

HELP!

UNLESS we get immediate help from you, FREEDOM will die. Our printers and mailers absolutely refuse to give us any more credit, and the money now dribbling into our office does not even pay for one issue.

We need \$5,000. This will enable us to get out the next two issues, organize a consistent program of promotion and fund-raising for the rest of 1955, and pay off part of the stifling debt that has been built up in past years.

We've reached the limit in cutting expenses. They're down not to the bone, but to the marrow. We can go no further in economizing and still publish.

We have said often that FREEDOM operated not on money but on love. We need both now, desperately. We need the love of our readers to supply the \$5,000 in the form of immediate donations and renewed subscriptions.

EVERYONE we talk to agrees FREEDOM is needed today as never before. In the spirit of Frederick Douglass' *North Star* we've tried to maintain the spirit of courage, of unflagging fighting persistence to achieve full freedom in this land born for freedom. We cannot let this spirit die.

We cannot, by our failure to publish, permit further restrictions on the message of Paul Robeson, on the viewpoint which he so brilliantly champions in Negro life and in world affairs.

To mark the 30th anniversary of Paul Robeson's appearance as a concert artist, FREEDOM's staff of volunteer writers are now working on a series of picture stories about Mr. Robeson's life. We are planning to use these stories in our next issue. But we need the money to print it.

YOUR immediate help is a must to keep FREEDOM alive!

- We ask every reader to reach his or her friends and associates in their church, union or organization and appeal to them for donations and subscriptions to FREEDOM. Mail these in immediately.

- The subscriptions of almost half the readers who receive this issue have lapsed in the past few months. Are you one? If so, this will be your last issue. Renewals from each lapsed subscriber will keep the paper coming and help put FREEDOM back on its fighting feet.

FREEDOM's very life depends upon your immediate support. Do not fail FREEDOM — or yourself. WE ASK EVERY READER TO MAIL A DONATION, LARGE OR SMALL, TODAY.

How You Can Tell If Your Sub Has Expired

Please look NOW at the wrapper in which your FREEDOM came. If it is printed in RED ink on pink paper your subscription has expired.

We cannot afford to send you the paper in 1955 for a 1954 dollar. So, if you are one of the thousands whose subs have lapsed, please send us your buck today.

We'd like to send you an individual reminder with a postage-free return envelope, but we can't afford that, either. So, if we don't hear from you on the basis of this notice we must assume you want to be dropped.

You will find our usual renewal form on page 8.

Freedom

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

MARCH, 1955

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afl-cio merger

NEW HOPE FOR NEGRO LABOR

By VICKI GARVIN

With the announcement that on February 9 the AFL and CIO agreed to merge the strength of their fifteen million members, the potential for decisive struggles to end job discrimination, the key problem affecting Negro working men and women, has been greatly increased.

In concentrating on the declared objectives of organizing the unorganized, winning additional economic gains, and increasing political activity, particularly in the legislative field, the new labor federation can certainly advance the pressing needs of Negro workers also. For with all their weaknesses and uncertainties, the trade unions have been the major instrument through which improved working conditions have been won, by and for white and Negro workers alike.

Only 7% Are Skilled

Especially following the formation of the CIO, many important gains have been made by Negro labor. Today 11 per cent of all industrial workers are Negro. Almost two million of the U.S.'s organized workers are Negroes: approximately one million in AFL unions and the rest in CIO and independent bodies.

But obviously much more needs to be done to change the

conditions under which employers pay Negro families annual wages as yet but 56 per cent of white family income. After 60-odd years of trade union organization 57 per cent of all non-farm Negro workers are still in unskilled and service

to be seriously tackled. For example, in the auto industry at least 40 per cent of the foundry workers are Negro; yet in the tool and die division less than 3 per cent are Negro. In the giant steel industry, practically all Negro workers are found in the eight lowest paid of some 32 worker classifications.

Women Doubly Handicapped

In textile, only a handful of Negroes are employed and in tobacco they are bunched mainly in the low-paid stemming and drying plants.

As for Negro women workers, six out of every ten are in domestic and service jobs. Only 20 per cent of Negro women hold industrial, sales and office jobs as compared with 59 per cent of white women workers in these categories.

It is natural then that considerable discussion is taking place around the question, "What is to be done to help solve the special problem of Negro workers" as a result of the AFL-CIO merger.

In order to fight most effectively for job equality for Negroes it is necessary to mobilize the combined strength of white and Negro workers against the power of discriminating industries. This calls for the organization of Negro workers on a full and equal basis with white

(Continued on Page 5)



MISS GARVIN

occupations, as against 15 per cent of whites. Today only seven per cent of all Negro laborers are in skilled crafts, as compared with 17 per cent of all white workers.

On the railroads, an old and highly unionized industry, nine out of every 10 Negro workers are in service, unskilled and common labor jobs. Even in many powerful CIO unions the problem of upgrading has yet

PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE THEMES:

Afro-Asian Conference Attracts Millions of the Colored World

The Event of the Month for April will take place in Bandung, Indonesia. There, for one week beginning the 25th, leaders of the rising nations of Asia and Africa will gather in a history-making conference.

The eyes of Negro Americans will be upon Bandung.

They sense the fact that Asia's growing independence from the racist rule and influence of U.S. profiteers strengthens their fight for rights at home.

They know that Africa's freedom and their own are linked.

Passports Denied

Many Negro leaders, political scientists and journalists have sought passports to attend the conference. Most have been refused.

As of this writing, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has announced that he will attend. The journalist William Worthy will cover the proceedings for the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

It has been reported that the reactionary journalist, George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier will also be present.

Conference Background

In order to provide a basis for FREEDOM's readers to judge the accomplishments of the conference, we present the pertinent facts relating to its

background, agenda, and composition:

In April, 1954, the prime ministers of five Asian powers met in Colombo, Ceylon, to exchange views on mutual problems, paramount among which was the preservation of peace in Asia and the world.

The participating powers

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KWAME NKUMAH
Gold Coast Prime Minister



HAILE SELASSIE
King of Ethiopia

The Retreat of the Knights of Labor

labor in the eighties preached unity
but jimcrow pressures marred practice

In our last issue we dealt with the progressive role of the Knights of Labor in fighting for the rights of Negro workers during the 1880's. More than 700,000 workers joined the Knights, including some 100,000 Negroes, South as well as North. The following article describes some of the weaknesses of the K of L in its relations with Negro workers and the reaction of the Negro people as reflected mainly in their newspapers of the period. A third article, to appear in the next issue of FREEDOM, will recount the dramatic events of the historic 1886 convention of the Knights in Richmond, Va., with emphasis on the role of Frank J. Ferrell, the outstanding Negro trade unionist of his time.

Since the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor were autonomous, and no sustained attempt was made by the general officers to enforce the Order's principle of brotherhood of all labor, there was much anti-Negro feeling within its ranks.

In a letter to Terrence V. Powderly, Knights national leader, dated March 4, 1887, S. P. S. Sweet of South Carolina appealed for a Negro organizer in that state and reminded him that some Knights in the South were still not eager to organize the Negro.

When, in the same year, an attempt was made to organize a Negro women's assembly in Savannah, Ga., protests were made by several locals in the city. In 1885 Norfolk, Va., whites objected to forming assemblies with Negroes. The national convention two years later received a communication from Negro members of a Harrisburg, Tex., assembly complaining of the treatment of their white brothers. The General Executive Board retorted that the assemblies must "treat the colored brothers with respect," but in many areas practice did not conform with this pronouncement.

1887 Steel Strike

At the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Va., white Knights preferred working with white strike-breakers rather than with Negro Knights of Labor. The New York Freeman reported that Negro delegates were not allowed to take seats at a state convention of the Order in Fort Smith, Ark., and that a Pensacola, Fla., Fourth of July celebration saw Negro and white assemblies acting separately.

"Prejudice is as visible among them as other whites," was the commentary on Nashville, Tenn., Knights made by the Cleveland Gazette, Feb. 20, 1886. And the Richmond Planet, June 12, 1886, reported a notice posted in a western city by the K of L warning all Negroes to leave under penalty of death, and threats made to lynch the editor of that newspaper.

