

## An Editorial:

# Let Us Push On for Full Justice in Schools Fight

Thurgood Marshall has stated that the fight to implement the Supreme Court decision on segregated schools will have top priorities in the program of the NAACP for the next year.

This determination undoubtedly expresses the will of 16 million American Negroes, who have made up their minds that their children must have an adequate, unsegregated education without further delay.

There have been enough delays.

For generations Negro youth in the South attended broken-down, ramshackle and hand-me-down schools.

They have used books cast aside by white children, held classes in garages and church

S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va. Then it took four years before the Supreme Court rendered its May 17, 1954 decision, declaring segregation in education unconstitutional.

Now the Court, while reaffirming its view that segregated school must end, has put the initiative back in the hands of the school boards and local politicians who have maintained Jim Crow all along, and has placed upon the Federal District Courts in the South the responsibility for seeing that the decision is carried out.

The courts are to be guided by "practical flexibility" in reviewing local programs for integration.

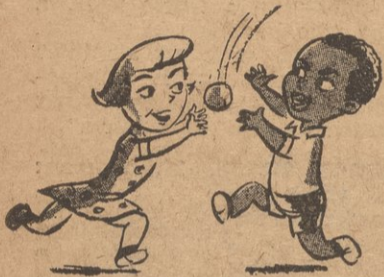
We know what this can mean. If Southern politicians are allowed to be "practically flexible" in according Negroes their constitutional rights we may be forever getting them. The energetic and vocal support of all who profess a belief in democracy.

Every day that a Negro child is kept out of a public school in deference to "local obstacles" and "practical flexibility" is a day which witnesses the subversion of the Constitution of the United States by officials sworn to uphold it.

That's why the news that NAACP regards carrying out the decision as its number one order of business is good news not only for the abused Negro school children, but for the nation as a whole.

Already more than a hundred petitions have been filed with school boards in Mississippi. In the next months this will be repeated all over the South.

The actions of Southern Negroes to win their constitutional rights NOW must have the energetic and vocal support of all who profess a belief in democracy.



basements, and often never seen the inside of a gymnasium or science laboratory.

That they have been rescued from the depths of hopelessness and inspired to learn and create is largely due to the heroic part played by Negro teachers in the Jim Crow schools.

In open defiance of the Constitution 17 states and the District of Columbia used the common tax monies of all the people to penalize one group of citizens, Negroes, with inferior educational facilities.

The beginning of the end of this rotten system came in 1950 with the cases brought by Negro children against school boards of Clarendon County,

## Paul Robeson at Swarthmore College . . .

# 'Everyone Enjoyed Exercise of Free Speech'

By PAUL ROBESON

IT IS GOOD, THESE DAYS, to get out to the college campuses and see the stirring of new life among the students. The Ivy Curtain of conformity, which for a decade has shut them off from the sunlight of independent thinking, is beginning to wilt. The fresh breeze of free expression is beginning to filter into the stale atmosphere of the cold-war classrooms.

This changing scene, noted by various progressive writers and lecturers who have visited the colleges in recent months, is renewing for me the bonds which have always connected me closely with this area of American life.

So it is a real pleasure, nowadays, to receive from student groups a growing number of invitations to appear at various universities—Northwestern, Kansas, Wisconsin, Chicago, UCLA, and others. Some of these requests are for concerts, such as was held here at New

York's City College a few months ago, in support of my right to function as an artist; and others are for lectures sponsored by campus supporters of academic freedom.

Last month at Swarthmore College it was my privilege to appear both as artist and citizen, and this is always most gratifying because for me these roles are one and inseparable. Swarthmore, to which I had been invited by the Forum for Free Speech, has an enrollment of 900; but an overflow audience of 1,000 attended. Students came from other schools in that part of Pennsylvania—from Lincoln, including some of the African students there, and from Bryn Mawr.

It was a moving experience, warm with memories of my



# Freedom

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

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# War and Jim Crow Set Back at Bandung

By KUMAR GOSHAL

In the delightful mountain resort of Bandung, Indonesia, 2,000 delegates—including top-level representatives—from 29 African-Asian nations held "an historic" conference during April 18-23; the London Economist found the scope of the gathering made "all the congresses that Europe has held over the centuries look like a neighborly chat over garden fences."

