

# Freedom

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

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## Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

### How About the Gov't. Being Loyal to the People of the U.S.A.?

(Again we are happy to present as guest columnist in Mr. Robeson's space the distinguished author, lecturer and authority on colonial affairs, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson. The Editors.)

**N**OW I DON'T WANT to hear another peep out of anybody from now on about subversion, disloyalty, unAmerican activities, overthrowing the government by force and violence, etc., etc.—until somebody does something to put an end to the unAmerican activities and force and violence practiced against the Negro citizens of these United States.

I'm very sick of these committees, Senate and Congressional, running around the country, complete with television, looking for subversion and unAmerican activities. Let them put an end to the unAmerican activities they already know about—and which everybody knows about—before they start searching for more.

Let Congressmen Velde, for instance, put an end to the unAmerican activities and force and violence in his own state of Illinois—in Cicero, Chicago and Peoria, Ill.

Everybody knows that one of the most scandalous unAmerican activities in the United States is the denial of constitutional rights to the Negro citizens, and to many other groups of citizens. Everybody knows about the force and violence used against the Negro people and other minorities, and against labor.

So let the Senate and House  
(Continued on Page 6)

### Urgent Notice!

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### ELECTION SUMMARY

## New Yorkers Rap Jim Crow, Point To '54 Elections

By FREDERICK CORNISH

Not since Adam Powell first was elected to Congress and Ben Davis went to the City Council has Jim Crow in New York City politics ever received such a severe body-blow as in this traditionally "off" election year.

Certainly, a qualitatively new stage has been reached in the fight for representation in city government. For the first time, a Negro borough president of Manhattan has been elected to the city's eight-man ruling body, the Board of Estimate; Brooklyn has won a Negro Municipal Court judge, and in the Bronx, a Negro and a Puerto Rican have been elected to the State Legislature.

Other victories were won on the district leadership and appointive levels, and important commitments (their fulfillment is another matter) on civil rights and jobs were wrested from Robert Wagner, the victorious mayoralty candidate.

Without underestimating the scope of these victories—achieved in the face of the strongest resistance of the political machines and their big money backers—they must be considered as only a beginning in the struggle for full representation.

It is also important to analyze the weaknesses and strengths of current movements, and study how to broaden and consolidate them.

To understand how under-represented are the Negro people in city government, let us for a moment look at the situation.

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A YOUNG PIONEER greets Louis Wheaton upon his arrival in a Chinese city. Read the story of An American Negro in New China. Pages 4 and 5.

## Robeson Stirs NNLC Meet: U.S. Negroes Need Peace!

### CHICAGO

**Fifteen hundred delegates and friends of the National Negro Labor Council gathered in the main ballroom of the Pershing Hotel on Dec. 4 and heard Paul Robeson make a dramatic appeal for "15 million colored Americans to disassociate themselves from" the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration.**

In a speech frequently punctuated with loud applause and enthusiastic cheering, Mr. Robeson opened the third annual convention of the Council by painting a graphic picture of the benefits of a peacetime economy for the Negro people.

### Sharecroppers' War?

The audience responded with a thunderous cheer when he declared: "No one has yet explained to my satisfaction what business a black lad from a Mississippi or Georgia sharecropping farm has in Asia shooting down the yellow or brown son of an impoverished rice farmer."

A partial text of Mr. Robeson's address follows:

Some Americans have already worked out a blueprint

for what the end (of the struggle against war and fascism—Ed.) will be. McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Byrnes, Talmadge, Shivers, see in the end a world of rotting corpses on foreign battle fields, of darker peoples licking the boots of a new, American "master race," of European, Asian and Latin American nations bowing down before the power of the Yankee dollar, of Africa prostrate at their feet.

They see fabulous riches for the few while the mass of American workers, black and white, yellow and brown, live on the very edge of survival. They contend that "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

### What's Good for GM

They see millions of American workers at the very bottom—Negro workers, poor white workers on the iron ore range, in the mines, in the California fruit fields, together with great sections of our Mexican, Philippine and Puerto Rican-American brothers and sisters.

Well, I think I know the temper of the delegates to this convention well enough to know that we say: "That dream of yours is out-dated gentlemen. This is the TWENTIETH

century. You've put your money on the wrong horse. You're living in the wrong century. The dream that's about to be realized is not yours, but humanity's—humanity's dream of a world of brotherhood, of equality, of plenty for ALL of the working masses of this land, of colonial liberation, of full freedom for the Negro people of these United States, of eternal and everlasting peace!

And here at home we, the Negro people, must also be partisans of peace.

For 90 years since Emancipation our people have been playing "catch-up" in American life. We have been battling for equality in education, health, housing and jobs.

### Road to Equality

And now, today, 90 years later—despite all the croaking about the great progress we're making—any Negro who's not looking for a second-string job on Eisenhower's "team" will tell you we've still got a long way to go.

How are we going to get there?

Will shooting down Chinese help us get our freedom? Will dropping some bombs on Viet-

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## From British Guiana: 'In the End the People Triumph'

By JANET JAGAN

GEORGETOWN, B. G. — In British Guiana, one of Britain's richest possessions, exploitation has for over a hundred years continued without any notable challenge. Up until recent years, the British have encountered only sporadic opposition to the prosperous rape of the wealth of the country. Sugar, rum, bauxite, gold, diamonds and recently the discovery of columbite and tantalite have made them even more greedy. With the growth of the trade union movement, workers began to learn that they had rights and increasing demands were made for better wages and working conditions. When the People's Progressive Party was organized four years ago, it immediately proceeded to unite all sections of the oppressed people and succeeded in overcoming the racial divisions which had previously prevented any form of united action. The majority of trade unions gave unstinted support to the new popular movement. When the Party, this year, was successful in winning a majority at



BURNHAM AND JAGAN take London-bound plane in British Guiana to argue their people's case.

the polls, a real challenge to perpetual exploitation was finally at hand.

Not only England saw that the people had awakened and were demanding a better life, but England's senior partner, the U.S.A., began to sit up and take notice. America, seeing the popular rising of the people on the road to self government, feared that its economic and political control of the Latin American bloc was about to be challenged. The American press began a smear and fear campaign to discredit the P.P.P. majority. Time Magazine, columnists Drew Pearson, Lee Mortimer and others started hysteria over an alleged "red menace in the Caribbean."

### Pressure from U.S.A.

What went on behind these scenes can only be surmised. But there is little doubt that pressure was brought upon Britain to take firm action against the rising tide of a people insisting upon their rights. Britain, almost wholly dependent upon the good will of the Amer-

(Continued on Page 2)



## N. Y. Elections

(Continued from Page 1)

ation with regard to judgeships. The election of Lewis Flagg in Brooklyn this year provides that borough with its first Negro elected judge. Flagg will be the only one of 16 Municipal Court judges in Brooklyn. Of 34 in Manhattan, only two are Negroes, Herman Stoute and Thomas Dickens. There are no Negroes among the 18 Municipal Court judges in Queens, the Bronx and Staten Island. In other words, there are three Negroes among New York's 68 Municipal Court judges, each of whom is elected for 10 year terms, and earns \$15,000 a year.

### Appointive Posts

What is the situation with regard to the Mayor's "cabinet," the various department heads in police, fire, welfare, markets, housing and building, etc.

There is not a single Negro commissioner in charge of a city department.

There is not a single Negro with real authority to make policy in any department of city government. "Negro jobs" can be easily counted on one's fingers: Secretary to the Board of Estimate; Deputy Commissioner of Housing; Seventh Deputy Police Commissioner (a job O'Dwyer created for his chauffeur); Community Relations Director and Consulting Engineer in the Manhattan Borough President's office; Assistant deputy Comptroller; assistant counsel to the Council president; executive secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Unity and secretary of the Department of Welfare; one member of the Board of Education, and one of the Board of Higher Education (no salary); a Civil Service Commissioner; one member of the City Housing Authority, and a director of staff and "community relations" of the Department of Welfare.