The results of these and other anti-Negro actions are illustrated in the case of a strike at the Black Diamond Steel Works in western Pennsylvania. This strike, involving 1,500 men for three weeks, was fought for the reinstatement of men discharged for joining the Knights of Labor and for an increase of wages from 75 cents to \$1.00 a ton. The strike failed. A Negro

puddler, John L. Dennis, explained the attitude of white workers toward their Negro co-workers in this letter to the New York Freeman of Aug. 1, 1887:

As a strike is now in progress at the Black Diamond Steel Works, where many of our race are employed, the colored people hereabouts feel a deep interest in its final outcome. . . . It is true our white brothers who joined the Knights of Labor and organized the strike without conferring with, or in any way consulting us, now invite us to join with them and help them to obtain the desired increase in wages and control by the Knights of Labor of the works. But as we were not taken into their scheme at its inception, and as it was thought by them that no trouble would be experienced in obtaining what they wanted without our assistance we question very much the sincerity and honesty of this invitation. . . . Now, Mr. Editor, I am not opposed to organized labor. God forbid that I should be when its members are honest, just, and true! But when I join any society, I want to have pretty strong assurance that I will be treated fairly. I do not want to join any organization, the members of which will refuse to work by my side because the color of my skin happens to be a darker hue than their own. Now what the the white men in these organizations should and must do, if they want colored men to join with them and confide in them is to give them a square deal—and my word for it they will flock into them like bees into a hive. If they will take [the] advice! "Take the colored man by the hand and convince him by actual fact that you will be true to him and not a traitor to your pledge, he will be found with them ever and always; for there are not under heaven men in whose breast beat truer hearts than in the breast of the Negro."

The only known case where Negroes approved of a discriminatory practice carried out by the Order occurred in Georgia. The People's Choice, a Negro newspaper in Macon, Ga., criticized an address by General Secretary Litchman at which whites occupied the first floor of the Academy of Music and Negroes were restricted to the third floor gallery. Jeff Long, Master Workman of an all-Negro assembly, protested People's Choice's comments, and introduced a resolution boycotting the newspaper. To this the Cleveland Gazette (March 17, 1888) replied: "The People's Choice should 'take the hide off' of Long and his behind-the-times toadies. . . ."

Jim Crow Locals Opposed

The disapproval on the part of the Negro people toward these practices in some areas was expressed by resistance to forming segregated assemblies and by refusal to enter the Order. Although Powderly testified to a House Committee that "they seldom enter into an assembly where there are white men," the New York Sun observed that most Negro Knights were found where Negroes and whites work together.

"For years I have been importuned to enter into the federation of an assembly to be composed exclusively of

colored men," wrote Jeremiah A. Brown, a member of the Ohio Legislature, "but have persistently refused, believing as I do in mixing and not in isolating and ostracizing ourselves, thereby fostering and perpetuating the prejudices as existing today. No separate organizations can effect what we desire to accomplish," he continued, "for as we are a part of this great government, we must have accorded to us such treatment as other citizens have, which can only be obtained by persistent agitation and intermingling."

Conditions for Unity

J. S. Woods, President of the Louisville Hod Carriers Union, revealed in 1886 that discrimination existed in some places where Knights of Labor were employed. He refused to join his organization to the Order because no assurances were made as to equal rights for Negro workers and the guarantee of apprenticeship for their children.

Because of this, Woods reported, only four members of the Hod Carriers Union, who were Knights, paraded in the May First, 1886, march for the eight-hour day, and several Negro unions, including the Teamsters Union, the Coachmen's Union, the Hotel Waiters and Butlers' Union and others refused to participate.

"The Trades Unions or the Knights of Labor cannot succeed as long as the color line exists," said Mr. Woods. "We are well aware of that and there is an agreement among all the colored Unions of this city to stand aloof from all white labor organizations that refuse to recognize us as their brother." These white organizations, he asserted, "must concede all rights to the colored men themselves. When they do this then the Hod Carriers' Union will unite with them."

"Object . . . a Glorious One"

The Detroit Plaindealer, a Negro organ, dealt with the relations between

Negro workers and the Knights as follows in 1886:

"The reason why the Knights of Labor have received no accessions from the Afro-Americans in Detroit is that the same effort to enlist the white mechanic or tradesman in their order was not made to enlist the colored worker. . . . Such experience has no tendency to make a rush blindfolded into meeting insult and prejudice. . . . The Plaindealer would advise the race to have nothing to do with separate assemblies, but to connect themselves with the older, and strive by becoming useful members to do away with the prejudicial feeling which has acted against their better judgment. Isolate themselves by forming separate assemblies, and they will foster and encourage the idea of inferiority, and thus delay their emancipation as workmen. Unite with the older, reap the benefit of long organization, and the stride forward will be more rapid. There is in this movement of labor much that is to be commended. Its object is a glorious one. Accomplishment is not far off, and the Afro-American should take a hand in the fight and be in at the finish."

The Cleveland Gazette pointed out that by joining with the Order, Southern Negroes in particular stood to benefit by their identification with thousands of Negro and white Knights in the North, and that unity among Negroes, "so earnestly desired and so greatly needed" could be a result of organization. However, it warned against forming segregated assemblies of Negro Knights of Labor. The Memphis American Baptist added its voice to oppose separate Negro local assemblies.

The conclusion seems inescapable that the high degree of unionization of Negro workers achieved by the Knights of Labor would have been still higher if it had suppressed anti-Negro elements in its own ranks, and taken a firm position against the formation of the many all-Negro assemblies.



HAYMARKET: THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR led militant battles for the demands of workers. They sparked the campaign for the eight hour day. Negro and white workers were marching and demonstrating side by side when workers were shot down in the eight hour day rally in Chicago's Haymarket Sq., May 1, 1886. Since that day May 1 has been observed as an international workers holiday.

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Negroes Face Dixie Counterattack In Fight for School Integration

By THELMA DALE

The lily-white State Legislatures of the several deep-south states are continuing to map plans and enact laws for maintaining segregation in the public schools. At the same time southern white citizens are being organized by the thousands into such groups as the White Citizens' Councils, White America, Inc., with the expressed purpose of preventing integration of the schools, discouraging all political activity of Negroes, and exerting economic pressures upon the Negroes and political and social pressures against any whites who oppose the Council's program.

But Negroes have in the main been undeterred by the intimidation and terror wrought by such groups. They are continuing their efforts through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations, and through conferences, delegations and petitions calling for integration.

Support has come from several white church councils: the Episcopal Council of the Diocese of Atlanta in January adopted a resolution that racial segregation is un-Christian; the North Carolina Council of Churches adopted a resolution urging churches to work for an integrated school system (from which there were a number of dissents, however); the Episcopal Diocese of Oklahoma voted to support the Supreme Court decision and authorized its agencies to "work with others to peacefully bring this law into effect in the state of Oklahoma."

"Constitutional Problem"

Few people outside of the South realize how formidable the foes of integration are and the extent to which the entire governmental set-ups in the southern states are being used to circumvent the May 17, 1954, anti-segregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. For example, South Carolina's new Gov. Timmerman in his inaugural speech and again in his first speech to the State Legislature called upon the U.S. Congress to enact legislation that would curb the authority of the Supreme

Court and other federal courts in matters affecting public schools. He said, in part:

"The greatest constitutional problem facing the American people today is how to curb the presently uncontrolled authority of the Supreme Court of the United States." The entire South Carolina Congressional delegation readily concurred with the governor and introduced bills into both houses of the Congress. Similar measures have been passed by the Legislatures in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Georgia has also passed a law making it a felony for any school official of the state or any municipal or county systems to spend tax money for public schools in which the races are mixed. In Mississippi state-supported institutions, including Negro schools, have been ordered to screen all persons invited to address audiences, and to bar those opposed to "the Mississippi way of life." Carrying this proposal to its logical conclusion would mean that only pro-segregationist white teachers would be able to teach Negro children, unless the state plans a massive "brain-washing" campaign of the Negro teachers.

"Equalization" Plans

In Arkansas the legislature defeated a resolution which would have asked for federal aid to build more schools because it was argued "acceptance of federal aid might jeopardize the traditional status of segregation in Arkansas public schools." "We can't afford to accept any federal money because to do so would be to invite the end of segregation," said one leader of the State Senate.