Participants in the conference were all colored peoples from countries that were—with the exception of Japan—colonies or semi-colonies until recently; and observers came from present-day colonial countries and from the African Natl. Congress and the Indian Congress parties of So. Africa. All cheered when congratulatory messages were read from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, the NAACP and other groups and individuals. Since the conference laid great stress on political and economic imperialism and the evils of racialism, it was of supreme

(Continued on Page 4)



VOICES OF THE NEW ASIA: Spokesmen for two of the great powers of the East exchange greetings in the sitting room of the Bandung airport. Premier Ali Sastroamijoyo was the host of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China and leaders of 27 other Asian and African nations.

## Won't You Be Our Doorbell Ringer?

IF YOU ARE ONE of the several hundred FREEDOM readers who responded to our appeals for help—we tender our thanks. If you are one of the several thousand readers who has not as yet joined the FREEDOM family—we invite you to make haste.

The quicker you join the FREEDOM family, the quicker you get FREEDOM every month. Here's why.

In order to insure FREEDOM's publication on a REGULAR basis we drew up a plan calling for an appeal to our readers to wipe out the huge printing debt we had accumulated.

The response was good. We didn't pay off the full debt to the printer with the money we received, but we did pay a chunk of it, enough to enable us to keep going.

Then we found that our hand-to-mouth basis of operations increased. Instead of working on stories for the current issue, we found ourselves knocking on more doors than we care to count, meeting people from whom we tried to raise contributions to pay current printing bills. We weren't able to quit this fund-raising operation until we had enough money to satisfy the printer.

And we weren't able to get on to our job of collecting stories and writing them until we had finished our fund-raising job.

As a result we have had to combine our May and June issues and will have to do the same for July-August. As they say on the railroads, that's a heck of a way to run a monthly.

The point of this story is that you—and only you—can help put us on schedule. We ask you to take over part of the job of knocking on doors that has fallen on us. We ask you to see your friends, sell them subscriptions, collect their dollars, fives and tens and let us get on with our work of getting more and better stories for FREEDOM.

We direct our appeal especially to the several thousand FREEDOM readers who have yet to renew their expired subs to drop their money into an envelope and mail the envelope to FREEDOM, 139 West 125th St., New York 27.

And, please, everyone make haste with all you can raise!

(Continued on Page 2)

# YWCA: Integration Major Theme At 20th Natl. Convention

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

"It may be rather painful to take a look in the mirror and find the mental image we have held of ourselves was prettier than the actual face we see." So spoke Mrs. E. Harris Harbinson, Chairman of the Leadership Services Committee of the National YWCA at the 20th National Convention of that organization which met last month in New York City.

Mrs. Harbinson was presenting a special report on progress and the lack of it toward racial integration (or what the YWCA traditionally has called "inclusiveness") in YWCA branches in the past ten years.

The report showed that, while much has been accomplished, there is still a great deal to be done. Segregated Y's, either because of community prejudices or Jim Crow policy within the YWCA, still exist in many areas. "Non-white" personnel, the report found, have not consistently been upgraded to positions of leadership whenever and wherever specific situations have warranted such action. In some instances the organization has not been vocal enough in offering ideas and programs to counter traditional racist concepts which are at odds with the Christian precepts of the YWCA.

## Priority on Peace

In the face of such a report the spirit and events of the convention took on a special significance. The question of de-segregation thoroughly per-

meated the convention program. In fact, the only issue which shared or superceded its prominence in convention activity was that of world peace.

In personal interviews, delegates reported that there were very few discussion group meetings (closed to the press) where desegregation and its meaning for the Y was not projected in one form or another. Negro delegates interviewed felt strongly that a goodly part of the awareness for a need for re-evaluation stemmed directly from the aftermath of the Supreme Court decision. This was particularly evident, they said, with Southern white delegates.