These, aside from a piddling few clerkships and "hole-watcher" jobs, constitute the sum total of Negro representation on city bodies—a handful of the thousands of jobs handed out by the Mayor and Board of Estimate to "party worthies"—just about none of them on policy-making levels!

### Pressure Needed

One of Wagner's campaign pledges was to see to it that Negroes were integrated on the top planning jobs in city government. Only the most consistent kind of pressure will make him live up to this promise.

Wagner has also made a number of promises in the human rights field. He, and the new Manhattan borough president Hulan Jack, have promised to fight for a law to end discrimination in private housing; to press for a statutory human rights commission with enforcement powers, and to refuse to give out city contracts to any firm which practices discrimination in hiring.

Again, continued public pressure is needed to turn these campaign promises into administration deeds.

Thousands of jobs, and millions of dollars worth of business come under the direction of the Manhattan borough president's office. His two votes are often crucial on the Board of Estimate.

There is no question that Hulan Jack was chosen by Tammany Hall to run for bor-

## British Guiana

(Continued from Page 1)

ican State Department, and tied hand and fist economically to the U.S., could do little else than respond to the demands of its senior partner.

Seeing that the P.P.P. majority had no intention of becoming conventional stooges to the Colonial Office and realizing that the elected majority would not assist in being a buffer to the new demands of the people, the Tory Government became frantic, took panic and immediately dispatched its quota of gunboats and soldiers to stand by while the people's rights were violently raped.

The Tory Government had a hard time finding a legitimate excuse for its unusual action in suspending the constitution and dismissing Ministers who held office for only four months. The universally recognized weaknesses of the White Paper which laid the accusations has brought much abuse on the Churchill Government. The ridiculous allegations of a "plot" were completely unsubstantiated by Britain. To date there has not been one act of violence, and yet the Governor of British Guiana had the audacity to cable Churchill that witnesses were afraid to give evidence. Is it that a military occupied country can not offer protection to a handful of witnesses? Clearly there was no plot and there could be no witnesses.

### Another Kenya?

Since the whole world has taken a keen interest in the Guiana situation, the Colonial Office still feels in duty bound to inform the world that its action was necessary. So the next step was to lock up a few leaders to prove that things were happening in Guiana. Any evidence that the five detained caused trouble? None whatsoever! But to be on the safe side the Governor appointed a Three Man Committee to hear objections to the indefinite detention of three members of

ough president because of his party regularity, and "dependability" in the matter of patronage. When it was forced to nominate a Negro, the Democratic machine picked the man it felt was "safest."

Jack's comparatively poor showing in the election, especially in Harlem, will certainly be used by the machine to pressure him to accede to its demands rather than those of the people. Jack must be made to understand, however, that it was community pressure which forced the issue of a Negro borough president and, essentially, was responsible for his election.

Harlem must unitedly press to make Hulan Jack responsive to its demands.

### Registration Campaign

Groups such as the Harlem Affairs Committee, which so successfully spearheaded the campaign for the election of a Negro borough president this year, should begin now to organize the community cutting across class and political lines, on the broadest possible program for this next year.

At the same time, a campaign for a maximum registration in Negro areas must be waged, beginning immediately. One of the problems which has sorely beset the Negro representation movement in this city (and most cities) over the years, is the relatively low registration in Negro communities. In Harlem's 11th AD alone, there is said to be a potential registration of some 90,000. Yet, registration from that district has never even reached 40,000.

The recent elections also emphasize that in New York City, Negroes since 1935 have made their most significant advances by struggle within the Democratic party, and by outside



THE PEOPLE APPLAUD. Sidney King, asst. PPP secy, enters the House of Assembly at Georgetown, followed by House member Pandit S. Persaud. King is now imprisoned.

the House of Assembly (one the former Minister of Communications and Works), a poet, and the Second Vice Chairman of the Party. That should prove to all that justice always prevails. To the outside, perhaps, but to those inside Guiana, the personnel of the Committee was perhaps one of the sharpest indications that justice had disappeared. The Committee members have open bias against the Party and its conclusions are known before it sits.

But, how to provoke the people to commit an act of violence, so that another slaughter house like Kenya can be opened in Guiana? That is the problem facing the one-man government today. Will they find the key to causing the people's anger to overflow? That is the chief motivation of the armed state which now

rules our country.

And what of the people? The American press suggests hopefully that the Party has already lost its influence. They cite an example: Only 200 waved goodbye to leaders Burnham and Jagan as they departed to present our case to England while thousands came to bid farewell to the Royal Welsh Fusilliers. Or did they forget to mention that police with batons came to chase away the thousands who wanted to say farewell to their beloved leaders? Why did they not mention that along the 20-mile span carrying the leaders to the airport, people came out of their houses on the roadside to hold up their three fingers in the P.P.P. salute. Nor did they mention the new recruits which the Party has enrolled—persons who previously did not understand that British imperialism means oppression of political and economic rights?

### People Will Triumph

Again the British rulers have misjudged the people. They cannot feel the pulse of popular opinion in Guiana because they do not know the people. The mistakes they made in the last elections have been made again. When the big business interests used local coloured stooges to represent them in the last elections, they turned the tide in favour of the Party. When they came out with their misdirected propaganda, they won us more votes. Equally so today, when they think that they have broken the Party by suspending the Constitution and locking up our leaders, they have again made supreme asses of themselves. The Party today is stronger than it was last month. The people are determined to support the Party if they must wait five years until the next elections.

What do the so-called "ignorant masses" of Guiana say? They say that we are now going through the struggle India went through in its fight for freedom. Through imprisonment and shootings, the people persisted. The same will happen here. In the end the people will triumph.



Lewis Flagg, Jr.



Hulan Jack

most ministers and "good government" forces got behind Rev. James Robinson, the Liberal party candidate.

The labor movement participated very little in the borough presidential campaign, throwing most of its weight, however, behind Democrat Hulan Jack.

Among the rank and file of Negro voters, once the initial victory was obtained a general apathy took effect. This became apparent in the extremely low registration in Harlem, and in the total failure of any grass roots movement to grow, making specific demands of Jack or for that matter of any other of the borough presidential candidates.

### Tasks Ahead

With the 1954 elections already on every politician's lips it is necessary very soon that the broadest kind of movement develop to fight for greater registration; around issues, offices, and candidates for office for next year's election, geared primarily as a fight on and in the Democratic party.

A united fight must also be waged to bring campaign pro-

pressure upon the Democratic party. These struggles however, were usually carried on along the broadest conceivable lines, involving Republicans, Democrats, ALP's and independents; trade unionists, professionals, business men.

Witness the campaign to elect Julius Archibald as the first Negro State Senator last year, and the campaign for Lewis Flagg in Brooklyn this year.

In both campaigns, independent committees chose their own candidate and program, they forced themselves into the Democratic primaries, battering down the defenses of the powerful Democratic machines in the two boroughs.

In both cases, the machines, battling to the bitter end, were forced finally to accept the candidate and issues chosen by the people. In both cases, progressive forces played a crucial role in uniting the many disparate forces to make up a fighting coalition movement. The Flagg campaign was probably even more successful than the Archibald fight, in that it battled against an even more reactionary entrenched machine, and it more fully involved the rank and file of the community, a smaller Negro community than in the Archibald campaign.

### Continuing Coalition Needed

After the first smashing victory, in forcing the nomination of Negroes by all parties for the Manhattan borough presidency, the coalition in this instance was shattered.