Since all southern states already have ample laws on the books calling for separate schools, main attention was given to other means of maintaining segregation. The principal idea seems to be that if Negro schools are made equal to those for whites, then somehow Negroes will accept segregation on a "voluntary" basis.

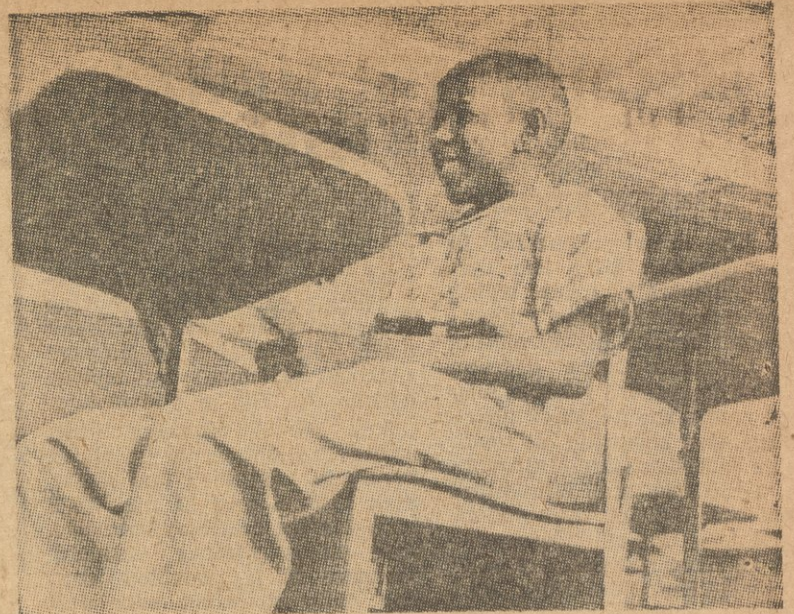
Thus the Mississippi legislature struggled with the problem of how to raise \$117 million needed to "equalize" the school facilities. Economy-

minded legislators and those who could not go along with a program of spending all educational monies for Negro schools, were chided by Gov. White with the threat that "unless the equalization program is financed, we might as well forget segregation." It has been proposed that Mississippi workers, already among the lowest paid in the nation, finance segregation in education through increased sales, cigarette and liquor (illegal in Mississippi but tax collectable!) taxes. Another proposal is that of a 20% surtax on business concerns.

In Louisiana, the use of tidelands oil riches (handed to the states by the Eisenhower administration) is being proposed to finance "a mammoth state school building program" to "equalize" Negro-white facilities and thereby maintain segregation.

Terror Incorporated

While the legislators worked out their legal schemes, they were supported fully by the White Citizens Councils and similar groups which brought pressure to get some of the legislation passed. More important, these groups were busy attempting to intimidate and terrorize Negroes and others into silence and acceptance of segregation. Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, writing in Look magazine, March 22, predicts a "wave of terror threatens the South" as "Citizens Councils, fighting the Supreme Court ban on segregation could become a new Klan." Mr. Carter says: "The hope is that the Federal government will not tolerate organized terrorism." He lists a number of instances of "organized terrorism" and the Negro newspapers of the South are filled every week with still other instances of organized pressure. But thus far the Fed-



DOROTHY DAVIS was 14 when her name headed the list that brought suit in 1952 because Negro children were segregated in the wind-swept, barn-like Moton High School in Farmville, Va. This year Dorothy is graduating from a new Moton High, still Jim Crow.

eral government has failed to intervene.

Following are two of the cases cited in Carter's article:

"In Indianola (Miss.) the Council's birthplace, lives Dr. Clinton Battles, who three years ago was the first Negro to register and vote in that county since Reconstruction. . . . [He] has urged Negroes to register, and has publicly approved the Supreme Court's decision. Some of his patients are consequently deserting him. They—the story goes—have been approached by white citizens who tell them that if they don't find another doctor, they'll lose their jobs or their credit. Neither Dr. Battles nor any of the other 114 registered Negroes—out of the 33,000 Negroes in the county—voted in the voter-qualification-amendment election (designed to decrease the number of Negro voters through stiffer qualifications)."

"On another occasion, a prominent Mississippi citizen and Council member, while turning his automobile around in a Negro woman school-teacher's driveway, inadvertently ran over some flower

beds. The woman apparently remonstrated vigorously and, according to reports, cursed the driver. He returned later and shot her in the leg. She was fired from her teaching post."

Voting Restrictions

As indicated above, major attention has also been given in these deep-south states to preventing Negroes from voting or holding public office. This aim was rather strikingly posed by Alabama Gov. James Folsom who is reported by State Sen. Englehardt to have threatened to "get a new Board of Registrars and register every damn n----- in the county" if the Senator continued to refuse to go along with the governor's highway program. Englehardt represents Macon County which has 25,000 Negroes and 4,000 whites, but only about 1,000 Negroes registered to vote. Thus public officials anxious to maintain the status quo in the South recognize the necessity of restricting the voting rights of Negroes and are moving systematically to accomplish this goal.

(Continued on Page 3)

Thelma Dale Assumes Post of General Manager of FREEDOM

Freedom Associates, Inc., publishers of FREEDOM, is proud to announce that, beginning March 1, Miss Thelma Dale assumed the duties of general manager of FREEDOM.

A native of Washington, D.C., Miss Dale is widely known throughout the country.

Miss Dale comes to FREEDOM from the national office of the Progressive Party. In 1952 she joined the Progressive Party staff to give leadership to the campaign for the Party's Presidential nominees, Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass. Miss Dale assumed special responsibilities in directing the historic campaign of Mrs. Bass, first Negro woman to run for the vice presidency of the United States.

Miss Dale brings to her new responsibilities wide experience as organizer, administrator and promoter. She was one of the outstanding leaders of the progressive youth movement of

the Thirties. Later she served as national administrative secretary of the National Negro Congress. In this capacity she was responsible for stimulating a cultural program which took organizational shape in the form of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

In November, 1945, Miss Dale attended the first Women's International Peace Conference in Paris. She was one of three American Negro women in attendance.

During the late Forties Miss Dale served as organizer and political action director for Local 19, United Office & Professional Workers of America. From there she joined the staff of the Progressive Party of Philadelphia.

Miss Dale is active in the Harlem Affairs Committee, a non-partisan political group, and is vice chairman of the New York American Labor Party. Among her numerous interests and affiliations are the Howard University Alumni

Association and the New York Branch of NAACP. She is a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority.



MISS DALE



HARRY BRIGGS, JR., was one of 66 Negro children who complained to the federal court in Charleston, S.C., about segregation in sub-standard schools. Today, at 13, he still attends the all-Negro Scott Branch School in Summerton, S.C.

EDUCATION FOR SLAVERY

IS GOVERNMENT PLAN

By ALPHAEUS HUNTON

It has been prophesied in some quarters that the die-hard Dixiecrats, after trying every conceivable and "inconceivable" means of subverting the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools, may even reach the point of advocating the secession of such states as South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi from the U.S. If that should happen, a logical proposal—that is, from the point of view of both the Dixiecrats and their racist kith and kin in Africa—would be to have the seceding states become the fifth (overseas) province of that other U.S.A., the Union of South Africa.

The Eastlands and Talmadges couldn't ask for anything nearer to their hearts desire than the Jimcrow system of education for slavery that has been conceived and enacted in the Bantu Education Act by the South African National government and its Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd.

Increases Inequality

Among the many people in South Africa, whites as well as Africans, who have condemned this latest device of segregation and racial oppression is Father Trevor Huddleston, white Anglican priest who carries on in South Africa in the liberal tradition of Rev. Michael Scott. He calls the Bantu Education Act "the most sinister, the most far-reaching piece of 'apartheid' legislation so far produced. It is the establishment of white supremacy through the denial to the African people of the cultural heritage which is theirs by right. Here is racialism at its darkest and most damnable—that evil thing which seeks to direct and dominate even the minds of children."

