. in 1919.

tion between the Negro group and these other groups and the relative influence of different environments and social developments.

A Nation or Cultural Unity?

Such attempts, however, bring up the question as to just what the American Negro group is and with what it can be rationally compared. Is it a nation, a closed economy, a cultural unity or what? It is certainly not a nation, for its political power is limited and is seldom exercised as a unit. It is not a closed economy but part of the economy of the whole nation and becoming more and more integrated. It is proportionately more largely engaged in agriculture, domestic service and common labor, but that increases its dependence on the national economy. There is some evidence of group economy where Negro professional men, business men and artisans serve primarily the Negro group; but it is not clear how this development is growing in comparison with the general picture. One thing is certain: the economic survival of the Negro in the South depends today on close union with the white workers, so as to present a united front against the tremendous growth of monopoly capital in the South today. This Negro group inherited and has formed a group culture with some customs, language dialects, with a growing literature and other forms of art. Yet as this goes on there is increasing integration with the American culture until it is difficult to say how far there is today a distinct American Negro culture and in what direction it will probably grow.

When we compare American Negroes with other groups, we are not comparing nations, nor even cultural groups; since American Negroes do not form

a nation and are not likely to if their present increasingly successful fight for political integration succeeds. They will exercise political power but not as a unit, since that would contradict their fight against segregation. They do not even form a complete cultural unit, although by reason of suffering and discrimination, and by historic artistic gifts, such a culture may be deliberately cultivated and in the end will unify the Negro with other groups rather than divide them. Negroes, Russian and Irish art can flourish in the same state side by side.

The most illuminating comparison of Negro and other groups is to regard the American Negro as mainly a group of workers developing toward full political democracy in the same national government, but with a minimum of class division into exploiting employers and poor laboring classes. This working group can be compared with the working classes of other nations. But even here we must understand that the exploiting class is beginning to appear among Negroes. Its extreme development must be opposed.

How the political aspect will develop is not clear. The old idea of mass migration of Negroes to found a foreign state is unlikely to be renewed. The newer idea of an American Negro state within the United States is both improbable and undesirable. It contradicts our present effort at complete integration and also the modern tendency toward fewer rather than more separate political states with state antagonisms, hatreds and war. Cultural units may, on the other hand, develop and grow to the advantage of all.

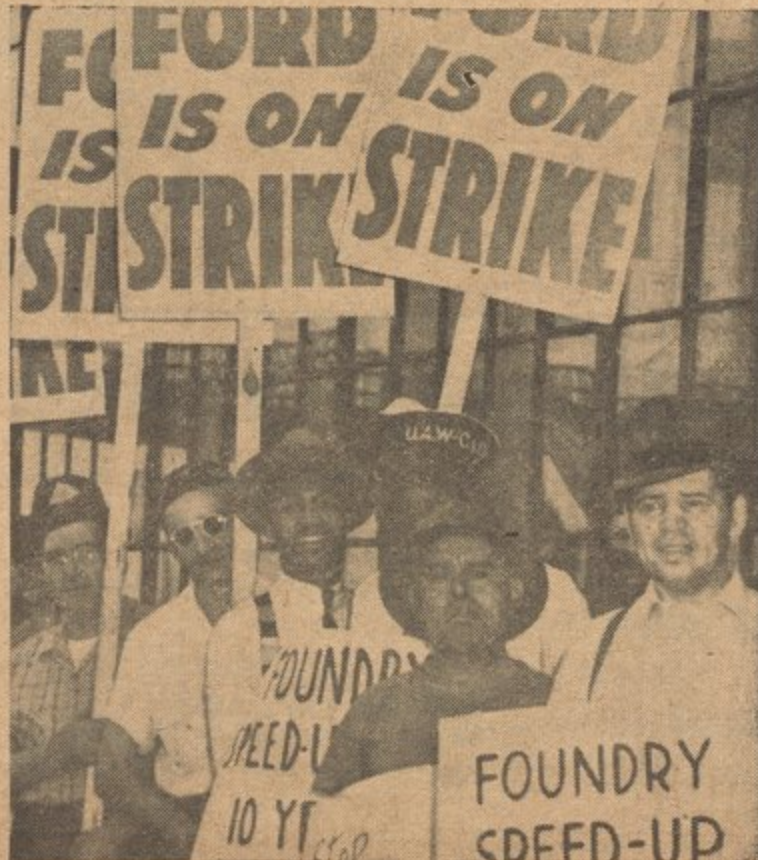
Comparisons show that the American Negro, compared with the main working groups of the world stands relatively

high. His literacy is nearer to Europe than that of Asia and Africa, and far exceeds South America and the West Indies. His economic situation is far better than that of India, China, the Middle East, or any part of Africa.