There was no real campaign for a single most progressive candidate chosen by the people to best represent them. Tammany was allowed to hand-pick a candidate. Progressive forces united around the American Labor Party candidate, while

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THE STEELE CASE

# Negro R.R. Workers Fought Loss of Jobs Through Company-Union Pact

By JOHN H. JONES

The very first cases of discrimination brought before the Fair Employment Practices Committee during World War II were those of Negro railroad workers. Target of their complaints was the infamous "Washington Agreement" of 1941.

The Agreement, engineered by 21 Southeastern carriers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, was aided and abetted by the National Mediation Board. It provided that "non-promotable"

Second of a Series

(read: Negro) firemen should not exceed 50 percent in each class of the services. The Jim Crow gimmick was this: "It is understood that promotable firemen, or helpers on other than steam power, are those in line for promotion under the present rules and practices to the position of locomotive engineer."

Of course, since Negroes were, and are, completely barred from such promotion, the process of eliminating Negro firemen from Southern roads began in earnest as soon as the ink was dry on the Agreement.

Negro Workers Organize

The carriers, however, did not take into account the determination and militancy of the Negro railroad workers. These workers had organized into several associations including The Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen; Colored Trainmen of America; Dining Car and Food Workers Union; International Association of Railway Employees; and Southern Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Firemen. These organizations eventually set up the Negro Railway Labor Executives Committee which hired the late Charles H. Houston, D. C., to fight for their rights in the courts and before government bodies.

Other groups of independent railway unions among Negroes include the Association of Train Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen; the Protective Order of Railway Trainmen; the Interstate Order of Colored Locomotive Firemen, Engine Helpers, Yard and Train Service Employees and Railway Mechanics; and the International As-



THIS PULLMAN PORTER cannot look forward to being a conductor.

sociation of Railway Employees, Locomotive Firemen, Hostlers and Hostler Helpers, which operates on the Florida East Coast Railroad.

Under the Railway Labor Act the grievances of workers are handled by the National Railroad Adjustment Board, on which the workers are represented through their unions. None of the unions of Negro workers can place representatives on the board, however. Under an act of Congress the rules for selecting the labor members of the Board were formulated by the lily-white Railway Labor Executives Association. And only the "Big Four"—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Order of Railroad Conductors, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union of North America—are eligible.

Obviously the Negro worker had little chance before a board half of whose members represented the carriers, the other half of whom represented the Jim Crow unions—and set up by order of the U.S. government! In addition the courts sought to wipe out the effectiveness of the Negro unions by ruling that the railroads could not bargain with them or with individuals.

The Steele Case

But the Negroes were determined to fight, and they did. Bester Williams Steele was a fireman on the Louisville and Nashville road since 1910 and had been fired under the Washington Agreement. He asked the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen to take his case to the Adjustment Board; the union refused.

Steele then went to the FEPC in 1943 along with a number of other Negro railroad workers. At the hearings the carriers were represented by Sidney Alderman of Greensboro, N. C., who declared: "Railroads must adapt their operations and employment practices to the social solutions of racial questions as worked out by the prevailing mores and legal systems of the states they serve."

Steele declared that when he was hired on the L and N 98 percent of the firemen in his

district were Negroes. Just before the Washington Agreement went into effect 80 percent were Negroes. But two years later, in 1943, only 20 percent retained their jobs.

On October 2, 1943, the FEPC found the Washington Agreement discriminatory and ordered the railroads and unions to abandon it.

"The Committee directs that the company adjust its employment policy and practices so that all needed workers shall be hired and all company employees shall be promoted or upgraded without regard to race, creed, color or national origin."

South Flouts FEPC

The railroad brotherhoods, however, refused to recognize this directive and circularized all members of Congress with a letter hiding behind the Railway Labor Act and declaring that only conductors and engineers jobs were involved in the dispute.

Steele, represented by Houston, then brought suit against the L and N in order to recover damages for the loss of his job. The Alabama Supreme Court ruled against him, but the railroads did not reckon with his determination or the brilliant legal mind of Houston. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court where in December, 1944, the lower court's verdict was reversed. It was a great victory for Steele, Houston and the Negro railroad workers, and the FEPC was vindicated.

The court decision was unanimous. Justice Murphy in a separate opinion declared: "The cloak of racism surrounding the actions of the Brotherhood in refusing membership to Negroes and in entering into and enforcing agreements discriminating against them, all under the guise of Congressional authority, still remains. No statutory interpretation can erase this ugly example of economic cruelty against colored citizens of the United States. . ."

Steele was awarded \$1,500 damages.

But still the railroads continued their Jim Crow policies and the brotherhoods refused to lower their barriers.

The reason for this state of affairs is clear. The railroads reap great profits from a policy of discrimination. As Charles Houston declared: "The history of Negroes on the railroads has been a history of exploitation on the part of the carriers and suppression on the part of the brotherhoods. The carriers always used them when they could hire them for fractional percentages of sub-standard wages. . ."

It was never put more bluntly than in 1942 when officials of the Louisiana and Arkansas Railway told a delegation from the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, "If we have to pay white men's wages, we might as well hire whites!"

The Negro railway men, however, will not accept this verdict. Their fight continues. We will attempt to bring it up to date in the next and concluding article of this series.

JUST BETWEEN US

## Four Easy Ways to Keep 'Freedom' Coming to You

PUBLISHING a paper is an expensive proposition. Nobody dares try it without assurances of substantial support besides subs and sales. Usually from a half to three-quarters of a newspaper is space devoted to advertisers.

FREEDOM has no big advertisers—and seeks none.

But we must not, and will not quit, because FREEDOM has you, its readers. And we are convinced that you, who have made FREEDOM possible these past three years, share with us the belief that the paper is more needed than ever before.

Let's take but three examples: (1) Africa is ablaze with the fires of liberation and these flames will not be put out until foreign domination is ended; (2) The Supreme Court is about to hand down a historic decision on the question of school segregation in the South; (3) Flowing from the initiative of militant Negro workers, important sections of the trade union movement are beginning to take a new look at the disastrous effects of employment Jim Crow.

These are the issues FREEDOM was born to deal with. We bring to them a particular conviction—the world outlook of Paul Robeson, the point of view that the glorious struggle for Negro freedom must be linked with the worldwide fight for peace and the battle against McCarthyism at home.

We are not satisfied with what has been accomplished. But we are convinced that no other paper seeks to play the role which FREEDOM has adopted as its own, and that

pired, do it now.

Here's another way to help. Four times a year—in winter, spring, summer and fall—say to yourself: "I'm going to get one of my four new subscribers to FREEDOM for this year. If you try to think of four people all at once, it may not be so easy. But if four times a year you will remind yourself to be on the lookout for just one of the new people you are constantly meeting, whom you are sure would eagerly read FREEDOM, it'll be simple to sign them up. Remember, more than anything else, we need new readers!"

THEN, THERE'S A THIRD

thing you can do. But, wait a minute—first, we want to share with you a bit of cost accounting. The printing of each issue of FREEDOM costs one-half of what you pay, while postage and promotion costs another third. And our work here in the office (salaries for three people, overhead, supplies, editorial production, keeping records, etc.) costs about two-thirds of what you pay. Put these all into 12ths, and what do we get? 18/12ths! Yes, it costs one-and-a-half times what you pay to keep FREEDOM going.

About three-quarters of this extra half comes from generous people (you are probably one of them) who send an extra dollar, or two or five to keep FREEDOM going. But if you're one of the hundreds who would like to help, but who've forgotten or put it off until later, PLEASE SEND US THAT CONTRIBUTION NOW.



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DO YOU AGREE? Then let's have a heart-to-heart talk about what it takes to keep FREEDOM going, and what you can do.