Hitherto the South African government has been content to leave the business of African education to be carried on by the various churches in the Mission schools. It has allocated only about \$7.50 per year for the education of each African child of school age while providing \$123.00 per year for the education of each white child. Education in S. Africa is compulsory and free for white children while two thirds of all African children can get no schooling whatsoever. The Bantu Education Act is designed not to lessen this gross inequity, but rather to increase it.

First of all control of African education is to be centralized directly under the Minister of Native Affairs and his department. He will have unrestricted powers to decide all such matters as curriculum, registration and establishment of schools, conditions and salaries for teachers and so on. The laissez-faire approach to African education is being abolished and with it will go the mission schools and independent educational institutions.

Pupils Become Janitors

The mission schools, partly subsidized by the government

in the past, are "unsympathetic to the country's policy," says Dr. Verwoerd. He says further that "the curriculum and education practiced, by ignoring the segregation or 'apartheid' policy was unable to prepare (African children) for service within the Bantu community.

The school teaching time, under the Act, is to be sliced neatly in half with two shifts, 8 to 12 a.m. and 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.—as an economy measure. And as a further economy measure it is provided that the daily cleaning, care and maintenance of grounds "must be carried out by the pupils themselves." It need not be added that teachers' salaries are cut to a minimum and bear no relationship to the salaries of white teachers of white children.

As to the curriculum it is stated that in the lower primary stage (which is the most that the majority of African children experience) "the curriculum can not go much further than the teaching of the '3 R's' through the medium of the Mother tongue, the beginning of the study of Africans and English, religious education and singing." The African child is to be taught such things as will "satisfy the needs" of his own segregated community and such else as to qualify him for manual labor.

'Not Scholars but Laborers'

One might perhaps consider instruction in the Africans' "Mother tongue" to be a pro-



IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, a slogan scrawled on a public building expresses the determination of Africans to have an equal chance to learn. Libraries, museums and other public facilities are closed to Africans.

gressive step but the fact is that it is the contrary. One African writer put it this way: "Does it have in mind the rapid creation of conditions to give us good textbooks and teachers in the arts and sciences, in Zulu, Sesotho, Xhosa and Sechana? Not a bit of it. 'Bantu Education' is meant to produce not scholars but laborers; manual work, agricultural training, needlework; these are the backbone of the 'vernacular' lessons to be given.

Also to facilitate separate language schools to teach such lessons, vast urban African populations are to be resettled in separate tribal zones; a suggestion as fantastic as would be one that proposed dividing the whites of Johannesburg or Cape Town into separate living areas for the sake of having separate Afri-

caans and English-medium schools. No wonder then, that instead of welcoming the Verwoerd 'mother tongue' schools, Africans hate the very idea. It is better to learn history in English than to learn handwork in Sesotho, they say.

Higher Education Discouraged

And the bare minimum of study of the two official languages of the country, Africans and English, it is made clear, has as its purpose to enable the African child "to find his way in the European community, to follow oral or written instructions, to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work.

The government frankly discourages African education beyond the primary level. It stipulates: "Pupils in post-primary schools will have to buy

all the school books they need. All other school requisites, including pens and exercise books, in both primary and secondary schools, must be provided either by the children, the Bantu authority, or the parents' association. Children without these school requisites will not be enrolled."

It further states: "An increase in the number of institutions for higher education located in urban areas is not desired. Steps will be taken deliberately to keep institutions for higher education, to an increasing extent, away from urban areas, and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves."

'Green Pastures'

These are just a few of the shocking features of the Bantu Education Act. The objectives of this state controlled system of African indoctrination have been aptly summarized by Dr. Verwoerd in the following words:

"There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . . For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. . . . Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

Put in the simpler words of an African woman: "The Bantu Education Act will make African mothers like fowls who lay eggs for other people to take away and make what they like with them."

Africans Resist

As they resisted the past laws and other racial oppression machinery, as they protested against the mass eviction of families from their homesteads in Sophiatown, so Africans are resolved to fight against the Bantu Education Act. At its annual conference held last December, the African National Congress called on all African parents to keep their children away from government controlled schools beginning April 1 for an indefinite period as a demonstration of their protest against the Bantu Education Act.

Meanwhile the South African government urges this govern-

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Portrait: HARRY AUTSHUMAO

"The ground is ours and we will build wherever we choose." These words might have been spoken by the African people recently driven out of their homes in Johannesburg by the Boer Government, but they were actually spoken 300 years ago by Harry Autshumao when his people, the Hottentots, were being pushed off their land by the earliest forerunners of the present rulers of South Africa.

At one time most of South and Central Africa had been grazing ground for the sheep and cattle of the Hottentots, but by 1651, when the Dutch first arrived at Capetown to settle permanently, the Bantu peoples had driven the Hottentots down into the tip of the continent. Some of them now made a living by fishing and beach-combing and trading with the Europeans who occasionally stopped at the Cape on their way to the Indies. Autshumao was their leader. He had sailed to Malaya on an English ship and could act as interpreter and agent.

Jan Van Riebeeck, the leader of the first Dutch settlers carried instructions urging him to cultivate friendship and trade with the Hottentots "above all, taking care that you do not injure them in person, or in the cattle which they keep or bring to you, by which they may be rendered averse from our people."

At first there was friendship and trade and mutual help between the two people, but the new settlers were not content with the small profits of

friendly trade. They made raiding expeditions against the herds of the Hottentots and seized much of the good pasture land in the area.

Autshumao and his people became suspicious of the good intentions of Van Riebeeck and with good reason, too, for he soon wrote home saying, "Were it permitted, we had this day opportunity enough to take from them (the Hottentots) 10,000 head (of cattle), which may hereafter upon our receiving orders to the effect, be done at any time, and indeed better than now, as they will trust us more. . . . We might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India."

Autshumao saw the futility of open resistance to the guns of the Dutch with his arrows and spears, so he organized a successful boycott by strengthening his relations with other people of the interior and persuading them to withhold their cattle from the Dutch. Van Riebeeck wrote him: "We per-

ceive clearly that all the Strandlooper (Autshumao's people), whenever any natives of other tribes come hither . . . always join them, trying to make others as unwilling to trade as they are themselves."

By 1659 Autshumao and his allies were forced to fight in order to limit further encroachment by the Dutch on their pasture land. By limiting attacks to dark, rainy nights when their enemies' old flintlocks were quite ineffective, the Hottentots were able to win a satisfactory treaty, but it was soon broken.

In spite of his brilliant leadership, Autshumao was unable to turn the tide of Dutch conquest, but he forced Van Riebeeck to revise some of his ideas about African "savages" for he wrote home saying, "He (Autshumao) is a cunning fellow, who should be closely observed and carefully dealt with, without suffering ourselves to fancy that they are merely mild savage men, what could they do?"

And today, 300 years later, Van Riebeeck's descendants are still desperately trying to see to it that people like Herry Autshumao are "closely observed" and "carefully dealt with" under police state laws such as the Suppression of Communism Act and the Group Areas Act. But the people of Africa are still showing "what they can do" by their heroic resistance under the leadership of the African National Congress and the Congress of the People.



Afro-Asian Conference Challenges Racist Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

were Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Indonesia.

During the same month Prime Ministers Jawarhalal Nehru of India and Chou En-Lai of the People's Republic of China met in Tibet and issued



HO CHI MINH

(President of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam which will be represented at Afro-Asian conference.)

a widely-heralded agreement consisting of five principles:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful co-existence.

These five principles were later also accepted as the basis of relations between Burma and China, and had a deep influence on government and public circles of many Asian countries.