A youthful Negro woman teen-age director from Kalamazoo, Michigan, told this writer, "I would say it (the decision) has given some people courage to speak up in a good way, where they wouldn't have before." She said that in her years of Y experience it was the first time she had felt that, "It has made us conscious of doing something instead of just talking about it."

## Main Business

An indication of this was the fact that the report on "inclusiveness" was not among items tucked away as troublesome addenda for the last hours of convention business. It was instead, the first main report of the opening session.

There were those among leadership and floor speakers who continued to warn against

"steps of which everyone may not approve." However, it was clear that those who held on to racist ideas felt the need to be on the defensive.

## Right and Inevitable

In one instance, during a panel on world peace (chaired by a Negro member of the National Board, Mrs. Lisle Carter) a white panel member interrupted herself to speak spontaneously and dramatically on school segregation, in a full, deep southern accent.

The panel member, Mrs. Lilburn Mosely, now of Pittsburgh, said that integration was not only right, good, proper, and inevitable but morally desirable. She added, "I was raised in the South in completely segregated schools. My children now attend completely integrated schools." She said there was no question in her mind that her children were having the better experience as a part of growing up. Mrs. Mosely was then interrupted by the ready and enthusiastic applause of the 4,000 delegates.

The presence and activity of a large number of Negro women delegates was an indication that the healthy agitation for "inclusiveness" was not just talk. Elected to a number of key committees and to national leadership, many of them were militantly outspoken on specific civil rights issues.

The 20th National Convention of the YWCA revealed this important grouping of American women looking the real facts of life in the face and determined to make their contribution to a peaceful, democratic world.

# Harlem Speaks... about Bandung

Last month with the world caught up in the excitement and promise of the historic Bandung Conference, FREEDOM took its camera and notebook to one of Harlem's busiest streets, to ask Mr. and Miss average Harlemit what they thought about the doings at Bandung.

## THE QUESTION:

"Do you think the Bandung Conference will have an influence on the fight for Negro rights here in the United States?" And, "Do you agree with Mr. Powell's statements that we have achieved freedom in our country?"

## THE ANSWERS

MRS. ROSE HAWTHORNE,

Housewife: "I think the conference will have a good effect. I guess Mr. Powell was saying what he thinks. I don't agree with him but I guess if he felt that way he had to say it. I don't understand it too well. We have plenty left to fight for."

CHARLES SCARLETT, Photographer:

"I did not keep up with all that went on at the conference. But some of my friends were just discussing it and of course I feel it is a good thing. As for

Mr. Powell, I feel we are true enough making progress and sometime in the near future we will be free. But we are not now. If our leaders would just explain that when we go abroad they would do fine."

GEORGE EDWARDS, H. S. Student:

"Yes, the conference will have some effect on us. But not in any important way. About Adam Powell's speeches, I do not understand how he could say anything like that. In some instances, certain places you go to, it is pretty hard for a Negro. They say, all of these people, that the Negro has wonderful chances. But you take a pilot—can a Negro fly, a guy who has been in the war, get a job with an air line? They're all a bunch of hypocrites. But the Supreme Court decision was a great thing."

LEROY BINES, 23, Veteran:

"I think the conference certainly should help Negroes. In one way of speaking, it gives a kind of hope to the Negro. I just came back from Africa and it means a lot to all of us. No, the Negro certainly does not have all the freedom he's got coming to him yet."



# Swarthmore PHOENIX

SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA Tuesday, May 3, 1955

## Paul Robeson Sings, Talks, Acts; Sees Peace Basis in Culture

by Tim Shopen

Paul Robeson sang, read from Othello and discussed world problems to a near-capacity audience at Clothier last Thursday evening under the sponsorship of the Forum for Free Speech.

While in his political opinions he stands in a minority in this country, the statement he is one of America's greatest artists should go unchallenged. April 19 marked his thirtieth year as a concert singer all over the world. As an actor his triumphs have been



dignity and fulfillment, for peace among the nations.