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You can help change this. On the wrapper of every issue,—on the line above your name and address, there are a series of numbers among which are a pair like this—"4-54." This means that your sub runs through and including April, 1954. So, each month, before you take off the wrapper, check this pair of numbers again, and when the February, '54 issue comes (when you still have two more issues due), please tear out your name and address from the wrapper and, then and there, put it in an envelope with a dollar bill addressed to us. And if, as is true in many cases, your sub has already ex-

To make it easy, we have prepared several hundred Freedom Fund Certificate Books in celebration of our third anniversary. Each Book contains eight attractive certificates at 25 cents each; two at 50 cents; one at \$1.00; and one at \$5.00—for a total of \$10.00. The third thing you can do, then, is to send your own contribution now, or drop us a card asking for a certificate book with which to raise money for FREEDOM from your friends.

Faced with our problems, a conventional paper would long ago have decided to multiply the price by two or cut the number of pages down to four in place of the eight or 12 you now receive. And we may have to do either of these things if this appeal does not succeed.

But we are confident that you will respond as you have in the past. We still believe you want more FREEDOM, not less—and at a price any worker can afford to pay.

The rest is up to you. Please remember the three things you can do to keep FREEDOM coming to you each month, and act now.

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# The Old & the New



CHINESE YOUTH STROLL through the grounds of the ancient Temple of Heaven. The Emperor and his court used to worship here for good harvests; his subjects could not enter the grounds. In 1952 school enrollment had increased over 1949 levels as follows: primary schools, 101 percent; secondary schools, 142 percent; higher education, 55 percent.



ONE OF LOUIS WHEATON'S responsibilities as an officer of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions was to greet various peace delegations which visited New China. Here he is shown with Viet Nam delegates passing through Peking on their return from the 1952 Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace.



DURING HIS 4,000-MILE TOUR of New China, Louis Wheaton visited the city of Hanchow. As in other areas, he was impressed by the tremendous energy of the people in building a new society, and especially by the enthusiastic support of the youth for the Central People's Government. Here he is shown being greeted by children and youth as he enters the city.



WHILE IN CHINA, Louis Wheaton, an American Negro lathe operator, wrote back to the United States: "How have I felt here? I have experienced a feeling of brotherhood, a feeling of being a member of the great human family. There are no exceptions made for me as a Negro. I find myself thinking less and less of my dark skin. Of course I attract attention when I go places where

a Negro has never been seen before. I long to see and talk to me. But there is a warm reaction of these people and that of the people there is a warmth, a feeling of great friendliness for the most part I have experienced before. There is not the glare of hatred, but

# An American Negro in

By LOUIS WHEATON

I HAVE just returned home after spending ten months in the New Peoples Democratic Republic of China. The old China that most Americans used to read about is no more. New China is a country of smiling faces, chubby children and singing youth. I found the people very proud of their new country and government. They were enthusiastic about the things they were doing and going to do. I found a hearty and happy people working hard to create the things they have been denied through centuries of war-lord dictatorship, foreign intervention and Chiang Kai-shek corruption.

I visited China as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Peace Conference of Asia and the Pacific Regions. Our delegation stayed at the Peace Hotel in Peking, an ultra-modern building with all the conveniences of any American or European hotel. Eight stories high, with 250 rooms, it is a miracle of construction, having been built in 75 days without the aid of machines and tools such as we have in the U.S. A construction engineer who was part of the U.S. delegation could not believe it until he met the chief engineer and construction director. He was then firmly convinced, but has not yet ceased to marvel at the craftsmanship and quality of the work.

### Conference for Peace

At another time I will write about the Peace Conference at which delegates from all of the countries bordering on the Pacific were present. They came from Chile, Columbia, Panama, Honduras, Mexico, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, India, Malaya, Iran, Thailand, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Viet Nam, Pakistan, Iraq, United States, Korea, Soviet Union, China, Burma, Indonesia and other nations. The conference confirmed that the people of the Asian and Pacific Region demand peace—that peace can be achieved through negotiations. Everyone agreed to return home and to continue their work for peace. They said peace must be fought for and won.

In addition to the delegates, there were many guests at the conference. Some of them were Negroes from the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Cameroons; others from Africa were from Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria; and others came from Europe, Asia and South America.

But now I want to give some impres-

## A lathe operator and trade unionist tells what he saw during ten months in a happy people building a new

sions of the life and people of New China. After the conference I traveled for more than 4,000 miles through China. In Shanghai, I went to see one of the new housing projects where I visited with one of the workers' families. The project houses 20,000 families. In this project there is a large primary school that looks very much like the modern primary schools of California. The houses, theaters, cinemas, hospital and other buildings were designed and built on the basis of suggestions made by the workers.

I was visiting Mr. Fu. I asked how much rent he pays for his comfortable apartment. He told me he paid 6 percent of his monthly salary and that rents in China ranged from 5 to 7 percent of a worker's monthly income. He told me that the income from rent is used for maintenance of the project. I asked what kind of house he had before. Mrs. Fu answered that she lived in a straw hut that allowed rain to pour inside. She said she was always sick. "Today," she said, "I am in good health and we get free medical care." As I walked through the project everybody begged me to step in and see their home.



WHILE IN CHINA the Wheatons made friends with many Chinese families, including the Ins. Shown standing behind the Ins' two children are Mrs. Ins, an interpreter, Mrs. Tomoka, Mrs. Wheaton and Louis Wheaton.

I visited another family and his wife. The rooms and kitchen were clean and the furniture was a table-model. The family had a television set on the walls. The project was well-stocked with vegetables. There were recreational areas and the U.S. joined in a group dance.

### No More

I had heard much about Shanghai. So I went to Broadway. When we went, "This is what it was like." It was a family prostitution. There is no prostitution here now. It is none in all of China. I conducted the tour of a beautiful house of prostitution. Today, this hotel is for Workers. It is equipped with an historic first floor where the labor movement began in 1925. On the second floor are exhibits of the upper floors, meeting rooms, recreation rooms. More than this palace.

I asked what happens to the women. Mr. Li Ping said women are now employed. Some are school workers, attendants. Some have returned to work. Many others are taking skilled work. One of the women is now a secretary. She will always be a woman. Tse-tung said the government is giving a woman working.

I am sure I will see the main thoroughfares, streets and I saw n





Large crowds gather around... distinct difference in the... of the people at home. Here... great friendliness, a feeling that... before only among Negro... there is no snobbishness

or disdain in their expressions." In the pictures above Wheaton is shown, l. to r.: (1) Exchanging a toast to peace with the Mayor of Shanghai. To the Mayor's left is Mr. Nakamura, famous Japanese actor and delegate to the peace conference; (2) standing with Madam Quo, a leading guerrilla fighter before liberation and a beloved heroine of the Chinese people, now secretary of the Hanchow

peace committee; (3) standing with Pai Ki-yune, hotel worker and member of the hotel's basketball team. The hotel provides sports equipment and uniforms for the workers and also provides two hours for study each day, with pay; (4) receiving the welcome of workers at the Workers Cultural Palace in Hangchow. "I met happy, healthy people everywhere," Wheaton says.

# Life in New China

## Unionist in months: new life

another family—a mother, son... They had three beautiful... kitchen. The walls were spot-... furniture was new. There... radio and pictures of... Chairman Mao Tse-tung... cooperative of the pro-... stocked with food, meat and... There were several large... areas and the delegates from... some of the youth there... in the open air.

