

N. C. Plans March 'Murder Festival' As Four Negroes Await Gas Chamber

Freedom

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

Vol. III—No. 3 178 MARCH, 1953 10c

Here's
My Story
By PAUL ROBESON

AS A GREAT organization of American workers, the United Auto Workers, prepares for its convention in Atlantic City this month, my mind goes back to many of the bitter labor battles which have made the union movement strong and won some measure of security and dignity for millions of working men and women.



Most precious of recollections is Cadillac Square, Detroit. It was my privilege to stand there and sing to thousands of auto workers, massed in a historic demonstration, as the CIO took over Ford's

These struggles have given me great strength and confidence, and added much to my understanding. I shall always consider it a major factor in the course which I have taken that, on returning to America from abroad in the early days of the CIO, I plunged into the magnificent struggles of labor.

I had been prepared for this by my experiences abroad. In the Spanish trenches I saw workers give their lives in a struggle to soften fascism and maintain a popular democracy, only to be betrayed by U. S. big business interests who supported the butcher Franco—and still support him with the official sanction of the U. S. government! Previously, in England, I had held long sessions with leaders of the Labor Party, and had travelled all over the British Isles, visiting with the Welsh miners, railwaymen, dock workers and textile workers—sharing their griefs and little triumphs, learning their songs, basking

(Continued on Page 9)

URGENT NOTICE

If the address plate on your paper has a date ending '52 or Jan., Feb., Mar. '53—your subscription has expired.

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DO IT TODAY!

NLC Fights Job Bias in N.Y. Hotels

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

On a Saturday afternoon last February, two men, one Negro and one white, marched back and forth in the front of the main desk in the lobby of New York's fourth largest hotel, the bustling, busy Statler. They wore sandwich signs denouncing Jim Crow hiring policies in the hotel industry and were part of a force of more than thirty-five New Yorkers organized by the Greater New York Negro Labor Council in its current campaign to break through the hotel industry's discriminatory hiring and upgrading practices in New York.

The campaign began last November, 1952 when the Council presented the ugly facts of hotel hiring discrimination in a 30-minute radio broadcast. Two of the chief offenders, the Statler, and the luxuriant, lily-white Sherry-Netherland were picked out as beginning concentration points.

These two hotels were typical

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Defense Calls for Nationwide Protest In Daniels, Brown and Speller Cases

By NAT BOND

DURHAM, N. C.—A festival of murder is about to take place in North Carolina. The time and place have been set: sometime in March in the gas chamber of Central prison at the capital city of Raleigh. The victims have been chosen: four innocent Negro men, three of them at the very dawn of their manhood.

Another Willie McGee case? Another Martinsville? Yes, and in some respects even more ominous than these. But the nation has not been aroused—the conscience of the world has not been stirred—the angry voice of protest has not reached such deafening proportions as to shatter the uneasy tranquility of the officials of my native state and the six justices of the Supreme Court who have upheld the bloody hand of "white supremacy."

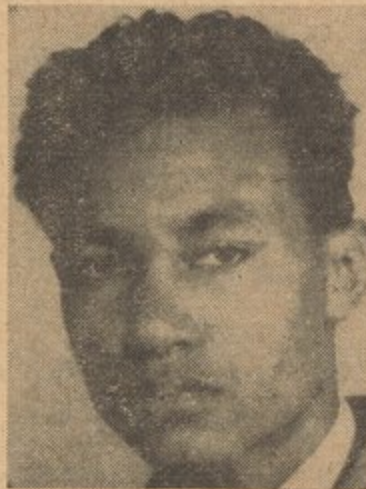
Why? As a fellow-American and lover of justice, I ask—why? As a Negro young man who might, but for the grace of God, be in the place of any one of these four sacrificial victims on the altar of insane race prejudice, I cry out to you and millions of others: Act Now!

Only you, the people, can save Clyde Brown, Bennie and Lloyd Ray Daniels, and Raleigh Speller.

What are their alleged "crimes?" What are the facts in their cases? What have we done in North Carolina, and what can you do—wherever you are—to save them?

Clyde Brown

On June 19, 1950, Clyde Brown, 19-year-old youth of Winston-Salem was arrested in connection with an assault upon Betty Jane Clifton, who was found unconscious in her father's radio shop on June 16. Held incommunicado and given the third-degree continuously for six days, surrounded by press-incited hys-



Nat Bond

teria, and rushed through a trial in which Negroes (who make up 30 percent of the Forsythe County population) were excluded from the jury, Brown was convicted of "rape." This, despite the fact that Betty Clifton never identified Brown as the person who assaulted her, and a white woman, Mrs. Grossman, first upon the scene after the assault, testified that Betty Clifton did not complain of rape in her initial report of the incident.

The Daniels Cousins

During the night of February 5, 1949, a white taxicab driver was killed in a "lovers' lane" near Greenville, N. C. Lloyd Ray Daniels, 17, and Bennie Daniels, 16, cousins, of local Negro sharecropper families, were rounded up in the middle of the night, taken in police cars to a jail in an adjoining county, without notice to families or friends. On the trip, during which Lloyd Ray was supposed to have "confessed," the police car by a strange circumstance "broke down" in a deserted area for about 30 minutes. Lloyd Ray testified at the trial: "... Mr. Gibbs said, 'You are a liar, you did,' and I told him, 'No, sir, I didn't,' and he kept right on cursing and pushing me ... he said 'You are lying,' and he put his hand on his pistol. ... He stopped on the road ... and said 'Didn't you kill this guy?' and he said 'If you don't tell me you are not going to see your mother again,' and he got mad and went on cursing. ..."

Both so-called written "confessions" on which the state's case was based are in language clearly outside the vocabulary of these uneducated defendants. Lloyd Ray never had a day's schooling in his life. Except for Bennie Daniels' being able to sign his own name, neither could read or write.

During the trial the state failed to answer the following pertinent questions:

(1) What happened to the mysterious white woman, covered with blood and seen leaving the woods?

(2) What happened to the missing contraceptives, woman's glove and coat found at the murder scene?

(3) Why no police interest in finding the second car seen entering the "lovers' lane" after the cab, and leaving about a half hour later?

(4) The cab was dusted for fingerprints, but "none were taken," officers testified. Why?

(5) Results of tests for alleged bloodstains on the cousins' clothes were never offered in evidence. Why?

Raleigh Speller

A resident of Bertie County, Raleigh Speller has been in jail since 1947 and forced to stand trial three separate times on a framed-up rape charge. Each of his first two convictions was reversed by the North Carolina Supreme Court because of unconstitutional discrimination against

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Auto Workers Lead Fight for Equality



WHAT'S AHEAD FOR U.S. LABOR? What are the big issues facing Negro workers in the big unions? The Atlantic City convention of the United Auto Workers (CIO), will forecast the answers to these questions. See the special Auto Workers supplement of this issue of FREEDOM.

Carolina

(Continued from Page 1)

Negroes in jury selection. Local NAACP branches are carrying the burden of his defense.

Double Standard "Justice"

These are the cases. Through long and anxious months and years citizens of North Carolina, Negro and white, have fought them in the courts and in the court of public opinion. We have fought against stacked, lily-white juries, bigoted, blood-thirsty prosecutors, vindictive judges and a biased, hysteria-breeding commercial press.

We have fought a system in which death in the gas chamber is plainly reserved "for Negroes only," and in which the continuous abuse of Negro women by white men is practically condoned by government officials. Look at these facts:

Artes Case

Mrs. Lula Mae Artes, young Negro mother and wife of a GI, was raped in 1951 near Ft. Bragg by six white paratroopers during the army's "Operation Southern Pines." A seventh soldier held a gun on a young Negro man who was accompanying Mrs. Artes from Sunday evening church services. At first there was complete silence from authorities. Even after NAACP intervention and

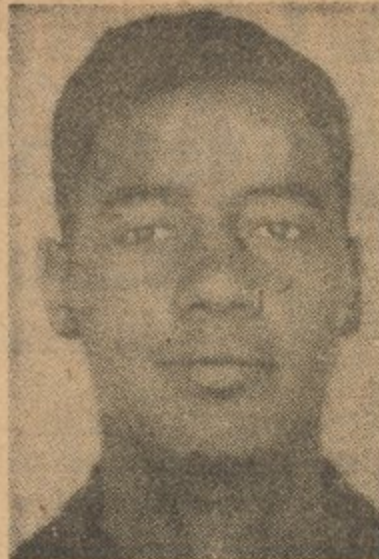


Clyde Brown

wide public protest, four of the paratroopers were released and only three were given 16-20 month sentences!

Burlington Case

I, myself, had occasion to address an audience of over 400 Negro citizens (and several white policemen) assembled in the little mill town of Burlington in the spring of 1951. We were demanding a break in the silence and inaction of officials who failed even to issue an indictment against a white man, Eugene Reid, admittedly guilty of the gun-point rape of a young Negro woman student of Shaw University while she was baby-sitting for Reid, her sister's



Lloyd Roy Daniels

employer.

Two Lives vs. One Day

On Feb. 10 the news reached North Carolina that the three life or death cases (Brown, Daniels and Speller) had been lost in the U.S. Supreme Court. There were three dissents from the majority opinion, by Justices Douglas, Black and Frankfurter.

The Court found that there was "nothing prejudicial" in the system which excluded Negroes from jury service in the Brown and Speller cases. Thus it practically wiped out the gain (that it is unconstitutional to exclude Negroes from juries) that had been recorded in the Scottsboro case 20 years ago.

The Daniels case was not even reviewed on its merits, but was turned down on the technicality that an appeal to a lower court had been entered one day late! The justices, again with three dissents, decided to barter two human lives for a calendar day!

Action Needed Now!

The day the decision was handed down a woman said to me on the street in Durham, "It looks like you can't get justice anywhere these days." I said, "Yes, it looks as though the courts are so partial to injustice and impartial to justice that it is only you and I and the people who can speak for justice."