Present Situation

Let us now turn to the question as to just what the present situation of the American Negro is, so far as it can be reduced to understandable and measurable terms. In physique, including health, reproduction and family life, the Negro is standing up well and is disappointing those prophets of doom who formerly believed that no group of Negroes in competition with the people of a white nation could survive. The Negro has survived and multiplied, and while his health is below the average of the favored nation, it is above the average of most comparable groups; and what is of greater importance, it is and for 100 years has been steadily improving. The expectation of life has notably increased and in view of world conditions can be called above normal.

All the factors of survival, however, have been affected by the urbanization of the Negro, his industrialization and the problem of occupation. The present economic condition of American Negroes is uncertain. There is serfdom on southern plantations, lower wage differential throughout the south, and while the Negro is widely employed in industry, there is discrimination in pay even in the north, and tardiness in upgrading. He is widely employed as laborer and servant at wages too low for an American standard of living. Here again, however, he is pushing forward. The national FEPC law, while it lasted, and the few state and city laws, are giving him legal help, and nearly every Negro family can look back on lower living conditions than it now enjoys.



UNITED ACTION: Negro and white workers join in picket line against speedup at the huge Ford auto plant in Dearborn, Mich.

That means, however, that the present conditions are bad in the country districts and in the city slums. In the higher grades of employment, in professions, arts and sciences, there is still lack of opportunity for Negroes and poor preparation offered; there is difference in opportunity for apprenticeship, not only in technique but in science and art. All of these things, though difficult to measure, are real and have much to do with the pessimistic attitude of most American Negroes.

Social Equality

Fundamental, of course, to all this, is the matter of education. Most Negro school children go to separate schools, and the Negro schools are poorer than the white schools, the differences in appropriation sometimes being fantastic and nearly always considerable. This means a vast difference of opportunity for preparation for better work and in general intelligence. It is one of the greatest hindrances of the Negro.

Then there is the matter of civil, social and political rights. They cannot be easily separated, and relate in general to the place that the black man occupies in daily American life. There is no question as to the social discrimination against these 15 million Americans. They are either not legally allowed or unwelcome in most areas of civil life, whether it be hotels, churches, public meetings, restaurants, attendance at social functions or exercising political rights. Negroes are still widely discriminated against in voting throughout the South where more than 60% of them still live.

There are other discriminations which are not so much of pressing importance as of continuous insult and psychological degradation. In 29 states of the United States, for instance, marriages between

whites and Negroes are automatically void, and "miscegenation" is a crime. Moreover, just what a "Negro" is under this definition, is a matter of special legislation in 20 states. Naturally, most colored people do not marry most white people and have no particular plans on the subject; but it is a continual insult to have this matter a marriage a question of statute, and sometimes of insulting legal action. This attacks a fundamental human right.

There are also all kinds of laws on ways and places where colored and white people may meet; on trains and buses, in elevators, in hotels, in public assemblies. In most cases such laws are for the most part confined to the 16 former slave states, and vary there from custom to fierce enforcement; but where law is silent, custom intervenes. It makes the life of a black American often a nightmare—always in uncertainty, anywhere in the nation.

Future Prospects

The Negro problem is thus on the whole, a question of what has mainly been called "social equality": How far is a person of Negro descent, whether he shows it in appearance or not (indeed whether he knows it or not), liable to special treatment and particularly to insult and segregation because of that fact? In no other modern civilized country are persons subject to such caste conditions as in the United States except in the Union of South Africa.

When now we ask the question as to how soon this kind of discrimination, customary and legal, is going to disappear, considering what has happened in the last 100 years, naturally no definite answer can be given. It will, of course, gradually disappear if civilization persists, and as Negroes advance, organize and insist. It will disappear more quickly under definite statute law, than it will if left to the inertia of slowly fading custom. The Color Line will fade away not only by slow, natural evolution but by determined effort—the more quickly, as that effort is accelerated, and we work for:

The abolition of "jim-crow" laws of caste, like prohibition of inter-marriage, segregated travel, etc.