**No More Prostitution**  
I heard much about prostitution in... So I asked to be taken to... When we arrived my guide told... what used to be called Broad-... was famous for its houses of... I asked if there was prosti-... now. He told me, no, there... in Shanghai, and there... all of China. Mr. Lu Ping then... me on a tour of the most fab-... of prostitution of the past... hotel is a Palace of Culture... It is most beautifully decor-... an historical museum on the... where there is an exhibit on... movement in Shanghai since... the second floor and third floor... of the industry in Shanghai;... floors have an auditorium,... game rooms, and recrea-... More than 10,000 workers visit... every day.

what happened to the prosti-... Lu Ping told me that these... are now engaged in constructive... are school teachers, office... attendants in child care centers,... returned to the farm and... are taking courses to become... in factories. I spoke to... men, a Miss Liu, who is... She explained that she... grateful to Chairman Mao... Central People's Gov-... her out of that proud... she said, "I am a proud... to build my country."  
I was all over Shanghai's... and many of its side... saw no beggars and no men

pulling rickshaws. My interpreter told me that the People's Government had instituted a law against men pulling other humans in rickshaws. Now there are pedicabs, three-wheeled vehicles peddled like a bicycle. I understand that these will be done away with as soon as the new auto factory that I saw under construction in Peking begins producing cars. Not only are there no beggars in Shanghai, but I did not see any in all of my 4,000 miles of travel.

I visited the new Tientsin Technological University. The University is completely new. The University was built with the labor of the workers, teachers and students. It covers an area of 230 acres, and will eventually service 10,000 students—both day and boarding students.

### Mistaken for Robeson

I was often thought to be Paul Robeson and I would have to explain that I was not Paul, but that I know him and that I brought greetings to the people of China from him. I also told them that Mr. Robeson wants to visit with them very much but our government will not permit him to travel. The children immediately wanted to know why. They would say, "Ta yao Ho Ping"—He wants Peace. Then the older children and youth would explain more fully to these seven and nine year-olds. Paul Robeson is loved by all the people of China and is regarded as a Great Artist, Great Leader and a Great Hero of the people in the fight for Peace and Freedom.

After this came the requests for me to sing "Old Man River," "Water Boy" and some song of the workers, and Negro spirituals. I have not got the voice of Paul Robeson but under those smiles and imploring looks it was impossible to refuse, so I sang. And, what applause! Well, I was simply flabbergasted!

### The Church in China

In China I visited all kinds of churches. I went to Methodist churches, the Church of Christ, the Catholic churches, the Baptist churches, the Buddhist temples and Moslem mosques. I found the temples and churches full. I met and had many talks with Rev. Dr. Wu Yao-tsung, the head of the Protestant Council of China. Dr. Wu pointed out that religious services in China have never been stopped and that the church membership has increased instead of decreased.

"Are there any rules governing the preaching of the gospel," I asked. Dr. Wu stated emphatically that the preaching of



MR. LU PING, right, conducts Louis Wheaton through the Museum of Chinese Pottery in Tientsin.

the gospel has never been subject to any interference. There is no censorship of church literature or any other kind. The Bible is freely circulated and Christians are free to express their views on all subjects including world peace, social justice, civil rights and how the government is run. He said that the new government belongs to the people and it has no fear of the people or criticism.

Buddhist temples are no longer occupied by soldiers and the valuables for the various rites stolen as they were under Chiang Kai-shek. Not only this, but the government is spending large sums of money on the restoration of these temples. The same is true of the Moslem mosques. The three great festivals of Islam—Lesser Bairam, Korban Bairam and Manlid al-Nabiy—are holidays for all Moslems in government offices, the armed forces, schools, and factories.

I asked Dr. Wu about the removal from office of Christians. He said, "Of course, it is true, after liberation certain Christian leaders were accused by their fellow Christians and removed from office. This has given rise to various lies intended to damage the reform movement in the Chinese churches and discredit the People's Government. Actually such events had nothing to do with religious freedom.



It was proved conclusively that these people were receiving foreign funds and rendering service to imperialist countries which were against the interests of the Chinese people. These people could not be permitted to frustrate the desire of millions of people for a new life.

I visited the Catholic Cathedral in Peking. The beauty of this church is extremely difficult to describe. It has all the beauty of the Notre Dame of Paris—plus the beauty of Chinese architecture. Here the services went on as in any other Catholic church. The priests, nuns and lay members freely associated with one another and with me. We spoke together for quite some time. They seemed sincere about their freedom of worship and their agreement with the attitude of the government toward religious freedom. They pointed out that this was the best time that they have ever experienced in the church. "We are now working and praying for the unity of the world in peace and happiness," they said.

Returning to my native land, I cannot help but be shocked and angered at the distortions and plain lies that fill the press about New China. The American people are being deliberately misinformed about the greatest social development arising from World War II, a new nation conceived in freedom and social equality, whose great influence is bound to help transform the lives of millions of centuries-long serfs in the Far East.

The Negro people have much to learn from New China and we ought not to be taken in by the small but powerful group of political hucksters who want to keep the fifth great power in the world out of the UN in order to heat up the cold war and keep millions more in colonial bondage.



GREAT CARE is given to children, who are regarded as "the builders of tomorrow's New China," Wheaton says. The group at left are Young Pioneers in the Red Gate Village. Above, Wheaton is shown with Tsu Sin Yao, left, and his host at West Lake Workers Resort. Tsu Sin Yao is 16 years old and was interpreter for the U. S. delegation at the peace conference.



ANSWERS BROWNELL ATTACK

**African Council Charges Govt. Supports Colonial Oppressors**

In answering charges brought against it by the Department of Justice under the McCarran Act, the Council on African Affairs has made an important public declaration, which follows:

"The U.S. Government continues to give loans and guns to Malan's regime and says nothing whatever in criticism of its 'free world' ally's notorious policy and practice of Jim Crow oppression. Instead it hails before the Subversive Activities Control Board the one organization in America which for more than a decade has been consistently exposing South African racism and enlisting American support for the struggles of the oppressed in that country. Is this attack on the Council on African Affairs another demonstration of Washington's friendly regard for South Africa's white supremacy rulers?"

"South Africa is, of course, only one example (the most recent one is British Guiana) of America's foreign policy, which Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has characterized as 'throwing our weight on the side of the status quo . . . (and) becoming more and more the spokesmen for the vested interests.' Such a foreign policy, Justice Douglas pointed out, is linked with 'a dangerous domestic condition. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view in world affairs. Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo.'"

"The McCarran Act is the statutory instrument designed for punishing the unorthodox and enforcing conformity to the views of those who wield government power.

"In a free country we punish men for the crimes they commit but never for the opinions they have," said Truman in his veto of the McCarran Bill. But

not so in this age of McCarthyism.

"The Council on African Affairs categorically denies that it is in any sense 'subversive.' The council does not deny its opposition to various governmental policies that are inimical to the interests of Africans aspiring for freedom. The Council will not buy the dubious safety of political conformity by selling out its principles, as is the current fashion of the Max Yergans. In 1898, at the time of the Spanish-American War, Charles G. Baylor, a Negro lawyer of Providence, wrote: 'The American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race' This is doubly true in 1953!

"Today it is the registration provisions of the McCarran Act that threaten the continued existence of the Council on African Affairs. Tomorrow, with the possible declaration of an 'emergency' the concentration camp provisions of the Act will become operative and complete and undisguised police-state tyranny will have arrived. Shall we wait until then to protest? NOW IS the time to demand the stopping of McCarran Act prosecutions."

Officers of the Council are Paul Robeson, chairman; W. E. B. DuBois, vice-chairman, and W. A. Hunton, secretary. The Council publishes a monthly newsletter, *Spotlight on Africa*, and recently issued a pamphlet, "RESISTANCE against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa" (35 cents).

The Council calls upon friends to protest the Department of Justice persecution in letters to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell. Contributions to the work of the Council should be sent to Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, treasurer, at 53 West 125th Street, New York.

**How About the Govt. Being Loyal to the People of U.S.A.?**

(Continued from Page 1)

Committees take care of first things first. When every citizen of the United States can enjoy his full constitutional rights, then—and not until then—will OUR GOVERNMENT BE LOYAL TO OUR CITIZENS.

