

Mississippi Today — History in the Making

By PAUL ROBESON

AS WE CELEBRATE the heroic contributions of great leaders for the fight for Negro freedom in the past, it is of the utmost importance to remember that a stirring chapter in Negro history is being written today in Mississippi.

We all recall that Mississippi is the only state in the history of the nation which has sent Negroes to the United States Senate. How well the Senate could use today stalwart men of the caliber and qualifications of Blanche K. Bruce and Hiram Revels, the Reconstruction Senators from Mississippi. And Congressman John R. Lynch was one of the outstanding legislators and defenders of popular democracy of that exciting period.

BUT when Reconstruction was defeated with Klan terror and Republican betrayal, the blows fell especially hard on Mississippi, precisely because it was in the forefront of the bitter battle for social progress in the South.

Mississippi, after Reconstruction, became a prison for a million Negroes and almost as many impoverished, exploited white rural folk.

But the common people, even in the most difficult hours, never gave up. The Negro people built their schools, churches and small business, their fraternal orders and civic organizations. They took pride in the struggling all-Negro town of Mound Bayou. They fought oppression with whatever weapons they had.

IT IS one thing to sit in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles and say what Negroes in Mississippi should do or should have done, but it is another to live one's life out in the face of the most rabid of racists, armed with the power of the state and the actual support or hypocritical "neutrality" of the federal government, and still survive and make progress.

But that's what the valiant Negroes of Mississippi have done. They have, as it were, for the past 80 years

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THE FORMOSA CRISIS

By W. E. B. DuBois

Men who are willing to substitute common sense for power politics should sit down and scan maps of China and the United States. Suppose an island nearly the size of Holland lay a little more than a hundred miles off our eastern coast and was in possession of an enemy determined to use it for attack on us. This would be serious. But suppose that in addition, other small islands lay right on our coast, and had been seized and fortified by our enemy, with Chinese military officers and equipment on these islands. Also, that these islands have repeatedly been used for armed attack on our mainland. No great nation today would for a moment endure such open aggression. These facts in themselves would have been in the past ample cause for war.

Add to this fact that Formosa for nearly 300 years has been universally recognized as Chinese and in Chinese possession, save when it was forcibly seized by Japan in 1895 and held fifty years. After the Second World War the Allies deprived Japan of Formosa and declared that it belonged to China. The question certainly arose as to whether Chiang Kai-shek or the Communist regime was the real Chinese state. Most of the civilized

world recognized the Chinese People's Republic as the real China. The fact that the United States insists that six million people on Formosa constitute China while 600 million on the mainland are not only to have no recognition, but not even to be treated as respectable, may be justifiable to some. But surely to add to that the threat of war unless this great Chinese Republic should acquiesce in allowing a discredited man like Chiang Kai-shek to camp on their door step and bomb them at will—this no decent administration can ask.

By what far-fetched logic can Formosa, on the opposite side of the earth from us, be regarded as necessary for the



DR. DuBOIS

Do We Simply Pretend To Own the Earth?

protection of our western border? Does it protect our Philippines? But we just announced the independence of the Philippines. Does it protect our Japan, or does Japan belong to the Japanese? Do we simply pretend to own the earth?

Instead of clinging to such an untenable position why could not the President of the United States say clearly: "We ask that the island of Formosa remain undisturbed at present, eventually to be disposed of in accord with the decision of the International Court of Justice. All other islands, we agree, shall revert to the Chinese People's Republic. We recognize this republic as the government of China, entitled to a seat in the United Nations. We will neither aid nor abet war or hostilities between China and Formosa."

This would be the greatest step toward a peaceful world since Hitler's death. And what would we lose? To such an overture there can be no doubt but that China would assent. Of her legal right to Formosa there is no doubt. She will never surrender that right. But if without surrender she is asked to await peaceful processes and at the same time is treated in other and vital respects as a civilized nation, she will sacrifice immediate war for peace and work with the civilized world to maintain it.

Freedom

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

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CAUGHT BETWEEN 'NO-ACTION' IKE AND SELL-OUT 'LIBERALS'

Fight Looms for CIVIL RIGHTS

By THELMA DALE

A major mobilization of the Negro people together with organized labor and other democratic groups will have to take place to wring any progressive legislation from the 84th Congress. In fact, the raft of anti-labor and anti-democratic bills introduced in both houses will demand a major effort to hold the gains already achieved.

Despite the efforts of the NAACP and other civil rights organizations, Sen. Herbert Lehman (Dem.-N.Y.) was the sole Senator to raise his voice in an effort to change Rule 22 to permit the Senate to limit debate and thus avoid filibusters. By a prior agreement, announced in Washington before Congress opened, liberal Democratic Senators led by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (Dem.-Minn.) deserted the civil rights fight in the interest of maintaining party unity with the racist Dixiecrats. Thus the civil rights of millions of Negroes who cast their votes for the Democratic Party last November were sacrificed in the interest of political expediency.

Ike Proposes: No Action

Further, it would seem that Negroes need not hope to be rescued from our plight by the Republicans. In one of the longest State of the Union messages on record and in four subsequent messages, President Eisenhower has made no call for legislative action to help Negroes achieve full first-class citizenship rights. And not one Republican Senator stood with Sen. Lehman against the filibuster on opening day, not even the great "liberal" Wayne Morse.

Michael Quill, Pres. of the CIO Transport Workers Union and of the Greater New York CIO Council, has given the lead to organized labor on its stake in this situation. Writing in the TWU newspaper, Quill said:

"If the keystone of our civil and political rights are to be given the 'once-over-lightly' treatment, in the name of political expediency, then, I say, we are going down the spillway, and we may very well wind up with only the shell of freedom."

Rights Are Indivisible

Quill further linked the civil rights "sell-out" to the sponsorship of the Brownell-Butler-Humphrey Bill passed in the last session of Congress to outlaw the Communist Party with definitions of communists that might easily include Sen. Humphrey himself. He concluded:

"The organized labor movement cannot sit with folded hands while this lightminded tampering with the American Bill of Rights is given legislative respectability by those whom we have every reason to consider friends and allies."

Mr. Quill apparently recognizes what too few labor lead-

ers today are willing to admit: namely, that the rights of all Americans are indivisible. He perhaps remembers the decisive role which Negro workers played in helping to organize the CIO on a basis of equality. He must know that if Congress is prepared to by-pass the struggles of the Negro people for full equality, then it probably is ready to hack away at labor's hard-won gains.

Eyes on 1956

Negroes and our allies must put up a fight to secure the passage of civil rights legislation in this session.

We should barrage the Congressmen and Senators in every state with mail and delegations demanding hearings on and passage of an FEPC bill. (One has been introduced by Congressman Powell, text of which was not available at press time.) We must insist that the trade unions to which we belong and other organizations take a positive stand and fight for FEPC. And finally, we should serve notice on both major parties that we have our eyes on 1956 and that there is no one living who can deliver the Negro vote in that year except on the basis of party performance between now and then.

George Murphy Sr. Passes

The death in Baltimore of George B. Murphy, Sr., father of the former general manager of FREEDOM, outstanding civil leader, and member of the distinguished Afro-American publishing family, was marked by an outpouring of tributes and sympathy from all parts of the country. Paul Robeson attended the funeral as an honorary pallbearer.