We have not given up in North Carolina. Legal steps are being taken for further Supreme Court appeals. But we must depend on you! That is why I ask you to write now to Governor William B. Umstead, Raleigh, N. C., urging him to stay the execution of these innocent victims until appeals can be perfected. And write to the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D. C., urging that they grant new appeals for review.

Send vitally-needed contributions to the Daniels Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1601, Durham, N. C.; or to the People's Defense Committee (Clyde Brown case), P. O. Box 2008, Winston-Salem, N. C.

For the sake of simple justice and humane decency, act—and act NOW! Tomorrow may be too late!

subversive of human rights and destroys the premises upon which our nation has been founded. It is fervently to be hoped that this atmosphere of fear and suspicion will be cleared and that such unfortunate practices will in the future cease."

N. Y. Presbytery Attacks Hysteria

NEW YORK—In the recent case of Rev. James H. Robinson, whose passport was cancelled by the State Department and then returned in the face of popular protest, little note was taken of a significant resolution passed by a committee of the New York Presbytery. An excerpt from the resolution follows:

"The growing practice of establishing guilt by unsupported accusations and of assassination by alleged association is

It Happened Last Month

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Two hundred white Methodist student leaders denounced the Methodist Church's hypocrisy and demanded in resolution that the "church must break down the bars of segregation" and "abolish the stigma of segregation in church affiliated schools."

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The Indianapolis Clowns baseball team has signed 21-year-old Miss Marcenia Lyle Stone at \$12,000 yearly, to play second base on the famous pro team.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—When the press announced of a Negro woman, Mrs. Lois Lippman as a secretary (typist, clerk or stenographer) in the office of an assistant to the assistant (Sherman Adams) of the President, GOP stalwart John H. Young of Harlem's Square Deal Republican Club hailed the event as "a milestone in the progress of the American Negro." Negroes whose eyes were not blinded by elephant-dust noted that Ike has not made a single major Negro appointment. Their comment was typified by the cartoon at right.

Complete Record Of All Ike Has Given Us



—Baltimore African-American

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Bishop J. A. Gregg, senior bishop of the African Methodist Church died last month at 76.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.—FBI agents arrested 15 North Carolina Klansmen for kidnapping George Kemper Smith, a Nichols, S. C. farmer, at gun point and beating him with their belts in the woods at Fair Bluff, N. C.



NEW YORK, N. Y.—The National Broadcasting Company hired Miss Arden E. Hill, 22-year-old daughter of a Lincoln University faculty member, as the first Negro TV program editor.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—Robert Lent, one of the white rioters who threatened the life of Paul Robeson at Peekskill on Sept. 4, 1949, pleaded guilty of carrying a concealed weapon (hunting knife strapped to leg) when brought to trial before Acting County Judge John P. Donohoe. The judge suspended sentence for the would-be assassin saying, "I am confident you were laboring under a mistaken idea of what constitutes patriotism."

Labor General Council In 2-Day Detroit Meet

DETROIT, Mich.—A two-day meeting of the General Council of the National Negro Labor Council, the first during 1953, will be held here March 7 and 8, it was disclosed recently by Coleman Young, executive secretary of the organization.

Major points of discussion to be taken up at the council meeting, according to Mr. Young, will include: stepping up for the nation-wide campaign to win jobs for Negroes in the Sears-Roebuck retail store chain; inauguration of a campaign to win jobs for Negroes as pilots and stewardesses on the nation's airlines; and organization of a national



Coleman Young

membership campaign covering more than a score of states where the NNLC has chapters.

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N. Y.-Federal Deal Protects Police Thugs; Reveals the Need for Negro in Justice Department Civil Rights Post

NEW YORK—From the smallest farm town to the largest industrial city in the United States there is a continuing conspiracy to deprive Negroes of their civil rights.

Government officials on every level enter into this conspiracy to keep down, by force and violence, the Negro's insistent demands for full equality.

All sit around the conference table together to sell away the Constitutional rights of Negroes; but it is the cop, whether in Opelousas, La., or in New York, N. Y., whose gun and whose club, whose fist, truncheon and boot are the main instruments through which the conspiracy is put into effect.

Thousands of times daily—by agreement—Negroes are robbed, beaten and often murdered by big and small town cops whose "legal" crimes are not punished, investigated or, for the most part, even recorded.

The recent exposure of such an illegal agreement between high Justice Department officials in Washington and New York City police, whereby the FBI would "lay off" cops guilty of slugging and maiming Negroes in America's "most liberal city," serves only to highlight government's stepped-up campaign of violence-by-deal against its Negro citizens.

Demand Dismissal

So shocking was the documented revelation of the New York agreement, however, that demands for Police Commissioner Goerge P. Monaghan's immediate dismissal have come from more than a score of organizations, including State CIO and the NAACP, as well as from at least three New York Congressmen (Powell, Javitz and Dollinger).

Though the New York press

has been forced to give front-page coverage to the New York "deal," in which the brutal stationhouse beatings of two young Negro men was almost covered up, every effort is being made to localize its significance, and to make Commissioner Monaghan the only culprit.

The FBI, whose inaction in civil rights cases throughout the country is as notorious as its "efficiency" in hounding Negro and white spokesmen for peace, democracy and Negro rights, is pictured as "injured innocence."

"Whitewash"

Since the exposure of the illegal agreement, the NAACP has revealed how cases of police brutality have in recent years increased alarmingly against Negro New Yorkers. "Investigations" by the Police Department and the District Attorney's office have resulted, the NAACP declares, in "whitewash all the way down the line." The same report has come from the Civil Rights Congress and numerous other organizations.

The secret agreement, however, left New York police to investigate themselves, with no fear that the Federal Government would step in to punish cops who violated the 14th and 15th amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

In how many other cities such an agreement was openly or secretly arrived at, has not been revealed. But it has been very seldom—and only in instances where the peoples'

anger threatened to be explosive—that the FBI and the Federal Government have stepped in anywhere.

It is up to the organizations and individuals concerned—not just in New York, but throughout the country—to see that every complaint of police assault against a citizen, in the stationhouse or on the lonely highway, be immediately forwarded to the FBI with a demand for justice.

Not Enough Complaints

Shocking is the fact that although the NAACP in N. Y. has had nearly 100 serious complaints of police brutality registered with it in the last two years, only two cases were carried to the Federal Government.

Other organizations have acted similarly. And especially in the South, where Negroes are daily beaten up by the score in every small town—often by cops who simply wish to rob them of their watch or jewelry—few Federal complaints are made except in cases where the victim is killed.

Thousands of complaints must be brought to the FBI's attention immediately.

But also, in order to prod the government into becoming—to some extent—the servant of the people who elected it, those who have always held civil rights in utter contempt must be replaced.

James M. McInerney, who engineered the "deal" with New York cops, had full charge of civil rights prosecutions from 1938 until last autumn. Before



SCENES LIKE THIS have become a bitter part of American life for Negroes in most U. S. cities. Negro citizens are subjected to police intimidation, false arrest and brutality, while Federal authorities turn their heads.

that time an FBI agent himself, he was once a small-town cop, and always kept a "cop's" mentality. During his tenure of office as chief of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, it is known for instance, that he continually used the Federal Fugitive Warrant Act, to send Negroes

who had escaped North back to Southern chain gangs and lynchings—even where the Northern governors had refused extradition.

It is time to insist that someone with a stake in civil rights—certainly a Negro—be put in full charge of all Federal civil rights prosecutions.

HEROES IN OUR HISTORY



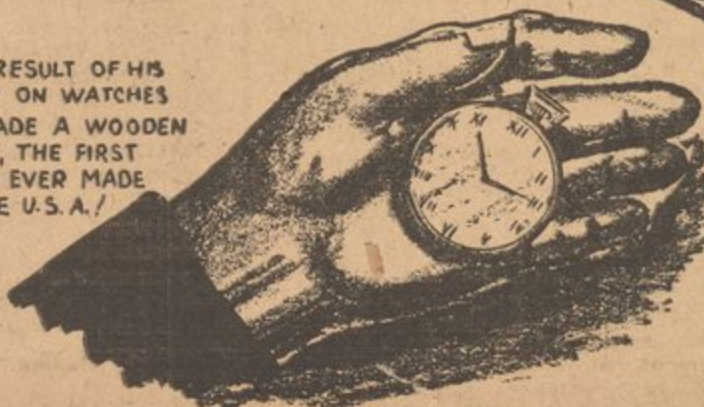
BENJAMIN BANNEKER

BORN A FREE MAN IN 1731 ABOUT 10 MILES FROM BALTIMORE. UPON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER HE TOOK CHARGE OF THE FARM AND PROVIDED FOR HIS SISTER AND MOTHER.

THROUGH HIS CONTACT WITH GEORGE ELLIOT A QUAKER, YOUNG BEN GAINED ACCESS TO BOOKS AND EXPANDED HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS.



AS A RESULT OF HIS STUDY ON WATCHES HE MADE A WOODEN CLOCK, THE FIRST CLOCK EVER MADE IN THE U.S.A.!



MR. BANNEKER BECAME A RENOWNED SURVEYOR. HE SERVED WITH L'ENFANT, A FAMED FRENCH ENGINEER IN THE LAYING OUT OF OUR NATION'S CAPITOL

Harlem Tenants Fight Evictions And Proposal to Decontrol Rents

By JESSE GRAY

(Sec'y, Harlem Tenants and Consumers Council)

The people in Harlem are fighting to save their homes.

The Title I area, which takes in the area from 132nd Street north to 135th Street south, between Lenox and Fifth Avenues, is where the big real estate corporations hope to move the present tenants and to build middle income homes. Certainly, the people are fully aware that it is impossible for them to be replaced elsewhere because of the lack of available apartments for the more than 500,000 on the waiting list now. But at this moment the Godfrey Nurse Corporation has been unable to evict or to move any one out because of the tremendous fighting spirit and sentiment in the area. This is indicated by the fact that the Corporation last month called a meeting of the tenants, but realizing the discontent and the many questions that would have been asked by the tenants, none of the Corporation members put in an appearance. More than 1,000 people attended this meeting. This shows the kind of a fight that

the Godfrey Nurse Corporation or any other corporation that plans to move the people from the area without guaranteeing them a decent place to go, will have.

