

Build the New Freedom:

Harlem Readers Set Goal
Of One Thousand Subs In
January - February Drive

Dear Reader:

The entire staff of FREEDOM wishes to thank you for your concern and patience during the past few months. FREEDOM was forced to suspend publication due to both technical and financial reasons.

However, with this January issue, we are proud to present the new FREEDOM. The new FREEDOM represents a reorganized staff and a reorganized format. But more than that, it offers new FREEDOM features. For instance as you look through the paper this month you will find:

1. A thumbnail sketch of a great leader in Africa's fight for freedom, prepared by John H. Clarke.

2. A biographical sketch of a Negro elected to Congress during the Reconstruction period.

3. A cultural page with a splendid article on Negroes in opera. This page will be a regular FREEDOM feature with articles and discussion of the Negro in the arts.

While we bring these and other dynamic additions to FREEDOM, we maintain our regular features such as the lively *Conversation from Life* by Alice Childress, and Paul Robeson's indispensable message.

More Readers Needed

FREEDOM will be specifically designed to reflect the March of the American Negro for full

freedom. It will also reflect the relation of the fight of the American Negro to that of his African brothers and sisters and to the fight of the colored peoples of the world for peace and democracy.

Through this issue we hope to stimulate a wider readership. And we call upon you, who have already shown your loyalty and affection for FREEDOM to help.

Freedom Associates in Harlem has already undertaken a subscription drive with a goal of 1,000 subs during January and February. How about it? Won't you pledge at least five subs for January?

And as you think about whom you will see for a sub, also think about the new

FREEDOM. We want and need your comments on articles. We want and need your suggestions as to issues and activities FREEDOM should cover.

New Year's Gift

Needless to say, the new FREEDOM is born with a precarious financial background and immediate future. But it is a confident birth for we believe that our readers will pitch in and build FREEDOM strong and sturdy.

We urge that you make a New Year's Gift to your paper in order that the many special issues we plan for the immediate future will reach you on time and in a scope we feel sure you will like.

And as we ask for your New Year's Gift, we'd like to let

you in on the contents of a few of the special issues coming your way soon. The February issue will bring you a special Negro History Week edition. Following that, there will be a special edition dealing with the progress made since the desegregation ruling of the United States Supreme Court. There's also to be a special edition on Africa and a special labor edition around Labor Day.

So, dear reader, we hope that you enjoy this, the first issue of your new FREEDOM. We urge you to order additional copies to circulate among friends in order to bring them also into the FREEDOM family. We will do our best. We know we can count on you.

HARLEM TENANTS LIVE IN DREAD OF ...

Death by fire!

You live in an overcrowded, filthy Harlem tenement. Tonight you went to sleep cold as usual, a bathrobe and topcoat thrown over a too-thin blanket, your body pressed hard against the mattress in a vain effort to force out a little heat.

The children sleep fitfully, for the penetrating cold reaches their bones, too—the three girls huddled together in the bed in their narrow room, Junior on a couch across the room from Mom and Dad.

Finally sleep comes.

Then you are awake again, slowly, drowsily at first; but soon fully frightfully awake. Now it is no longer cold. The sensation is one of oppressive, overwhelming heat. Breath comes with difficulty and the eyes smart from smoke.

Blazing Inferno

The clang of bells, the shrill sound of voices reach you from the street below. The brain responds, the lips cry out, "Fire! Oh, my God—my children! Fire!"

You lunge for the children's room, but a burst of flame consumes the door and stands between you and the pitiful, shrieking voices on the other side.

"My Baby!" Turning to Junior, you find him crawling in fire. You clutch him to your breast, stumble and sprawl against the burning overstuffed armchair. Feebly, futilely now, you reach for the flaming tongues which mock you from the window.

You don't realize it any more, but your hair is a blazing mass, your feet are scorched, your nightgown is a flaming garment peeling off your skin and frying your flesh. You never knew the body could stand such pain. The room is an inferno. You try to cry, "Dear God!" but your tongue is stilled forever.

10,000 Complaints

Tomorrow your name will be in the newspapers for the first time since you were born. The papers will say, "FAMILY OF SIX PERISH IN HARLEM FIRE" and an editor will assign a writer to tell how you died and another to prepare a series of articles on the hous-

death by fire

ing situation in Harlem.

What is that situation?

In the first eleven months of 1954 there were more than 10,000 complaints of no heat in Harlem. At 1760 Madison Ave. tenants have been without gas for one year. At 67 E. 128th St. there has been neither heat nor hot water during the entire winter.

Absentee Landlords

New York City has more than 500,000 old-law tenement buildings, built before 1900, and Harlem has more than its share. Hemmed into the ghetto, preyed upon by big absentee landlords, most of Harlem's half-million Negroes are crammed up in houses that should have been replaced long ago. And 100,000 room-

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Here's My Story:

taking a new look

By PAUL ROBESON

GREETINGS and a Happy New Year for us all—a year when we must do everything in our power to insure future years of human existence itself.

We struggle for our children, to see that they go to decent unsegregated schools, that they have new opportunities, that we

have jobs which bring sufficient income to support our families. We fight for human dignity, for full citizenship.

But the people must have a world in which to live.

So as we read of crises in the French Assembly; as we see attempts to restore German fascism; as we see heads of foreign states visit our

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School edict in danger unless U. S. cries: *Integration NOW!*

By DOXEY A. WILKERSON

It should now be clear to all that we have a hard fight on our hands to implement the Supreme Court's ruling against segregated schools. Desegregation can be won only through massive democratic pressure by the Negro people and their allies—and the struggle cannot be confined to the courts.

Any illusions that mere Court declarations of "The Law" would bring compliance should have been thoroughly shattered by the aggressive counter-offensive launched by the forces of Jim Crow reaction.

The initially successful steps toward integrated schools in Milford, Delaware; Baltimore, Maryland; and Washington, D. C., were disrupted by hoodlum racist attacks organized by Bryant Bowles and his phony National Association for the Advancement of White People. Bowles is a conscious agent of the Dixiecrats; and what happened in these border areas was but a preliminary skirmish in the great battle still to be fought in the Deep South. Its purpose was to "demonstrate" that desegregation is "impractical," and thus to deter forthright governmental action to abolish segregated schools.

Farther to the South, preparations are well advanced for the battle to save Jim Crow. South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana have adopted laws which authorize the turning of public schools over to private agencies if necessary to preserve Jim Crow; and Mississippi is on the point of adopting similar legislation. Moreover, lynch-terror is being organized openly in the South—most notably by the "Citizens Coun-



INTEGRATION? IT'S OK WITH US!

cils" of Mississippi, which the Negro people there have aptly dubbed the "Uptown Ku Klux Klan." Incidentally, it is no accident that the vicious and inflammatory "Birth of A Nation" film is just now being resurrected for a new run in the theatres of the country.

Maneuvers and Double-Talk

Against this background of mob violence, legislative circumvention and threats of widespread lynch-terror, the maneuvers in the courts proceed on an ominous note. The Supreme Court postponed the scheduled December hearings on implementing decrees. The President of the United States comforted the Dixiecrats by saying, in effect, that he expects the Supreme Court somehow to accommodate its rulings to the anti-Negro sentiment in the South.

As everyone expected, the Southern state governments filed briefs urging the Supreme Court to let them handle the segregated schools question locally—and "gradually!" And as many did not expect, the Attorney General of the United States filed a brief—after the elections were over—which adds up to essentially the same thing.

I fear that much of the Negro press is ill-advised to greet this Brownell brief as a progressive step. True, it includes such fine-sounding statements as: "Racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional and will have to be terminated as quickly as feasible, regardless of how much it may be favored by some people in the community"; and "There can be no 'local option' on the question which has now been

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THE STORY BEHIND THE LOUISVILLE FRAMEUP . . .

No Jobs for Negroes!

As 1954 came to a close the nation was shocked by the imprisonment of Carl Braden, Louisville, Ky., newspaperman, on a charge of sedition. His sentence was 15 years and a \$10,000 fine.

What was his crime? The prosecutor said in his appeal to the jury: sedition is communism and communism is sedition—that's all you need to know!

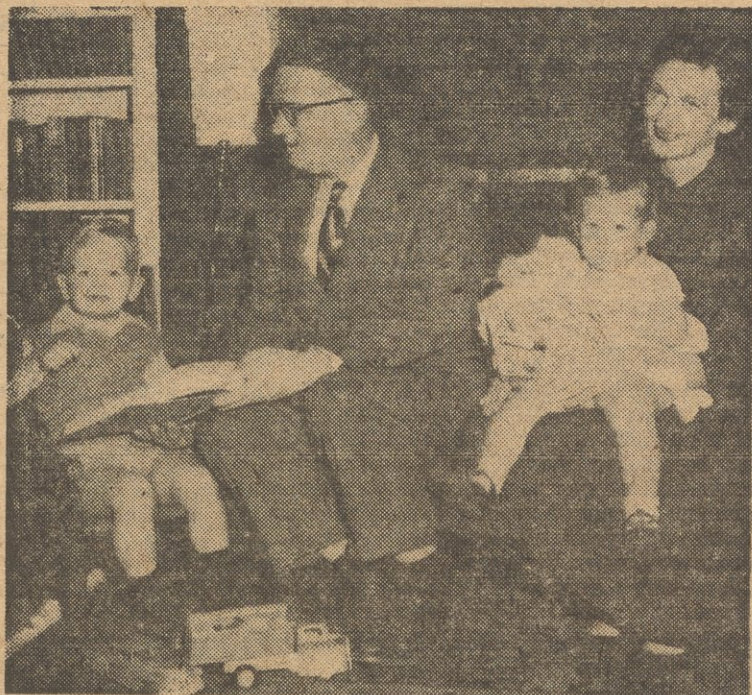
But what was Braden's crime? What did he do? Everybody in Louisville knew. Braden had broken the unwritten law: he had helped a Negro family move into an all-white community?