HARLEM HOME OWNERS FIGHT

Jimcrow Mortgage Policies

NEW YORK—Last month while President Eisenhower and Congress were busy extending the "security" of our nation to the shores of China, Harlem residents were busy in numerous organizations trying to secure some decent housing for the world's largest Negro community. Congressman Adam Powell's Housing Conference was moving ahead with many tenant councils toward an April 1 rent strike. The Harlem Affairs Committee Forum heard angry demands for direct and immediate action to clean-up the rat-infested, fire-trap tenements which threaten the entire community, and agreed to press for public hearings on bills introduced in the New York Legislature to eliminate housing bias. The American Labor Party,

with representation from its Harlem Council, conferred with N. Y. C. Housing Commissioner Gillroy on acute hardships imposed on tenants by landlords who instead of making necessary repairs—have been removing stoves from apartments. The ALP proposed: no removal of stoves until adequate facilities were found for tenants; a relocation authority that would assist tenants in finding new apartments, and a prior lien law which would permit the City to make necessary repairs and charge the landlord for such repairs.

Mortgage Conspiracy

One of the community organizations that has been doing a quiet and laborious job

(Continued on Page 2)

Juvenile Delinquency?

Child Labor is Society's Crime AGAINST Youth

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

It has become the fashion of public authorities to behave as if the alarming increases in delinquency among a large section of our juvenile population is a curious phenomenon for which they hold no responsibility.

This approach—or lack of approach—to our youth bears



Miss Honsberry

the historical overtones of a society that has moved slowly and reluctantly from that time when it legally sanctioned two and a half centuries of the worst crime of all against the young—slavery.

More than that—once having sanctioned the enslavement of black children in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, our society readily and greedily herded tens of thousands of white children in the 19th and 20th centuries into the factories, mills and mines of early and not-so-early industrial America.

Heavenly Sanctions

Far from regarding child labor as a "blight" on the nation in those days, spokesmen for the monied classes early sought to find "humane" justification for child labor as they had sought to find excuse for slavery—in "God's will."

"Children," wrote Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, in his Report on Manufactures, "would be more easily useful by manufacturing establishments than they would otherwise be."

Later, the textile industry of New England was one of the earliest to employ children on

a mass scale. Millowners advertised in local papers, "Wanted: One Family, with Eight Members Working."

Girls 12 or 14 years were employed in the steam rooms of these mills. For 12 or more hours they twisted massive coils dripping wet hemp. At the end of the day these children fled from the steaming rooms in soaking dresses into the bitter cold of New England winter nights.

In the early years of the 1900's there were some 69,000 children employed in the textile mills along the Atlantic seaboard. If working parents tried to keep their children out of the mills (at great loss to the family, since a father's wages averaged between 83 cents and \$1.00 a day, and a mother's even less) they more than likely lost their jobs and were evicted from the company living quarters.

In 1900 the United States census reported that there were 1,752,187 children under 16 working in gainful occupations in the United States.

Canning, Cotton & Glassworks

Children worked in the most exploitative and hazardous industries. Girls and boys as young as four years old worked in great numbers in the canning industry throughout New York State. Thirteen percent of all the workers in the cotton industry in the U.S. were reported to be under 16. And in the South, the regional figure for juvenile workers in cotton manufacture was 25% of the total.

Thousands of little girls of six and seven worked 12 and 13 hours daily in Alabama mills. Young boys were employed in great numbers in glass factories across the coun-

try to run back and forth from furnaces to molding tables, on an average of 72 times an hour, with racks of hot glass bottles.

Typical of the brutality of child labor was the coal mining industry which in 1900 had some 25,000 boys working in the mines of Virginia and Pennsylvania. A reporter of the period, a grown, healthy man, described one of the mines:

"I once stood in a breaker for half an hour and tried to do the work a 12 year old boy was doing day after day, for ten hours at a stretch, for 60 cents a day. The gloom of the breaker appalled me... there was blackness, clouds of deadly dust enfolded the harsh, grinding roar of the machinery and the ceaseless rushing of coal through the chutes filled the ears... my hands were bruised and cut in a few minutes and I was covered from head to foot with coal dust, and for many hours afterward I was expectorating some of the small particles of anthracite I had swallowed."

As one observer wrote: "One learns not to judge the ages of working children by their physical appearance, for they are normally behind other children in weight, height and girth of chest—often as much as two or three years."

Nor were the high disease, accident and death rates among working children the only evil products of child labor. The youthful crime rates in industrial centers were proportionately little better than today.

Man's Sacred Charge

New York State was typical of the ravaging effect child labor had on education. In 1900, 76,000 child laborers between 10 and 14 were out of school completely, and another 16,000 attended less than 5 months out of the school year.



IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY children worked by their parents' sides in booming textile mills. Sarah N. Cleghorn wrote: "The golf links lie so near the mill... that almost every day... the laboring children can look out and see the men at play."

In the 1880's the working people took up the fight to give childhood back to children. They cried out in the words of Gene Debs, "Flowers they are, with souls in them, and if on this earth man has a sacred charge, a holy obligation it is to these tender buds and blossoms of humanity." And said Debs, "Child labor is not only unnecessary in this age, but a crime against both the children and society."

It would be indictment enough if the industrialists had misused child labor out of indifference, but the fact is that the efforts of the working people to curtail and ultimately abolish child labor were met blow for blow by the determined efforts of the manufacturers to maintain their "rights" to this source of cheap labor.

In 1916 and 1919 from the force of nationwide demands, the Congress sought to ban child labor in interstate commerce. In both instances the U.S. Supreme Court cancelled the laws as—unconstitutional.

In 1924 when Congress was again pressed to approve a

child labor amendment to the Constitution, the industrialists and their agents demonstrated with naked solidarity how they regarded "man's sacred charge"—when it interfered with profits. In New York State for example, the legislature rejected the amendment chiefly through the opposition of the mighty manufacturing interests of the state; a large section of the press which charged the laws were, of all things, "violations of freedom of the press"; and the Catholic Church, which managed to oppose the exploitation of little children on the ground that it violated the "liberty" of the child.

For the Negro child, to all of this was added the long nightmare of racist oppression. For three hundred years—from the time the starved and bleeding children of West Africa made their way down the gangplanks of the slave ships, the callous rulers of our society sought to crush their liberty, their right to live, their dignity—and their precious and already magnificent heritage.

(Next month: "Destruction of A Heritage.")

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 253) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of FREEDOM, Published Monthly at New York, N. Y., October 1, 1954.

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

Publisher, Freedom Associates, Inc., 139 W. 125th St., N. Y. C.; Editor, Louis E. Burnham, 139 W. 125th St., N. Y. C.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None.

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 addresses 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.)

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3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, 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 statements 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: Not required of monthly publications.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of October, 1954. NATHANIEL EDWARDS, Notary Public, State of N. Y. My commission expires Mar. 30, 1955.

Harlem Owners Fight Mortgage Jimcrow

(Continued from Page 1)

over the past several years, the Harlem Mortgage & Improvement Council, called a strategy Conference of State legislators and community leaders in January to map steps to break the discriminatory lending practices of New York banks and eliminate all other forms of segregation and discrimination in the housing field.

Typical of practices in most Negro communities, Harlem property owners have long suffered from the established policy of a conference of 11 banks which some years ago formally agreed not to lend money on Harlem properties. Although the banks subsequently dissolved the conference, since it was clearly a conspiracy to deny property owners' rights, the practice was never abandoned.

The Harlem M&I Council was established to break this situation. Over the last several years it has used every kind of pressure: moral suasion, public conferences, sup-

port for a Harlem lending institution (the Carver Building & Loan Assn.), conferences with public officials, but all to no avail.

Last year two major banks made big headlines in announcing a million dollar fund put up for improving Harlem properties. However, C. T. Davis, Chairman of the Harlem M&I Council reported at the recent conference, that his organization had submitted 50 loan requests which had been investigated by the N. Y. Housing Authority, but in three years of conferences, all the banks have remained unmoved. The result is that Harlem property owners must either get loans through loan sharks at exorbitant rates or allow their property to deteriorate beyond repair.