Oppose Rent Hikes

Gov. Dewey's proposal for a 15% across-the-board rent increase, as well as immediate decontrol of all vacant apartments, would mean that every tenant in that area whom the corporations hope to move, would have to move into a decontrolled apartment where the sky is the limit on rents. This is certainly a further hardship and adds new worries for the tenants who will be confronted with immediate increases in rent.

In dealing with decontrol, not only will it hit these people hard, it will hit the whole Harlem community hard—landlords will attempt to intimidate the people into getting out so that they will be forced to move into the decontrolled apartments with their exorbitant rents.

There are delegations planned to see the Congressmen of the area to raise this immediate problem with them, as well as delegations to City Hall.



"... white and black together; all eager to taste the delectable fruit"

Should a democratic system of education prevail in the South? The Supreme Court will decide this question in the near future. As the nation waits for the court decision in five cases brought by Negro parents who demand the end of segregation in public education, the nine justices might take a look at the experiences of the Reconstruction, the only period when the Southern people enjoyed real democracy.

The following is from the August, 1866, "American Freedman." This magazine, published by the American Freedman Union Commission, quotes a report from its Agent E. B. Adams. Mr. Adams notes the following:

"In Summerville, South Carolina, within 20 miles of Charleston . . . there is a most successful scheme open to all classes and patronized by all, in itself a vindication not only of the wisdom but the practical possibility of the main principle of our Constitution. I refer to . . . Miss Hosmer's school which I visited in April. I found about 60 students in attendance. About 30 of these were white and 30 black. They sat upon the same seats, studied from the same books, recited from the same classes,

took the same recess, and played the same games. Not expecting to find such so great a success, I wondered how it was achieved. Upon consultation I found that kindness had been impartially shown to white and blacks alike. While they were poor and wretched, bacon, meal and clothes were dealt out without discrimination. . . . Immediately now a school was announced, to which all were invited. Zeal ran high. It brought in white and black together; all eager to taste the delectable fruit.

"Some came from the woody region about four, five and six miles away, to seize the rare opportunity. Two boys, who owned, before the war, seven slaves patrimony, walked the greatest distance, six miles. Master and slave there sat side by side in the same school within one year after freedom.

"Miss Hosmer, the teacher, by her impartiality and even kindness, is producing even results, and perpetuating a thing of circumstances into a thing of principle. The practical possibility of the principle is certainly established."

How about it, Supreme Court? Is the U. S. A. ready to "catch up" with the achievements of 1866?

Supreme Court Debating Jim Crow School Issue

But South Had Mixed Schools During 1860's



HERE ARE OUTSIDE AND INSIDE views of a "school" for Negro children in North Carolina in 1952. Classes were held in a filling station. White school in the same area is a modern, fully equipped structure.

In the Freedom Family

After a While Folks Get Tired of 'Saving' Things

The other day we met with a group of friends at the home of Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois to discuss FREEDOM's plans for 1953. In the midst of talk about subs and budget and ways to improve the paper, someone asked: "Will we ever get to the place where we won't have to have campaigns and appeals all the time?"

Of course we proceeded to explain how a fighting, people's paper had to have the people's support; how it costs \$10 million to start a daily and \$1 million for a weekly—and then you couldn't be sure — and things like that.

But our friend (we may as well tell you it was Alice Childress, author of *Conversations from Life*) said: "No that's not what I mean—I know about all that. I mean, if we keep asking people to get subs, when can we tell them something's going to happen—that the paper will get bigger, or come out more often, or something? In other words, what is the goal?"

She went on: "I know some people who started a magazine, and in the very first issue they had it all over the front

page in the biggest type you ever saw: **SAVE OUR MAGAZINE!** Well, you know, after a while, folks get tired of saving things!"

Of course everybody laughed, but the point was clear. And so we decided to use this space from now on to tell you what our goals are and what progress we're making toward them.

Sometimes we'll talk about the Freedom Associate Committees; at others about advertising, special affairs and bud-

get; or the six special issues we're planning for this year (this one on auto workers is the first and others will follow on Africa, Menhaden fishermen, the South, longshoremen on East and West Coasts, the Baptist Convention). But now let's begin with subscriptions:

GOAL, 50,000 — That's our "break-even" point as a \$1-a-year monthly, the point at which we can bring FREEDOM to you at least semi-monthly and probably weekly. To

achieve it we must reach 30,000 new readers this year, and we know that with your active participation it's possible. Our meeting (the Steering Committee of the National Freedom Associates) worked out some proposals for spring and fall sub drives in key areas (see table). Already committees are at work in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and things are beginning to stir in Cleveland. We haven't heard from Freedom Associates in Philadelphia, Bos-

ton or D. C. in quite a while. How about it? We know we can count on you.

WHAT YOU CAN DO—The campaigns, of course, will depend on what you do. If you're not a part of your local Freedom Associates, why not join? Or if there's no committee in your community, how about getting one started? Write us for details. And, besides the work of the committees, the sub drive would be guaranteed if every reader would get a friend, neighbor, school — or shopmate to subscribe — now, today, before the sun sets or rises.

Won't you—member of the Family—do that for FREEDOM's sake? We'll be talking to you again next month, but meanwhile please let us hear from you. Sincerely,

THE STAFF.

OUR GOAL — 30,000 NEW SUBS IN 1953

AREA	SPRING CAMPAIGN	FALL CAMPAIGN	TOTAL
New York	3,500	5,500	9,000
Illinois	2,000	3,000	5,000
Detroit	1,500	2,500	4,000
Ohio	500	1,500	2,000
South	1,000	1,500	2,500
California	500	2,000	2,500
Massachusetts-Connecticut	500	500	1,000
New Jersey	500	1,000	1,500
Philadelphia	500	1,000	1,500
Baltimore-D. of C.	500	500	1,000
TOTAL	11,000	19,000	30,000

A Fighting People
Need
A Fighting Paper!
Build FREEDOM

UAW Meeting Will Set Pace for All Labor

Negro Leaders Battle for FEPC and Union Positions

Freedom

Where there is no struggle there is no progress

March, 1953

Page 5

SPECIAL AUTO WORKERS SUPPLEMENT

The great rank and file of American workers, family-sized farmers, small business people, the vast majority of Negroes, are everywhere restless and disturbed and asking the same question: what will it be like with the new Eisenhower administration?

War or peace? Depression or security? A strong labor movement or back to the open shop days of "dog eat dog and devil take the hindmost?" Equal rights or further assaults upon our dwindling civil liberties?

The answer will depend largely on the will and ability of the democratic majority of Americans to organize and struggle, skillfully and stubbornly for the preservation and extension of democracy and peace. And this, in turn, will depend mainly on the course which the great labor organizations of the country adopt.

On March 20 the first major labor convention since the advent of the Eisenhower administration will open in Atlantic City. Always a bellweather for developments in the labor movement, the United Auto Workers Union (CIO) convention takes on added significance because of the recent ascendancy of its president, Walter Reuther, into the presidency of the national CIO.

Reuther's projection of policy for the UAW will be a preview of the political approach of the entire CIO to such questions as labor unity, position on the domestic and foreign policies of the Republican Cadillac Cabinet, and, last but not least, the CIO's attitude toward the growing insistence of its Negro membership for a rightful and honorable place of leadership in the labor movement as well as a more active fight for FEPC and against rampant job discrimination.

The decisions of the UAW convention will affect not only its 1,250,000 members (perhaps a fourth of whom are Negro workers) but the entire nation. Against this background, FREEDOM brings its readers the expressions of a number of Negro UAW leaders on questions which will be before the convention.

Key Delegates Discuss Top Convention Issues

If Labor Fails to Use Negro Potential, It Battles "With an Arm Tied Behind It's Back"

By WILLIAM R. HOOD
(Recording Secretary, Local 600, United Auto Workers)

The entry of Negro workers on a large scale into the ranks of organized labor took place only a few years ago with the coming into being of the CIO.

The CIO thus served as a vehicle for creating a unity hitherto unknown in America: the unity of one million Negro industrial workers with their fellow white workers in industry. It was a bridgehead for the firm and fraternal bonds that today characterize the relationship of the Negro people to the labor movement.

Today, as the labor movement girds itself in anticipation of the anti-labor onslaught of the Eisenhower administration, it is a simple matter of self-preservation that makes it imperative for labor to look

for support in the direction of the untapped reservoir of potential leadership and strength which its Negro membership has to offer.

The failure to make use of this potential, projects labor into its battle for life with an arm tied behind its back.

This question, the utilization and bringing forward of Negro leadership, which has long been a political football in the union movement, must now be squarely faced by every honest and straight-thinking labor leader who has the over-all interest of our unions at heart.

The decision which is made at the 14th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers, in Atlantic City this month on the elevation of a Negro unionist to elected office in our International Union may well determine whether or not the UAW-CIO will have the political stamina and moral fortitude to face up to the crisis that looms ahead.

"Negro Up-Grading Benefits the Whole Union Movement"

By LAYMAN WALKER
(Recording Secretary, Loc. 742, UAW-CIO)

For many years we in the labor movement in the Detroit and Wayne County area, have waged a struggle for the advancement of Negro leadership in the local union bodies of the CIO.

It is now a matter of history that where the successful fight



Negro Leadership — A Key Issue

has been waged to advance Negro workers, the whole union movement has benefited and been strengthened.

It is unfortunate that the examples set by many locals in the matter of Negro participation in top union leadership has not so far been emulated by the International UAW-CIO. This is a fact which offers no credit to our International Union but presents itself as a definite chink in our armour, and a weakness in the unity which our union must have in the critical period ahead.

I take my position now, as in the past for the very broadest application of democracy in

the UAW, starting on the level of its top officers and extending into every rank and file committee of our great International Union.

We Must Make an All Out Drive for FEPC

By JOE MORGAN
(President of the Frame and Cold-Header Unit of Loc. 600; Natl. Vice-Pres., NNLC; Pres., Great Detroit NNLC.)