It all began in the winter of 1953-54 when Andrew Wade IV, young veteran of World War II, began to look for a home of his own. He had a wife, a two-year-old daughter and another child on the way.

Hemmed In

Everywhere Wade turned the answer was the same: no Negroes allowed. He was hemmed into the ghetto. Eventually he turned to Carl and Anne Braden, a white couple who were friends of his and asked them to buy a house and turn the deed over to him. The Bradens did so.

FREEDOM readers are no doubt acquainted with the fantastic sequence of events during which Braden and four other white friends of the Wades were arrested and Braden eventually "convicted" of



BEFORE THE ARREST: Anne and Carl Braden are shown with their two children in Louisville home.

sedition.

Why? What's behind the Louisville frame-up?

Cheap Labor—Big Profits

It would seem an important part of the answer is to be found in the fight which Negroes and their white friends have been waging to break the Jim Crow employment pattern in Louisville, and the determination of big business interests and their spokesmen in city government to keep things

the way they are.

As in most Southern cities, Negroes are excluded from production jobs in Louisville's industries. The one notable exception is the International Harvester plant. In 1946 International Harvester acquired a plant originally built for war production from Defense Plants, Inc., and moved in to make tractors.

The management dreamed the usual dream of cheap Southern labor, of extra prof-

its based on splitting Negro and white workers and exploiting them both to the hilt. But it reckoned without a band of militant union organizers, representative of the Farm Equipment-United Electrical Workers (Ind.), who on the basis of united action of Negro and white workers forced the company to hire Negroes in production and in skilled occupations.

Maids and Janitors

Now the "runaway shop" movement is turning to Louisville as a haven. Two huge plants are being built by two giant corporations, Ford's and General Electric.

These plants will eventually hire 30,000 workers. Where will they come from? First, one would think, from the unemployed. Negroes, who are 17 per cent of the city's population, make up 75 per cent of the jobless.

But no. According to the plan of the industrial tycoons, white workers from outside the city are brought in while Negroes vainly search for jobs.

For example, 5,000 workers are now employed at the GE appliance plant, only 150 of them Negroes. A handful of production jobs were won as a result of a campaign led by the Louisville Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council, but most of the Negro employees are janitors.

A majority of employees at the plant are women, but only

3 or 4 are Negro women—and all of them, maids.

Take the Ford Motor Co. They already have an assembly plant in Louisville employing 2,000 workers. Only six of these are Negroes, all of them janitors.

Militant Unity Is Key

The people of Louisville are faced with an important choice, for themselves and for the nation. Will the new "runaway" shops further rivet on the city the pattern of exclusion of Negroes from industry and low wage scales and weak unions for whites? Or will a militant campaign such as has been conducted at International Harvester extend this limited beachhead of economic opportunity throughout the city and deeper into the South?

In the answer to this question will also be found the key to unlock the jail doors behind which Carl Braden is locked. For Braden was chosen as a scapegoat for reaction, to divert attention from the rightful demands of Louisville Negroes; and as a warning to all whites that their willingness to fight sincerely for equality in employment, housing, or any other field, may land them behind bars as "seditionists."

Exactly that force which is needed to crack the Jim Crow hiring tradition in Louisville is also needed to free Carl Braden.

a new look at the world

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shores; as we read of stirrings among the colored peoples of the earth, let us realize that underlying all this is the struggle to achieve a livable world—a world of many cultures and ways of life, living in mutual peace and some measure of understanding.

Our problems here at home are complex and many-sided. The great Supreme Court victory moves toward implementation only under great difficulties. Some Southern states are passing laws to subvert and evade the law of the land. More ominous is a kind of girding of loins in the South to challenge the very concept of equality of our people in this as yet imperfect democracy.

And to the solution of this major problem we must add another urgent and basic need, our rights to decent homes in

any community. This goes to the heart of the school problems of our children.

New Look Required

Recently there have been some refreshingly frank articles in our press challenging the leading forces in Negro life to take a new look at their position. A young journalist, William Worthy, warns us all in the October "Crisis" that we cannot blindly support a foreign policy which seeks to restore a fascism based upon the idea of racial inferiority, a kind of super-international Ku Klux Klanism; a foreign policy which votes to support the rankest kind of imperialistic controls in Africa, in the Caribbean, in Latin America.

A liberal weekly, "The Nation," has just devoted an entire issue to the question, "Is the Free World Free?"

On every editorial page of the Negro press there is mounting alarm at government policies in relation to darker peoples across the many seas. In discussing what is described as a "shift" in American foreign policy, a leading Pittsburgh "Courier" columnist observes:

"In this shift there have been two distinct losses. The first is the ideological warfare for the minds of the hundreds of millions of people who are either non-self-governing or who have just lately gained their freedom. These people are to be found in India, Africa, China and the Middle East.

"The fight for men's minds

has been lost to the Soviet Union. We have ringed that country with circles of steel, but within our defense lines we have included millions who doubt and sometimes hate us. . . .

"Then there are millions of people . . . distributed over hundreds of thousands of square miles within our life line. Their aspirations have in part been blocked by our new policy of supporting their oppressors. . . .

"The United States is in a cruel position. In the belief that she is following self interest, she is opposing forces of history which dictate that today man will not submit to be governed by force and violence from imperialistic countries."

Freedom Is Indivisible

Similar observations flow from the pens of other Negro columnists. They begin to see more clearly that a foreign policy based upon the enslavement of colored peoples points clearly to keeping Negroes in the United States firmly "in line."

Lands of free colored peoples represented in world councils, in the United Nations, hasten our freedom. Their oppression, by American interests, certainly augurs ill for our future.

Freedoms can be won. They can also be taken away. Our history since 1863 is clear proof of that. We supposedly were freed in 1863; yet we are still looking for some measure of full freedom by 1963, a hun-



dred years later.

If an American in high government, financial or industrial position, talks about keeping the black and brown African workers in their place in South African uranium, gold and copper mines, if he supports a Malan or his successor, then you can bet he'll do the same to iron ore miners in Alabama, and he'll support the Dixiecrats. For that matter, he'll dish out the same treatment to white miners in Montana or dock workers in San Francisco.

Colonialism Retards Negro

If he callously destroys independence movements in Guatemala and British Guiana, he'll try to shut you up in Mississippi and Georgia—yes, even in New York. If you utter the words "full freedom" too loud he says, "You'll get as much freedom as I'm prepared to give you!" And that is not much.

If lives of Africans and West Indians are lightly regarded to gain profits for American

corporations, no one cares much about lives lost in fire traps in Harlem. If one can order Africans to be shot down for striking he certainly will not stop at ordering the bombing of colored homes in Cicero and Trumbull Park, Illinois, and Louisville, Kentucky.

The same firms which refuse higher wages to workers here at home in major industries can do so because of inordinate profits squeezed from workers in semi-colonial and colonial lands.

What Side Are You On?

An Asian-African conference of major significance approaches. Convening in Indonesia in April it will include India, the Chinese Peoples Republic, Indonesia, Burma, the new Republic of North Viet Nam, and African statesmen from the Gold Coast (Ghana), Ethiopia and Liberia, as well as spokesmen from other lands. Thirty nations have been invited.

These peoples mean to have their freedom, their "day in the sun." They insist on determining the future of Asia and Africa in Asia and Africa, not in the Pentagon Building. Do we Negro people support them or their former, present and would-be exploiters? Clearly we must understand and support them as they move toward full national freedom and dignity.

All the best. And, again, Happy New Year. Each and every one of us can do a lot more than we did in '54 to make certain that it is happy.



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SNAIL'S PACE

In Election Gains Shows Need for MORE UNITED ACTION

By THELMA DALE

The struggle of the Negro people to achieve the degree of political representation won during the Reconstruction Period 91 years ago, met with mixed results in the 1954 elections.

Despite some serious losses in representation in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, Negro candidates elected show a net gain over election results in recent years. In general the gains were won where maximum unity and determination of Negroes to win representation had been built through years of political action joined with the fight for jobs, civil rights, housing or other crucial needs.

Thus Charles Diggs goes to Washington at least a partial heir to the magnificent campaigns of Detroit's Negroes to break Jim Crow in housing and in the Detroit Common Council, on the Board of Education and on the various courts. Rev. Raphus Means, who led the successful fight to crack Jim Crow in the Newark, N. J. City Council, last May, was elected Freeholder of Essex County in November.