To close effectively some of the many loopholes which prevent Harlem residents from getting decent housing, the Conference adopted the following program:

1. Appointment of a committee to see Gov. Harriman and urge him to take action through various departments of the State Government (Housing, Banking and Insurance) to stop the discriminatory practices now operating. The Committee was also committed to urge the Governor to appoint Negroes to positions on the various State boards.

2. Support of the legislation introduced in the State Legislature by Assemblyman Bertam Baker of Brooklyn and State Senator Metcalf, which would give SCAD (State Committee Against Discrimination) jurisdiction over housing; and other bills including one introduced by Sen. Zaretsky amending the State Constitution to prohibit discrimination in all housing.

3. A program of education, public relations and political action aimed specifically to get mass support from tenants and property-owners in support of the Conference program of action.

Freedom
When one is quoted, it is in them.

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ol' jim crow

HE STILL RULES BY LAND AND SEA

By JANICE HAWKINS

Do you remember the story they used to tell about the three blind men and the elephant—something like this?

It seems the first man felt the huge, hairy side and decided the elephant was like a mountain; the second felt the trunk and reported the elephant was like a snake. The third felt the tail, and swore the elephant was shaped like a piece of rope.

Every now and then, something happens to a colored man, and you and I know exactly what it is. But while we're busy looking right at it, the three blind men are busy dopping out some other explanation.

Like this, for instance:

Last month, the United States Navy decided to send one of its big boats, the Midway, on a visit to one of our friends in the "free world," the Union of South Africa.

Naval Etiquette

It was an important trip, so you may be sure all the brass was polished on the 45,000-ton Navy aircraft carrier, and all the members of the crew were instructed in their company manners.

Company manners in the Navy means, as they explained, that "in case of visits of public vessels to foreign ports, due regard must be had for observance of local laws and customs."

Now, South Africa has some local laws and customs that would make Governor Jim Byrnes of South Carolina or Hugh White of Mississippi turn green with envy.

One local law outlaws all education for native Africans—even in church and private schools—except for the first few grades.

There is another local law which is going to evict 57,000 Africans from their homes, where they lived for years in Johannesburg, so that the city will be white.

Other local laws and customs require Negroes to carry passes at all times; Jim Crow Indians from Africans; native Africans from mixed Africans; and everybody from whites.

The Captain "Negotiates"

All of these facts being known beforehand, there was naturally much protest about the trip. The Navy, being what it is, sailed on schedule, with Captain Reynold D. Hogle firmly pledged to "negotiate" on the color question when he arrived.

How he succeeded may be judged from the following report on how color restrictions were "eased," issued by the Captain:

1. Visitors were allowed to come on the Midway, without waiting for "African Day," "Indian Day," "Colored Day," "European Day," and so on.

2. A group of 500 of the Midway crew (it numbers 2,600) were allowed to watch a ball game without being sifted into separate seats. A Midway team played a local team. Both lilywhite.

3. American Negroes and Filipinos were allowed to purchase bottled drinks in Jim Crow bars, whereas native Africans have to take their one drink at a time.

4. A "considerable concession" was made when hotels, set aside for Indians only, were induced to take American Negroes, though Africans are barred.

5. All non-white members of the crew, some 400 men, were invited to segregated dances. But, to mix it up, Captain

Captain Hogle and the American Counsel attended these affairs.

Again, the Elephant

Now, it is on the record that four years ago the U.S. Navy told the world that they would not officially participate in any affair which "involves or implies" [their own words] segregation or discrimination.

Therefore, when the NAACP said, "the visit to Capetown was a surrender to a gutter-snipe government and those who arranged it should be thoroughly ashamed of themselves," it seemed to be time for red faces, apologies—or at the very least official silence.

Here's where we get back to the elephant, which up to this moment had looked very much like what it was.

The N.Y. Times reported (from Washington) that the visit had given South Africa an "object lesson in non-segregation." Furthermore, it reported "thorough satisfaction" on both sides.

The editor of the official Navy magazine "Our Navy," Rob E. Hurst, added, these thoughts: "These crewmen are used to that sort of segrega-

tion, being well schooled in it in American cities." Negroes and Filipinos, he observed "voluntarily" seek their own places, even in this country, since they do not wish—being thoughtful citizens—to go where they are not wanted.

Why try to make an issue, he asks, out of "one of the hazards of the service?" This, he informed us, is the last thing the Negro—and Filipino crewmen would have wished.

A Navy spokesman added his description of the elephant. Quoth he:

The trip of the Midway to South Africa was a blow at segregation, and had a "terrific impact" on South Africans who saw how Americans work and play together.

Everything the South African government could do to "cooperate," "short of convening the South African Parliament and rescinding the laws" was done.

Citing the arrangements described above, he concluded that "We struck a far greater blow for equal justice . . . than could have been possible if we had suddenly decided to bypass Capetown."

And just in case anyone



MALAN
(Our 'Free World' Ally)

still had the wrong idea, the Navy official added a final clincher: "If the trip were not made, people would resent the thought that we were curtailing the activities of the Navy. . . . And the one who would be blamed for this would be the Negro."

That seemed to be the last word.

And just to prove that the elephant is really shaped like a rope, the Midway having ended its object lesson in democracy-at-work at Capetown, South Africa, steamed away to the next classroom in the faraway Pacific.

The place: Formosa. The object: to teach the Chinese how to treat the Chinese.

Workers Fight for

\$5 MILLION ANNUAL INCOME

In Coast Union Battle

SAN FRANCISCO—Five million dollars in annual income—this is the stake for which Negro San Franciscans are battling in a union contest moving to a dramatic climax after a year of bitter rivalry.

On one side are the Negro community, the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; on the other the U.S. government in the form of the National Labor Relations Board and the jim-crow Seafarers Union, headed by the notorious Harry Lundeberg.

MCS was for many years the proud and democratic representative of some 4,000 galley personnel on West Coast sea-going vessels. Over half its members were Negroes or of other minority groups; one of its top international officers, Joseph Johnson, is a Negro.

The militant, equal rights policies of MCS made it the target of every reactionary, anti-Negro clique on the waterfront.

The weapons used against it were the familiar ones: raiding and red-baiting. When these failed to frighten MCS's membership into the clutches of Lundeberg and the SIU, the government obligingly stepped in to smash the union which the workers obviously wanted. The NLRB withdrew MCS's bargaining rights and the Justice Department moved to persecute the union president, Hugh Bryson, for alleged perjury in connection with a Taft-Hartley affidavit.

The long campaign to break MCS paid off when Lundeberg, whose SIU covers deck and

engine room personnel, called for an NLRB vote for all unlicensed personnel. There are roughly 6,000 men in this classification working Coast ships. Only 2,000 are cooks and stewards, a two to one

cois for the NAACP filed a brief and asked permission of the NLRB to offer oral argument in opposition to the election on the basis of the threat to Negro jobs. The NLRB ignored him.

Francis' plea was in sharp contrast to the actions of Negro Atty. Franklin H. Williams, regional director of the NAACP. Williams chose this time to issue a red-baiting letter attacking the MCS-ILWU and throwing support to the jim-crow AFL union.

His letter, printed in the big Bay Area newspapers, roused wide anger in the Negro community. A delegation is reported to have called on him at his office to protest his action. Several of those present are said to have torn up their NAACP membership cards and thrown them on the floor. There is also some talk of a recall campaign being launched against the NAACP leader.