The recent mobilization at Lansing on the passage of a state FEPC bill was a tremendous success. This is only the beginning of mass mobilizations until such a bill is passed. We will show the state politicians that the question of Negro employment is not some political gimmick just to be tossed around at election time.

All UAW leaders must recognize that this will be labor's most critical year under a Big Business administration and therefore must make an all out drive for FEPC, giving concrete expression to this fact in life by electing a Negro to the executive board of the UAW at our forthcoming convention.

This is the logic and meaning of our fight for FEPC, a fight that unites Negro and

white workers in the common struggle to build a strong, united labor movement to weather the approaching storm.

Fight Cannot Be Won With "Plans"

By JAMES WATTS
(FEPC Director, Ford Loc. 600)

These are the days that will try men's souls, and will separate the men from the boys. The winning of the fight for survival of the CIO calls for a rededication of the principles upon which it was founded. It is a fight that cannot be won with "plans."

The strength of the Negro people, conditioned by 350 years of struggle, is needed more than ever before if the CIO is going to pull through the big struggle ahead. The first step must be the immediate elevation of a Negro to the post of Executive Vice President. Second, the UAW in its forthcoming convention should face up to its responsibilities and elect a Negro to one of its vice-presidencies. Third, CIO should immediately begin negotiations for the return to its fold of the internationals expelled.



William Hood



Layman Walker

Michigan FEPC Lobby Rouses Capitol, Demands

By GEORGE B. MURPHY, Jr.

LANSING, Mich.—Representing more than one million organized Negro and white voting citizens, according to their leader and major spokesman, Bishop George W. Baber of the A. M. E. Church, a mobilization of 1,000 delegates and observers descended upon the Republican-dominated legislature of this state capital February 19, demanding passage of a State FEPC law this year.

Oldtimers on capital hill said it was the largest and best organized lobbying group of its kind ever to appear before the state legislature.

Senator Cora Brown (D), first Negro woman ever to sit in the State's Upper House, and the second woman in the history of Michigan, told the delegates, "It is the most inspiring thing I have seen in a long time."

Organized by the Michigan Diocese of the A.M.E. Church, under Bishop Baber, the state conference of NAACP branches, and the United Auto Workers, CIO, delegates began arriving at Lansing at seven o'clock in the morning. They came by car, bus and train and went directly to the Hotel Olds across the street from the State Capital where headquarters had been set up.

They spent an action-packed day that included: early registration, a morning briefing session, organization of 32 conference-appointed committees who interviewed the legislators on FEPC, a lively afternoon report-back session, a press conference, and a banquet in the evening attended by 800 delegates, with Democratic Governor G. Menen Williams and Republican Lt. Governor Clarence Reed, Clarence Mitchell, National NAACP legislative representative, and Bishop Baber, as the principal speakers.

Legislators Are Upset

As the delegates poured into the state capital to buttonhole their representatives it soon became apparent to the legislators that the people of the state of Michigan from "back home" were here on business. There was much scurrying about by the Representatives. Gone was the leisurely pace adopted by the lawmakers around lunch hour. Many of the senators and representatives skipped lunch, because, as one delegate put it, "If we can leave our families,

our jobs and skip lunch certainly you can do the same when we come to see you about FEPC."

When Senate Majority Leader Carlton Morris (R), from Kalamazoo received the largest delegation headed by Bishop Baber, he blandly told the group that he was not sure how he stood on the bill. He was mainly concerned, he said, "that you understand that you will have to educate us and you can't win by bludgeoning us."

Matter of Human Rights

Morris looked surprised and pained when Bishop Baber, in calm voice, took him by the arm as he sought to close the interview and said, "Senator, you do not understand. It is not a matter of bludgeoning or of educating legislators; it is a matter of human rights. Michigan has a great democratic tradition and it is therefore a matter of not turning back the clock. That explains why we are here, why we are fighting for the passage of an FEPC law now."

Republican Floor Leader Wilfred Basset of Jackson, Mich., was surrounded by a large delegation as he left his office. He held the interview in the hall. When he told the group that he had not read the bill, but was sure he was not for an FEPC bill with enforcement powers, he was reminded by Rev. James E. Jackson, pastor of the A.M.E. Community Church in Jackson, that, "This legislation does not affect just a few people; it affects people just like you as well as people like me."

Senator Cora Brown

At the report-back session held in the Hotel Olds ballroom, delegates heard committee leaders report on their interviews. Many of the legislators came over to the session to get on record that they were not opposed to FEPC.

Negro legislators took the lead in assuring the delegates that they would fight for passage this year.

Expressing her delight at the warm applause that greeted her entrance into the conference hall, Senator Cora Brown told the delegates: "This is the most

inspiring thing I have seen in a long time. I want you to know that I'll use all of my energies to make this great fight succeed. If all of us go back and work in an organized way in our communities we can pass this great law. This law will elevate the state of Michigan toward the realization of a better democracy. I will join in word and deed so that America can be the place where there is recognition of the dignity of every human personality. With the support of the church and great leaders like Bishop Baber, and under divine guidance, we can achieve this goal."

Senator Charles Diggs Jr., serving his second term in the legislature said: You know I am in favor of this legislation; you have only to look at me to know that."

Senator Carlton Morris, making an unannounced entrance into the hall, obtained the rostrum to say: "There may have been some misunderstanding about how I feel about this legislation. I am for what is for the best interests of all the people and I hope we can get some kind of a bill passed that will be satisfactory to all concerned."

The Governor Speaks

Governor Williams, principal speaker at the banquet, told the delegates that the legislature would have to understand

that two communities, Pontiac and River Rouge, have already passed such FEPC laws and the passage of state-wide FEPC legislation "constitutes an act of conscience that keeps faith with the people of this state."

"That's how we Democrats view it," he said. "And we would go along with the Republicans to pass such a law tomorrow morning. We must understand that it is necessary to have an FEPC law with enforcement powers, not for those who will do right, but for those who insist on doing wrong."

Wrong Policy

The chairman of the Republican policy committee in the state legislature apologized to the delegates for "giving the impression that a resolution introduced recently to have a study commission appointed was just a delaying tactic to kill the bill."

"This commission is just for insurance," he said, "to keep the legislation alive in case it does not pass."

To this, Clarence Mitchell, National Legislative Representative of the NAACP, replied, "This is one policy we don't want to collect on. The legislators of Michigan must understand that they cannot toy with human rights. No such investigation is needed in this state to justify passage of an FEPC law for Michigan."

Program Outlined by NAACP

Every delegate leaving the banquet, carried a kit containing the program outlined earlier in the day by Edward M. Turner, President of the Michigan State NAACP Conference. The program included: "(1) Enlarging citizen participation in the program; (2) educating all segments of the community to the evils of job discrimination and the merits of FEP legislation; (3) directing voters attention to the records of legislators as to FEPC, and (4) maintenance of a state-wide steering committee representing all groups supporting FEPC to plan program and strategy for the various co-operating organizations.

The mobilization represented the continuation of a fight for FEPC legislation going back to 1948, when labor, civil right and community organizations obtained 185,000 signatures to petitions for a state law.



REPORTING BACK: Delegates are shown in ballroom of Lansing's Hotel Olds listening to report.

AME Denominational Unions Led Drive

DETROIT, Mich.—Paying tribute to the leadership of Bishop George W. Baber, whose fourth Episcopal District includes Michigan, delegates to the recent FEPC Mobilization at Lansing, declared the action represented the broadest cross-section of people's organization in any lobbying mobilization at the state capital in a long time.

Cutting across religious, political, racial, and sectional lines, the mobilization saw the emergence of Negro church leadership in the fight for civil rights, united with labor, NAACP, community, fraternal, women and civil rights organizations to win a fight that has engaged the attention of Negro and white citizens of Michigan for several years.

With ministers and members of their congregations from forty A.M.E. Churches throughout the state present, the church delegation constituted the largest block of delegates present. They came in response to an important pastoral letter circulated among the A.M.E. ministers throughout the fourth Episcopal District and won response from ministers in Indiana and Wisconsin.

Included among the religious

A Labor Family in a Labor Town



THE MORGAN LABOR TEAM: A unique example of Negro trade union leadership in Detroit is the team of Morgan brothers shown above. Left to right: Joe Morgan, president of the Detroit Negro Labor Council and president of the Frame and Cold-header Unit, Local 600, UAW-CIO; Theodore Morgan, recording secretary of Chrysler Local 7, UAW-CIO, and LaMar Morgan, president of Local 508, Detroit City Government Employees Union, CIO. LaMar Morgan has been president of his Local for the past nine years. All of the brothers have long been ardent fighters for FEPC in Michigan and in the city of Detroit.



UAW CHRYSLER LOCAL 7 delegates included, left to right: Willie Mothis, FEPC committee member and FEPC committeeman

Legislators Act



...to reports of delegation which visited legislators on FEPC.

Discrimination, NAACP and Dramatic Lansing Lobby



Bishop George W. Baber

delegates was also a sizable representation from Baptist churches, ministerial associations and some Catholics.

The NAACP Michigan State Conference with delegations from every one of its twenty-three branches, had the second largest bloc of delegates.

The United Auto Workers-CIO and other labor groups including representation from the AFL Teachers Union, constituted the third largest group of delegates.

Delegates representing the



delegates at FEPC mobilization in... Mathis, FEPC committeeman; Miss... mitteewoman; James Boggs, executive... mitteeman secretary.

Prince Hall, Scottish Rite and other Masonic organizations, the Elks, fraternities and sororities, social clubs, women's organizations, peace groups, the lawyers, nationality groups and farmer organizations, comprised the balance of the delegates. An incomplete list of sponsoring organizations follows:

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, African Methodist Episcopal Church, East Side Merchants Association, Eastern Progressive Baptist District Association, Elks (IBPOE of W), International Masons, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Knights of Pythias, Michigan CIO Council.