The passage of national and state FEPC laws.

Increasing cooperation between white and colored union labor, especially in the South, until complete integration is reached without color or race discrimination.

Universal suffrage and doing away with the "rotten borough" system.

The socialization of wealth by more suitable distribution of the results of labor.

Universal free education of the young, without segregation by religion, race, color or wealth; under the control of the state, with technical and higher learning according to wish and gift; and with systematic adult education.

"Facing the Rising Sun ... Of Our New Day Begun ..."

JANUARY 1, 1953, marked the 90th anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Ninety years after liberation from chattel slavery, 15 million Negro people remain half-free in the United States of America.

How long will it take to win complete and unadulterated equality in this most boastful of the so-called Western "democracies?" How much longer will those who tell the truth about our condition be slandered, attacked, jailed, denied passports and persecuted by a hypocritical and fearful government?

A new administration of business tycoons takes the helm in Washington with the rejection of any change in the filibuster rule and with the promise by General Eisenhower that a "fact-finding commission" will be set up to examine our plight.

WHAT A CRUEL and transparent mockery! We have been examined, "fact-founded," discussed, cussed and abused for 90 years of civil purgatory. The Negro people want action, not commissions — action to change the fact of segregated schools, Jim

Crow trains, lynch mobs and police brutality, rural peonage, job discrimination and commonplace, daily social insult.

Shall we be free? How long will it take? How much closer will we have come to the goal by January 1, 1963 — the 100th anniversary of Emancipation?

THE ANSWER DEPENDS not on the generosity or good-will of Eisenhower and his gilt-edge cabinet. They have none for us. It depends rather on our own united strength, and on the unity of the Negro people with labor and all progressive, forward-looking, peace-loving humanity at home and abroad. This Grand Coalition, alone, can guarantee the end of colonialism, the end of the exploitation of working men and women, the dawn of real Negro freedom, and an era of friendship among all peoples.

We fight to bring this era to pass in our time. We fight, in the words of James Weldon Johnson's poem and song, "facing the rising sun of our new day begun."

"Let us march on till victory is won."



Lift Every Voice and Sing

By James Weldon Johnson

LIFT every voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise,
High as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.

SING a song full of the faith that
the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the
present has brought us;

Facing the rising sun
Of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

II

STONY the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn
had died;
Yet with a steady beat
Have not our weary feet

Come to the place for which our
fathers sighed?

WE have come over a way that
with tears has been watered;
We have come treading our path
through the blood of the
slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past, till now
we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our
bright star is cast.

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A Conversation from Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

Marge... Sometimes it seems like the devil and all his imps are tryin' to wear your soul case out. . . . Sit down, Marge, and act like you got nothin' to do. . . . No, don't make no coffee, just sit. . . .

Today was laundry day and I took Mrs. M's clothes down to the basement to put them in the automatic machine. In a little while another houseworker comes down—a white woman. She dumps her clothes on the bench and since my bundle is already in the washer I go over to sit down on the bench and happen to brush against her dirty clothes. . . . Well sir! She gives me a kinda sickly grin and snatched her clothes away quick. . . .

Now, you know, Marge, that it was nothin' but the devil in her makin' her snatch that bundle away, 'cause she thought I might give her folks gallopin' pellagra or somethin'. Well, honey, you know what the devil in me wanted to do! . . . You are right! . . . My hand was just itchin' to pop her in the mouth, but I remembered how my niece Jean has been tellin' me that poppin' people is not the way to solve problems. . . . So I calmed myself and said, "Sister, why did you snatch those things and look so flustered?" She turned

red and says, "I was just makin' room for you." Still keepin' calm, I says, "You are a liar." . . . And then she hung her head.

"Sister," I said, "You are a houseworker and I am a houseworker—now will you favor me by answering some questions?" She nodded her head. . . . The first thing I asked her was how much she made for a week's work and, believe it or not, Marge, she earns less than I do and that ain't easy. . . . Then I asked her, "Does the woman you work for ask you in a friendly way to do extra things that ain't in the bargain, and then later on get demandin' about it?" . . . She nods, yes. . . . "Tell me young woman," I went on, "Does she cram eight hours of work into five and call it part time?" . . . She nods yes, again. . . .