The decision of attorneys for the Negro seamen to take the case to the Supreme Court followed refusal by the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to either halt the election or allow separate returns by the stewards, the deck personnel and the engineroom personnel.

Atty. Allan Brotsky, representing the MCS, asked the NLRB to delay the vote until the case can be argued before the top court, but to no avail. The vote began on Jan. 31. On its outcome, and the continuing struggle of Negro and progressive white marine cooks and stewards, an important part of the economic future of Negro San Franciscans depends.



JOSEPH JOHNSON
(He was Sec.-Treas. of MCS)

tilt in favor of SIU. (Half of MCS's members are unemployed, and a like proportion of SIU).

When MCS was forced off the ballot, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union stepped into the picture and began to organize the stewards. But this union is faced with the same unfavorable odds in any NLRB vote.

The sweeping threat to the Bay Area Negro community in such a disastrous job loss, roused wide protest. A meeting called by the ILWU to fight the vote drew support from Negro church, professional and club leaders as well as workers. Atty. Terry Fran-

AFRICA

...the giant stirs!

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THE NEGRO WORKER and the KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, flashing like a meteor through the eighteen eighties, brought large numbers of skilled and unskilled Negro workers into the predominantly white labor movement for the first time in U. S. history. Almost 100,000 freedmen shared an experience similar to that described by Ida B. Wells, noted Negro journalist, in the *Memphis Watchman*:

"I was fortunate enough to attend a meeting of the Knights of Labor. . . . I noticed that everyone who came was welcomed and every woman from black to white was seated with the courtesy usually extended to white ladies alone in this town. It was the first assembly of the sort in this town where color was not the criterion to recognition as ladies and gentlemen."

From their first contact with the Knights, Negro laborers and farmers were acutely aware of the various attitudes expressed toward them as Negroes. Since the Order was the largest labor body of the post-Reconstruction era, with more than 700,000 members at its peak in 1886, these attitudes had broad social implications for Negroes and whites alike.

Harmony Prevails

Since the underlying principle of the Knights was the solidarity of all working men and women, Negroes and whites often acted together for common purposes, including strikes and political action, and the fellowship of labor waxed strong.

In Richmond, Virginia, Negroes and whites were jointly employed in some factories, and were harmoniously cooperating because of the Order. The *Cleveland Gazette*, a Negro newspaper, noted that half the Knights in Norfolk were Negroes, who showed great enthusiasm for the Union, and "Harmony prevails between white and black workmen."

The *Washington Bee* editor wrote that the Knights showed good sense in "not allowing themselves to be coaxed" into supporting establishments which did not hire Negroes. "It is the duty of the colored Knights

of Labor," he said, "to boycott all institutions which are inimical to the interest of the race."

Breaking Down Walls

In November, 1887, Negroes and whites marched together in a Knights of Labor parade in Washington, D. C. In Louisville, over 6,000 Negroes and whites marched to demonstrate for the eight-hour day. In addition to the Knights several Negro organizations joined the procession. Louisville parks had been closed to Negroes before, but after marching through the streets the parade entered National Park and, it was stated, "thus have the Knights of Labor broken the walls of prejudice."

In Charleston, South Carolina, according to John Swinton, the prominent white labor editor, Negroes and whites were working in greater harmony as members of the same union. "This is a grand stride," he wrote on May 16, 1886. "The organization of the Knights of Labor has done much for the South. When everything else had failed, the bond of poverty united the white and colored mechanic and laborer."

Similar fraternal reports were received about workers in Bartow, Georgia, and coal miners of Warrior Station, Alabama. In Birmingham, in 1887, 5,000 Negroes and whites marched in a labor demonstration of the Order. After it was over a Negro speaker and a white speaker addressed the workers from the same platform.

Sympathetic Strike

The state convention of the Knights of Labor of Mississippi included Negro and white delegates and "no color line was drawn." In Louisiana the Negro assembly at Algiers participated in a Fourth of July labor parade by orders of Terence V. Powderly, Knights national leader, and played a prominent role. In New Orleans Negroes paraded with whites in 1883, 1884 and 1885 under the sponsorship of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly, a consolidated body of all labor organizations in the city. The white workers of the Assembly had a sympathetic strike when employers refused to negotiate with Negro draymen.

The Knights of Dallas, Texas, had

"(The Negro people's) cause is one with the labor classes all over the world. The labor unions of the country should not throw away this colored element of strength. . . . It is a great mistake for any class of laborers to isolate itself and thus weaken the bonds of brotherhood between those on whom the burden and hardships of labor fall. The fortunate ones of the earth, who are abundant in land and money and know nothing of the anxious care and pinching poverty of the laboring classes, may be indifferent to the appeal for justice at this point, but the labor classes cannot afford to be indifferent."



FREDERICK DOUGLASS



NEGRO AND WHITE Knights of Labor marched in this Chicago May Day Parade, May 1, 1890.

a July Fourth celebration and a Negro local and a Negro judge marched with the white members. After the parade, two of the speakers were Negroes. "This is the first time such a thing happened in Texas," reported the *Huntsville Gazette* of July 23, 1887.

In 1891 the Galveston Knights held a mass meeting to protest against the use of convict labor. Dr. J. H. Wilkins, a Negro, as well as several white speakers, addressed the Assembly.

Baltimore Parade

In Baltimore, over 20,000 workers "of all colors and nationalities" participated in a May 1st parade for the eight-hour day. Pictures of Powderly were carried by the marchers. The Negro workers were cheered all along the way when they carried the mottoes "Shall We Send Our Boys to Prison to Learn a Trade," "Eight Hours Pay for Eight Hours Work," "Live and Let Live," and "All We Ask Is Justice and Our Old Wages." The following September (1886) 25,000 workers, Negro and white, marched in a Labor Day parade reviewed by Powderly. This was the largest demonstration ever witnessed in Baltimore.

Reporting on the parade, John Swinton's *Paper* declared on September 19:

"At the great parade here on Labor's Holiday, colored men were well mixed in and through the procession. In some instances, you would see an assembly composed entirely of colored Knights; another assembly would be perhaps half colored, and in some instances one solitary colored individual would be marching with any number of his white trades-brothers. The procession was a very orderly one, the colored and white fraternizing as if it had been a common thing all their lives."

The following year, one of the Knights of Labor recommendations to the Maryland Legislature included the striking out of the word "white" wherever it occurred in the constitution and laws of the state.

California Outrage

This advanced policy, among some sections of the Order was not limited to the localities in the South. The *San Francisco Elevator*, in June, 1888, described as a "California outrage" the arrest as "runaways" of Mr. and Mrs. Boss, Negro contract workers of Fresno County.

Oakland District Assembly 55 took

up the case, and unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the arrest as an "outrage upon humanity and a blow at freedom in this State," and censuring the authorities for their "high-handed and unconstitutional usurpation of power."

The matter was referred to the District Executive Board, with instructions to hire lawyers and "any other steps necessary to maintain the rights of the much abused citizens." An assessment of twenty-five cents was declared on each member of the various locals assemblies in the district, and \$27.50 was spontaneously contributed by the district delegates to fight the case. The press throughout California condemned the arrest.

In the Newark Labor Day parade of 1887 over 20,000 Negro and white workers marched together. In Boston the white Knights invited the Wendell Phillips Club, a Negro organization, to jointly decorate the grave of Phillips. Also in Boston the first official Labor Day parade saw over 20,000 people in the line. A Negro carpenter carried a sign reading "equal rights for all" on one side, and "we make no distinction" on the other. Negro coal handlers, shovels on their shoulders, were enthusiastically cheered as they marched beside their white colleagues.