Similarly, the Maryland victories are attributable in no small part to the splendid but unsuccessful campaigns to elect Negroes to Congress, to

the State Legislature and to the Baltimore City Council in recent years. An important feature of the Maryland election was the non-partisan unity achieved around the "coalition ticket" developed in the Negro community (over "downtown" party-boss opposition) which included both the Negro Republican candidates, the Negro Democrat who won, and a white Democrat, among others.

Party Lines Crossed

Although much has been made of the fact that Negroes voted three to one or better in most areas for Democrats, an analysis of the vote indicates that there was much crossing of party lines where Negro and other minority group candidates were run. In California, Edward Roybal, Mexican-American City Councilman of Los Angeles, although losing his bid for Lt. Governor of the State, ran ahead of his entire Democratic ticket. His campaign and that of Horace V. Alexander, Independent Progressive candidate for Secretary of State, won major support from California voters, including important sections of labor and the Negro people for the principle of minority representation at the state-wide level.

In New York, Ralph Powe,

American Labor Party candidate for Comptroller, also led his ticket, in a vigorous campaign to open the door for the future election of a Negro to state-wide office.

Some important local victories were achieved in several states and Hawaii by Negro candidates. Most notable is the end to Jim Crow in the Maryland Legislature for the first time in history with the election of Atty. Harry A. Cole (Rep.) to the State Senate and Truly Hatchett (Dem.) and Emory Cole (Rep.) to the House of Delegates.

In Wisconsin, the lone Negro in the State Legislature, Isaac N. Coggs, was re-elected and joined by two additional victors: Walton B. Stewart and Cecil Brown Jr., all Democrats.

Negro Women Victors

Michigan's Negro delegation in the State Legislature was increased from five to six in the State House and the one Negro woman in the Senate was also re-elected. A Negro was also elected to the Lansing City Council.

In New York Mrs. Bessie Buchanan was elected the first Negro woman to the State Assembly and Thomas Dickens was elected to the New York City Court, breaking its traditional lily-white character.

Phillipe Torres, the lone representative of the Puerto Rican people in the Legislature was re-elected and six Negro candidates won elections to fill seats previously held by Negroes, including one seat in the State Senate.

Among other significant "firsts" was the election of Mrs. William Hale to Hawaii's Territorial Legislature, Fred W. Martin to the Hot Springs, Ark. City Council, and Virgil Reade to the Paterson, N. J. City Council.

Although these results seem impressive, the fact is that significant break-throughs were only registered in 1954 in some five states out of 48.

South Still Unrepresentative

The South, where the majority of the Negro people live, is still totally unrepresented in Congress or in the various state legislatures, with the exception of Maryland and Kentucky. And indeed, at least three states in the South in 1954 voted in measures that will make the fight for Negro representation more difficult in the future (Miss, Ga. & La.)

What then is required to achieve full representative government for all the people and particularly for the 15 million Negroes in the country?

First and foremost is the fight for greatly increased reg-



REP. CHARLES DIGGS

istration of potential Negro voters. In Northern communities Negro voters still go to the polls at only one-third to one-half of their maximum strength. Independent, non-partisan committees should tackle this problem vigorously now in preparation for the '55 and '56 contests.

In the South only one out of seven Negroes eligible were registered in 1954. The goal set by the NAACP of three million Negro voters in the South by 1956 is not yet half-achieved. Its attainment requires a major breakthrough in the rural areas where registration trickery and Ku Klux terror result in practical disfranchisement.

Add to this the fight for civil rights and progressive legislation on the municipal, state and federal level, and the demand for appointment of Negroes to high political office, and we have the makings of a heightened struggle for political equality in the years ahead.

Negro Congressman, Elected in Alabama During Reconstruction, Fought For and Won

In Alabama, after the Civil War, three Negro congressmen were elected and served one term each. One of them was James T. Rapier.

Rapier was born in Florence, Alabama, in 1839. He was secretly taught to read as a child and sent by his father to Montreal College in Canada as a young man. Later he sailed to Scotland to attend the University of Glasgow.

When he returned to Alabama, the Civil War had been

fought and won. All over the South freed Negroes were meeting in People's Conventions, and the Alabama Convention was held in Mobile. This was 1867 and Alabama was framing a new constitution. The old one had been devised by slave-masters.

Rapier was elected to the Alabama Convention to help write the new constitution. On one occasion he rose on the convention floor to argue for inclusion of a clause stating specifically, "The right to vote

is open to all men regardless of color." The clause was overwhelmingly voted into the constitution, and this was the first time that an Alabama constitution bore any such democratic provision.

Frames Party Program

A state Republican Party convention was held in Montgomery and Rapier attended as a delegate. In writing the state party program, Rapier and other advanced delegates called for a free press, free

public schools and equal political and civil rights for all.

Because of his work in the Constitutional and Republican conventions, Rapier was nominated as a candidate for the United States Congress. His candidacy was sponsored in the Alabama second district, where today Negroes still constitute a majority in most counties.

Rapier's opponent was a former Confederate colonel. Rapier was voted into office by an almost 3,000 vote margin.

In Congress Rapier worked hard for a civil rights bill which would give Negroes equal rights in public parks, restaurants, in transportation, and all public facilities.

"Either I am a man or I am not a man," Rapier told the

Congress in a famous address. "If one, I am entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities common to any other class. . . ."

The Civil Rights Bill passed and was the law of the land for several years until it was declared invalid by the Supreme Court.

When Rapier returned home to Florence, the Ku Klux Klan was sent against him. Friends of his, Negro and white, formed themselves into a protective group and fought off the Klan, which fled Florence in disorder.

Rapier went on to become a labor organizer and was instrumental in calling the Negro National Labor Union Convention in Montgomery.

his reputation as a "tough" man.

He had a notch on his gun—maybe more—but one everybody knew about. A few years ago while escorting to jail two Negro prisoners, all heavily chained and handcuffed, he had shot and killed one, Samuel Shepherd, badly wounded another, Walter Lee Irvin. He never stood trial for this.

Then he had tried to poke his filthy finger into the Maryland school system. This fall he went up to get a first-hand view of how racial trouble was being manufactured in the Baltimore high schools by

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Adoption of Civil Rights Law

ol' jim crow HE'S A HARD MAN TO PLEASE

By JANICE HAWKINS

Old Jim Crow is a funny bird.

Sometimes he makes your blood so hot you could walk right up to him and try to throttle him even if he were ringed with lions.

Then, sometimes, the situations he makes folks get into are so ridiculous that you wonder why anybody would put up with him at all.

Again, you're sore, but you want to laugh at the same time—and maybe, if you had a soft spot in your heart, you could

feel a little sorry, too, for the folks involved.

That's how you feel when you read about Allen and Laura Platt and their seven children, newcomers to Mt. Dora, Florida.

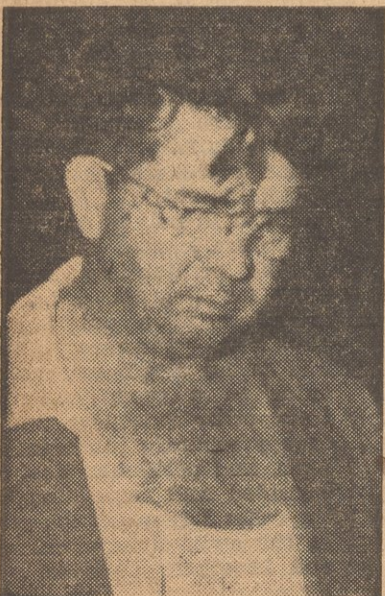
Allen Platt, the father, was having a hard time making a living for his big family in Holly Hill, South Carolina. So he sold his farm; piled his kids into his jalopy, and decided to try making a living as a picker in the Florida orange groves.

Platt and his two big boys

looked for work, while the rest of the little ones—Raymond, 15; Laura Belle, 13; Esther, 10; Linda, 9, and Violet, 6, enrolled in school. There, according to the supervising principal they were well-behaved, clean, and bright—just like children are expected to be in a "white" school in Mt. Dora, Florida.

All seemed well, and Platt's only problem would have been how to fill the nine mouths he couldn't feed on the farm, out of an orange picker's wages, had it not been for Mt. Dora's alert sheriff.

Sheriff Willis McCall likes



SHERIFF WILLIS McCALL

Cry of 'Juvenile Delinquency' Covers Up Youth Problems

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

One July evening in 1954, 18-year-old Jennie Ramirez was among a group of spectators who collected on an East Harlem sidewalk during the excitement of a street incident.

Weeks later, in a legal suit against the City of New York, Miss Ramirez reported that she was struck on the chin with a night stick, cursed and insulted, arrested and then beaten and kicked for several hours in a New York police station.

Despite the fact that the young Puerto Rican saleswoman committed no crime and was herself the victim of abuse rather than the source of it, she will become one more statistic on the police blotters used to prove that there is wildly increasing "youth crime" and "delinquency."

These same statistics will be used by assorted juvenile "experts," police commissioners and adults on TV panels as a basis for urging "dragnets" as in New York; "curfews" as in California; "crackdowns" as in Michigan.