**H**ERE'S ANOTHER THING. When the Administration starts farming out our loyalty to foreigners in distant places, we will all have to examine these foreigners to see what they are doing—to see if we want to give our loyalty to them. We should be very serious about our loyalty, and should not give it lightly.

No matter what the Administration says, I know I'm not going to give my loyalty to Mr. Malan down there in South Africa, who is treating my African brothers and sisters like animals, denying them all basic human rights. I don't care how many millions of American dollars are invested in South Africa, I'm not going to be loyal to Mr. Malan. No siree.

And no matter how much the Administration wants to

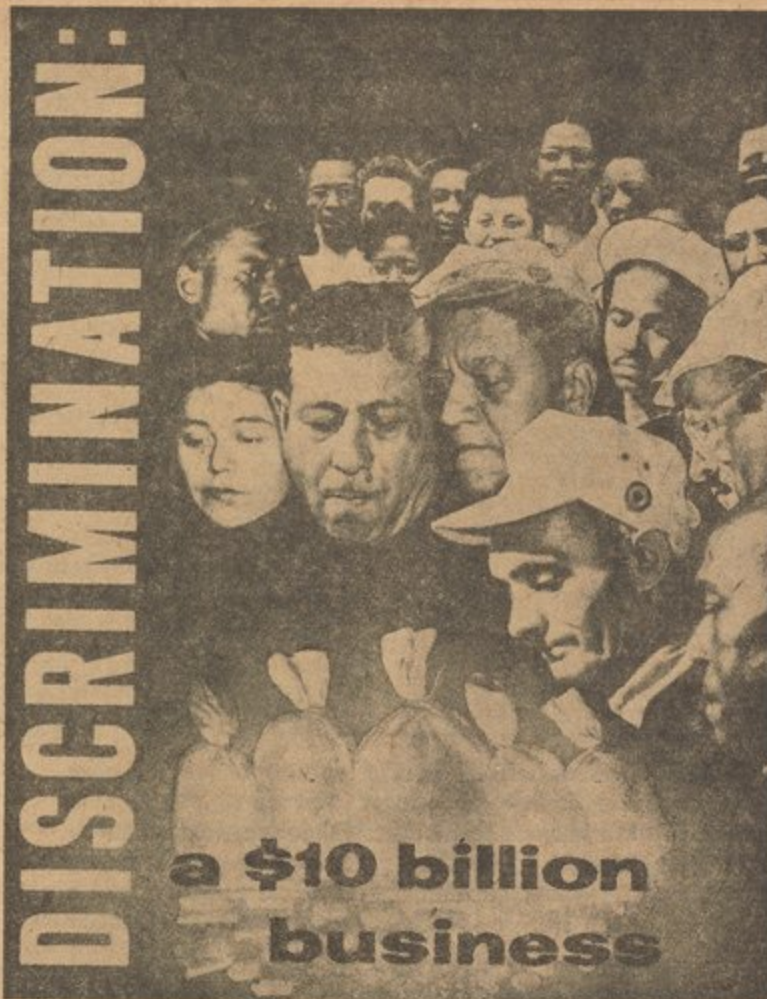
depend upon military bases in Kenya, I'm not going to give my loyalty to the British Kenya government which is herding my Kikuyu brothers and sisters into concentration camps, killing and hanging them. No siree!

I'm just not going to be loyal to the British and French and Belgian governments which are discriminating against the African people in a big colonial way.

Furthermore, I'm also not going to be loyal to Mr. Franco in Spain, nor to Mr. Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, because I don't like what they are doing there.

And last, but most important, I'm not going to be loyal to the unAmericans right here in our own United States, in government or out, who discriminate against, segregate, persecute and kill the Negro people.

So much for my loyalty. Let the Committees go chew on that and digest it. Meantime, I'd rather not hear another peep out of them on the subject.



THE PICTURE ABOVE IS THE COVER of a fact book prepared especially for the first annual Anti-Discrimination Conference of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO. The book shows how meat products workers alone lose \$135 million a year because of discrimination against women and Negro workers.



SHOWN, LEFT TO RIGHT, ARE LEADERS WHO STOOD THEIR GROUND in a successful battle to eliminate segregated lunch room and other facilities in the Armour meat packing plant in Ft. Worth, Texas: Marion Ramon, shop steward; Dale Chambers, bargaining committeeman; Frank Wallace, vice pres.; Marie Chokas, sec., steward body; Dave Nelson, pres.; S. Taylor, chief steward.

**'We Need Peace'**

(Continued from Page 1)

manese patriots who want to be free of French domination help American Negroes reach a plane of equality with their white fellow-citizens. And, most important, will a war in support of Malan in South Africa, or the British exploiters in Kenya, or the French in Tunisia place black Americans on the same footing with whites?

To ask the question is to answer it. No!

No one has yet explained to my satisfaction what business a black lad from a Mississippi or Georgia share-cropping farm has in Asia shooting down the yellow or brown son of an impoverished rice-farmer.

Mr. Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy would have us believe that this is necessary to "save" the so-called "free world" from "communism." But the man who keeps that Negro share-cropper from earning more than a few hundred dollars a

year is not a Communist—it's the landlord. And the man who prevents his son from attending school with white children is not a Communist—it's governor Talmadge or governor Byrnes of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

I believe, and I urge upon this convention the belief, that any Negro who carries his brains around with him and has not been bought and paid for must agree that it is time for 15 million colored Americans to disassociate themselves from a foreign policy which is based on brandishing the atom bomb, setting up hundreds of air bases all over the world, and threatening colored peoples with death and destruction unless they humbly recognize the inalienable right of Anglo-Saxon Americans to sit on top of the world.

Negroes, as I said, are still playing "catch-up." And with the kind of war that the atom-happy U.S. diplomats are planning we won't be catching up

**Union Goal: End Jim Crow!**

When a major trade union sets a target date for ridding its industry of discriminatory practices against Negro workers, that's big news for the labor movement and for all Negro Americans.

And, even though little attention has been given to the event in the commercial press, this is exactly what the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, did at its First Annual Anti-Discrimination Conference in Chicago, October 30, November 1-2.

Almost 400 union workers from shops in all part of the country enthusiastically supported a resolution which declared: "That the UPWA set as a major goal the complete breaking down by 1954 of all lily-white situations so that every UPWA plant employes minority group members without discrimination."

The delegates heard reports of victories already won in the union's battle against Jim Crow. One of the most exciting stories was that of Local 54, District 8, in Fort Worth, Texas, in which the leadership beat back an attempt of a "white-supremacy" rump caucus to prevent removal of a partition in the dining room and of "white" and "Negro" signs on other facilities.



'SLAPS NEGRO IN THE FACE'

**Brownell Attack on the Lawyers Guild is Blow at Civil Rights**

By ALEC JONES

When Attorney General, Herbert Brownell Jr., recently declared his intent to put the National Lawyers Guild on the "subversive list," he was slapping Negro America squarely in the face.

The Guild has been the one bar association in this country which has fought consistently and determinedly for an end of racial discrimination and for democratic rights.

Negroes in particular rejoiced as the walls of discrimination in Washington, D. C. restaurants came tumbling down. A vote of thanks was due the Washington chapter of NLG. For its attorneys dug out the conveniently forgotten 1872 laws against discrimination and forthrightly declared them to be still in effect and enforceable. They originated the proceedings which ended in victory!

The Guild appeared in cases involving segregation of Negroes in railroad and educational institutions (Oklahoma). It has dealt with the exclusion of Negroes from commercial excursion boats (Michigan).

The Guild fought restrictive covenants and fought the California Alien Land Law which was principally directed against Chinese and Japanese non-citizens.