Michigan Committee on Civil Rights: American Jewish Congress—Michigan Council, Americans for Democratic Action, Anti-Defamation League—B'nai B'rith Michigan Region, Brotherhood Second Baptist Church, Catholic Interracial Council, Consumers League of Michigan, Cotillion Club, Detroit Association of Women's Clubs, Detroit Council of Churches—Public Affairs Department, Detroit Federation of Teachers—AFL, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor—AFL, East Side Merchants Association, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America—Michigan Division, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Jewish Community Council of Detroit, Jewish War Veterans—Dept. of Michigan, Michigan CIO Council, Michigan Federation of Teachers—AFL, Michigan Labor Committee on Human Rights, Polish-American Congress—Michigan Division, Prince Hall Masonic Lodges of Michigan, UAW-CIO Fair Practices Department, Women's Council Second Baptist Church, Women's International League—Michigan Branch, Young Women's Christian Assn.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Phi Gamma Delta Sorority, Scottish Rite Masons, UAW-CIO, Wolverine Bar Assn.

7 STATES, 2 CITIES HAVE FEPC LAWS

FEPC statutes, varying in effectiveness, are now in operation in seven states and a few municipalities throughout the United States. Principal cities with fair employment practices ordinances are Philadelphia and Minneapolis. The seven states (none of them in the South where job discrimination against Negroes is most widespread and brutal) are: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington.



FRIENDLY CAUCUS: State Senator Cora M. Brown discusses FEPC issue with members of Ford Local 600 delegation. Left to right: Johnnie Jones, district committeeman in the cold-header unit; Joe Berry, FEPC committeeman; James Watts, full-time Local FEPC director; Senator Brown, and Vince Mitchell, FEPC committee secretary and vice-pres. of the axle unit.



SOUNDING OFF: Photo shows, left to right, Frank Simpson, member of the Fair Employment Practices Commission of Connecticut; Governor G. Mennen William of Michigan, and Edward M. Turner, president of the Detroit NAACP.



MIDLAND STEEL DELEGATION (Local 410, UAW-CIO) is pictured at statewide FEPC lobby. Left to right: Murray Gouls, FEPC committeeman; Edward Bradfield, member of FEPC and bargaining committees; Herman Burt, chief steward paint shop unit; Earl Lewis, welders unit chief steward and committee chairman; John Wells, FEPC committeeman; Steve Perry, hookers unit chief steward; Pete Barovich, bargaining committee chairman, and Zigmund Majeski, local president.

Union Democracy at Stake in Cases Before UAW Parley

Local 205 Leaders Will Fight to Regain Positions

The forthcoming Atlantic City convention of the United Auto Workers (CIO), will be faced with one of the most serious decisions in its history when the appeal of 12 Negroes and one white member of the Leland Unit of Amalgamated Local 205 comes before that body.

James Walker, one of those expelled by an all-white International Trial Board for militant union activity in 1950, grew up with the CIO and has a rich history of leadership and struggle since the 30's, when CIO membership was tantamount to subversion. He was one of the founders of Local 205 and worked night and day laying the groundwork for the organization of many other local unions in the city of Detroit. In Local 205, Walker held important and leading posts throughout his life in the union. He was elected vice-president, recording secretary, headed numerous committees and was a member of the executive board up until his discharge and expulsion.

In the Leland unit of Local 205 where Walker was Plant Chairman, attendance at Unit meetings ran from 80 to 90% of the workers. In Local union elections the heavy voting of the unit made its vote a decisive one, at times running as high as 50% of the vote cast.

Throughout Walker's leadership the Leland unit workers improved working and safety-conditions and achieved the highest wages in the prefabrication industry. The workers had a cafeteria run by the union where they could obtain hot breakfasts and lunches at low prices. In addition there was an 80-acre farm, with a lake and a swimming pool and a spacious resort house which was operated by the union for the pleasure of the workers.

James Walker was not satisfied with improving conditions only for the Leland workers. He took steps to organize all the Allen industry plants in Plymouth, Michigan; Rahway, N. J., and St. Louis, Mo. He also organized a Detroit plant into a Fibre Council, which before its dissolution by the International Union was taking steps to bring the wages and working conditions of the other plants up to the standard of the Leland shop, as well as to present to management a united bargaining force for additional demands.

Gerald Boyd, a second expelled Local officer, who spent his early trade union days in the Office Workers Union, came into the UAW through the Leland Unit of Local 205. During the five years that Boyd was in Local 205, he was a member of the executive board and on several committees. In the Leland Unit he was chairman of the education and recreation committees.

The fight for Negro leadership at all levels has been one of the outstanding characteristics of Boyd's work in the trade union movement, highlighted by his struggle to dispel confusing arguments by those who opposed Negro leadership.

Around the fight for the election of a Negro to a top post in the Michigan CIO and the Wayne County Council he worked tirelessly in helping to win over white members of the Progressive Caucus to the unanimous position taken by Negro delegates. Out of that fight, Coleman Young was elected to a newly created post, Organizational Director, Wayne Co., CIO, marking the first time that a Negro had held such a high ranking position in this body.

In the fight for job rights for Negro women, Boyd has been in the front ranks. Working with the NAACP in 1943, he helped mobilize the thousand-strong picket line that "stormed" the gates of the Ford Motor Company, leading to some hiring of Negro women at Ford's and later in other UAW plants in the city. Boyd is at present Executive Secretary of the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council.

Commenting on their scheduled appeal to the forthcoming International convention, Walker and Boyd said: "If we are to throw the full weight of the UAW against Jim Crow hiring practices and for FEPC and Negro leadership at all levels, the Negroes themselves must first be united in purpose. Also, the UAW must make it possible for the full strength of its Negro members to be exercised in fighting for labor rights generally by extending democracy and giving full support to the legitimate demands of Negro workers throughout the UAW."



Gerald Boyd



James Walker



Herman Burt

Bigots, Spurred By Hysteria, Hit Low in Burt Case

The story of Herman Burt is the story of Negro workers in an auto plant uniting to defend a brother and inspiring white workers to join them in order to isolate and rout a group of bigots attempting to destroy the union.

In February of 1952, the Un-American Activities Committee came into Detroit for the purpose of smearing Detroit Negro labor leaders and to attack the militant Local 410, UAW-CIO.

Herman Burt, chief steward of the Local was the only worker in his shop mentioned by the Committee. It was two days later that the company tried to take advantage of the excuse which they thought the Un-American Committee had provided.

A squad of 18 goons descended on Burt's shop where two-thirds of the workers are Southern-born whites, with the announced purpose of throwing him out. But the anti-Negro hoodlums had failed to reckon with the solidarity of the workers. They were met squarely by 150 Negro workers, and the mere sight of their unity sent the strong-arm men hurrying away from the scene.

Two days later two more hoodlums sneaked into the shop and again attacked Burt, planning to throw him into an acid tank, but Burt and a co-worker met them and settled the issue with methods "the hoodlums understood best."

The company was unable to take action against Burt because he had obviously acted in self-defense.

One month later, an election for Chief Steward was held in Burt's department and Herman Burt was elected by an overwhelming majority and continued to service his membership in the same militant manner in which he vanquished the allies of the Un-American Committee and the enemies of the Negro people.

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Militant Veterans of "600" Appeal International Rule

When Walter Reuther placed an Administrator over Local 600 in March, 1952, five of the most militant leaders were removed from office and have been barred from seeking re-election.

The five are Dave Moore, Nelson Davis, John Gallo, Ed Locke and Paul Botin. Moore and Davis are Negroes who along with their three white union brothers bear the scars and wounds inflicted by the goons of the Ford Motor Company in the organizational drive in the giant Ford Rouge plant. They were removed by Reuther for being "members of, or subservient to" the Communist Party and doing "irreparable harm" to the UAW. They have appealed their cases to the National UAW Convention to be held in Atlantic City in March.

The two highest bodies of Local 600, the Executive Board and the General Council, have acted in the defense of the five militant leaders.

The entire Local 600 delegation will go to the UAW convention under mandate from the membership to fight and vote for the reinstatement of all five of its removed members.

Dave Moore and Nelson Davis, along with other Negro leaders of Local 600 have not only given leadership to their Negro brothers and sisters but to the white workers as well.

Here is their record:

DAVE MOORE was vice-president of the Gear and Axle Plant of Local 600 for four years, prior to his removal by Walter Reuther in March, 1952. He was a volunteer organizer in the union and was one of the six men who pulled the switches that shut down the Axle plant in the historic 1941 strike. As a result of this ac-

Foundry Leader



WILLIAM JOHNSON, president of the Dearborn Iron Foundry, Local 600, UAW-CIO, and a delegate to the UAW Atlantic City convention has long been a fighter for Negro leadership in all branches of the union.



Dave Moore



Nelson Davis

tion he was fired and told by a foreman that he would never work at the Ford Motor Company again. However, after the victorious ten-day strike the Gear and Axle workers rewarded Dave Moore for his stalwart leadership by electing him committeeman. Down through the years he has had many offices from committeeman to his last held position, the second highest in the unit, vice-president.

NELSON DAVIS has worked at the Ford Motor Company for 30 years and holds the distinction of being the first worker to wear a union button in the foundry. He was elected by the Foundry workers as district committeeman for three terms; as bargaining committeeman for four terms, and vice-president of the General Council since the founding of the Local. When removed by Reuther, he was holding the office of vice-president and member of the General Council.

In a joint statement, Moore and Davis said: "If fighting against discriminatory policies of the Ford Motor Company and fighting for the rights of Negro men and women to be promoted to better jobs, if disagreeing with the International Union's lily-white executive board on issues affecting the good and welfare of members of Local 600 and the members of the UAW, constitute membership or subservience to the Communist Party, then we say make the most of it."

Jim Crow Wins 3 Bouts As UN Group Bides Time

By ALPHAEUS HUNTON

England, Africa, U.S.A.—its the same old Jim Crow. Three news items from different corners of the world remind us of the oneness of the struggle of black people in every land against racist oppression.

From London comes the story of a 24-year old Nigerian, Mr. Johnson Wesley, who applied for training as a fireman there.