The greatest emphasis of

these "curbing drives" is placed on Negro and Puerto Rican youth. True, crowded ghettos; decrepit and inadequate schools; the scarcity of national or municipal youth employment and recreation programs, and the constant spectre of white supremacy, do lay a solid foundation for youthful rebellion among minority teenagers. But the attention of the authorities is not devoted to changing these evils. Rather they concentrate on promoting "bigger police forces" and "curbing drives."

Attack Youth—Not Problem

The "curbing usually involves the following procedure: squad cars descend suddenly on street corners, bars, candy stores, pool rooms, ball lots—or any place where ghettoed youth must spend their free hours, and mass round-ups are staged. And more figures are added to the police blotters.

The fact that only one-seventh of our youth actually comes into contact with the courts is seldom cited. The figure seems small beside the volume of hysteria that has

been whipped up by those who too often see "putting 'em in the army at 14" as a solution.

But the simple question is, why should there be any measurable delinquency among that very section of the population which at their time of life ideally ought have only the most splendid dreams of the future.

To answer that is to take an honest look at our American life.

Unemployment: A 16 year old coming out of high school today, who has nothing but 12 years of school behind him is nonetheless asked again and again on job interviews, "What is your experience?" Add to this the Jim Crow which the Negro teen-ager encounters in probably 75 percent of his job-seeking, and it is easily understood why the whole thing can quickly seem hopeless to the young person starting out in life.

And for those slightly older young people who have experience, there is not a great deal of difference. As one disgusted veteran, unemployed for several months, bitterly told this

writer at the N.Y. State Industrial Employment Office, "There is nothing to do, I guess—but go back in the service."

A generation which has demonstrated by one of the lowest volunteer records in our national history that it despises militarism as a way of life, is now forced to regard the army as at least—"economic security."

What Price 'Security'?

Our youth are expected to create decent values in a way of life that discusses war as culture. They are given Mickey Spillane and "Brutal"—"Horror"—"Terror"—"War" "comics to read. The newspapers devote tons of newsprint to the exploits of degenerates and as little as possible to developments in cancer research.

And pervading all of this is the blight of McCarthyism, which not only nourishes, but is fundamental to much of what is corrupting the lives of our youth today.

The distinguished N.Y. Domestic Relations Court Judge Hubert Delaney recently described the effects of McCar-

basis of race, of lives deliberately warped and distorted by the wilful creation for conditions making for premature death, poverty and disease."

Early last year he presented to the delegates at the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, a document revealing the decline of civil and human rights in the U.S.A., entitled: "Six Year Retrogression Toward a Police State."

More than this, he has fought these crimes one after another, and aroused the American people in mighty movements against them. Beginning in 1927 when he left a prospering law practice in New York to join the movement against execution of the innocent immigrant workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, few major mass struggles for civil rights and liberties have not borne the imprint of his dynamic leadership.

Defend Negro Militants

Wherever the race haters have selected their victims as examples to prove their power to "keep the black apes down" he has rallied the people as a shield against oppression. Who can afford to forget the "cases"—the human lives he has fought to save: Scottsboro, Willie McGee, Martinsville Seven, Trenton Six, Lt. Leon Gilbert, Wesley Robert Wells, Paul Washington, and a host of others?

As he has fought for these, so must millions fight for William L. Patterson. He has spent Christmas, and now begins a new year separated from his wife, Louise Thompson Patterson, and their daughter, Mary Lou. A flood of greeting cards to him at the Federal Prison, West Street, New York, should be but the prelude to a massive movement to free this brave leader, protect all Negro militants and restore the integrity of the U.S. Constitution.



WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

it the usual meaning of the phrase. The judge did not claim that Patterson created a disturbance in the court or brought the judiciary into disrepute.

The 63-year-old crusader for civil rights was jailed because the judge chose not to believe what Patterson swore was true and the government could not prove was false—that certain records did not exist.

Upon his release September 29 Patterson was again set upon by government agents for the same records. Once more he swore before grand jury and judge that they did not exist. Again he was sentenced to another 90 days—for "contempt."

Genocide Petition

The reasons for this persecution of Patterson, for placing his life in perpetual jeopardy, are clear.

Three years ago he set before the United Nations in Paris the document, "We Charge Genocide," which detailed a record of "mass slayings on the

thyism on our children: "Juvenile delinquency is not a disease, it is a symptom. It has to be treated as a doctor would treat a fever. First he wants to determine the cause of the fever."

Taught to Kill

"America has been transformed in the last few years. We have the threat of the atom and the hydrogen bombs. We are not only conscripting our youth, but we are teaching them to kill.

"I am concerned . . . that in the next decade one child in every 12 will have to go into a mental institution. . . . Today we are not a free people. . . . We live in a country where there is fear, where there is a man on horseback in the Senate and our teachers don't teach what they want to teach; they teach what they have to teach or what they are afraid not to teach."

Judge Delaney spoke of the McCarthyite atmosphere in which our youth are exposed to a world where "we dare not talk freely, think freely."

And he concluded, saying he spoke not only as a municipal authority, but as a parent, "Hostility begets hostility. You cannot beat badness out of a child. We cannot, in my view, love children too much. I think adults have become too suspicious of children. . . . Police officers have got to get it out of their heads that bigger and better nightsticks are the answer."

Ben Davis Fights BEHIND PRISON BARS

From behind prison bars in the federal penitentiary of Terra Haute, Indiana, Benjamin J. Davis Jr., former New York City Councilman, has struck an important blow at the entire Jim Crow system. In an action brought before the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Davis, through his attorney Ralph A. Powe, has petitioned for a writ of mandamus to eliminate segregation and discrimination now practiced against himself and all other Negro prisoners in federal penal institutions.

The Davis brief describes conditions in the jails of which most citizens have been unaware. It charges:

"The Negro prisoners as a group are segregated from other prisoners in the dormitories, in the mess hall and at entertainment. . . . [They] are confined to cells or dormitories which are located in a section of the penitentiary reserved only for Negroes. . . . The procedure upon entering the mess hall or the entertainment hall is for Negro prisoners to enter as a group separately from other prisoners and to occupy separate tables in such halls, and petitioner has been classified and segregated with the other Negroes in the group. In the auditorium, gymnasium and in other places set aside for entertainment, all Negroes are seated in one section while

In Perpetual Jeopardy

"We must keep the black apes down!"

These words were overheard falling from the lips of a U.S. Congressman. The scene was a Congressional hearing room on August 4, 1950, and William L. Patterson was testifying on behalf of the Civil Rights Congress.

The CRC executive secretary presented instance after instance of lynchings, and committee member Henderson Lovelace Lanham, representing the 7th Congressional District of Georgia, screamed: "Georgia never lynched a n-----r!"

Patterson, the Negro, calmly continued: "Georgia is a lyncher state." Lanham shouted, "You're a god-damned liar." Again Patterson rejoined, "If there is any liar around here, it's you."

The Congressman's racist venom burst through the flimsy barriers within which social custom ordinarily confined it. Face flushed and distorted, he rose and bolted toward the seated Negro witness, screeching: "You god-damned black son-of-a-bitch!"

We'll Get Patterson

The hearing ended in confusion and eventually Patterson was cleared of the "contempt" charges which grew out

of the incident. But, as he left the halls of Congress another government official was heard to say: "We will get Patterson in time."

That time has come. The political confederates of Henderson Lovelace Lanham have "got" William L. Patterson. By a backhand, political maneuver, they have "got" him in a federal jail for 90 days.

Early last year the Tax Division of the Department of Internal Revenue began an investigation of the Civil Rights Congress allegedly to determine a possible tax default. For 20 consecutive days agents of the Department pored over the records in Patterson's office. Patterson contended that they had all the information needed to determine any possible question of tax deficiency.

Names Wanted

But the government wanted more—it wanted names—the names of all contributors to the CRC. Patterson swore under oath that there were no names available, that the record of contributors had been lost, and that he therefore could not turn them over.

For this he was jailed on July 1 and served 90 days in the federal prison at Danbury, Conn. The charge—"contempt" of court—did not carry with

U. S. Upholds

SHAME OF OPPRESSION

In South Africa

By ALPHAEUS HUNTON

"Those in favor of this paragraph of the resolution will raise their hands." Entire rows of hands, white and not so white, went up.

"Those against will now raise their hands." A few scattered hands, all white with the exception of that of the representative of "China," were raised. The South African and British representatives made a point of raising theirs conspicuously high. The U.S. representative, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, sat still, apparently waiting the next call for abstentions. But one of his advisers quickly leaned forward and whispered something to Mr. Wadsworth, whereupon he abruptly raised his hand too, a foolish grin on his face as he glanced over at his British and South African colleagues.

That was one little incident that occurred as the Special Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on Dec. 8 concluded a lengthy debate and got down to voting on the question of what, if anything, the U.N. could or should do about racial discrimination

and oppression in the Union of South Africa.

Being voted upon was a resolution sponsored by 20 of the 60 members of the U.N. [those listed with asterisks below] once more "inviting" the South African Government to change its ways and conform to its obligations under the U.N. Charter, requesting the U.N. Commission established in 1952 to investigate "the racial situation" in South Africa to continue its work, and providing for further consideration of the matter at the next General Assembly meeting.