## Talk of the World

I sought to explain to these eager young listeners how my viewpoint—which many of them thought too radical—was the natural outgrowth of my development as a Negro artist. I recalled how love for the songs of my people, the only songs for my first five years as a singer, widened to include the songs of other peoples as I grew to know them and found in them a kindred soul, a kin-

dred beauty. I recalled how that knowledge led to an interest in other peoples, in their history and cultures, and in their lives today.

And so the talk, like the songs, seemed to move around the world, noting the epochal social changes of our times, urging an understanding of that reality, stressing the all-important need for peaceful coexistence. But inevitably the talk returned to the starting point—to the struggle and aspirations of the Negro in America.

Many questions were asked in the general discussion which

followed and here, too, the focus came to bear on the outlook for Negro advancement.

There was give-and-take on various matters, and everyone seemed to enjoy the exercise of free speech on this occasion. Indeed, as many of the students told me, the important thing for them was the chance to hear another viewpoint.

Yes, a ferment is growing among America's students, both Negro and white. Many are beginning to see that if a concern for future jobs has dictated conformity, a concern for their very lives requires that they think for themselves.



30TH ANNIVERSARY: A small party of friends helped Paul Robeson celebrate the 30th anniversary of his career as a concert singer recently. Shown above in the Red Rooster, popular Harlem establishment, are, clockwise: George Woods, proprietor; Mr. Robeson, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Lawrence Brown, composer, arranger and Mr. Robeson's accompanist for 29 years; Thomas Richardson (mostly hidden); J. ("Puss") Saunders, Leo Lubin, a friend who attended the first Robeson concert, Miss Thelma Dale, general manager of FREEDOM, and Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, pastor of Mother A. M. E. Zion Church.

# Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

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# Belzoni Murder: Aimed at Crusade For Voting Rights

By THELMA DALE

"You n-----s think you will vote but it will never happen— This is to show you what will happen if you try."

(signed) CITIZENS COUNCILS.  
Two weeks before Rev. George W. Lee was shot to death while driving in his car in Belzoni, Miss., the above note was left in the (Negro) Elks Rest after white vandals had broken into the building, wrecked equipment and destroyed the check book.

According to the Chicago Defender: "The lynching climaxed a series of violent acts directed against Negroes and designed to discourage them from seeking voting rights and integration in the public schools."

## Fought For Rights

Two years ago, Rev. Lee, minister of four small churches and a businessman, led a crusade urging his people to pay poll taxes, register and vote. A number of citizens went to the court house to fulfill this obligation of citizenship and were permitted to pay the tax. But according to reliable sources, the date of entry on the tax book was deliberately falsified to disqualify the Negro taxpayers. Many were then "persuaded" to have their names removed from the list, but Rev. Lee and 91 others refused to give up this right.

Rev. George W. Lee's courage, devotion and leadership in the fight for democratic principles brought about his shocking murder.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, President of the Mississippi State NAACP Conference said of him:

"The Rev. Mr. Lee was one of the first Negroes to qualify to vote in Humphries County. He was a leader helping his people to live the Christian life. He was a man who believed in and advocated living by the principles of democratic government.

"In face of previous threats and intimidations, he refused to follow orders to tear up his poll tax receipt and have his name removed from the registration book in Humphries County because he believed in our republican form of government."

## Prophecy Comes True

Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times writing in Look magazine, March 22, 1955, predicted a "wave of terror threatens the South" as "Citizens Councils, fighting the Supreme Court ban on segregation could become a new Klan." Mr. Carter wrote at that time: "The hope is that the Federal Government will not tolerate organized terrorism." (See FREEDOM, March, 1955 issue.)

The NAACP, the Negro press and others have called for Federal intervention to protect Negroes in the South as they fight for their citizenship rights. Clarence Mitchell, head of the NAACP Washington Bureau put the facts of the Lee slaying before the Privileges and Elections Sub-Committee of the Senate Rules

Committee and urged a full-scale Senate investigation.

Mitchell told the sub-committee that in Mississippi restrictive election tactics, buttressed with terror and intimidation have all but eliminated Negro voters.

According to the Afro-American (5/28/55): "A Department of Justice spokesman confirmed the report that the FBI is making a preliminary investigation to determine whether any federal civil rights statute has been violated by the slaying of the Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., on the night of May 7."