Strength In Unity

When Judson Lewis, a Negro member, was refused service in a Uniontown Pennsylvania barber shop, he retorted that the Knights would establish one for all members of the Order. A Brooklyn Knight wrote this letter to John Swinton:

"I am connected with an Assembly of the Knights of Labor which contains 450 members, 25 of whom are colored, and there has not been a single outburst of feeling on account of color. I am a colored man myself, and am Worthy Treasurer, an office which was forced upon me for the third time."

These and other instances of interracial solidarity of the Knights of Labor provided a major base of its strength in the battle for the eight-hour day and against the intense exploitation of the rapidly-growing trusts.

But there were also many evidences of capitulation to the ideas of white supremacy which the employers fostered among the workers. We will deal with these items in the next issue of FREEDOM.

The Walter-McCarran Immigration Law

Jim Crow Rules Foreign Born And Those Who Want to Come

By ALEC JONES

"The Negroid race being an inferior people is the only race which thrives under slavery. . . . Having no culture or civilization of their own, and belonging to a race which all history proves is substandard and uncreative, the Negro seeks by means of the weight of numbers and political influence to gain the objective which he was unable to obtain because of lack of ability."

This Hitlerian concept of the American Negro was pronounced, not in the 18th or 19th century, but on October 11, 1952. The author, one John Hamilton, was testifying before a Commission on Immigration and Naturalization set up by President Truman to learn what the American people thought the immigration and naturalization policy of the United States should be.

On June 27 of the same year, over Mr. Truman's veto, the Walter-McCarran Law had become the nation's immigration and naturalization policy.

This law, which was effectively cut Negro immigration to the United States by 90 per cent, is one of the most racist, discriminatory and anti-democratic pieces of legislation in our history. It is the legislative embodiment of John Hamilton's anti-Negro philosophy.

Target of the McCarran-Walter law is not only the Negro; it brands all colored peoples as grossly inferior and

makes of Southern and Eastern Europeans second-class humans as compared with their northern neighbors of Germany, England, France, and Ireland.

Quotas By Color

The most indecent and bald discriminations are to be seen in the quota provision of the Law.

Great Britain has a population of 41 million. Its yearly quota is 65,000. Before the Walter-McCarran Law, Negro immigration from the British West Indies was counted in the quota of Britain. However, the Law decreed that colonial immigration should be limited to 100 persons a year. Thus, though the population of the British West Indies is roughly 1/13 of Britain's, the West Indian quota is 1/653 that of Britain.

China has a population 17 times as large as Britain. Yet the quota for all persons of Chinese descent is 105 compared with the 65,000 for Britain.

Or let's take India. This great nation's population is 357 million. On the upper Rhine, tucked between Austria and Switzerland is tiny Liechtenstein with a population of 14,000 persons. Liechtenstein's yearly quota and the quota of vast India are the same—100 persons a year.

Growing Opposition

In the two and one-half years

since the law was passed, there has been a constant and ever-growing opposition to it. The opposition comes not only from communities where there are large groupings of foreign born Americans. It rises from all sides.

Candidate Eisenhower had pledged that if elected, revision of the Walter-McCarran law would be high on his legislative priority list. He was elected, but there was no change in the Walter-McCarran law in the 83rd Congress. In fact, Sen. Watkins of Utah was responsible for a Congressional deal whereby in exchange for getting through the Refugee Relief Act, there would be no change in the Walter-McCarran law.

Citizenship a Hazard

While deals are made, the people suffer. Thousands of families—and especially West Indian families—remain broken because there is such a long waiting list to enter.

All non-citizens must carry upon their persons at all times "Alien Registration Cards." They must between January 1st and 31st of each year report their current address to the Attorney General; or in the event they move, notify him of the change within 10 days. Failure to do so is only one of more than 100 deportable offenses contained in the Law.

Naturalized citizens find themselves in little better position. For while we have always

been told to cherish our United States citizenship, those who are citizens by choice and not mere chance of birth, find their citizenship is a loan which may be recalled at any time by the Attorney General.

20 Bills for Revision

A person became a citizen 30 years ago. Today the Attorney General can claim that at the time of naturalization—the naturalized citizen concealed a "material fact" and institute proceedings to revoke his citizenship.

The fact that the law has been on the statute books for

two years does not mean it cannot come off. Already more than 20 bills have been introduced in Congress to revise the Law. These Bills run from minor changes to major revisions such as are contained in the bill introduced by Congressman Anfuso of Brooklyn.

All are bottled up in the House or Senate Judiciary Committees. The demand that there be public hearings on one or more of these bills and pressures brought to bear upon the chairman and members of these committees are of prime importance if revision is to be won.



AFRICAN PORTRAIT:

CLEMENTS KADALI

By JOHN H. CLARKE

When the history of South Africa is written by men more interested in the truth than in justifying exploitation, a higher place will be found for the name and efforts of Nyasaland's Clements Kadalie. This great leader spent most of his life planting and nurturing the seeds of trade unionism in the midst of conditions and circumstances that would have destroyed a lesser man.

Clements Kadalie came forward in the South African labor movement at the time the British and the Dutch were closing their ranks against the Africans following the bitterness of the Boer War (1899-1902).

The Bantus had given some assistance to the English during the war but had grown disgusted with their middle class leaders who tried to appease them with British promises that were never kept. The writings of Kadalie's newspaper *The Workers Herald*, along with the efforts of the great Bantu editor John Tingo Jabavu, became their new stimulant for action, and they began to look to themselves for emancipation.

In 1919 Clements Kadalie founded the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa, that for a while was a supplement to the African National Congress and later



CLEMENTS KADALI

threatened to replace it.

The South African government could not tolerate the rise of this important black workers union and consequently introduced the Native Administration Bill with its drastic Sedition Clauses. The object of the bill was to check the onward march of African labor and the I.C.U. in particular. Demonstrations against the bill, unprecedented in the annals of South African history, were organized throughout the country. The I.C.U. was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions and cabled that body seeking international support.

With the help of the I.F.T.U. and the South African Trade Union Congress, the African workers were able to keep the worst clauses of the Native Administration Bill from being written into law. Later Kadalie pleaded for a better consideration of African labor before the League of Nations and attended the International Trade Union Congress which met in Paris in 1927. That same year he made an extensive speaking tour of the United States. Before his death in 1932 the Industrial & Commercial Workers Union of Africa had a membership of nearly 100,000.

GEORGE HENRY WHITE

The Last Negro Congressman from the South Fought for His People

The story of George Henry White, the last Negro Congressman to serve from a Southern state, has great significance for our present-day political struggles.

Born in Bladen County, N.C., in 1850, George White as a boy witnessed the poor tenant farmers work all spring and summer and get nothing for their toil.

He worked hard and rose from one position to another in the ladder of leadership. He graduated from Howard University and in 1879 was admitted to the bar. Practicing law in New Bern, he was a real defender of the poor and the Negro people. When asked to serve as principal of the State Normal School he immediately accepted because it would give him a chance to promote education.

State Official

All during this time farmers and workers were organizing. They were getting together to stop the big companies from taking away their hard earned money. In Raleigh the Knights of Labor began to organize the people for political action.

By 1887 the membership had spread to every county in North Carolina. The whites and Negroes who had joined in labor assemblies, farmer unions, Republican Party and

Populist Party, all agreed to work together. When they did, they formed a coalition that put many good men into office.

George White was one of these officials. He went to the State House of Representatives in 1880 and in 1884 he was elected to the State Senate. From 1886 to 1894 he was Solicitor and Prosecuting Attorney for the second Judicial District of North Carolina.