While on the subject of non-citizens, Guild attorneys have made possible in scores of instances the reuniting of West Indian families, aided in adjustment of status and fought to prevent the deportation of West Indian seamen who were welcomed to man our World War II merchant vessels and then discarded by ungrateful, bigoted immigration officials.

**Attracted Negro Lawyers**

Negro legal talent flocked to the Guild because it meant what it said when it dedicated itself to the protection of human rights.

The NLG has its national president a Negro—Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago. Its chapters throughout the nation are integrated chapters with many Negroes in the leadership, participating fully in a common effort of "safeguarding and extending the rights of workers and farmers upon whom the welfare of the entire nation depends. . . ."

Negro talent which is, or has been, associated with the National Lawyers Guild includes



Earl Dickerson  
(N. L. G. President)

such figures as Judge William Hastie; Dean George A. Parker of the Terrell School of Law, Washington, D. C.; Judge Cobb; the late Charles Houston; Belford Lawson; Judge Hubert Delaney; Sidney A. Jones; Louis L. Redding; Landon Chapman; George Crockett; George Kennedy; Alexander Looby, and the eminent Thurgood Marshall.

What other bar association has such a record of integrating Negro lawyers and battling for civil rights? Certainly not the austere American Bar Association. If the ABA has ever entered a brief in support of the Negro's rights under the 14th Amendment it has escaped the attention of this writer. And today in many areas Negroes are still barred from ABA chapters. Yet, it was before the Boston convention of this reactionary outfit that Brownell chose to announce his intention to move against the Lawyers Guild!

**Drafted Powell Bill**

This organization is the one which in 1952 held a one and one-half day conference on federal civil rights legislation and enforcement. The conference resulted in all needs being placed in one bill. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. took this omnibus civil rights bill and introduced it in the opening session of the 83rd Congress.

If the Attorney General can destroy this organization the fight for Negro rights will be severely hampered. Negro America may be expected to join in the effort to defend the National Lawyers Guild whose legal courage and integrity has hacked at the shackles of oppression.

**Alice Childress' Acting Brightens A Fine Off-Broadway Theatre Piece**

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

A beautifully written play of our time, *The Emperor's Clothes*, as produced by New York's Greenwich Mews Theatre, offers a double treat in the form of the exciting acting of Alice Childress and Howard Wierum.

The play turns around Elek Ordry, an ex-schoolmaster and his family in pre-war fascist Hungary. The Ordrys' small and imaginative son, Ferike, lives in a child's world of fantasy, imagining he is and has been all the great adventurers in history and fiction. At one time he is a salty old master of the sea; then the conqueror of the North Pole; and most often, his favorite Hoot Gibson, an American cowboy relentless in his pursuit of the numberless outlaws of the West. And yet more marvelous and courageous than any of these heroes in the boy's mind, is his own father.

The Ordrys learn that even the innocent fancy of children is suspect in a fascist country. For when Ferike with an ingenious display of resourcefulness obtains money for the family Christmas tree by accepting "initiation dues" from a neighbor's boy whom he recruits into his two-member "Secret Order of Boys" all the mechanisms of the police state rush into operation.

The family is set upon by the secret police searching for the "thief" Ferike, whom they have heard preaches strange subversive ideas, including highly suspicious praises of a foreigner named Hoot Gibson. The child is arrested and taken to headquarters for questioning. He is returned to his home hours later by the secret police who turn to questioning his father. The things the child has told them lead them to believe that the schoolmaster has maintained ideas and participated in activities which were not in the best interest of the security of the State.

**The Truth Denied**

Elek Ordry, the terror stricken man of books and ideals tries to explain that these are the fabrication of his silly, impossible child. One by one, in his fear before the police, he denies each of the great principles he has taught his son. He sits perspiring and turning in his chair denying, apologizing and, when necessary, lying. No he never did actually believe in peace; they should understand it was a passion of youth, years past. And all the



Photo by Paula Horn  
HOWARD WIERUM, ALICE CHILDRESS & R. GRAHAM BROWN in a scene from "The Emperor's Clothes," now playing at the Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St., New York City.

while Ferike stands waiting for the father of his stories to emerge from the frightened, cowering person before him. When Elek finally exhibits courage enough to deny knowing the whereabouts of his active anti-fascist brother, Peter (who is actually in the house), he too is taken to jail for questioning.

When the schoolmaster is released by the police and returns home, his family regards him with contempt believing he has betrayed Peter. Elek begins to describe his hours with the police how they kept asking him if his little son's stories were true. Finally the schoolmaster lifts a bloody mangled hand from his coatpocket and screams—"I told them it was true!" When his wife and brother remove his overcoat his clothes are in shreds and his back bloody where the fascists have tortured him. Elek Ordry turns and faces his family, having transcended his own

human weakness with a magnificent display of courage.

**Miss Childress Stars**

This last scene on stage is a powerful conclusion to a thoroughly powerful play. Yet within all this dramatic power are charming and human scenes. The Hungarian playwright George Tabori has written his play sensitively and sometimes poetically, and therefore what he says come strongly to the heart.

Alice Childress, as Bella, Elek's wife, proves that she is unquestionably one of the finest actresses in the theatre on or off Broadway. Howard Wierum is an unusually gifted performer and makes the most of his talent as the ex-schoolteacher. The rest of the cast performs competently and the over-all result is a rewarding evening. This production deserves the wide-spread support it has been receiving from New York's play-goers.

**BOOKS**

**THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK**, by W. E. B. DuBois. Jubilee edition, 50th anniversary reprint of an American classic. 264 pp., \$3.50, numbered and autographed. The Blue Heron Press. 47 W. 63 St., N. Y.

By SHIRLEY GRAHAM

In April, 1903, a slender book published by A. C. McClurg Co. entitled **THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** captured and held attention wherever in the world English was read. This was true in spite of the fact that the volume was written "by one of a race intellectually despised and unaccounted," at a time when no American or English publication ever wrote the word Negro with a capital N. . . .

Nowhere was **THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** ignored. . . .

That spring of 1903 a reviewer in the New York "Commercial Advertiser" wrote:

"At a time when racial prejudice has suddenly taken on an aggravated form, when almost every day witnesses a new outburst in some unexpected quarter, a volume of this sort, written by a Negro with unwavering faith in the inherent

possibilities of his race, cannot be otherwise than wholesome and inspiring."

**THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** ran through twenty-four editions in the United States, with several concurrent publications abroad. Black men building the Panama Canal read the book and took it home with them to Jamaica or the Barbadoes; dark folks in the Deep South laid the book aside, and, looking out over straggling cotton fields, said firmly, "This is my land!" Two generations of Negroes passed the book around until it was tattered and worn. Meanwhile World Wars broke, depressions came, and the voice of the people became a great wind blowing across the lands. . . .

Fifty years have passed since this book first appeared. The cycle turns slowly. Now it is seen that the sphere is much enlarged. Today the whole world is being called to account to its dark peoples. It is therefore right and timely that once more "when almost every day witnesses a new outburst in some unexpected quarter," we print **THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** written by a Negro "with unwavering faith in the inherent possibilities of his race."

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of **FREEDOM**, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Freedom Associates, Inc., 53 W. 125th St., N. Y. C.; Editor, Louis E. Burnham, 53 W. 125th St., N. Y. C.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, George B. Murphy Jr., 53 W. 125th St., N. Y. C.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and ad-

resses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Freedom Associates, Inc., 53 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.; Louis E. Burnham, 146 Cambridge Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.; George B. Murphy Jr., 17 W. 24th St., New York, N. Y.; Alphaeus Hunton, 100-23 93d Ave., Richmond Hill, L. I.; Pearl Laws, 1933 E. 13th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Revels Cayton, 2190 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Paul Robeson, 155 W. 136th St., New York, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds and mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the

name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statement, in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information not required from monthly papers.)