He received in reply a form letter in which the various reasons for rejection were stated: "You are above the maximum age," "You are below the minimum physical standards," and, "Owing to a long waiting list, recruiting has been temporarily suspended." All three of these were crossed off and a new reason added. It read simply: "Your color."

The second news item comes from Nigeria, Britain's West African colony. There, one of the leaders of the African liberation struggle, Mr. Nunasu Amosu, sent to jail on the usual "sedition" charge, has exposed the discrimination practised by the prison authorities.

"Night-Soil" Men

"African prisoners," he states, were forced to walk barefoot even if they were accustomed to wearing shoes; were denied such simple things as toilet soap. Moreover, they were compelled to act as personal servants and 'night-soil' men for the white prisoners and to do their laundry and pass baths for them." The white prisoners were supplied with "a package of cigarettes daily, pyjamas, socks, bath towels, boots and sandals."

And the third item, from Jamaica, B.W.I., reports the storm of protest that has arisen as a result of the brutal attack on one of their countrymen, the Rev. Amos Carnegie, who was beaten up and thrown off a bus by white men in Georgia, U.S.A., for refusing to sit in the back seat of the bus.

Members of the Jamaica Youth Movement picketed the

American Consulate in Kingston carrying placards, one of which read, "Ike, is this your crusade for freedom?" A letter of protest sent to the United States State Department by the Jamaica Youth Movement stated: "The very fact that your government has taken no official steps to punish such an unlawful act, assures us that these outrages are condoned officially; and we call upon your government, so eloquent in its protestations of freedom and justice, to set the example and outlaw the practice of racial discrimination and oppression throughout the United States of America."

UN Commission

And while we are on the subject of Jim Crow, we would like to ask why there has been complete silence at the United Nations about the Commission which the General Assembly on November 20 voted (with the United States abstaining), to send to South Africa to "study the racial situation" there. Dr. Ralph Bunche was one of the members appointed on that Commission.

With the Malan government enacting new laws to establish fascist dictatorship and smash the Africans' Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, the United Nations Commission ought to get on with its job NOW—or does Malan rely on his United States and British friends to hold off the investigation?

Demand Action

The United Nations General Assembly has just reconvened, but South Africa is not on the agenda at this time. It ought to be, and must be. FREEDOM urges all its readers and friends to write to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to the United States delegation to the United Nations, demanding that the resolution of November 20 be immediately implemented and all other possible steps be taken by that body to stop the march of fascism in South Africa.



NEW YORKERS DEMONSTRATED in Harlem on April 1, 1952, when the Council on African Affairs called for expressions of sympathy with the South African Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. Recent reprisals of the Malan govt. call for further acts of solidarity in the U.S.

Hotel Bias

(Continued from Page 1)

of the "big sixteen" in the city which altogether hire more than 14,000 employees, of whom 903 are Negro workers, or 6.2%.

The main classification from which Negro hotel workers are excluded are, skilled maintenance, where one percent of the workers were Negroes, as "handymen"; office workers, none; dining room workers, less than three percent; bartenders, not one Negro out of 800 bartenders in 94 downtown hotels. The story is similar with waitresses, waiters, skilled kitchen workers, banquet help, and the higher paying housekeeping jobs.

'Not Interested'

Apologist tactics and rebuffs from management ranged from the cover-up statement of Sherry-Netherland Manager, Bert O'Neal, that: "Negroes had never applied for or been referred to this hotel for most job classifications . . ." to the crude hostility of Thomas Try, the Statler manager who declared himself "not interested in discussing the matter."

Making a Dent

Meanwhile the city has begun to feel positive signs of the Council's campaign. Several Negro waitresses were hired for the first time at Brooklyn's Hotel St. George; a Negro worker was upgraded to banquet waiter at the Waldorf-Astoria; a Negro maid was upgraded to executive housekeeper at the Whitehall Hotel; manager O'Neal of the Sherry-Netherland promised "that all applications would be given equal consideration," and Hugo Ernst, General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, AFL, notified the NLC leadership that, ". . . our local unions in New York will cooperate to the best of their ability to do away with discrimination wherever, whenever and as fast as possible, for it is one of our cardinal slogans—no discrimination!"

The Executive Secretary of the Greater New York Negro Labor Council, Mrs. Victoria Garvin, urged participation in the NLC demonstrations and a steady continuation of the post card campaign to the Statler management. Post cards and information are available from the Negro Labor Council, 53 West 125 St., N. Y.

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 1)

in the warmth of their generous friendship and hospitality.

I had learned, during these years, an important lesson: that the problems of workers the world over are much the same and that, eventually, they must all find similar answers.

From the U. S. scene of the late Thirties and early Forties another lesson became crystal clear: as the union movement grew in strength and numbers, the fight for equal rights progressed apace. The organizing drives needed a strong phalanx of support from the whole Negro community—the church, civic, fraternal and social organizations—in short, all organized expressions of 15 million oppressed citizens. (It is not idle to recall these days how many organizing committees, faced with goon squads, city officials who were flunkies of Big Business, and a solid anti-union press, found sanctuary and their only meeting places in the confines of the Negro church!)

And thousands of white workers began to understand for the first time that in order to warrant the confidence placed in the labor movement by practically the entire Negro people, they had to fight to overcome the crimes that had been committed against Negro workers for generations. They couldn't fall for the old "divide and rule" trick and succeed in their battles with the employers. The union had to be for all workers or there would be —no union.

This was the spirit of the early days of CIO, and it sorely needs reviving today. For labor faces a pitched battle, and the same sturdy alliance which brought CIO into being must be re-established and strengthened to preserve and extend its gains.

But the latest word is that Secretary of Labor Durkin is going to leave all decisions regarding Taft-Hartley up to Eisenhower—which means up to the billionaires who advise the president.

So far as Negroes are concerned, there was a great Republican howl and cry before the elections that the General would treat everyone fairly, regardless of creed or color. But

now there are anguished howls in our press because the White House has announced the appointment of secretaries, under-secretaries, assistant secretaries, ambassadors, bureau chiefs—and all the lush political plums are being allotted with not a Negro among them. The president has not even seen fit to continue the Truman practice of appointing a Negro to the United Nations delegation!

Yes, all signs point to the fact that labor's needs and Negro rights will be expendable in the new administration unless a popular, fighting movement of great proportions develops throughout the land.

Of course, labor wants more than Taft - Hartley repeal, though that is key. It wants and needs a better social security system, wage increases now, a real housing program, a national health insurance plan, an end to the restrictions on the right of free speech, and, most important, peace.

And Negroes' goals, of course, extend far beyond a few political appointments. We want full equality—in work and play, in voting rights and school opportunities, in seeking private advancement and holding public office.

These are some of the reasons the UAW convention is so important. It can set the pace for the rest of labor. It can put new cement in the Negro-labor alliance by recognizing the rightful demands of its Negro members for long overdue places in its top councils of leadership; by stepping up the fight against job discrimination and for FEPC; by taking a forthright position on all questions affecting our struggle for equality in the nation; and, most important, by issuing a clarion call, and taking steps to implement it, for a united labor drive to really organize the South.

That's a big order. But nothing less will do if the labor movement is to live up to its responsibilities to its own membership and to the nation. Knowing thousands of rank and file members and a good section of the forward-looking leadership of this great union, I am confident they will not fail.

'Meet Me at the Statler'



MRS. VICKI GARVIN, left, executive secretary of the Greater N. Y. Negro Labor Council, talks with picketers who took part in demonstration of Hotel Statler on February 25.

The Southern Negro Vote

LIKE MOST FOLKS, we try to keep peace in the family. It would seem to make sense to save our main ammunition for the avowed and fanatical enemies of our progress, and to look with approbation upon those who contribute, however slightly, to the hard struggle for Negro equality.

Sometimes, though, our friends make it difficult and we can't hold our peace. Take for example the recent report of the Southern Regional Council on the Negro vote in the South. That vote has increased fourfold since the mid-forties when the "white primary" was outlawed, the Council records, but the rate of increase has dropped off seriously in the past two years. The estimated total of 1,100,000 Negro voters in the South is little better than half the goal of two million which the NAACP set for the 1952 elections.

And what's the reason for this state of things? The Southern regionalists have a ready answer. Continued evasion, trickery and intimidation in the rural areas is part of it; but even more important, they charge, is the apathy of the Negro people themselves. In other words, the Southern Negro is responsible for the still small size of the Negro vote!

This is the old dodge of blaming the victims for the crime, and all of the distinguished Southern liberals who make up the leadership of the SRC should know better. But, as if to add salt to an open wound, at least three of our contemporaries among the Northern weekly Negro press rushed into print with editorials seconding the motion, pointing the finger with horror at the new enemy in our midst—apathy!

APATHY, INDEED! Was Maceo Snipes apathetic? Robert Mallard? Isaiah Nixon? They all died in Georgia, headquarters of the SRC, for trying to vote in rural counties. How about the martyred Harry T. Moore? As we recall, his problem was not apathy but the Florida Kan. In South Carolina a militant editor, John H. McCray, has just spent time on the chain gang for his courageous leadership of the vote movement, and some of our Northern scribes might remember this before they pen editorials from safe desks in Harlem, Chicago's South Side and the Hill district of Pittsburgh.

The apathy charge is of a piece with the "lazy" slander: the "theory" that the reason Negroes don't get ahead faster is that they're all lazy. It reminds us of a friend who, faced with this accusation, said: "Why if every Negro in the United States just sat down right now and never got up to hit another lick of work, we'd all deserve a pension for the rest of our lives and the lives of our children's children, for all the unpaid labor we've put in, and are still putting in, for a few folks to get rich off our hides."

THE ANSWER to the disappointing showing of the vote movement in the past few years is that the Negro in the South is fighting like mad—but fighting practically alone!

Let the organized labor movement, North and South, start an honest-to-goodness organizing drive and get behind the franchise campaign in urban and rural South—and then we'll be getting somewhere. Let the press, church, and advancement organizations all over the country raise such a hew and cry that the new administration is forced to step in and protect the Negro's right to vote which the Constitution guarantees on paper—and then we'll be getting somewhere! And those who don't have the good guts to do this ought to have the good grace to keep quiet.