A Fighting Congressman

Then, in 1896, George Henry White was elected to the Congress of the United States as a Fusion candidate. There he raised his eloquent voice again and again in condemnation of the outrages against his people. He fought for passage of an anti-lynching bill. Here are some of his fighting words which may be found in the Congressional Record of the period:

"You may taunt us and then taunt us for a lack of bravery, but one day we will break the bonds. You may use our labor for two and one-half centuries and then taunt us for our poverty, but let me remind you—we will not always remain poor."

Farewell Speech

Here are the wonderful words of his farewell speech to Congress, packed with strength and confidence in the

future:

"This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negro's temporary farewell to the American Congress, but let me say, Phoenix like, he will rise and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised and bleeding, but God-fearing people, faithful, industrious, loyal people—rising people, full of potential force. . . .

"The only apology which I have to make for the earnestness with which I have spoken is that I am pleading for the life, the liberty, the future happiness, and manhood suffrage of one-eighth of the entire population of the United States."

It has been 54 years since George White left Congress. And even though during all these years his people have constituted between one-third and one-half of the population of North Carolina, not another Negro has succeeded him.

But certainly this situation will not last much longer. The people are learning the lessons of unity of Negro Americans with white workers and poor farmers. In North Carolina and in the entire South the Negro, "Phoenix like . . . will rise and come again" to the U.S. Congress.

(Continued from Page 1)

been preparing for major battles — husbanding their strength, preparing their leaders, mastering the tactics of popular democratic struggle. They have sent their young men and women away to schools which provide greater opportunities than those afforded in the state and many, thought not enough, have returned to take up front positions in the movement for equality.

NOW, after all these years, the battle has been joined on a new and higher level. The NAACP, which for years had only negligible strength in Mississippi, can now boast a considerable and growing organization. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant surgeon of Mound Bayou, leader of the important, fraternal order, the Knights and Daughters of Mount Tabor, has emerged along with others as an energetic and resourceful leader. The libertarian currents abroad in the world have stimulated the freedom-yearnings of Negroes and many veterans of World War II are impatient for the realization of the "promisory note" of equality in the name of which that great anti-Hitler conflict was waged.

So today, Negroes of Mississippi, as of the whole South, are demanding implementation of the Supreme Court decision on segregation in education.

And as might be expected, the Dixiecrats have responded with howls of anguish and threats of retaliation. They have done this, of course, all over the South. But in Mississippi their retaliation has gone well beyond the point of threats.

THE planters have organized a new Ku Klux Klan. They have laundered it a bit, given it a face-lifting, and called it White Citizens Councils. But no Negro in Mississippi will be fooled. He knows the Klan when he sees it, by whatever name it's called.

The misnamed Councils have begun to exert economic pressure on the leaders and membership of the NAACP. Are you a grocer, funeral director, physician, small farmer? Then the likelihood is that you could not function without credit. But the credit is in the hands of the banks and mortgage companies, dominated by the planters and big Wall Street concerns.

So, say the Citizen Councils, since we control the credit, we'll control the Negroes! We'll starve their leaders out. We'll draw up a new kind of blacklist, and any Negro who supports NAACP or calls for equality in education will have to find his living outside of Mississippi.

BUT the planters have reckoned without their hosts! When Governor Hugh White called what he thought were 100 "hand-picked" Negroes to his office to eulchre them into endorsing a statement opposing the Supreme Court decision, they voted 99 to one for integration of education. In Mississippi, that takes courage!

And the response to the economic boycott of the Citizens Councils has been just as dramatic. Within three weeks, under the leadership of the NAACP national office, organizations and individuals from all parts of the country have deposited \$143,000 in the Negro-owned Tri-State Bank of Memphis to provide lending capital for Negro businessmen, professionals and farmers who are being foreclosed by the "free enterprise" Dixiecrats of Mississippi.

ALL decent Americans are called upon to rally to the heroic Negro people of Mississippi. I should like to see the great organizations of labor deposit large sums in the Tri-State bank to help in this fight. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has already deposited \$10,000. Other groups may deposit smaller, or larger, sums.

We must support the demand that President Eisenhower intervene and prosecute those who are violating federal law and regulations by deliberately withholding economic loans for political reasons.

Messages of moral support and solidarity should pour in to Dr. T. R. M. Howard at Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

Eventually as the struggle deepens, as it must, new forms of battle will be needed and found. At the moment we must use those at hand to sustain the brave Negro people of Mississippi.

We must support their movement for the right to vote, so that with political power they may be armed with the guarantees of implementation of legislative enactments and judicial decrees. We must focus the attention of the entire nation on this critical front in the battle for democracy. This is Negro history in the making.

LET'S WALK TOGETHER



From a drawing by Charles White

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

'Let Us Identify Ourselves With the Best in Mankind'

Thank you a thousand times for extending to me this opportunity to convey my deep appreciation to the more than fourteen hundred people whose Christmas greetings made those days which I was forced to spend in the Federal Detention Home seem like another contribution to the cause of justice, democracy and peace. To those personal friends, those magnificent supporters of the Bill of Rights and the Civil War Amendments who measure human values neither by color nor by creed, but by the integrity and strength with which men and women defend the interests of the people, I can truthfully say:

"Your messages brought moral and spiritual vitality far in excess of the loving words they bore. Believe me, such messages literally change the inhuman atmosphere of our prisons. Do not forget those whom I left behind, the men and women who mold your interests into living, burning words that fire the zeal of all true lovers of humanity. They are the enemies of force and violence. They are the deathless defenders of peace and security. Write to them. The impact of your words upon the prison authorities is greater than you can ever know.

"My release has far-reaching political significance. It can be fully understood only if the case against CRC is studied in the light of the struggle of tremendous scope and magnitude going on between those who fight to end segregation and all expressions of racism, those who fight for domestic tranquillity and world peace and the forces of reaction who can temporize with the Talmadges, Byrnes and others, those who believe that the

purveyors of racial prejudices can be gently dealt with the while they lynch and seek to dehumanize men whom by decree they hold inferior. My imprisonment was no personal affair. My release must therefore revitalize the struggle against the oppressors. I was framed.

"Had I been guilty of submitting a fraudulent tax return, the Internal Revenue Department did not have need



Wm. L. PATTERSON

for the names of the hundreds of white and Negro Americans whose contributions aided the fight for the lives of the Trenton Six, the innocent, heroic Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, in order to bring me to book. A tax accounting suit would have secured that end.

"My persecution was an attempt to smash the drive of the Civil Rights Congress to defend civil and human rights. It was a part of the terror instituted on the waves of hysteria launched by those who would destroy due process of law and establish an American brand of fascism, the better

to promote aid to dying French and British colonialism and against the heroic struggles of the Mau Mau, the peoples of Indo-China and Malaya to build a new way of life for themselves.

"My frame-up is one with the Department of Justice's development of a core of paid perjurers, finger men of the type of Harvey Matusow and Manning Johnson, who for pay will swear the defenders of democracy to years of imprisonment, if not to death as Remington was sentenced.

"The defeat of those who imprisoned me emphasizes the invincible might of the people. Today there are men who sit on the Bench who are alarmed at the seeming impunity with which the minions of Brownell flout Constitutional liberties and violate substantive and procedural law. Those men will support the Bill of Rights if the people are mobilized for action. My freedom indicates the power of the people. It must strengthen all Americans who love their country and hate its enemies at home and abroad. The decisive task we face is the mobilization of the people.

"Let us move to free Ben Davis and his colleagues, to secure the travel rights of Paul Robeson and Dr. DuBois, to end jim-crow and segregation now, to wipe racism from the boundaries of our beloved land and introduce domestic tranquillity based upon respect for human dignity.

"Let us aid in the fight to bring peace to the world and thus identify ourselves with the best there is in mankind.