U. S. Against Resolution

The United States voted against these specific provisions but in the final vote on the resolution as a whole (34 for, 9 against, 10 abstentions), presumably for the sake of the record, the U.S. changed its position to one of neutrality by abstaining—along with Argentina, Brazil, Formosa "China," Cuba, Denmark, Guatemala, Peru, Turkey and Venezuela. The "No" votes came from South Africa, Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Colombia, France and Netherlands.

On the other side, voting for the resolution were Afghanistan,* Bolivia,* Burma,* Byelorussia, Chile,* Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt,* Ethiopia,* Greece, Haiti,* Honduras, Iceland, India,* Indonesia,* Iran,* Iraq,* Israel, Lebanon,* Liberia,* Mexico, Norway, Pakistan,* Panama, Philippines,* Poland, Saudi Arabia,* Sweden, Syria,* Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Yemen* and Yugoslavia.* (Costa Rica, another sponsor, was absent from the vote.)

In the debate on this question Mr. Wadsworth, speaking for the U.S., carefully avoided any comment, adverse or otherwise, on the racial policies and practices of this country's "free world" ally, South Africa.

Mr. Wadsworth said the U.S.

delegation saw no useful purpose the Commission could serve and would therefore oppose its continuance. Moreover, he did not think it proper for the U.N. to single out South Africa or any other specific country for consideration of the question of respect for human rights. The U.N., he said, should simply "reaffirm its belief in the . . . human rights provisions of the Charter as a standard to which all Members should aspire," leaving it up to each country to solve its problems in its own way.

Likened to Nazis

In marked contrast with this let-South Africa-alone approach was the attitude of indignation and impatience voiced by most of the U.N. members. India's representative, Mr. P. Trikumdas, for example, said that the South African Government "has been following a course of conduct . . . which the whole civilized world condemned in the brutal Hitlerite Nazis with their insane notions of Race Superiority."

Referring to a recent statement of Dr. Malan that "Millions of semi-barbarous blacks look to them (the whites) for guidance, justice, and the Christian way of life," Mr. Trikumdas said, "We, in my part of the globe, are sick and tired of this hypocritical talk of justice, guidance, and Christian way of life. If what is happening in South Africa is an example of this, I am quite sure not only the Asians but others will also be equally sick. I do not want to deride

the Christian way of life, although I am not a Christian. It is a grand conception, but one looks in vain in the modern world for any genuine practice of this way of life, particularly from the ruling races."

"Let me remind Dr. Malan," the Indian delegate added, "that when the white races were roaming the jungles, the darker races in India, in Egypt, in the Middle East and Africa had attained a culture and civilization of which any decent human being could be proud. And if they lost their place it was because they became a little over-civilized and succumbed to the barbarian hordes, including the white barbarians of the 16th and 17th century who looted and pillaged the world openly like the white barbarians who settled in South Africa."

Prevent Burial of Question

Another delegate, Judge Jose Ingles (Philippines) effectively demolished the argument that the U.N. had no right to set up the Commission on South Africa. He recalled that Australia had called for the creation of a U.N. Commission to deal with the non-observance of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, and that this action had been supported by the same delegations which now denied the competence to deal with the same problem in South Africa. The same delegations, he added, had also backed the creation of a "Commission on Forced Labor" to study conditions in Soviet labor camps.

Speaking for Haiti, Mr.

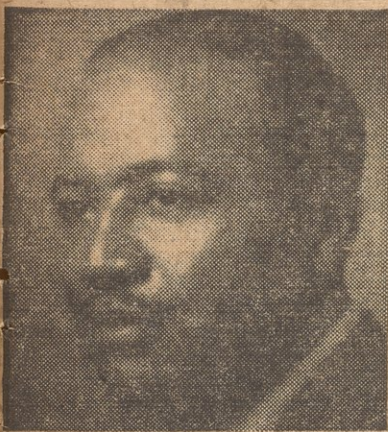


JOHANNES G. STRYDOM
(S. A. Prime Minister)

Pierre L. Hudicourt asked whether the General Assembly should limit itself to the suggestions made by the Commission on South Africa, or whether it should consider sanctions for violation of the Charter. But the Assembly, he observed, did not have the right under the Charter to take sanctions, and it would be impossible to get a vote from the Security Council to impose sanctions. The only course, therefore, was to act along the lines of the resolution, continuing the Commission. Even if no practical solution could be found, the question should be kept alive, he said.

This was the concensus of most of the U.N. members, and that is why the resolution on South Africa was overwhelmingly approved. Only our government, together with the colonial powers and a small group of nations which are on the U.S. dole, opposed the aroused sentiment of the peoples of the world.

Fights Jimcrow



BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

whites are seated in another section."

Davis complained that similar practices existed in all other prisons and penitentiaries in the United States. He further pointed out that the system of segregation is used to deprive Negro prisoners of certain benefits which are awarded for "meritorious conduct and exemplary work."

The brief calls upon the court to order Attorney General Herbert Brownell and James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, to discontinue the practice of segregation in federal jails because it violates the Fifth and Eighth Amendments of the Constitution, the civil rights statutes, and the announced public policy of the government.

While serving for two terms in the New York City Council during the Forties Davis introduced many bills attacking discrimination. In March, 1955, Mr. Davis will complete his five-year sentence for alleged violation of the Smith Act.

Davis Pamphlet Out

Our readers will be interested in a fast-paced pamphlet, "Ben Davis—Fighter for Freedom" just issued by the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership. Written by Claudia Jones, with an introduction by Eslanda Goode Robeson, the pamphlet tells the story of Davis' life as a civil rights lawyer in the Herndon and Scottsboro cases, as editor, militant champion of human rights, and as the first Negro communist elected to the N. Y. city council.

While Davis is scheduled to leave prison in March, 16 other Negroes, including the author, are among the 100 people who have been indicted or "convicted" under the Smith Act. Thus, the pamphlet's treatment of the role of McCarthyism, the nature of the Smith Act trials, the historic experience of the Negro people in protecting their militants and rejecting informers, is of great current significance. Profusely illustrated throughout its 48 pages, the pamphlet may be obtained at 25 cents a copy from the publishers at 1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.



DINGAAN

By JOHN H. CLARKE

"What have I done to you! Oh, children of my father?"

The above is reported to be Chaka's last words, spoken to his two brothers at his death in 1828. No doubt he was directing this question through his brothers to all the Zulus and the other South African tribes that had been brought under Zulu dominance through his conquest.

Since his initial show of military prowess, as a sub-chief under Dingiswayo, who introduced improved fighting method to the Zulus, Chaka had united most of the tribes of South Africa into a fighting force that was feared and respected. He had halted the

DINGAAN:

Inspires South Africans In Crusade for Liberty

wanton confiscation of tribal lands by the Dutch and British, and he had successfully defied an empire. Succeeding him would not have been an easy task for any man.

Perhaps this in some way explains why Dingaan, Chaka's half-brother and successor, is treated casually and often neglected by historians.

After Chaka's death, Dingaan had to cope with the rekindled desire of the Boers and the English to take over all South Africa. Prior to this time the land hunger of the whites had been restrained by Chaka's army and the Boer and English distrust of each other.

The Boers of Cape Colony became dissatisfied with the results of the bogus British Emancipation Act of 1833, because they could not tolerate the idea of having Africans living among them as equals. They wanted to dispossess the Africans from their land and enslave them on plantations. With this in mind they started a trek toward the interior with

the hope of establishing a Boer republic.

Before this trek had gone far across Zulu lands, Dingaan taught them that Zulu military strength and organization had not died with Chaka. He met them with a formidable force and defeated them after several engagements. By 1863, ten years after Chaka's death, Dingaan led the Zulus in triumph to the coast and occupied the city of Port Natal. The following years his armies again met the Boers and remnants of English in one of the decisive battles for the control of South Africa. The encounter is aptly called the Battle of Blood River.

The spears and the shields of Dingaan's warriors were no match for European guns and cannons. Their bravery and the heavy loss they inflicted on the Boers could not stop the tide from turning against them. The Zulu's effort to save their land is the most memorable in South African history. The day of this battle, December 16, is still called Dingaan's Day.

"Saving" Us Again

For All the World's People — PEACE

We believe in honesty. We're for unselfishness and truth. And every time you take a vote we'll raise our hands for love.

But when a group of international operators transform these qualities into "absolutes" and sets out under the banner of Moral Rearmament to provide "the Answer to Mau Mau and Communism in Africa" we must enter our vigorous dissent.

The Moral Rearmament people have just concluded a "World Assembly" in Washington, D.C. Respected Negro papers have devoted precious space to handouts on the meeting prepared in the offices of Hearst's International News Service.

Clearly, the Absolutists are after us. They want the 16 million Negroes in the United States. Most particularly, they want the 180 million blacks in Africa. And so they paraded a few Africans in Washington, including one Dr. William

Nkomo who is falsely described as founder of the African National Congress Youth League.

A handful of "top" Negroes have been taken in by MRA and have spent some "absolutely fine" weekends at the plush estates of industrialists and financiers which the Rearmament people seem to regard as absolutely essential to successful deliberation.