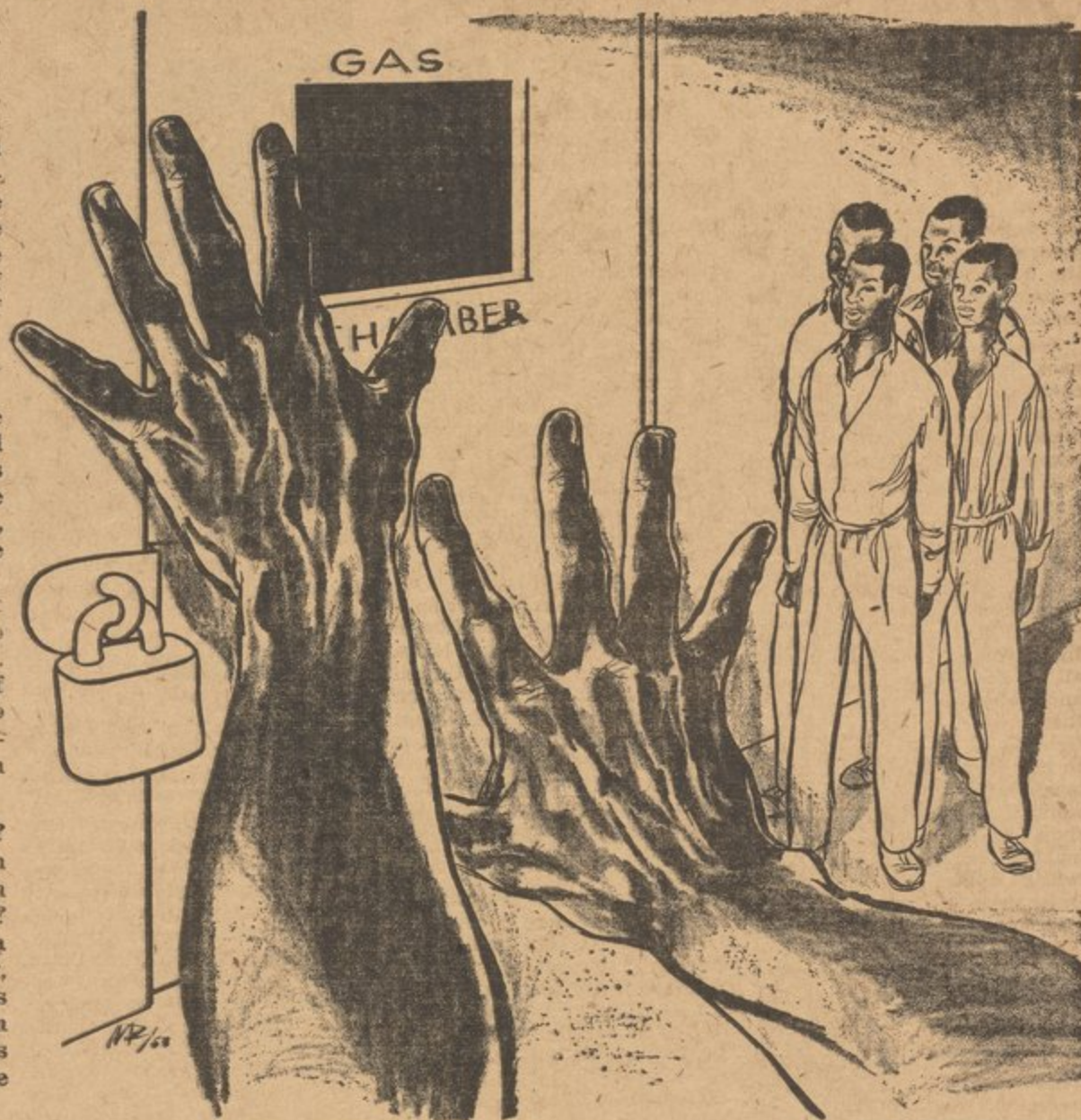
The Negro vote movement in the South is not suffering from apathy; it's main problem is desertion—desertion by those groups and classes throughout the nation which stand to benefit handsomely from its heroic forward surge.

Frederick Douglass said:

Speaking as we do, only once in each month, our communication ought to possess something of the quality of history. Indeed, a paper published monthly can be, in these fast times, a NEWSPAPER to but very few. The mission of our journal is, therefore, to be a faithful recorder, not of ALL events touching the great conflict going on between liberty and slavery in this country, whether in the field or in the councils of the nation, but enough of them, to enable all, whether nearby or afar off, who may read our journal, to form an intelligent judgment in respect to the character of the whole controversy. In this capacity of recorder, it is our duty, as already stated, to observe and criticize what is passing before us.

(From Douglass' Monthly, October, 1861)

Save the N. Carolina Four!



OPENING THE MAIL

Help for the Aged

As I am one of the many trade unionists who get their news thru the Guardian and FREEDOM, I seek aid for the aged and pensioners. Since Jan. 27, 1953, when I became too old to work I've been thrown into discard on a pension and social security that no two people can live on decently. Our laws are not made for us, regardless of age, race, creed or color. So will you help me and the others to organize a pension union in New York State.

Henry Ummelman
Long Island City, N. Y.

Note: FREEDOM will run a story on the problems of the aged in an early issue.

Spreading the Word

Enclosed find the sum of \$2. This money was collected by our group of needle trades workers, mostly dressmakers and sportswear workers, who realize the immense value of such a paper as FREEDOM. We would have liked to get this money during the anniversary edition but feel sure that it will be used. We are very proud of FREEDOM and intend to help as many of our fellow workers as we can reach become aware of this paper and its value to the entire country. A wish for continued success.

Lillian Moore
Los Angeles, Calif.

Appeal for Rosenbergs

Your little paper is tops. It speaks for all of us who are

unable to do so for ourselves at present. Keep up the good work. I am enclosing what is supposed to be an open letter to your president, or should I just say President Eisenhower?

Dear Mr. President:

This is a heartfelt appeal on behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, whom your courts have convicted and sentenced to death as atom spies. My appeal is not based on the assumption of their guilt or innocence, but on the ground that I am a mother of young children just as is Ethel Rosenberg. I am a member of a persecuted minority group just as are the Rosenbergs, and, though Canadian, I have been aware of a great many times when justice in your courts has greatly miscarried for members of minority groups. I feel that the severe penalty of death which has been imposed on these two young parents is inconsistent with the very light sentences meted out to confessed wartime spies. In view of the questionable testimony given against them I sincerely feel that the integrity of your judicial system and your democratic way of life have been greatly remiss if these people are not at least granted a new trial. A large number of Canadians have been observing the cat-and-mouse game which has been played with these two young lives, and the majority do not find Mr. Edgar Hoover's game in very good taste. If the two little Rosenbergs are deprived of their parents because of small men in big places, the most any of us can say is, "Whose turn is next?"

Mildred Lynch
Toronto, Canada

Reads Everything

It must be time for me to renew my sub. I also want to say that I consider FREEDOM a very well edited magazine. I congratulate you on making such a good paper. I read everything in it, usually the day it

comes. I would like to see you double your subscription list and will do what I can to that end.

Bertha E. Davis
Orlando, Fla.

Note: If every reader will get together, and if the Freedom Associates committees conduct successful drives, we will wind up the year with 50,000 readers — our goal in 1953. Let's go!

Congratulations

Fighting for the underdog, In spite of plute and demagogue. TRUTH will clear the mental fog Of racial hate.

Congratulations to Paul Robeson on his well-earned Stalin Peace Prize.

Alan G. Grant
Whonock, B. C., Canada

Some Meeting!

Herewith enclosed find \$2 to renew my subscription. Thanks for keeping the paper coming. Have met Paul Robeson at many meetings and would not want to miss any issue of your brilliant and virile journal. I could name each of you people for special contributions, but when I name Paul that means naming you all, and you know that means all of us out here too! Quite some time ago, at a big meeting in Chicago we had Paul Robeson, Bill Patterson and Dr. DuBois all on the same platform at the same time! I said to Bill, "That is equivalent to having Jefferson, Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt all on one platform at one time!"

Louis F. Bradley
Chicago 40, Ill.

Skilled Jobs for Negro Women Is Aim of Auto Union Drive in Detroit

DETROIT, Mich.—Michigan needs state and municipal FEPC laws to stop the vicious discriminatory hiring policy practiced by the big auto barons, a policy which has placed the heaviest burden on Negro women, according to union officials interviewed by Freedom.

Every Jim Crow trick in the book has been used by the companies, they said, to freeze Negro women into the most menial jobs, deny them higher wages through upgrading.

Cleaners Only

William Barrett, general council member of Briggs Local 212 UAW-CIO, and chief steward of the sweeper department, had this say:

"An FEPC law would help us fight this evil which affects all workers in the plant, Negro and white. In our plant we have the problem of upgrading and fighting to force the company to hire Negro women as power machine operators. Some 2,500 workers are employed at our shop, the majority of them making seat covers. Some 2,000 white women are employed. Only three or four Negro women are employed as cleaners. We also have the problem of upgrading Negro men to electric knife cutters. The company brings in experienced white workers as electric knife cutters, rather than upgrade Negro workers. Thus they freeze all Negro workers, men and women in the cleaning department.

The Story at Chrysler

Vann Brooks, member of the FEPC Committee of Chrysler Local 7, told a similar story.

"Our major job issue is the hiring of Negro women," he said, "and the upgrading of Negro workers in general." We have been on the problem of upgrading for the past five years.

"Last week we broke through

in the trim shop of Chrysler. This is the department that makes seat covers and cushions. For a number of years the company kept two seniority lists, one colored, another for whites. This meant that Negro women were hired in small numbers and frozen to the bench. Only white women were hired for the power machines.

"Following a campaign led by Ted Morgan, our recording secretary, Ted Griffin, chairman of our FEPC Committee, and John Conyers of the bargaining committee, Negro women are now working on the power machines."

Local 3 Wins at Dodge

A typical story of the long fight waged by a union FEPC committee to obtain jobs for Negro women was told by Lee Cain, former chairman of the Dodge Local 3.