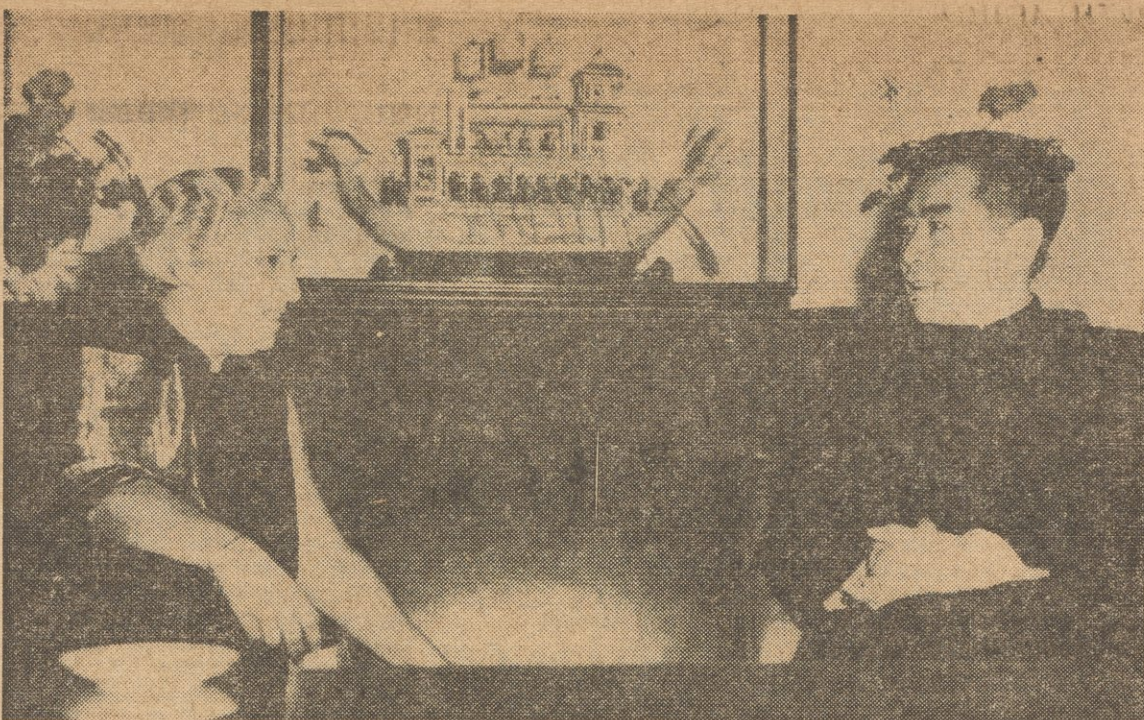
Purposes Outlined

A second conference of leaders of the Colombo powers was held in Bogor, Indonesia, Dec. 28 and 29, 1954. The main object was to further plans for an Afro-Asian conference which had been originally suggested at Colombo.

In the official communique of the Bogor meeting the purposes of the Afro-Asian Conference were described as follows:

"(a) To promote good-will and cooperation between the Afro-Asian countries, to explore and advance common as well as mutual interests and establish and further friendly and neighborly relations;

"(b) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries



IN JUNE, 1952, MME. VIJALALAKSHMI PANDIT headed an Indian cultural delegation to China and conferred with Premier Chou En-Lai of the Chinese Peoples Republic. Both nations will take part in the Afro-Asian conference.

represented;

"(c) To consider problems of special interest about nationalism, racialism and colonialism;

"(d) To view the position of the Afro-Asian countries and their peoples in the world today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation."

It was decided that representation at the conference would be at the ministerial

level. A secretariat was set up in Indonesia to handle preparations.

Seven African Nations

Invitations were sent to 25 nations in addition to the sponsoring powers. Seven African nations have been invited, as follows: Central African Federation, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Liberia, Libya and Sudan.

The nations of the Far and Near East which received in-

itations are: Afghanistan, Cambodia, Chinese People's Republic, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Nepal, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and Yemen.

(In its May issue FREEDOM will carry an account of the conference. In April we will provide our readers with a description of the political, economic and cultural life of the principal participants).

afl-cio merger: NEW HOPE FOR NEGRO LABOR?

(Continued from Page 1)

workers and first-class membership in every union.

Jim Crow Not Dead

Although some progress has been made in that direction, there are still many important and powerful unions such as the AFL building trades and the Railroad Brotherhoods which have resisted setting their houses in order. With token exceptions, such unions have persisted in barring Negro workers from union membership or in maintaining Jim Crow locals.

Even the CIO which is credited with the most effective pioneering for job equality, has its own linen exposed by its failure to include Negro leadership among top national officers and/or policy-making general executive boards in the top federation and in practically all its international affiliated unions. The record of the AFL and its affiliates on this score is far worse.

As now planned, the new federation will have three top officers, 27 vice-presidents and an executive council of 29 members. So far there has been no official statement as to Negro representation in any of these posts.

Statement of Principle

However, it is encouraging that many lessons learned from past defeats as well as victories in meeting employer attempts to "divide and rule" Negro and white workers, have helped to focus more attention on the question of Negro-white labor unity at this time.

It is significant that among the major principles incorporated in the merger is the following provision:

"The merged federation

shall constitutionally recognize the rights of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about at the earliest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination."

This statement is undoubtedly a positive step, though its language has been criticized as "weak and vague." Michael Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers, recently claimed that this provision is

a watered-down version of the position that the CIO originally agreed to in the merger discussion.

Timing Important

If democracy is to "begin at home" it is necessary for the new labor federation to give leadership by example and incorporate in its new international constitution now being drafted a clear-cut clause binding on all affiliates, to the effect that there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, creed or national origin, in any aspect of union membership.

Equally important is the question of definite guarantees

on the timing of the "establishment of appropriate internal machinery" to effect the principle of non-discrimination.

The Negro press and Negro trade union leaders, while greeting the merger as "of great value and importance to the Negro worker," have not neglected to caution vigilance.

In an editorial (3-5-55) the Oklahoma Black Dispatch declared: "A unified labor movement will still need to be prodded to the recognition of the necessity of cleaning its house entirely of the virus of racial discrimination . . . (We hope) . . . that the CIO pattern regarding equal rights will be retained."

Charles Hayes of Chicago, director of District 1, United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, commented: "The Negro cannot sit back and feel secure that in the merger all his problems will be solved . . . the Negro worker must become a union member and an active one."

And Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Workers, CIO, pointed out that, "The challenge for stronger and more alert Negro leadership must be fully realized."

Organizing the South

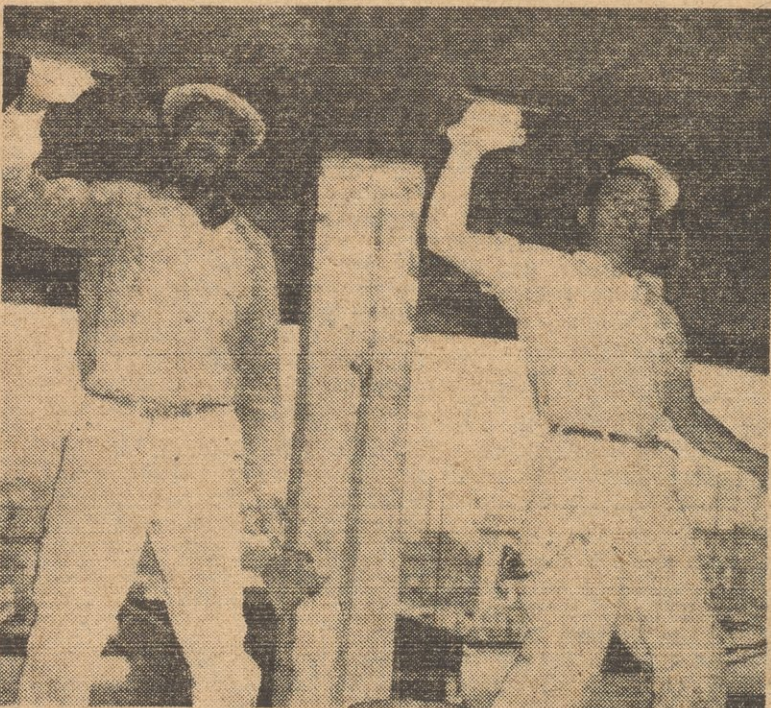
When merger is completed, the AFL-CIO combined membership will comprise only 25 per cent of the entire American working force. In the midst of a multitude of problems and attacks, the labor movement is confronted with the growing problems of run-away shops, and the large reservoir of unemployed and unorganized Negro and white workers in the South.

Here, surely, is a major challenge to the very existence and growth of democratic trade unions which, when diligently tackled, will immeasurably change the status of Negro workers and improve the living conditions of Negro and white families, North and South.

Louis Hollander, president of the N. Y. State CIO council declared at the recent convention of the Transport Workers Union: "... there are hundreds of thousands of workers in the South who are being kept in slavery. . . . Where there is no strong labor organization, where there is no industrial democracy, political democracy is nothing but a fraud."