But since they obviously can't fit all of us on these estates, large as they are, we believe the majority of Negroes will find the solution of their housing problem—and of the whole problem of second-class citizenship—in the broad area of struggle.

We have asked one of our feature writers to tell our readers in a future issue all about Moral Rearmament and its plans to save us, and Africa, "from the clutches of Communism."

Meanwhile, suffice it to say that MRA is absolutely phoney.



Integration NOW!

(Continued from Page 1)

finally settled"; and "Delay solely for the sake of delay is intolerable."

But all this looks like window-dressing for the Attorney General's "implementing" proposals which, while maintaining Supreme Court jurisdiction, would authorize the lower courts to determine the earliest practical date by which state desegregation plans can be carried to completion.

These "lower courts," bear in mind, are located in the Dixiecrat South. Certainly, Brownell is under no illusion as to their will and ability to use the authority he would grant them for protracted delays and sabotage of the Supreme Court decision. Let not his double-talk lead us into any such illusions.

Georgia's Governor Talmadge hailed the President's statement and the Attorney General's brief as evidence that the Eisenhower Administration is moving toward his way of thinking—and the fact on public record suggest that he is absolutely right.

Mass Struggles Needed

Here, indeed, is a formidable coalition against desegregation. And we would do well to understand that the Eisenhower Administration, no less than the Dixiecrats, seeks first of all to advance the interests of the great financial and industrial corporations which garner billions of dollars in extra profits from the Jim Crow system. We dare not rely on this Big Business government to integrate white and Negro schools.

The great people's victory registered when the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools last May was won through powerful mass pressures by the Negro people and their allies in support of legal proceedings in the courts; and the consummation of that victory through the actual abolition of segregated schools can be achieved only through even more powerful mass struggles.

All the evidence points to increasing recognition of this fact by the masses of Negro people. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continues forthright in its demand for desegregation by the fall of 1955; and it is organizing a series of local, regional and national

conferences to mobilize mass support to this end. The Negro press, fraternal, religious, professional and other organizations are pressing for prompt implementation of the Supreme Court ruling.

Countless Negro citizens in the Deep South are displaying true heroism in their defiant challenge to Dixiecrat threats—as in terror-ridden Mississippi, where they are taking "effective measures" to combat the vigilante "Citizens Councils."

This developing campaign is still far short of what is required, and needs to be stepped up considerably. Especially is there need for more demonstrative action—thousands of mass meetings throughout the country, demanding **Integration Now**; pressures on Administration and Congressional leaders, together with state and city legislative bodies, to speak out for prompt implementation of the Supreme Court decision; "Desegregation Parades" in large cities; resolutions, petitions, letters-to-the-editor, and every other means of registering the Negro people's determination to consolidate the victory we won on May 17, 1954.

Support Essential

• But the Negro people cannot achieve this victory alone. Massive support by the labor movement and other democratic allies is absolutely essential for success; and this is precisely the point where the desegregation campaign most seriously lags.

This then is a problem to which Negro leaders and organizations should direct special attention. Let our national leaders call upon the great trade unions to mobilize their millions in active support of the Supreme Court decision. Let Negro churches call upon white churches in the same community to join in this fight. Let Negro fraternal societies address similar appeals to corresponding white fraternal societies, and so on with professional, women's, youth and other organizations—each appealing to its counterpart in the white community. Let us open up a great public debate on this question, with full confidence that the democratic white masses will respond and that victory will be won.

A PROGRAM FOR 1955

All precincts that have been heard from agree that the outstanding event in our fight for freedom during 1954 was the May 17 Supreme Court ruling against segregation in public schools.

But what of 1955? Where will the breakthrough come this year?

We have no crystal ball and so can't say for sure. But that does not disturb us, for what is needed is not so much prophesy as program. If we build stronger the unity of the whole Negro people, join hands with our friends in the labor movement and progressive circles, and—most important—project our fight as a part of the worldwide battle for peace and against colonialism, we will move forward.

Here's **FREEDOM'S** program for 1955.

CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Full enforcement, everywhere, of the Supreme Court decision on education. 2. Break the Jim Crow wall in housing. No federal funds to insure banks and builders of lily-white developments. Admit Negroes to Parkchester, Levittown and Stuyvesant Town. 3. Wipe out segregation in all transportation facilities, between and within states.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Repeal the cloture rule in the U.S. Senate. Pass a federal FEPC law with enforcement power. 2. Break discrimination in railroad employment—"Let Freedom Ride the Rails." 3. Win equal job rights in the "runaway" plants of General Electric and the Ford Motor Co. in Louisville, Ky. 4. Hire Negro pilots, flight attendants, clerks, technicians and weather

experts on the airlines. 5. Strengthen the fair practices committees in the unions. End Jim Crow locals and internationals. Elect Negroes to international executive boards in the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers and other unions in CIO and AFL.

POLITICS

1. Achieve two million Negro registered voters in the South. 2. Double registration outside the South. 3. Abolish the poll tax. 4. Introduce bill for uniform national registration for federal elections. 5. Double the number of Negro city councilmen in North. 6. Elect Negroes to at least 10 city councils among the following Southern cities: Richmond, Norfolk, Raleigh, Charlotte, Columbia, Charleston, Atlanta, Savannah, Mobile, Miami, Jacksonville, Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Little Rock. 6. Extend the vote to 18-year olds. 9. Win the franchise for Washington, D.C.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. Repeal the discriminatory Walter-McCarran immigration law. 2. Stop political persecution and jailing of Negro and white radicals, including Communists. 3. Recall McCarthy to Wisconsin. 4. Reverse the Fisk U. board of trustees action in firing Dr. Lee Lorch, head of the mathematics department. 5. Restore Paul Robeson's passport. 6. Free Carl Braden, jailed in Louisville for defending a Negro's rights.

WORLD AFFAIRS

1. Free Kenyatta; stop imperialist terror; establish democratic liberties in Kenya. 2. Support labor's right to organize throughout the African

continent. 3. Support the South African "Congress of the People." 4. Secure United Nations condemnation of apartheid. 5. Seat People's China in the UN. 6. Support the Asian-African conference for peace and independence. 7. Hold conference of leading powers, including India and People's China, to conclude peace treaties in Korea and Indo-China. 8. Resist British and U.S. overlordship in the Caribbeans; restore democratic government in British Guiana and Guatemala. 9. Defeat the plan to put arms in the hands of our bitter enemies, the Nazi generals with their "Aryan supremacy" philosophy.

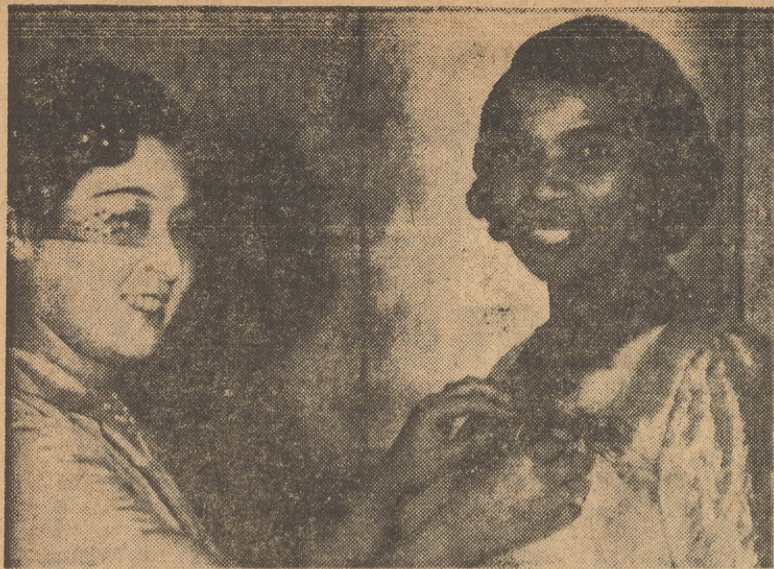
ORGANIZATIONS

1. Support and build the NAACP. 2. Rally to the Freedom Sunday services sponsored by the National Baptist Convention, Inc. on May 15. 3. Defend the Civil Rights Congress, the Council on African Affairs and the National Negro Labor Council from political attacks. 4. Increase the social action program of lodges, college fraternities and sororities, women's groups and all major organizations.

SPORTS

1. Negroes on all big league baseball teams. 2. Give Archie Moore a chance at Rocky Marciano's heavyweight title. 3. Include basketball teams of Negro colleges in the lily-white leagues in their areas.

Well, there it is. This program doesn't pretend to be complete. But does it include your needs and demands? Are there planks which you oppose? Why not write and tell us and **FREEDOM'S** readers what you think?



MARIAN ANDERSON is shown in Tokyo, Japan, in 1953, receiving medal of honorary membership in the Japanese Red Cross. She sang for benefit of orphaned children.

MET LIFTS JIM CROW CURTAIN

By RUTH JETT
Guest Columnist

Some weeks ago when the Metropolitan Opera announced that Marian Anderson had been signed to appear in Verdi's "A Masked Ball," the news reverberated around the world. At long last, the citadel of musical drama in the United States lowered its barrier to recognize the rich talents of Negro artists.