GEORGE B. MURPHY, Jr.,  
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October, 1953.

CYRIAQUE A. LOISEL, Notary Public  
My commission expires Mar. 30, 1955



A Conversation from Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

American Indians . . . May Their Tribes Increase

Marge, if you don't have much time for readin', you can keep up with just about everything there is and then some . . . by readin' one book a year . . . and that's the World Almanac. Why, it sets my mind off at a gallop every time I open it.

Well, for an instance, you take the subject of American Indians. Did you know that the census of 1940 showed that there was only three hundred and twenty-nine thousand, four hundred and seventy eight Indians in the whole entire United States? . . . That's what it says here!

Next I'll turn to the States. Now here's Connecticut . . . it has the Berkshire mountains full of hardwood timber, its got sixty-six State parks, twenty-six State forests, over one thousand lakes and just gangs of trout streams, and they also grow plenty Tobacco and fruit. What's all that got to do with Indians? Well, there are only two hundred and one Indians in Connecticut . . . that's what.

Take a look at Florida, the Sunshine State. It was discovered on a Easter Sunday by a man named Ponce De Leon. . . . Yes, Marge, I think he was supposed to be searchin' for the fountain of youth but he found Florida instead. Florida is full of fruits, it's got the Everglades Pine Forests. It's full of lakes and springs, a regular land of milk and honey. The fishermen bring in mullet, snapper, mackerel, shrimp, crawfish, crabs and sponges. . . . Well Marge there is only 690 Indians in Florida.

Also take Kentucky the old stamping ground of Daniel Boone. The State motto is—"United we stand, Divided we fall." About one quarter of the State is covered with forests, oak, sycamore, walnut, pecan, ash, maple, willow, gum and laurel trees in abundance. Kentucky also got plenty of coal, petroleum, tobacco and corn and its got Fort Knox where all the nation's gold is stored . . . but Kentucky only has forty-four Indians. Maryland



A NAVAJO WOMAN

has but seventy three, New Hampshire only fifty, Vermont has sixteen and Delaware just fourteen.

Yes, Marge, I guess most of 'em can be found on the reservations in Oklahoma and Arizona, but still in all there is only three hundred and twenty nine thousand of them.

Marge, this is the Thanksgiving Season . . . and I can't help thinking of my old school days . . . how the teacher told us the story of the first Thanksgiving . . . the Indians and the settlers sitting down to break bread together, the Indians bringing in the wild turkeys, and maise and pumpkins, showing them how to grind corn and hunt and fish . . . passing the pipe of peace from one to another.

Look here on this page, Marge. These are the names of the tribes . . . Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Kickapoo, Fox, Shawnee, Navajo, Ottawa, Cherokee, Chicasaw . . . my, what fine names. . . . Iroquois, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Comanche, Hopi, Crow . . . and look how the list goes on. . . . Yes, girl, you're perfectly right—a great people. I'm sorry there aren't more of 'em around for this thanksgiving. May their tribes increase.

Trenton Frameup Victim Cries Out — Sympathy? Clemency? No, Justice

By MILLY SALWEN

TRENTON, N. J.—Long before the case of the Trenton Six burst local boundaries to echo across the world, Trenton was known for another, more naked frame-up, the "Duck Island" case.

The victim of this amazing miscarriage of justice is Clarence Hill. He is now in his ninth year and tenth month of a life sentence. From inside Trenton's state prison, a mile from where he was brought up and where he reared his own two daughters, Hill writes. . . .

"I am not seeking sympathy, or clemency, I am asking that JUSTICE be rendered unto me.

"I am not seeking sympathy, or clemency. I am asking that JUSTICE be rendered unto me. If I were guilty of committing any of these bestial crimes, I would rather be dead than alive. I am not afraid to die, I was born to die! But, giving my life for something I know nothing about, to die to satisfy a selfish and prejudiced court, is something no man can endure!"

Before the tragedy which overtook him, he was a quiet-spoken man, wrapped in his family. Though married, with two children of his own, he lived close to his parents and his sister, Mrs. Lizzie Brister. It was far to travel, across town to the job at Home Rubber plant, but his home was a comfortable place, among trees and life-long friends, in the community back in the township called White City. . . .

Six Years Later

That is, until the spring in 1938, when the 15-year-old girl and her married lover were found murdered. A shudder went through White City . . . overnight dozens of Negro men were picked up, then released. One of these men was Clarence Hill. They arrested him, held him, and since there wasn't a shred of evidence—they freed him, along with the others.

The next year, another couple was murdered, almost in the same spot. . . .

Finally, six years later, police announced they had found a handkerchief on the scene, an expensive, monogrammed handkerchief, one that few Home Rubber workers could afford. It was initialed 'H' . . . that's how they decided to go after Hill. He was serving in the army, stationed in a South Carolina camp. They went down and got him.

This is what they did to him. Hill writes:

"Confession" Forced

" . . . Sgt. Horne and Capt. Simpson made me denude and stand in the nude, a large bright light was focussed in my eyes. . . . I stood with bare feet on the cold floor with both hands raised over my head. When I couldn't hold them up they would beat them up.



FIGHTING FOR THEIR MEN! Mrs. Lizzie Brister, left, sister of frameup victim Clarence Hill, is shown with Mrs. Emma English, mother of the late Collis English, "Trenton Six" martyr, and Mrs. Georgia Jordan, mother of Sam Jordan, another sufferer of New Jersey "justice."

Horne said you are a soldier, you can take it. They prepared more statements and told me to sign them . . . and to tell them where I buried Keane's gun. . . . The gun, well it was impossible for me to tell about something that I never had or owned. Sgt. Horne said, you killed the people, and with this he hit me with a large night stick that was wrapped around his wrist. Capt. Simpson begin punching me with rights and lefts in the body. I hollered and tried to protect myself but couldn't. Det. Elmer Updike stood facing me with his pistol in his hand. Sgt. Horne hit me again with the night stick, knocking me to the floor. I laid there, Sgt. Horne said get up you black bastard, I'll stick this pin in your black a --. He had a (pencil) with a straight pin inserted at the rubber end. . . . I had to tell those fellows something to save me further punishment . . . thinking perhaps someone would come to my rescue. . . ."

At the trial they claimed that on a certain day in November Clarence Hill went into a liquor store. But that was Election Day—liquor stores were closed!

They said he raped . . . but a doctor (in India by the time of the trial) swore that he examined the woman and it could not have been rape!

The jury doubted . . . but Clarence Hill is a Negro. They gave him life, instead of justice.

Bible Gives Strength

A quiet man, before . . . but

now he is a giant. In the months and years after he was jailed, Hill saw deeply into the forces that had caught him up, the forces that oppress his people. He has drawn from the Bible the towering rage, the righteous passion, that awes even the prison guards. Once, waiting in the stone corridor to see the Trenton Six, a Civil Rights Congress spokesman saw one of the guards amble over, turn his face casually away so he couldn't be seen from the mail room, and say, urgently: "Why't you people do something about Clarence Hill? Now there's a man don't belong in here. . . ."

Clarence Hill can be freed. For years his sister, Mrs. Lizzie Brister, has been carrying the fight, and at times it has seemed almost hopeless . . .

But now a fresh move has started, a new committee formed with Mrs. Brister as treasurer, the Trenton Committee to Free Clarence Hill, 324 Wilfred Ave., Trenton.

A seven-page letter that Hill has written, detailing his case, has already arrived at the Governor's desk. Again, he asks "not clemency, or leniency, but that JUSTICE be rendered unto me."

Alone, that petition can be brushed aside. But if thousands of people across the country will join Clarence Hill, petitioning Gov. Driscoll of New Jersey to grant executive pardon, they can unlock the doors and free this innocent man.

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