From 1945 to 1952, according

to Cain, the Company hired 5,000 white women and twelve Negro women. Here's how they worked it. By utilizing cards stamped "Employment Office, Dodge Plant," which they handed out to white women employees, they secured thousands of white women from all parts of the country, a great many from the South. These women came to Detroit and were hired when they presented the cards.

"We secured a card for a Negro woman," Cain said, "but when she presented it at the office, she was refused employment. We went to the office to protest and were told to get out. But that did not end it. Since last November when our campaign got under way, we have secured employment for five Negro women."

A Song for Africa

By AFRICANUS

Africa! Africa! You know it's true
 You are the ninety-eight and they just two.
 Look a'here Africa, listen to me, man —
 You do the work but they own the land.
 Every honest man knows
 That this ain't right,
 And we'll get our freedom
 If with all our might
 We just stick together and fight — and fight.
 So let's get on with what we got to do:
 Say, "Clear out masters! We've had enough of you!
 And if you don't clear out we gonna subtract that two!"
 Yes, Africa, Africa! You know it's true
 We gotta get on with what we got to do!

BOOKS



TRESPASS, by Eugene Brown, 192 pages, \$2.25, Doubleday & Co., New York, N. Y.

The 192 pages of the novel *Trespass* add up to a sick, anti-Negro little book by a richly untalented writer who has apparently tried to cash in on that combination which publishers have designated as two sure-fire market themes—sex and "race."

In this first novel, Eugene Brown writes a formula story about a 19-year-old white youth, Mitchell Beal, who "trespasses" the color line when he is introduced to Harlem and to Ann Willis, the 18-year-old Negro heroine. Young Beal is frightened and fascinated by that favorite "Harlem" of white story tellers: that land where Negroes constantly curse and fight one another, have wild sex-parties and speak Mr. Brown's conception of Negro idiom.

The point of the book emerges as exactly what its title implies — that there are some strange, intangible barriers between "races" which all the good intentions of whites or Negroes cannot transcend. Only the author makes a rather strong hint that he suspects these barriers of really being the wild but natural immorality of Negroes and the inability of the "white" mentality to adjust to it.

The author is either very dishonest, or very, very naive; and in any case, quite full of white supremacy. He presumes to wallow in the "exotic" misery of the ghetto and to conclude that this misery is the choice or those who live in it. Further, in *Trespass*, the object of sympathy is not the tubercular young Negro woman who is the victim of the young man's exploitation, insult and arrogance. No, the tragic figure, as Mr. Brown would have it, is the

young white man who in the final pages of the book is shattered by his disillusionment in the people of Harlem, and must trudge resignedly back to the "despair" of his own life in the tree-shaded, gentle cleanliness of "Delaware Place"—to trespass no more.

None of the characters are more than printed words on pages and it seems probable that the author has not heard of the word "freshness" as applied to descriptive phrases.

In terms of literature or social understanding, Mr. Brown has made absolutely no contribution and in this reviewer's opinion could set both fields back considerably were anyone to take his work seriously.

—L. H.

We're Sorry

In the January issue of *FREEDOM* two stanzas of the poem "Lift Every Voice and Sing" appeared as part of an editorial statement celebrating the 90th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The song "Lift Every Voice and Sing," popularly known as the Negro National Anthem, is copyrighted by the Edward B. Marks Music Corp. The words were written by the late James Weldon Johnson. The author of the music, J. Rosamond Johnson, is one of the outstanding composers and arrangers of the music of the Negro people.

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Stories for Children: How Negro National Anthem Was Written

Once, about 35 years after the great Civil War, two young men sat in the living room of their house in Jacksonville, Florida. They were brothers and one of them whose name was Rosamond, wrote music for many famous musical shows which were produced in theaters in the North. His brother, James, was a teacher and a poet. James was only 29 years old, but he was already famous for his writings.

James sat at the table in his living room trying very hard to write a speech for a Lincoln's birthday celebration at which he had been asked to speak. He would begin a line and then scratch it out and then try again. Somehow he just couldn't get the speech started, and he put it aside.

He wanted to write something all right, not a speech but a poem. He spoke to his brother about it. He would like to write a poem which his brother could put to music and which could be used in the school program. There would be a chorus of 500 little children to sing it.

James Weldon Johnson thought and thought. He wanted it to be a very special kind of song. It must be something very strong as well as beautiful. For this was 1900 and hundreds upon hundreds of Negro people had been murdered throughout the country for trying to vote, or trying to do things which the Constitution of the United States gave them the right to do. And all over the country Negro people were getting together forming organizations, peti-



tioning the government and visiting the President to try and stop these terrible crimes.

Perhaps all of these things were in the mind of the young poet as he sat in his living room trying to think of his new poem: a poem which would say how bad things were for his people, but more important, a poem which would sing of victory. He wanted to write a song of hope. He picked up his pencil and wrote the first line: "Lift ev'ry voice and Sing"

and the poem began to flow from his brain. He wrote a few more lines and took it to his brother who read it and cried out with his excitement at the power and beauty of it.

Then Rosamond went straight to the piano and began to create a wonderful piece of music for the poem. While Rosamond worked at his piano, James walked back and forth on their front porch finishing the poem. He no longer needed a pencil and paper. The words of the next two verses of the poem came to him out of the feelings that he had about all the terrible things which were happening to his people. And the words came to him out of his own dream of freedom. As he walked up and down the porch, the music which began to come from Rosamond's piano and the meaning of the poem he had just created, caused him to weep.

The song was sung by the chorus of 500 children. And choirs throughout the South began to put it in their programs. Wherever James and Rosamond went, they found it pasted in the back of hymnals and songbooks. The Negro people adopted the song because it seemed to say with all its beautiful poetry and strong music, what they wished to say. Twenty years later, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also adopted it, and today James and Rosamond Johnson's song of hope, has come to be known as the Negro National Anthem.

A Conversation from Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

"Your soul... another you"

Marge, sometimes you can be awful contrary. . . . Yes, you! . . . No, I don't want to start no argument but when I got something on my mind I just got to say it.

Well, I think we all do pretty good to jump over the daily harassments like rent, light, gas, groceries, sickness and wearment, and the Lord only knows how we're prayin' not to have another war! Now wouldn't you think that's enough worry for all of us? . . . Just keep calm now, I'm gettin' to the point. Sometimes, Marge, don't you long for a little beauty in your life . . . a little sweetness? No, I'm not talkin' about hearin' a snatch of pretty music, nor am I speakin' about smelling flowers or dancin' no waltz, although everybody should have a goodly share of those things too.

Now don't laugh, Marge, because I'm dead serious. . . . Oh yes, it is very possible for me to get serious! . . . We make folks laugh because it's better than lookin' long-faced and we "cut the fool" because it takes precious little in the other direction to start the tears fallin' and that don't benefit nobody except a handkerchief salesman, but it's a shame how folks do go long and take each other for granted, just as though they got nothin' to 'em



but their faces! . . . That's wrong because we all got souls. . . . Why I'm surprised at you, Marge! Don't you know what a soul is?

Well, I'll tell you—your soul is an inner something that is another you and hardly anybody knows what it's really thinkin' except you. Your soul is that which you expect friends to reach for, in order to know you better. . . . Marge, it is truly amazin' the things that the soul can do! . . . It can make you call up your friends when you don't need a favor and share all your goodness and happiness with them. . . . It can make you

spend time with your family, not begrudgin' and beholden with duty but with love and admiration. . . . It can make you talk to a stranger on a bus and leave 'em all flustered and pleased with themselves. . . . Oh yes, it'll make you scribble a note to somebody telling 'em you want to know if everything's goin' along smooth. . . . It'll teach you how to accept givin' when somebody gives you somethin'. . . . Oh, you know what I mean Marge! You won't holler, "Oh, you shouldn't have!" or "Why did you?" . . . A gift—be it a present, a kind word or a job done with care and love—explains itself! . . . and if receivin' it embarrasses you it's because your "thanks box" is warped.

Take you for an example, Marge — when I wash your dishes you always say, "Oh, you needn't" or "You don't have to." . . . Now I know I needn't and you know it but I just feel like givin' you that. . . . You see what I mean?

Yes, there have been other times when you've done it, like when you asked me to write your church speech and everytime I wanted to go over it with you . . . you got saltier and saltier, and after a while it seemed like I was botherin' you to do somethin' for me! . . . Of course I understand and I know you're sorry—we all act that way sometimes.

Well, the soul is a funny something — there's things it won't let you do either . . . It won't let a man ask his wife for a dance in a voice that's as dead as ashes. . . . It won't let papas and mamas turn a deaf ear to a child's talk about school and games and children's worries. . . . It won't let you work somebody for a salary that you wouldn't take for the same job. . . . It won't let you hate people because they look different from you. . . . It won't let you preach a sermon and then uphold Jim Crow.

Oh yes, Marge, I know there are people who do these things, but their soul case is worn thin . . . and when it comes to folks hatin' and Jim Crowin', they got no soul at all . . . they are dead . . . only they are not buried yet.

Yes, your friend Mildred is really serious this evenin' and I feel like indulgin' my feelins'. . . . I ain't deceitful, as Paul Laurence Dunbar says:

" . . . breaking up ouah faces in a sickly so't o' grin, W'en we knows dat in ouah innards we is p'intly mad ez sin."

Goodnight Marge. . . . No hard feelin's.



Freedom Joins FEPC Fight in Mich.

Trade union leaders in Detroit are shown looking over their favorite paper as they plan to utilize FREEDOM in the fight for FEPC. These leaders and others conferred with George B. Murphy Jr., FREEDOM general manager, who is spending the month of March in the Motor City winning new readers and supporters. Left to right are: Woodrow Rustin, first Negro to be elected to the plant committee at Plymouth Local 51, UAW-CIO; Layman

Walker, recording secretary, Local 742, UAW-CIO; Lee Cain, member FEPC Committee, Dodge Local 3, and Gerald Boyd, executive sec'y Detroit Negro Labor Council.

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