However, the record to date of FBI investigations of lynchings (not one lyncher prosecuted and convicted in more than 10,000 lynchings in the U.S.) underscores that unprecedented protest and demand must descend upon Washington if the murderers of Rev. Lee are not to remain free to kill again.

The Chicago Defender in an editorial (May 21) entitled

"Time for the U.S. to Act" says in part:

"The Department of Justice has remained silent during all the long months that tension was being built up in the state (Miss.) by Negro-hating whites who have openly conspired to deny Negroes their rights as American citizens.

"It is high time now for Fed-

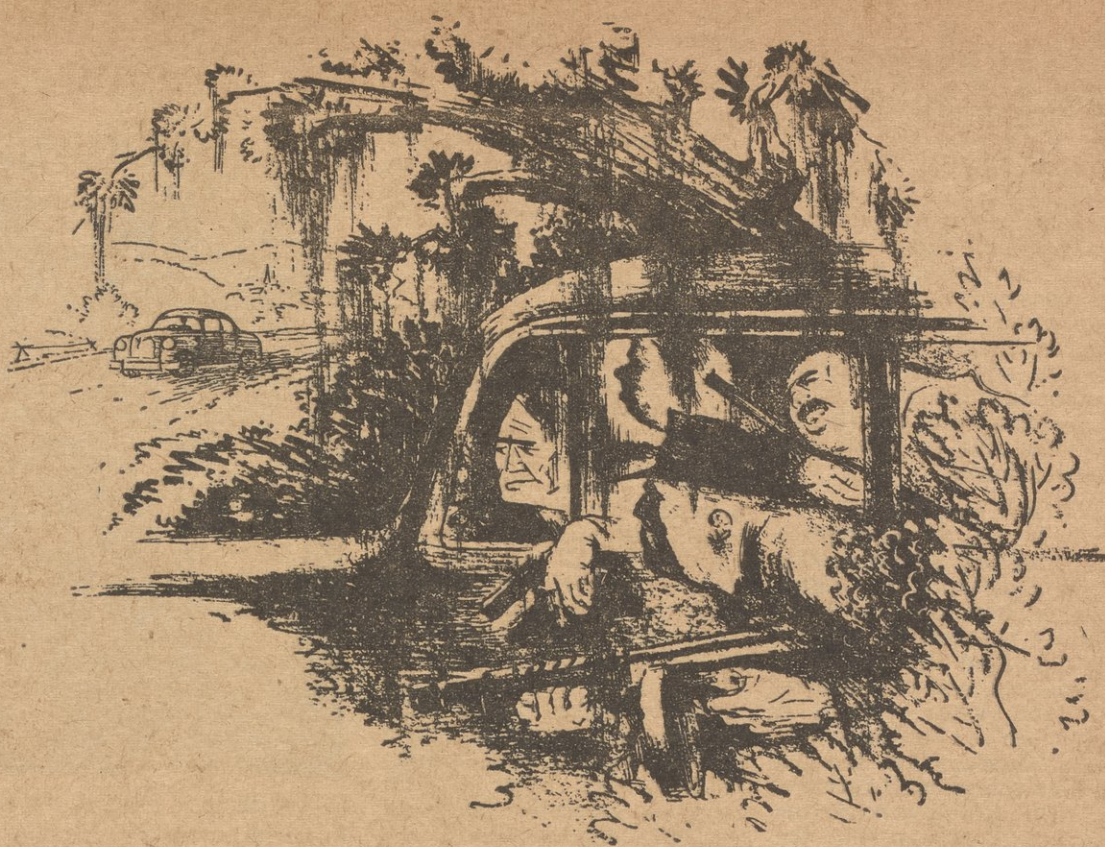
eral action. The government can ill-afford at this time or any other to capitulate to a few hoodlum whites who finger their noses at the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and Federal authority.

"The veneer of democracy our national capital, Washington, has recently acquired cannot conceal the dark, ugly un-

American goings on in Mississippi and other benighted areas of the country.