"Now, young lady," I went on. . . . "I'm going to get personal. I notice you speak with an accent. . . . Tell me, do you have to register as a foreigner under the new McCarran Act?" She nods yes, again. . . . "Now I know you are probably scared that if you are half-way decent to me you'll be shipped out of here faster than greased lightning, but am I doin' any of these things to you?" She shakes her head "no." . . .

Then, Marge, I added, "I am not your enemy, so don't get mad with me just because you ain't free! . . . Then she speaks up fast. . . . "I am free!" . . . "Alright," I said, "How about me goin' over to your house tonight for supper?" . . . "Oh, she says," I room with people and I don't think they. . . ." I cut her off. . . . "If you're free," I said, "you can pick your own friends without fear."

Wait a minute, Marge, let me tell it now. . . . "How come, I asked her, "the folks I work for are willin' to have me put my hands all over their chopped meat patties and yet ask me to hang my coat in the kitchen closet instead of in the hall with theirs?" . . . By this time, Marge, she looked pure bewildered. . . . "Oh," she said, "It's all so mixed up I don't understand!"

"Well, it'll all get clearer as we go along," I said. . . . "Now when you got to plunge your hands in all them dirty clothes in order to put them in the machine. . . . how come you can't see that it's a whole lot safer and makes more sense to put your hand in mine and be friends?" Well, Marge, she took my hand and said, "I want to be friends!"

I was so glad I hadn't popped her, Marge, the good Lord only knows how hard it is to do things the right way and make peace. . . . Alright now, let's have the coffee, Marge.

VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

We appreciate and are proud of the outstanding contribution our beloved Paul Robeson, National Negro Labor Council member, and the newspaper FREEDOM are making in providing both information and inspiration in our fight for the economic equality of the Negro people.

THE GREATER NEW YORK

Negro Labor Council

53 West 125th Street

New York City

I greet with warmest admiration FREEDOM'S clear-ringing espousal of the cause of Negro liberation and the leadership in this cause of the advancing ranks of Negro working men and women. It is a boon in our land—for the whole American people—to have in these times of great trial a fearless and devoted journal like FREEDOM, led by Paul Robeson, which clearly discerns the needs of the Negro people and the rising colonial peoples, which fights the fight of equality and freedom, of peace and international fellowship.

V. J. JEROME

Author, "A Lantern for Jeremy"

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 The world a green pasture ... Freedom for ALL the sheep to live in it ... Not freedom for the wolves to scorch the pasture and roast the sheep.
A FRIEND

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 1)

threat of war, new millions of people of every race and nationality are taking their place, people of the most widely differing political and religious convictions. . . . The awards to Eliza Branco and Paul Robeson reflect the important historical fact that broader and broader sections of the masses of the Western Hemisphere are rising to struggle for freedom and independence, for peace and progress; peoples that endure the full weight of the attempts of imperialist reaction to strangle the movement of the masses against a new pillaging war, being prepared by American billionaires and millionaires."

I accept the award, therefore, in the name and on behalf of these new millions who are moving into the organized fight for peace in our hemisphere and especially in the United States.

ONE OF THE MOST decisive steps in the development of the peace movement in our country was taken in connection with the Peking and Vienna Congresses of Peace.

The American Peace movement reached out its hands across the borders to join with the millions of peace fighters in the world peace movement. Gradually it has become crystal clear that the mighty strength of the world movement representing peoples of all lands is strength for us here. As Americans, preserving the best of our traditions, we have the right—nay the duty—to fight for participation in the forward march of humanity.

We must join with the tens of millions all over the world who see in peace our most sacred responsibility. Once we are joined together in the fight for peace we will have to talk to each other and tell the truth about each other. How else can peace be won?

I have always insisted—and will insist even more in the future—on my right to tell the truth as I know it about the Soviet peoples: of their deep desires and hopes for peace, of their peaceful pursuits of reconstruction from the ravages of war, as in historic Stalin-grad; and to tell of the heroic efforts of the friendly peoples in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, great new China and North Korea—to explain, to answer the endless falsehoods of the war-mongering press with clarity and courage.