An editorial in the *Herald Tribune* stated, "Because she happens to be a Negro, she has symbolized more than musical attainment. . . . Her debut as 'Ulrica' in Verdi's 'A Masked Ball' will have, as so many of her appearances have had, a special significance."

Robeson as Boris?

Olin Downes, esteemed critic of the *New York Times* expressed the thoughts of millions when he wrote (October 17, 1954): "In other theatres than the Metropolitan many Negro artists have appeared, as at the City Center. . . . It is only at the Metropolitan that the white tradition, as one might call it, has endured up to the present day, although some years ago Mr. Bing brought in Janet Collins, a Negro dancer, to be the prima ballerina. . . . If it is 15 years late for Miss Anderson to be recognized by the Metropolitan, it is as many years since it would have been appropriate for such a singer as Paul Robeson to make his appearance there. . . . We speak of his exceptional endowment as a singer and dramatic interpreter. . . . He could have been a highly impressive Boris, or Mefistofele [in the opera 'Faust'—Ed.] or Emperor Jones . . . the part that made Lawrence Tibbett famous in opera. The character waited for such an artist as Robeson to give it a unique integration." Mr. Downes further detailed the roles that could be played by

such gifted artists as Mattiwilda Dobbs, William Warfield and Leontyne Price "who would certainly surpass some other singers who have taken such roles at the Metropolitan in past seasons."

Another Negro Signed

That Miss Anderson's contract to sing in opera signals a real change in the policy of the "Met" is indicated by the more recent signing of Robert McFerrin, Negro baritone, winner of the Metropolitan Opera auditions of the air for 1953, and the use of Negro singers in choral work.

All of this is significant as a milestone of cultural development in the United States. For too long the Negro artist aspiring to full recognition in the operatic field has had to look to Europe, and American audiences have been denied the opportunity of hearing Mattiwilda Dobbs, who is a toast of the British opera world, except for one performance at Town Hall with the Little Orchestra Society.

The many other singers of the caliber of Carol Brice, Kenneth Spencer and Ellabelle Davis, who have had operatic success in Europe but not at home, make up an impressive list. And people throughout the rest of the world have long wondered why this great "land of the free" and "cradle of liberty" denied themselves these rich experiences, and countenanced only the gross distortion of a "Porgy and Bess" (for which one has always been apologetic because of the beauty of the music in contrast to the ugliness of the story); or the illegitimate (to be refined) "Carmen Jones" and "My Darlin Aida."

City Center Pioneered

While the Met comes in for its deserved salute, the City Center of Music and Drama really paved the way with Camilla Williams and Lawrence Winters singing and acting

leading roles for several years; Negro members of the chorus; Mary Hinkson, prima ballerina for a number of years; and this year Donald McKayle as one of the leading male dancers. Elayne Jones, renowned young tympanist, has been a member of the Opera Orchestra at City Center for many years.

Also to the credit of the City Center, was its presentation of "Troubled Island," an opera by William Grant Still with libretto by Langston Hughes based on the Haitian revolution.

But foremost, the praise must go to the Negro artists themselves who have persevered in the face of all obstacles—when they were denied participation in the major opera companies they formed their own and presented opera in English at churches and concert halls, even at Madison Sq. Garden.

The music schools like Juilliard, Curtis, Eastman, the Boston Conservatory, the Tanglewood Workshop, and many others have contributed their share in breaking down the barriers through proper training and presentation of Negro students in opera, and particularly works of contemporary composers.

New Themes Needed

It is to be hoped that the signing of Leontyne Price by NBC-TV to sing the title role in "Tosca" is the beginning of a long list of Negro artists in such roles by major TV networks.

It is to be hoped further that the democratization of opera will stimulate new works by William Grant Still, Ulysses Kay, Howard Swanson and others; that opera will begin to reflect the American scene and its tradition and will become a vital part of democratic American culture. Why not operas about Harriett Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, William Lloyd Garrison, and "God's Angry Man," John Brown?

Book Review:

Saunders Redding's American in India

By LLOYD L. BROWN

Chances are, the next time the State Department asks Saunders Redding to go somewhere and win friends for U.S. foreign policy, he'd say right quick: "Look, you can send me into a cage full of man-eating tigers and I'll do my loyal best, but for God's sake please don't send me again to a place like India!"

In his latest book, *An American in India*, Mr. Redding, a Negro college professor, gives a gloomy first-hand report on what can happen to a man who ventures forth among "colored people in a colored country" as an emissary for the Big White Folks in Washington.

The sad story started a couple of years ago when State Department officials decided that Redding (after a clearance by the FBI) was just the man to send on a lecture tour of India. It seems that the people there feel very friendly to other colored peoples, and the bright idea was that a Negro spokesman would be effective in winning friends for America's unloved rulers.

Salesmanship Fails

And as it happened, the Indian people were indeed quite friendly to Mr. Redding—until they found out what he was trying to sell. After that it was just one small man against, in his words, "an angry sea."

He found to his dismay that "literate Indians everywhere . . . had heard and were constantly hearing of the low status of American Negroes, the segregation and discrimination practiced against them, the 'wretched existence' that was forced on them. They were acquainted with and fully convinced of the frightful truth of the indictments brought against American society by such . . . publications as *We Charge Genocide*."

Deluged By Questions

Mostly he spoke to gatherings of intellectuals—lawyers, writers, teachers, students. The lawyers asked about the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six and Willie McGee; the writers asked why Paul Robeson was denied a passport and why Howard Fast had been jailed; teachers and students

'holding back the dawn . . .'

wanted to know why academic freedom was suppressed in American schools; and everybody wanted to know why the U.S. government was so stubbornly opposed to the world's desire for peaceful coexistence.

"The questions," says Redding, "rattled around my head like buckshot"; and he tells of his frantic efforts to duck. One sharp question hit him hard and often: Why was he, a member of an oppressed people, serving as an agent for their oppressors?

"In the certain knowledge of too many Indians," Mr. Redding relates, "I was a despised stepchild of America. It is no wonder that they found me somewhat incredible as an apostle of Americanism." And worse than incredible: "the Indians seemed to think I was traitorous to my 'community.' I was traitorous to all colored people everywhere."

Cry of Alarm

The message Saunders Redding brings back is not for the Negro people ("my people, I used to say," he notes at one point). His book is a panicky cry of alarm to the Big White Folks.

The advice Redding offers U.S. policy-makers shows that the professor returned disturbed but not sufficiently enlightened. "It seems to me," he counsels, "that the American line of propaganda and action must be made definite and clear, and that this line should be that we need India."

The trouble is that the Indian people believe that they need India and they mean to have it. A leading Moslem professor put it this way to the touring lecturer: "I have seen what I have seen in China and we are learning China's lesson." He added: "You cannot hold back the dawn, my friend."

Whatever the intentions of the author, *An American in India* warns Negroes that they can give uncritical support to the current U.S. foreign policy only at the risk of losing the respect and friendship of millions of allies among the resurgent darker and colonial peoples of the world.

AN AMERICAN IN INDIA, by Saunders Redding. 277 pp. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.

children's story: 'BE AT LIBERTY'

January 1 is Emancipation Day. On that day, 91 years ago, the slaves in all the states that were fighting against the United States government in the Civil War were declared "henceforth and forever free."

Some history books tell us that the Negro slaves did not fight for their own freedom. This is not true. Nearly 200,000 Negroes fought in the Civil War in order to be free. And even before the war they showed in many ways that they didn't like slavery.

A great historian, Herbert Aptheker, who tells the truth about Negroes has written a booklet in which he tells about the hundreds of revolts that slaves took part in. And further they not only revolted; they ran away too. So many of them ran away that the slave owners had to pass a special set of laws which made it a crime for anyone to help hide a runaway.

Many times they killed their masters or set the house on fire. And sometimes when they felt that they couldn't stand being slaves any longer and saw no hope of freedom, they killed themselves. There is a story that is passed down in our family that tells about

how my great-great-grandmother could not stand the thought of her children growing up as slaves. One day she went down to the river with her young children intending to drown them and herself. But she got new hope of freedom. She decided to go back and fight.

I don't know what happened. I would like to believe that she joined in with one of the many slave revolts that Dr. Aptheker tells about. She and her brothers might have joined up with Gabriel Prosser or Nat Turner and other brave men who led slaves in revolt against their terrible conditions.

She even might have answered this call from Arthur Farrar, a slave leader, who said in his appeal for support, "Black men if you have a mind now to join with me, now is your time for freedom. All clever men who will keep secret, these words I give to you is life. I have taken it on my self to let the country be at liberty. This lies upon my mind for a long time. Mind men, I have told you a great deal. I have joined with both black and white, which is the common man or poor white people . . . black men I mean to lose

my life in this way if they will take it."

As Dr. Aptheker says, Arthur Farrar was hanged in Henrico County, Virginia, in June 1802.

A song is handed down to us that was written by a slave and was sung at their meetings. Here is a verse and the chorus:

Arise! Arise! shake off your chains!
Your cause is just, so heaven ordains;
To you shall freedom be proclaimed!
Raise your arms and bare your breasts,
Almighty God will do the rest.
Blow the clarions warlike blast;
Call every Negro from his task;
Wrest the scourge from the buckra's hand,
And drive each tyrant from the land!