"It is America's shame and America's blame that Rev. Lee was slain—and Federal action should be coming forthwith."

Beyond a doubt, this is the sentiment of 16 million Negroes and all decent Americans.



## Ike's Farm Program: Take Land From Poor, Give to Rich

The hill farmers of Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, are being shoved into the sinkhole of debt because they can't raise "money crops."

Dependent upon raising cotton to make a living, these farmers have had their cotton acreage cut in half.

The cut, ordered by the Department of Agriculture, has resulted in widespread foreclosures, evictions and displacement of Negro and white farmers throughout many sections of the South.

"The roads are full of croppers and renters who don't know where to go or what to do," said Stanton A. Pepper,

of Blytheville, Arkansas.

The Agriculture Department coldbloodedly declares that 55,348 small farm families, sharecroppers and tenants will be forced off the land in 1955 as a result of reduced cotton acreage allotments.

### Less Than \$1,000 a Year

Another 130,603 farmers who had a cotton acreage allotment of less than five acres in 1954, would suffer a loss of \$100 a year because of 1955 acreage cut. These families earned less than \$1,000 last year.

This year more than 293,000 small farmers will have a cot-

ton acreage of five acres and less. They now have the \$1,000 income to look forward to for 1955.

In Tallahatchie County, the farmers have been unable to get credit needed to put in other crops and to keep up with their payments to the banks and loan companies.

The same situation exists in Carroll County, Mississippi, where 700 farmers who had planted five acres of cotton last year are now permitted to put in one to four acres.

### In Bad Shape

In Copiah County, 1,119 farmers have a cotton allotment of less than five acres. "These farmers are in bad shape," County Agriculture Agent Ellis E. Randle reports.

The larger farmers are passing on the cuts to their renters and sharecroppers. One such farmer said he was letting most of his 26 renter families go. Another reported he was firing a Negro family which had farmed his land for 15 years.

But the "Big Four" cotton planters won't suffer. They're expected to "clean up" on the Agriculture Department's policy of restricting cotton growth in the United States, and refusing to sell its stock of surplus cotton in the world market.

### Gnat Bites on a Hog's Back

The "Big Four" in cotton are Anderson-Clayton; Cook & Co.; Hohenberg Bros., and Volkard Bros. Not only do they own the largest cotton plantations in the country, and act as brokers for many of the other large cotton farmers, but they also have been opening up huge tracts of land in Mexico, Brazil and Peru for cotton production.

Anderson-Clayton, the largest cotton factor in the U.S., arranged in April to plant a

million acres of cotton in Peru. Hohenberg Bros. invested \$4 million in Mexican land.

While the cuts in acreage go for the big farmers as well, they are like gnat bites on a hog's back. A big farmer cuts down on his help, reduces expenses in other ways in order to compensate for the decrease. Or he can rent more land, which he needn't farm, in order to prevent reduction of his cotton acreage allotment. Or he can farm on foreign soil, as does the "Big Four."

### Government Handouts

The big farms also get the largest price support benefits from the government. In Mississippi, the Delta & Pine Land Co. of Scott, one of the largest cotton producers in the state, received \$1,269,492 from the government in 1953. The Bledsoe Plantation, Greenwood, Miss., was handed \$394,351, and Harbert & Co., Robinsonville, Miss., received \$359,204.

The small farmer has received a pittance and a brush-off which gives away the aim of the Republican guided Agriculture Department and its Secretary, Ezra Taft Benson.

That aim is to wipe out the small farmer, and place the nation's agriculture in the hands of "big business." If this is accomplished the present consumer squeeze will become a vise and the consumer will be forced to pay even higher prices for food and goods manufactured from agricultural products.

The dire effects of the Agriculture Department's policies in the South indicate another aim. That is: to create an even larger labor force willing to accept the South's low wages, and act as a lever to depress wages throughout the country.



IN 1939 THESE EVICTED SHARECROPPERS were among the thousands who made their "home" a hundred-mile stretch of Missouri highway. Today, thousands more, evicted from Southern cotton plantations by Eisenhower's farm policies, are seeking a home in the cities, North and South.