In this framework we can make clear what co-existence means. It means living in peace and friendship with another kind of society—a fully integrated society where the people control their destinies, where poverty and illiteracy have been eliminated and where new

kinds of human beings develop in the framework of a new level of social living.

The telling of these truths is an important part of our work in building a strong and broad peace movement in the United States.

LIKE ANY OTHER PEOPLE, like fathers, mothers, sons and daughters in every land, when the issue of peace or war has been put squarely to the American people, they have registered for peace. Whatever the confusions, however great the hysteria, millions voted for the Stockholm petition, millions more wanted to. At every step the vast majority have expressed horror at the idea of an aggressive war.

In fact, because of this deep desire for peace, the ruling class leaders of this land, from 1945 on, stepped up the hysteria and propaganda to drive into American minds the false notion that danger threatened them from the East. This propaganda began before the blood of precious human beings stopped flowing in the mighty struggle against fascism.

I, myself, was in Europe in 1945, singing to the troops. And already one heard rumblings of the necessity of America's preparing for war against the Soviet Union, our gallant ally. And at home in the United States we found continued and increased persecution, first of leaders of the Communist Party, and then of all honest anti-fascists.

But the deep desire for peace remained with the American people. Wallace was hailed by vast throngs when he resigned from Truman's cabinet in protest against the war-mongering of the then Secretary of State James Byrnes, now the Negro-hating governor of South Carolina. Seven to eight million peace lovers put Wallace on the ballot in almost all of the 48 states in 1948. The cry for peace forced Truman to take over (demagogically, of course) the Progressive Party platform. In addition he hinted he would send Vinson, one of his trusted lieutenants, to Moscow, to talk peace.

We know how Truman betrayed the American people in their hopes for peace, how he betrayed the Negro people in their thirst for equal rights, how he tore up the Bill of Rights and subjected the whole American people to a reign of FBI-terrorization.

THE KOREAN WAR has always been an unpopular war among the American people. We remember the unforgivable trickery in the use of the United Nations to further the purposes of "American century" imperialists in that land—quite comparable to the taking of Texas from Mexico, the

rape of Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Hawaii. At one point American peace sentiment helped to stop Truman from pursuing use of the atom bomb in Korea and helped force the recall of MacArthur.

Yet in 1952 the American people again allowed themselves to be taken in—this time by Eisenhower. He, too, promised in the campaign to do all he could to end the Korean slaughter. The vote shows that millions of American believed him. But already he has betrayed their trust and moves as fast as possible toward an extension of the war. There are real threats of attempting to support France on a major scale in Indo-China. All this comes as no surprise if one looks at those who guide him—Dulles, one of the architects of the whole Far Eastern policy; Dewey, the man so feared in 1948, and certainly unchanged, and the whole array of American Big Business at its worst.

All these factors become increasingly clear to great sections of the American people and certainly present a tremendous challenge to the peace forces in this land. If we move swiftly, correctly, courageously, a mighty united front of the people can be built for peace. The latent but growing sentiment can be harnessed, organized.

I AM ESPECIALLY confident that the Negro people can be won for the fight for peace. Having voted mainly for Stevenson, they have little to expect from Eisenhower, especially an Eisenhower partly dependent upon the Dixiecrat South—sworn enemies of the Negro people. We know that war would mean an end to our struggle for civil rights, FEPC, the right to vote, an anti-lynching law, abolition of segregation.

And today the Negro people watch Africa and Asia, and closely follow the liberation struggles of the rising peoples in these lands. We watch the United Nations and see the U.S.A. join with the Western imperialist nations to stifle the liberation struggles. We cannot help but see that it is Vishinsky and the spokesman of the Eastern European Peoples Democracies who defend and vote for the interests of the African and Asian peoples.

I know that if the peace movement takes its message boldly to the Negro people a powerful force can be secured in pursuit of the greatest goal of all mankind. And the same is true of labor and the great democratic sections of our population.

Yes, peace can and must be won, to save the world from the terrible destruction of World War III. The prize which I have just received will spur me on to greater efforts than ever before to serve the cause of peace and to aid in building a triumphant peace movement in the United States.

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