"Thanks again. I remain sincerely yours."

William L. Patterson

MORAL REARMAMENT

'A Solution which Solves Nothing'

By JEROME RUSH

M. R. A.—Dr. Frank Buchman's Moral Re-Armament Movement—although not a new movement is now rapidly expanding its activity. Under the slogans of ethical absolutism and inter-racial harmony, M. R. A. provides a forum where lyncher and lynched, colonial oppressor and oppressed, boss and worker, Wall Street magnate and trade union leader may meet together and talk of "love, honesty, unselfishness and purity."

The movement is particularly anxious to make inroads among the organizations and leaders of the Negro nations and peoples of Africa and the United States. A few prominent Negroes have joined M. R. A. and the magazine *Color* devoted an entire issue to its activities in December, 1954.

M. R. A.'s annual Assembly, held each summer in Caux, Switzerland, has in recent years been attended by many African national figures, particularly from West Africa. The 1954 Assembly heard Kikuyu speakers report on the success of M.R.A. in reconverting "mau mau" adherents, and a South African apologize for the resistance of his people against white conquest and enslavement.

Official Support

Last year, a Moral Re-Armament team toured Nigeria, and conferences were held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, with Governor Sir Gilbert Rennie giving the opening address. Two widely-publicized M.R.A. conferences were held in the U.S. in 1954, in Michigan and in Washington, D.C.

Moral Re-Armament finds an open door and official support in places where passports are ordinarily denied, conferences suppressed and people's leaders persecuted and jailed. In contrast to other organizations where money is scarce and Internal Revenue agents practically members of the book-keeping staff, M.R.A. publishes no financial statements and makes no budget reports. Its annual expenditure in the United States, however, has been estimated by the *New York Times* at \$1 million.

M.R.A. proposes a return to basic moral truths, absolute purity, unselfishness, love and honesty. Concentrating on individual change as a precondition to social progress, M.R.A. seeks the unity of all adherents into a "pattern of teamwork that will sell democracy to the millions." It opposes strike action and preaches labor-business collaboration. And, while professing to rise above political differences, anti-communism is a dominant theme.

On this point, the Nigerian newspaper *Lagos Daily Service*

(8/1/53) commented: "It is noteworthy that in practically every release issued by the M.R.A. there is an implied attack on Communism. How can the M.R.A. convince independent people that it is not an agent of Western Democracy if it continues with such a policy? Today it is someone renouncing the Communist doctrine. Tomorrow it is another swearing never again to join the Communist Party simply because he has attended an M.R.A. Assembly. We are not Communist or fellow travelers. But we like to make sure that the M.R.A. is not being used indirectly to win the world for the other side."

Supported Fascism

Frank Buchman, a Lutheran minister and missionary from Pennsburg, Pa., has been active in cultist, religious leadership since the Twenties. Moral Re-Armament was founded at a Switzerland conference in 1938, and grew out of Buchman's Oxford Group movement begun in the Thirties in England. During this period, Buchman was an admirer of Nazi Germany. "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler who built a front line of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism." (*N. Y. World Telegram*, 8/26/36).

Buchman's political activity then had pacifist overtones arguing against English-American participation in the developing anti-fascist international coalition, and his role

was widely recognized then as giving support to the aims and policies of the fascist powers.

Now, Dr. Buchman's speeches are carried here by the Columbia Broadcasting System, abroad by the World Wide Broadcasting Corp. and Radio Free Europe, and reprinted in the *New York Times* (6/14/54) by a "group of citizens representing both management and labor."

African Criticism

M.R.A.'s African program, however, is meeting with increasing opposition; for freedom movements are not so easily diverted from their path.

In South Africa, *Advance* the now banned progressive weekly, described M.R.A. as "the 'solution' that solves nothing." And Dan Toome, the prominent South African people's leader, wrote that M.R.A. is a formula for getting the oppressed to submit to their fate, without struggle. . . . Africans will ask why M.R.A. has no answer to any of the problems of poverty, misery, unemployment and war, but restricts itself to acting as a weapon in American Capitalism's 'cold war' against so-called 'communism.'"

M.R.A.'s inter-racial pretenses, also are not altogether convincing. The South African drama critic, Cecil Williams, in reviewing a performance last year by one of the M.R.A.'s theatrical touring teams, commented: "For a crusading group whose aim it is to 'save'

Africa with its 130 million Africans and its 10 million whites, it seemed to me lopsided not to have one member of the black races either on the stage or in the audience. But then, the chairman carefully explained that M.R.A. with its moral absolutes of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love 'doesn't mean mixing of the races'. . . the very thought!" (*Fighting Talk*, May, 1954).

The West African Students Union in London has also criticized M.R.A. Its Newsletter (9/53) declared: "To many European workers the role of the M.R.A. Group, with its palatial Headquarters in Caux, in splitting workers' unity and damping their fights against the employers is very well known. Today the M.R.A. is becoming more active in Africa to play the same role of diverting the African patriots in their struggle for justice and freedom."

"Agents and Spies"

"WE DON'T WANT YOU!" is the flaming headline of the *Ghana Evening News*. (6/22/54) This Gold Coast paper editorializes, "They appear to be too

much more concerned about 'changing the hearts' of Africans over here than changing the hearts of those who are responsible for the continued enslavements of millions, the murderous bombing of Africans in Kenya or South African apartheid, the indecent exposure and ill-treatment of South Africans in the jails of Malan and the continued East-West cold war in which we are not interested! . . . Down with Moral Re-Armament! Away with imperialist agents and international spies!"

The Gold Coast *Ashanti Sentinel* (7/6/54) also commented on M.R.A. "What we need is a change from poverty, want and disease to prosperity, plenty and health. . . . Tell the M.R.A. agents therefore to go back to their American and British homes to change their imperialist governments before they come here.

This criticism of M.R.A. is very much to the point, and should be instructive to the handful of U.S. Negroes who have begun to look to M.R.A. for an answer to their problems. It is a "solution which solves nothing."



LAST YEAR in Caux, Switzerland, people from all parts of the world gathered in the palatial headquarters of M. R. A. to discuss the four "absolutes": purity, unselfishness, truth and love.

A Story for Children:

Charles W. Chestnutt

First Negro Novelist

Long ago in the days of slavery, one of the favorite pastimes of the slaves was story-telling. In the evenings after the long hours of work, they would gather together and tell stories about life on the plantations, or stories about the little animals of the fields and woods.

Now some of these stories were sad, and some were very funny. Often in the stories about animals, the slaves would describe the little creatures as if they talked and acted like people. Some of the stories were very good, but the slaves couldn't put them into books because the slave owners didn't allow them to read or write.

But about 15 or 20 years after the Civil War a man was able to write down stories that were very much like the slaves' stories.

His name was Charles Wadell Chestnutt. He was born during slavery in 1854. He was born free because his mother and father were free and they lived in Cleveland, Ohio.

While Charles Chestnutt was a boy he heard many of the old stories which the slaves had passed on to each other. He heard them from his mother and father,

and from their friends who remembered slavery.

When Chestnutt grew up he became a lawyer and a teacher and then a principal. One day when he was in North Carolina, where he went to teach, he decided that he would also like to make up stories.

This was during a time, very much like today, when the men who owned the magazines and the book publishing companies didn't like stories or articles in their books or magazines which made Negroes seem like very serious or worthwhile people.

So, just as the slaves had done, Charles Chestnutt wrote stories that very often started off as if they were just funny tales. But just before the stories finished it would turn out that the slaves were neither foolish nor dumb—and had outwitted some wicked person.