And AFL president George Meany declared at a meeting in Atlantic City a few weeks ago that, "... the person who is unorganized because of a racial bar or discrimination of any kind is a threat to the conditions of those who are organized. Anyone who is underpaid, who has substandard conditions, threatens the situation of those in unions. . . . The merger would mean more effective efforts to attain a fair employment practices bill on a national scale, and in attempts to assure civil rights in other fields."

To the millions of Negro workers, South and North, who have long been eager to share the full benefits and responsibilities of democratic trade unionism, these forthright expressions are heartening. But these workers are also aware that continuous struggles must be waged within and with the labor movement for full economic citizenship and greater protection for all workers.



IN MANY AREAS of the country Negro workers are excluded from the union or confined to unskilled labor in the building trades. They want to know: Will the new federation tackle this problem?

Court Rules Against Segregation in Parks

RICHMOND, Va.—The "separate but equal" doctrine which for many years has been the law and bible for the Southern courts for upholding segregation took another beating this month.

The U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals declared that racial segregation in public parks and recreational facilities is a violation of the law and that it can no longer "be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the state."

The ruling was rendered on Monday, March 14, in the Dawson and Lonesome cases involving Jim Crow swimming and beach facilities near Baltimore and brought against the city and state by attorneys for NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Jim Crow "Swept Away"

The three judges, Chief Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, N. C.; Judge Morris A. Soper of Baltimore, and Judge Armistead M. Dobie of Charlottesville, Va., unanimously agreed that the U. S. Supreme Court May 17 decision outlawing segregation in public schools "swept away" the authority of the Plessy v. Ferguson "separate but equal" law of the 19th century. Robert L. Carter, first Assistant Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense, argued the appeal in behalf of the Negro litigants.

It is obvious that segregation cannot be justified as a means to preserve the public peace merely because the tangible facilities furnished to one are equal to those furnished to the others, the judges said.

They contend that the Supreme Court in the School Segregation Cases expressed the opinion that "it must consider" public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life.

"With this in mind, it is obvious that racial segregation in recreational activities can no longer be sustained as the proper exercise of the police power of the state."

Segregated Beach

The two cases emanated from district courts in Baltimore which upheld the Jim Crow policies at the public beaches and bathhouses as operated by public authorities.

The Dawson case was brought against the City of Baltimore and the operators of the city-owned public beach at Fort Smallwood Park in 1950. Robert Dawson and a group of Negroes were denied the use of the beach because of their race but despite a court order of March 2, 1951, to cease discriminating against Negroes, the authorities set aside certain days for the beach to be used by each racial group.

In 1952 a segregated beach for Negroes was authorized and constructed. Despite protests, Negroes were refused the use of the other beach on the ground that the law called for

equality of physical facilities.

On May 27, 1954, ten days after the school segregation decision, a motion for judgment was filed by NAACP Legal Defense attorneys based on the fact that segregation was a violation of the federal Constitution. On July 27, the court denied the motion on the grounds that the May 17 decision did not outlaw segregation in recreational facilities.

Claim "Equality"

The Lonesome suit, filed on August 8, 1952, sought an injunction against the state of Maryland to cease its Jim Crow policies on the beaches at Sandy Point State Park on the grounds that the beach operated for Negroes did not "afford complete and wholesome recreation."

Park officials claimed that the facilities at the two beaches were equal. On June 2, 1953, the court issued a preliminary injunction disputing this fact but five weeks later reversed itself, claiming that the facilities were equal due to certain improvements made at the Negro beach.

On December 20, 1954, attorneys for the Negroes filed a brief consolidating both cases in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. The lower court's decision should be reversed, they argued, because the opinions of the courts were based on the outdated and false "separate but equal" doctrine. The appeal was argued at Charlotte, N. C., January 11, 1955.

Cite Precedent

In ruling that segregation has no place in recreational facilities the three circuit court judges cited two other cases decided by the Supreme Court and knocking out the practice of segregation. "... we should keep in mind the idea of equality before the law which characterizes our institutions," the judges asserted.

Both Judges Parker and Dobie participated in two of the original School Segregation Cases. Judge Parker voted for segregation in the South Carolina case and Judge Dobie did the same in the Virginia case.

Legal Defense attorneys for the Negroes, other than Carter, are Linwood Koger Jr., and Tucker R. Dearing, both of Baltimore, and Thurgood Marshall, Director-General, and Jack Greenberg, Assistant Counsel, both of Legal Defense in New York.



Walter Francis White (1894 - 1955)

When in 1929 Walter White joined the NAACP staff as assistant to its distinguished secretary, James Weldon Johnson, the Association was a small but vocal band of Negro intellectuals, and white liberals, Socialists and philanthropists.

The base of their support among Negro masses, as reflected in membership figures and branch activity, was narrow indeed. Their major assets were the righteousness of their cause and the compelling talents of its exponents. Peerless among them was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The situation was not to prevail for long. The great depression of the Thirties, the growth of the CIO and of the participation of Negro workers in the labor movement, the anti-fascist war of the Forties, and most recently the indefensible position of the government as it pursues its "cold war" policies before the critical view of foreign observers—all these have provided a spur to the rise of Negro protest and the growing demands of formerly silent masses.

Skillfully taking advantage of the favorable climate provided by these irrepressible social forces, Walter White was the main architect in transforming the NAACP into the powerful mass movement which it is today.

His most important legacy is the organization he led—a growing contingent of fighters for freedom, more than 300,000 strong, functioning in 1,600 branches, youth councils and college chapters.

He will be remembered as a "race relations" advisor of three Presidents, an able lobbyist in Congressional circles, a prolific writer, effective speaker and tireless advocate of equal rights.

Under his administration the exposures of NAACP helped make the crime of lynching unpopular.

He helped strengthen a working alliance between the top leadership in Negro life and in the labor movement.

He led the Association in a successful onslaught against the constitutionality of the "white primary," thus providing the legal base for the political equality of 10 million Southern Negroes who are still largely disfranchised.

He directed the participation of masses of Negroes and significant sections of the white population in the legal battles which cul-



minated last May 17 in the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

Under his leadership the Association adopted the proposal set forth by Board Chairman Dr. Channing Tobias to fight for complete equality for Negroes by January, 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

We have not always agreed with his policies or tactics. But this is hardly a time to set forth a catalogue of differences with the dead. Rather, for the living, it is important to say that in our view all the accomplishments of the Association could have been greatly augmented if it had freed itself from copy-cat adherence to the disastrous foreign policy which Washington and the Pentagon have pursued these past 10 years—a foreign policy which has received and merited the active disfavor of colored peoples all over the globe.

Walter White's untimely death comes as a severe blow to the NAACP, the main instrumentality of American Negroes in their fight for equality.

The work in which he was engaged until the day of his death is far from complete. It is for us who remain on the firing line to finish the task: the complete emancipation of Negro Americans from the chains of segregation and second-class citizenship.

SUIT AGAINST HOUSING BIAS PRESSED

Levitt & Sons Wins First Legal Round

PHILADELPHIA — NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund lawyers lost the first round in their legal battle to have the courts restrain builder William Levitt from discriminating against Negroes in the sales of private homes at the modern community of Levittown in Bucks County, Pa.

Chief Judge William H. Kirkpatrick ruled March 16 that the suit against Levitt, the world's biggest builder of modern homes, be dismissed on the grounds that Congress did not specifically say that federal officials operating FHA and VA programs should have the duty to order the end of segregation in such federally-aided homes.

"Neither the FHA nor the VA has been charged by Congress with the duty of preventing discrimination in the sales of housing project properties," Judge Kirkpatrick said in a five-page opinion dismissing the case.

The suit against Levitt & Sons, Inc., was filed on January 13 with the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in behalf of six Negro veterans who were turned down when they tried to buy homes in the 16,000 private home development out-

side of Philadelphia. The petition sought to restrain Levitt from refusing to sell to Negroes solely because of race or color, as long as he uses FHA and VA mortgage assistance or approval.

Named in the suit with Levitt are Norman P. Mason, Commissioner of the FHA; William A. Kelley, Director of the Philadelphia Insuring Office of the FHA; Harvey V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and Charles E. Engard, Director of the Loan Guarantee Section of the Philadelphia Regional Office of the VA.