And the chorus read:

Firm, united let us be,
Resolved on death or liberty!
As a band of patriots joined,
Peace and plenty we shall find.

That was a good song then and I'm sure you will agree that it is a good song for today, too.

PEACE . . . on Earth

**A Conversation
From Life**
By Alice Childress

Of all of Miss Alice Childress' brilliant Conversations from Life, this one, which originally appeared in Freedom's December 1951 issue, probably received the most applause from our readers. We reprint it today, even though Christmas has passed, so that, like all good stories, it may be enjoyed again.

Merry Christmas Marge! Girl I just want to sit down and catch my breath for a minute. . . . I had a half a day off and went Christmas shopping. Them department stores is just like a madhouse. They had a record playin' real loud all over Crumbleys. . . . "Peace On Earth." Well sir! I looked 'round at all them scufflin' folks and I begun to wonder. . . . What is peace?

You know Marge, I hear so much talk about peace. I see it written on walls and I hear about it on the radio and at Christmas time you can't cut 'round the corner without

hearin' it blarin' out of every store front. . . . Peace . . . Peace . . . Peace.

Marge, what is Peace? . . . Well, you're partly right, it do mean not havin' any wars. . . . but I been doin' some deep thinkin' since I left Crumbley's and I been askin' myself. . . . How would things have to be in order for me to be at peace with the world? . . . Why thank you dear. . . . I will take an egg nog. Nobody can make it like you do. . . . That's some good. I tell you. . . .

And it begun to come to my mind. . . . If I had no cause to hate "white folks" that would be good and if I could like most of 'em. . . . that would be peace. . . . Don't laugh Marge 'cause I'm talkin' some deep stuff now!

If I could stand in the street and walk in any direction that my toes was pointin' and go in one of them pretty apartment houses and say,

"Give me an apartment please?" and the man would turn and say, "Why it would be a pleasure Mam. We'll notify you 'bout the first vacancy." . . . That would be peace.

Do you hear me? If I could stride up to any employment agency without havin' the folk at the desk stutterin' and stammerin'. . . . That my friend. . . . would be peace also. If I could ride a subway or a bus and not see any signs pleadin' with folks to be "tolerant" . . . "regardless" of what I am. . . . I know that would be peace cause then there would be no need for them signs.

If you and me could have a cool glass of lemonade or a hot cup of coffee anywhere. . . . and I mean anywhere. . . . wouldn't that be peace? If all these little children 'round here had their mamas takin' care of them instead of other folks' children. . . . that would

be peace too. . . . Hold on Marge! Go easy on that egg nog. . . . it goes to my head so fast. . . .

Oh yes. . . . if nobody wanted to kill nobody else and I could pick up a newspaper and not read 'bout my folks gettin' the short end of every stick. . . . that would mean more peace.

If all mamas and daddies was sittin' back safe and secure in the knowledge that they'd have toys and goodies for their children. . . . that would bring on a little more peace. If eggs and butter would stop flirtin' 'round the dollar line. . . . I would also consider that a peaceful sign. . . . Oh, darlin' let's don't talk 'bout the meat!

Yes girl! You are perfectly right. . . . If our menfolk would make over us a little more THAT would be peaceful too.

When all them things are fixed up the way I want 'em I'm gonna spend one peaceful Christmas. . . . and do you know what I'd do? . . . Look Marge. . . . I told you now. . . . don't give me too much of that egg nog. . . . My dear I'd catch me a plane for Alabama somewhere and visit all my old friends and we'd go 'round from door to door hollerin' "Christmas Gift!" Then we'd go down to Main Street and ride front, middle and rear on the street-car and the "whitefolk" would wave and cry out, "Merry Christmas neighbors!" . . . Oh hush now! . . . They would do this because they'd understand peace.

And we'd all go in the same

church and afterwards we'd all go in the same movie and see Lena Horne actin' and singin' all the way through a picture. . . . I'd have to visit a school so that I could see a black teacher teachin' white kids. . . . an' when I see this. . . . I'll sing out. . . . Peace it's truly wonderful!

Then I'd go and watch the black Governor and the white Mayor unveiling the bronze statue of Frederick Douglass and John Brown shakin' hands. . . . Oh yes! And that statue would be sittin' spang in the middle of the city park.

When I was ready to leave I'd catch me a pullman back to New York. . . . now that's what you'd call "sleepin' in heavenly peace." When I got home the bells and the horns would be ringin' and tootin' "Happy New Year!" . . . and there wouldn't be no mothers mournin' for their soldier sons. . . . and there'd be no service stars in the windows. . . . Boys and girls would be prancin' 'round and ridin' their Christmas sleds through the sparklin' snow. . . . and the words "lynch," "murder" and "kill" would be crossed out of every dictionary. . . . and nobody would write peace on no walls. . . . 'cause it would BE peace. . . . and our hearts would be free!

What? . . . No, I ain't crazy, either! All that is gonna happen. . . . just as sure as God made little apples! I promise you that! . . . and do you know who's gonna be here to see it? Me girl. . . . yes, your friend Mildred! Let's you and me have another egg nog on that. . . . Here's to it, Marge! PEACE!

Harlem Fights Fire Deaths

(Continued from Page 1)

ing house tenants occupy narrow, unhygienic rooms and kitchenettes in converted family dwellings.

In 1954 gas violations alone accounted for at least 94 deaths in New York City. Within the past two months 15 Negro and Puerto Rican lives have been taken by faulty gas fixtures and ten by fire—all of the latter in Harlem.

Landlords are literally getting away with murder. In a community in which 90% of all dwellings have violations of the City Code, they pay meagre fines or none at all and death continues to take its toll.

But there is a fight-back movement afoot. Organized

and unorganized tenants have fought and won some rent reductions and repairs. Protests are mounting for repeal of Governor Dewey's 15% rent increase law. Housing was a featured issue in the Dec. 11 Legislative Conference called by Congressman Adam Powell Jr. at Abyssinian Baptist Church. From 500 angry delegates rose the cry for a community-wide rent strike in all homes with violations.

Are you a New Yorker? Do you live in Harlem, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, or in the lower East Bronx? Then you'd better join the tenants organization in your community.

It's your best insurance against landlord abuse, bad housing—and possible sudden death.



Negro History Week Photo Show Planned

The New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—Photography Workshop—announces its annual exhibit to celebrate Negro History Week.

Amateurs and professionals are urged to submit any prints they have which they feel portray any phase of Negro life and culture. Tentatively titled "Lift Every Voice and Sing," in tribute to J. Rosamond Johnson, the exhibit is assured a wide audience, and will be shown in churches, schools, community centers and trade unions.

For further information contact "Photography Workshop," National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, 35 W. 64th St., New York 23. Closing date for submissions is Jan. 24.

LOST

AT FREEDOM'S CELEBRITY CLUB CABARET DANCE: Pendant with green agate stone, mounted on silver, decorated with copper Aztec design. Has sentimental value. Reward to finder. Contact Estelle Thomas, 231 W. 69th St., N. Y. 23. ENdicott 2-5552

ol' jim crow He's a Hard Man to Please

(Continued from Page 3)

Bryant W. Bowles of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of White People. He liked what he saw so much that he invited Bowles to Florida to see how they kept Negroes "in their place" down there.

Besides being tough, you might say Sheriff McCall is sort of a human bloodhound, who can scent racial trouble even before it gets started.

So, after the Platt family moved in, and after he had invited Bryant Bowles down, Sheriff McCall decided to give a display of his powers.

The Platt family, McCall told everybody, had been sent in by "THEM"—to test the Supreme Court decision on school integration. They were not white; they were really YOU-KNOW-WHAT. Look, he pointed, at Laura Belle's nose; look at Denzell Platt's skin; weren't the little girls' curly heads suspicious! Sure, they said they were "Irish and Indian"—but he split his sides telling his gang a joke about the "smoked Irishman."

Poor Platt. How could he prove that white is not black?

He pushed his jalopy 500 miles back to South Carolina, though he could not afford the gas, to gather his documents. He returned and exhibited: (1) a letter from the superintendent of Holly Hill schools saying that the Platt children had always been taught by

"white teachers"; (2) a marriage certificate a quarter of a century old, stating that Allen and Laura Platt had married as "white"; (3) the testimony of respected Holly Hill citizens that the Platts had never been sociable with Negroes; (4) a survey related to his family tree which said that early Irish settlers in the Carolinas 400 years ago had intermarried with Indians, and indicating that this union was still casting its shadow on present-day Platts; (5) a historical finding that the State of South Carolina in 1837 had recognized a certain group, the Croatans, as genuine Indians (it's not clear what they were before) and that somehow this, too, affected the Platts.

But documents do not impress Sheriff McCall once his nose is on the trail and he scents his prey.

At last hearing, the wires were still humming with the controversy between Holly Hill and Mt. Dora. The Platts were still trying to prove they were white and—as they said—"remove the stigma" from their children. The kids had not yet gone back to the "white" school. And helpful friends were advising Platt to move to a larger city where he might lose sight of his problem—or be lost sight of—in the crowds. Sheriff McCall was still outside the human race. And—oh, yes—someone had called in the FBI—undoubtedly, because of the Redskins in the picture.

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