Then Charles Chestnutt decided that he would like to write much longer stories about the life in the South and so he began to write novels which became very popular.

Today, Charles Chestnutt's book and stories are as good as ever, and he is well remembered as the first Negro novelist.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

A Conversation

From Life

By Alice Childress

Hi Marge! It's been a long time but you know how it is when you're out there makin' a livin'. The wind is high and the money is low and every first of the month the mailman drops letters with windows on them in my mail box . . . yes girl! Bills! You pour the coffee and I'll bring you up to date on what's goin' on.

You know this is the time of year that we get to talkin' about Negro History. Well now! There you go startin' a argument before I even sit down. What do you mean you don't

believe in no Negro History week or month? . . . Of course it should be all year round and of course everybody's history should be in the school books but I'm talkin' about what is and not about what should be! So now we are agreed on that!

But what gets me is the history that we are makin' right now. Doesn't it give you a funny feelin' when you notice that when one of our folks get a job its headline news? Well for an instance Miss Marian Anderson made a long

overdue appearance at the Metropolitan Opera House lately and it broke the headlines everywhere because she was the first Negro to ever sing there . . . and here we are spang in the middle of the Twentieth Century and people are talkin' about rocketin' to the moon. It strikes me that we oughta be working steady pretty much everywhere if we have reached the point of workin' "out of this world" so to speak.

Oh I so long to see the day when our doctors, lawyers, factory workers and politicians will be able to work and serve the American public as a matter of course. Every time I pick up the paper I see somebody gettin' a plaque for bein' the first Negro to work here or there . . . and all too often they are also the last. Another thing when one of our folk gets a job . . . be it playin' baseball or prizefightin' or what have you . . . we are al-

ways told that they are representin' the "race." To my way of thinkin' thats wrong. They look to me like real talented people making a living at something they are well suited for.

I never hear any stories about white actors and athletes representing their race. It seems to me that the people's representatives should be in Congress and in the White House and in the Senate

Another thing I notice is a lot of our folk pleadin' for civil rights on the grounds that segregation and jim-crow gives some other countries propaganda to use against our country. Now I ask you, when all is Peace . . . what grounds will the folks plead on then? I think working for a livin' and enjoyin' freedom is a right guaranteed us by the law of the land and some folk are breakin' the law by holdin' back on our rights.

Yes Marge, givin' full credit to all the good souls who fight the good fight to make a job openin' here and there . . . and I do hope they continue to do so . . . I long for the day when it will not be news for us to work anywhere . . . speak anywhere . . . ride anywhere . . . hold public office or do any of the things that all American citizens are by law entitled to do.

When that day comes you will look in a newspaper and read announcements about anybody appearing anywhere and your only comment will be, "Oh my, isn't that nice, I sure want to see that" . . . and all this huffing and puffing and blowing will be past . . . and if you want to know anything about how things were in our time you'll have to look in a book to find out . . . because that's what History is . . . the things behind us that made the present. Thank you, I will have some coffee.

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White Advocates of Negro Freedom Continue Tradition of John Brown

By VICKI GARVIN

Today a fighting and closely-knit Negro people are pressing forward to complete all the unfinished equal rights business tabled with the defeat of the Reconstruction governments.

A striking feature of this crusade is that the "John Henrys" of the fight for equality do not struggle alone; increasingly they are joined by "John Browns" adding their blows against the walls of Jim Crow.

As this unity of Negro and white fighters for a democratic America develops, it strikes fear into the hearts of men in high places in government and industry.

Costly Adventure

What to do about it, then? Put a price on the heads of the "John Browns!" Make advocacy of Negro freedom—if not a crime—at least a costly adventure!

And so the history of the past years is marked by some outstanding examples of white Americans who have been willing to pay the price for advocacy of the constitutional rights of Negroes.

• Maurice Travis, secretary-treasurer of the International Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, brutally attacked in Bessemer, Alabama, in 1948 during a trade union struggle with a lily-white Steelworkers local to preserve a genuinely democratic union of Negro and white workers, almost paid with his life, and lost an eye.

• Professor Lee Lorch, who fought against Jim Crow housing by turning over his apartment in New York's Stuyvesant Town to the first Negro family to live there, was subsequently penalized with the loss of his teaching post at the City College. In 1950, Lorch was welcomed to the staff of Fisk University, but recently the 99 per cent lily-white trustee board decided to drop him. As Negro parents were escorting their children to formerly lily-white schools, Lorch sued the Tennessee Board of Education to admit his daughter to an all-Negro school.

This action "angered many of the members of the board of trustees."

• The dragnet of persecution of decent whites has extended even to the courts. Judge Waites Waring of the Federal District Court in South

Carolina committed the unpardonable "crime" of joining the forces of progress when he ruled against all-white primaries. Today, in retirement, he has been ostracized by former colleagues.



MISS GARVIN

Democracy's Counterattack

But the real patriots of the United States will not be stamped into violence, nor will they surrender their heritage of struggle so easily.

• Attorney Vincent F. Kilborn, former State Senator in Alabama, has said: "One reason I oppose this thing is that I happen to be a Catholic. If this group can do this to a Negro, they can do it to a Jew . . . a Catholic . . . a Baptist, and soon . . . to anybody."

• The American Civil Liberties Union is joining the defense in the Braden case. Several denominational alliances are beginning to face up to the issue of discrimination against Negroes.

• Undaunted, the United Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO, is stepping up its program for Negro rights in the South by proceeding with plans for an anti-discrimination conference in Atlanta, Ga., this month.

• Despite the failure of President Eisenhower for the second consecutive year to include a single recommendation for civil rights legislation in his annual message to Congress, the Negro people joined by labor are pursuing the fight for FEPC in many localities.

Guarantee of Progress

Today's challenge, as we approach the threshold of far-reaching changes, is addressed in the main to American white workers, to defeat the white supremacists in their domestic and foreign policies, to rise more boldly in support of Negro rights, and in so doing to help guarantee their own survival and opportunity to progress.

Carolina committed the unpardonable "crime" of joining the forces of progress when he ruled against all-white primaries. Today, in retirement, he has been ostracized by former colleagues.

• Carl and Anne Braden, the courageous white couple in Louisville, Kentucky, broke the unwritten law by selling their home in a white community to Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade, a Negro family. The Wades were bombed and forced to move. On December 13, 1954, Carl Braden was found "guilty" of sedition, and has been sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Violence—A "Last Resort"

The most dangerous extension of these repressive attempts to enforce the separation of Negro and white people, the better to exploit them, is the McCarthyite movement now underway, spearheaded by the misnamed National Association for the Advancement of White People, the American States Rights Association and the Citizens' Councils, substitutes for the infamous Ku Klux Klan.

These hate groups are well-

'A little sustenance . . .'

Year after year, as we continue to publish FREEDOM, we've become accustomed to our hand to mouth existence.

Yet, we've never been able to accustom ourselves to the constant appeals and demands we've been forced to make upon our readers in order to put the means of publishing into our hands first.

We refer, of course, to the appeals for operating funds and the demands for subscriptions.

But the other day, while re-reading Walt Whitman's poetry we came across one of his poems that enabled us to look upon this distasteful job with less distaste and more relish.

It's called "To a Rich Giver," and we hope it stirs FREEDOM readers to renew their subscriptions, obtain new subs, and send badly needed funds.

What you give me I cheerfully accept,

A little sustenance, a hut and a garden, a little money, as I rendezvous with my poems,

A traveler's lodging and breakfast as I journey through the States—why should I be ashamed to own such gifts? why to advertise for them?

For I myself am not one who bestows nothing upon man and woman,

For I bestow upon any man or woman the entrance to all the gifts of the universe.

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