Levitt and the federal officials filed motions for dismissal with the court on the grounds that the federal court has no jurisdiction over the case. Arguments on the motion were heard on Feb. 23.

Judge Kirkpatrick in his dismissal opinion said that whether the Negroes' rights were violated is not decided at this time, "the only question is whether the plaintiffs' case can be maintained in this court."

Legal Defense attorneys had accused Levitt of being aided by the government to the point where his action could be interpreted as the action of the

federal government.

"All of these do not, however, in my opinion, result in making Levitt & Sons, Inc., of New York, the government of the United States or a branch or agency of it, nor do they make the government of the United States the builder or developer of the Levittown project," Judge Kirkpatrick proclaimed.

Legal Defense lawyers argued further that Levitt, as developer of Levittown, is subject to the control and supervision of various officials and agencies of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in constructing schools, sewage, water mains, etc., and is, in effect, a municipality of Pennsylvania and a part of the state. Judge Kirkpatrick dismissed this point by saying "it is too far fetched to require discussion."

Legal Defense attorneys do not consider the dismissal a defeat in their case against Levitt. Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Associate Counsel of NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said the case will be appealed. Other attorneys for the Negroes are Thurgood Marshall, Director Counsel of Legal Defense, Walter A. Gay Jr., and David E. Pinsky of Philadelphia.

Life Challenges Negro Youth

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

No skill, no job, bad schools, inadequate recreational facilities, no future (unless atomic war can be called a "future")—these are among the causes of the disturbing youth crime and delinquency rates which the sensational documentation of the commercial press omits.



Miss Hansberry

These conditions affect all youth though they strike with special force among working and Negro young people. We have dealt with them in previous articles.

Another factor overlooked by the "experts" on youth crime is the unique experience of Negro youth. Simply stated, that experience is that from the time he is born the Negro child is surrounded by a society organized to convince him that he belongs to a people with a past so worthless and shameful that it amounts to—no past at all!

Europe Becomes the "World"

In the elementary and high schools the denial of a Negro heritage usually takes the form of a fantastically vast omission. Thus, our children learn a "world" history which amounts to a study of: European wars, European exploration, European art and European genius—right up to the settlement of the Americas.

Then they study how what my own high school text matter-of-factly called "the greatest of races" enslaved Africans out of their ingenuity for "getting things done" and eventually abolished slavery out of their "great humanity."

Beyond the efforts of pioneering Negro scholars and a few conscientious individual white teachers, the Negro child simply will not learn in the public schools that the early Egyptian empires which he is taught were the foundation of "Western civilization" were in fact founded by dark people who came into the Nile valley from the Sudan.

Nor will they be taught that many celebrated kings and queens of those empires were black men and women. Nor that in the course of the rise and fall of empires Egypt was herself invaded and ruled by its black neighbor to the east—ancient Ethiopia.

Douglass Omitted

Negro experience in the New World is dealt with in the same way. In the texts of Charles and Mary Beard our young people have learned, by omission, that there were no Negro slave revolts and that what there was of an abolition movement was white. They simply do not learn that a man named Frederick Douglass ever lived!

The Negro teen-ager in search of information about the history or psychology of his people will find plenty of ravings like the following by

renowned "scholars":

"... the failure to grasp subjective ideas, the strong sexual and herd instinct with few inhibitions, the simple dream life, the easy reversion to savagery when deprived of the restraining influence of the whites, as in Haiti... all these and many other things betray the savage heart beneath the civilized exterior."

Thus is explained away one of the great achievements of the Negro people in the New World—the Haitian Revolution.

"Naturally" Ugly?

The program of historical and cultural obliteration neither begins nor ends with school experiences. Awaiting our youth in every area of American life is a barrage of propaganda which distorts and disparages their identity.

In a land where the Grace Kelly-Marilyn Monroe monotypic "ideal" is imposed on the national culture, racist

logic insists that anything directly opposite—no matter how lovely—is "naturally" ugly.

Similarly, our youth, having been taught that they are un-beautiful, without culture or history, are constantly ridiculed by magazines and sociologists because they prepare their hair, rouge their cheeks and lips and give their social clubs French, Spanish or German names. Generally this is interpreted to prove the natural "imitative instinct" that an "inferior group" will feel for a "superior one."

Of course "imitative instincts" have nothing to do with Negro youth wanting to follow what is seemingly the only cultural pattern according to school, advertising, movies, TV and popular literature. Nevertheless, it would be useless and false to suggest that the historical campaign to eradicate all evidence of a Negro culture anywhere in the

world, has not had its ravaging effects on generations of American Negroes—including today's Negro teen-agers. At the same time, it is equally dishonest to discuss causes of social rebellion among Negro youth without giving heavy



who is Frederick Douglass?

It was a bright and cheerful morning and the substitute teacher smiled as she looked at the rows of bright faces before her.

Of the 30-odd children in the New York schoolroom all were Negro except two white youngsters and one Chinese lad. Downstairs in the auditorium an exhibit had been prepared on Negro History Week.

"Now, children," the teacher beamed, "this is a special day. February 14, as you know, is Valentine's Day."

Little Linda's face grew even brighter and her hand went up. "What is it?" asked the teacher.

"Well, teacher," said Linda, "today is also Frederick Douglass' birthday."

The substitute teacher paused for a moment and then replied: "Is that so? And WHO is Frederick Douglass? Is he a little boy in this class?"

indictment to the calculated destruction of their heritage.

Pride Remains

Despite all this the picture of Negro youth is far from being hopeless—or even depressing. The constant news of the struggles for freedom in today's headlines fall on singularly sympathetic and eager ears among our youth. Particularly has the name of Jomo Kenyatta captured respect and admiration, as has the Mau Mau or Kenyan liberation movement itself—even though there has seldom been a more maligned account of an uprising in the U.S. press.

This writer attended the NAACP-sponsored National Youth Legislative Conference in Washington, D.C., last month. There the widespread and often heated condemnation of the British and the Union of South Africa left no question as to a deep seated identity that our young people have managed to retain with African liberation struggles despite 150 years of denial. Nor did the delegates overlook

any opportunity in their resolutions and recommendations to condemn the United States Government for its collaboration with white imperialist rule.

It was as if—after all these years of the world's most extended propaganda program—Negro youth were replying: "But we know who we are! We are Americans! We are proud of our African heritage and on the side of our African kinsmen!"

F. D. R. Record Ready

A 10" long-playing record recreating the Roosevelt years of 1933-1945 in music, documentary drama and the words of the late FDR will be issued April 1 by the National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N.Y.C. 7. Titled "The Unforgotten Man," the record recaptures the songs and the street-corner talk of the apple-selling days through the WPA to the end of World War II.

Pre-publication price direct from the National Guardian: \$3.00.



NEGROES FOUGHT FOR THEIR FREEDOM? They don't teach that in our schools. But we learn all about the European explorers.

children's story: PALMARES — FREEDOM CITY

You have probably heard about some of the famous revolts of the Negro people in the South during slavery. But did you ever hear about any of the great revolts in the other countries down in South America?

Thousands of African people were brought from Africa to work on plantations in Brazil and the West Indies and Haiti. And of course wherever people are enslaved—sooner or later they try to revolt or run away, just as the North American slaves did so often. That is why there were so many slave revolts all over the New World during slavery.

And in 1650 while the United States were still 13 colonies, a group of African people who had been brought to Brazil to be slaves revolted and escaped to a forest near the Atlantic Ocean on the Brazilian coast.

Even though they were always being attacked by the Portuguese, who wanted to return them to slavery, the people built homes and began to live as free people again, in their own village which was made up entirely of escaped slaves. They called their little town **Palmares**.

The people of Palmares built a great stockade around the town, and as more and more slaves heard about the village of freedom more and more of them ran away and joined the Palmares settlement. And it grew and grew—for 40 years!

Yes, for 40 years the people of Palmares lived and worked in their town, which was really like a "little country" since they did things very much the way they had done them in Africa. But they always had to keep an army ready because the Portuguese were always attacking them.

And because they hated slavery and because they wanted more people in their town, they sent out groups of people to free other slaves on nearby plantations who could not escape by themselves. They brought them back to the town until finally Palmares had a population between 20,000 and 30,000 people.

The Portuguese slaveholders were very frightened and angry at the existence of Palmares, so in 1696 they sent a great army of 7,000 soldiers with huge canons against the town. And though the Africans fought back very bravely, thousands and thousands of them were murdered, and the town was destroyed.

In Brazil today where there are 20,000,000 people of African ancestry, the people still remember Palmares, where escaped African slaves lived for 40 years in a city of freedom.

The Lord Advised . . . Feed the Hungry, Take in the Stranger . . . Visit the Prisoner

A Conversation From Life

By Alice Childress

Well Marge, I went to church last Sunday. . . . No, the doors did not cave in on me! . . . and if you're going to think up jokes, I wish you'd think of new ones. Its true that I don't go often, but you know most folks go around Christmas and Easter time, so I thought I would surprise my pastor by going a week early this time. . . . Oh, the sermon was so-so, and I saw a lot of friends that I hadn't seen in a long while, but wait until I tell you what happened just as I was leavin'!

The pastor caught up with me at the door and spoke out real loud. . . . "My, it certainly has been a long time since

we've seen you! Where have you been?" . . . Now, in the past when this has happened I always have told him some lie about "bein' busy" or "sickly," or some such tale as that, but all of a sudden I decided that I was goin' to let him in on the truth. I spoke out real plain. . . . "I haven't been comin' to Church because you ain't been sayin' anything whenever I do get here." . . . Marge, he was some upset, and asked me to step into his study and explain what I meant . . . of course I did just that!

"Not meanin' any disrespect," I said, ". . . but every time you give a sermon, I find that you pick out a text about people bearin' up under a whole lot of misery that the Lord has visited upon them. For example, the last time I was here

you told me all about Job's sores and boils, and how all his children was killed off, and a million and one other miseries, the whole object bein' how nicely he bore up under these things." . . . Marge, he shook his head and said. . . . "That's in the Bible. I'm sorry you didn't like the text."

"Well, Reverend," I told him. "Its true that you are the one who gets to select the sermon but I notice that it's almost always something about people being 'destroyed' or 'cursed' . . . or something from 'Lamentations' . . . and when I leave its always with the feeling that I'm lucky to be breathin' and had better be thankful that I ain't any more miserable than I am." . . . No Marge, he wasn't offended, especially when I told him what

I would like to hear.

"Reverend," I said. ". . . the Bible tells us that Jesus did not act meek and mild and enjoy the fact that some folks were walkin' all over others. He raised his voice and spoke to crowds, and told them that the rulers were puttin' heavy burdens on the people's shoulders, and devouring widows' houses. He called Herod a 'fox,' and told the people they were livin' amongst a generation of 'vipers.' He advised the people that they were to feed the hungry, take in the stranger and visit the prisoner. He told them there was no justice in the courts.

"He accused the rich of being clean outside and dirty inside. He accused them of misleading the people and seekin' high places for themselves. He taught the people to break bread together and divide their necessities in common brotherhood. He taught them . . . 'The Kingdom on Earth as it is in Heaven' . . . and it was for

teachin' and preachin' these things that he was hauled into an unjust Court on a trumped up charge of overthrowin' the Lord, the Prophets, and the Religion of the people, and settin' himself up as a King and ruler over them.

"It was for these things that they nailed him to the cross. Today his message has become lost in stained glass windows and mournful songs. The message of love and hope and forgiveness has been drowned out by the false prophets screaming about hell-fire and damnation, and destruction."

My pastor smiled a little and said. . . . "I asked and you have told me. This is a great deal that you have said, and I'll have to think about it awhile."

"Yes, Reverend," I said. ". . . and if you could find it in your heart to preach a sermon like that it would make Easter Sunday a day of real meaning and inspiration."

And it would, wouldn't it Marge?

DIXIECRAT COUNTERATTACK

(Continued from Page 3)

The connection between political representation and school integration is underscored by the fact that he states where even partial efforts have been made to enforce the Supreme Court ruling are all in the border areas where Negroes serve in state legislatures.

In February, St. Louis, Mo. high schools were integrated without a single incident. Although residential segregation has prevented complete integration, public school officials, newspapers, law enforcement officers, etc. cooperated to bring about a partial changeover. Elementary schools will be integrated Sept. 1955.

Maryland Legislators' Bill

In Baltimore, Md., public schools continued to carry out a program of integration which was also finding support in other parts of the state. The Maryland Petition Committee, an early affiliate of Bryant Bowles, National Assn. for the Advancement of White People, in January circulated two proposed measures at the legislature to maintain segregation

but in the words of one legislator "nobody around here wants to touch it with an eleven-foot pole."

The three Negro legislators elected for the first time in Maryland's history placed before the Assembly a bill that states that all persons "shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any place of public accommodation, resort or amusement subject to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all persons." In addition, the Md. Congress of PTAs and their member groups in Montgomery, Prince Georges and Frederick Counties were calling for integration, and planning for Fall 1955 implementation.

In Kentucky where integration at the college level has been in effect for several years, there was major public discussion especially in Louisville where the Board of Education is seeking to create "a favorable climate of opinion" for a transition deemed inevitable.

In Delaware, though, a setback was scored with the State Supreme Court's ruling upholding the Milford Board of Education's removal of ten Negro children from the Milford school, the judges were unanimous in deciding that the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court "has the present effect of nullifying our segregation laws." They are therefore the first State Supreme Court to take the expressed position that the May 17 decision has the effect of law, even without the formal decrees being handed down.



OFFICIALS SEEM PLEASED as Africans' belongings are removed from their homes in Sophiatown, African settlement near Johannesburg. These were the first of 60,000 Africans scheduled to be moved to a new Jim Crow settlement farther away from the city.

The Stained Glass Solution

(This editorial appeared in the Houston INFORMER March 5.)

The pastor of the white First Baptist Church of Washington, D.C., has written to Dr. W. H. Jernagin, famed Negro Baptist leader, that in making plans for the new building of that white church, the congregation had decided to portray some Negro Baptist personalities on the stained glass windows of the new church. He said to Dr. Jernagin: "It occurred to me that you and some of your friends might be willing to help us to secure the funds for these windows, and thereby provide an added evidence of Christian brotherhood and good will. The windows will cost \$500 for each personality portrayed."

The white Baptist pastor said further: "Naturally we expect to have visitors from all over the world worshipping in our church from time to time and we believe that these windows will be a constant reminder of our great Baptist leaders and of the love and respect which exist among us who seek to follow in the way they led." Dr. Jernagin agreed to raise money for two windows. . . .

Undoubtedly, the decision to

portray Negro Baptists is more than would have been done in a former day . . . but . . . at the same time, it is a serious question whether or not this decision goes far enough to meet the Christian challenge of 1955.

It can be understood that these white Baptists will point with pride to these stained glass windows, when foreign worshippers ask questions about such matters as segregation and discrimination in religion. But are those windows going to be a sufficient answer? Suppose the white Baptists should be asked how many Negro members they have? If the question of visitors "from over the world" become sharp and penetrating, the stained glass solution is likely to look more like a sop to soothe the conscience of the white Baptists than any real effort to live up to the example and teachings of Jesus Christ.

Viewed in this light, maybe a contribution could have been made by Dr. Jernagin if he had, in addition to undertaking to raise funds for two windows portraying Negro Baptist leaders, called attention of

the white Baptists to the more fundamental requirements of the true Christian faith. Christ would never have been satisfied with some stained glass windows with the names of Negroes on them while excluding Negroes from membership in the church.

Education for Slavery

(Continued from Page 4)

ment and Britain to join it in a Defense-of-Africa-against-Communism Pact similar to the U.S. sponsored Southeast Asia Collective Defense Alliance. The South African government's fear of "communism" is in fact its fear of African freedom and self determination.

Neither Bantu Education Acts nor western military alliances can succeed in stemming the rising demand for African liberation. That is one of the things to be discussed at the important Asian-African Conference to be convened at Bandung, Indonesia next month. And it was obviously no accident that the Union of South Africa was not one of the countries invited to send representatives to that conference.

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