# Bandung

(Continued from Page 1)

importance to all Americans, especially Negro Americans. For, as India's Nehru emphasized in his speech, it is the U.S.-sponsored North Atlantic Organization (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and other military alliances that are today helping maintain what remains of imperialist rule in Asian and African colonies.

## Negro Press Reacts

By and large, the Negro press in America was fully conscious of the importance and significance of Bandung. The Afro-American felt that the conference "signalled the end of a centuries-old era of colonialism," and asked "Western statesmen . . . to heed this solemn warning that the old order of things no longer exists." The following week the same paper declared that the U.S. "looked the other way while the Italians were enslaving the Ethiopians . . . backed the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Morocco and Tunisia, and the British in Tanganyika, Mosambique and Nayasaland"; and warned that the delegates at Bandung have "made it clear that colonialism and its hated companion, racism, are definitely evils of the past. . . ."

The most remarkable thing about the conference was that it was held at all, that it survived all inspired U.S. press stories of "splits" and "divisions," all disruptive attempts from inside and out. It was

called by the Prime Ministers of five countries (India, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia) to find ways and means "to cooperate with our Asian and African neighbors to live together in friendship and in peaceful co-existence, to strive hard, united in aim, for the common benefit of all."

## Conflicts Put Aside

But there were conflicts among the sponsoring powers themselves and among all who attended the conference: India and Pakistan were deadlocked over the status of the former Indian prince's territory of Kashmir; India, Burma and Indonesia shy away from power blocs, but Pakistan, Turkey, the Philippines and Iraq are chained to the U.S. through interlocking military pacts; Ceylon has been slapped hard by the U.S. for trading with China, and was apparently ready to make violent anti-Communist speeches to return to Washington's good graces; Pakistan and other Moslem countries prevented the other sponsors from inviting Israel, and were itching to turn the conference into an anti-Israeli forum. But the conference ended harmoniously with a series of resolutions passed unanimously (see box, page 3); it made, as former Indian ambassador to China K. M. Panikar predicted it would, "the first clear affirmation of the right of Asian and African peoples to an independent voice in the settlement of their own affairs."

In their opening speeches the U.S. camp followers made their anticipated attacks on "Communist imperialism," the most virulent being the one made



FOR THEM, A BRIGHT FUTURE: These youngsters of the village of Katen, near Jogjakarta, Indonesia, are shown playing an Eastern version of the tic-tac-toe game. The unanimous Bandung declaration for peaceful trade, mutual aid and cultural interchange promises them a future free from the poverty, ignorance and disease which Western imperialism has imposed on colonial lands for centuries.

by Ceylon's Premier Sir John Kotelawala.

## Proposes Negotiations

Chou furnished the climax of the meeting when he announced China's willingness to negotiate with the U.S. the question of relaxing tension in the Far East generally and in the Formosa area in particular, without renouncing Peking's right to recover Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

As the *New Republic* editorially admitted, Chou refuted "the image of Chinese Communism that the West has endeavored to press upon Asian minds. That image is of an expansionist and arrogant regime and it is one most Asians want to reject. . . . He demonstrated both perception and strength . . . by showing remarkable restraint at Bandung. . . ."

South African Natl. Congress leader Moses Kotane told the conference, "our people are wounded in the soul" and feared "anti-white riots the like of which has never been seen." He appealed for support to "the ordinary people of Asia, Europe, America and other parts of Africa." His and Indian Congress leader Cachalia's experience in Bandung will surely influence the June 25

Congress of the People of Johannesburg, called to frame a "Freedom Charter embodying the demands of our oppressed millions."

The Bandung conference paid much attention to the economic problems faced by the peoples represented there. Asia and Africa are rich both in human and natural resources; yet Asia with 50% of the world's population and Africa with 8%, get only 11% and 3% of world income respectively; while North America with 10% of the world's population gets nearly 45% of the world income. Bandung made clear that Asians and Africans intend to wipe out this economic disparity, and use all their resources for their own benefit.

Japan indicated her hopes to be the supplier of heavy goods needed by the others to modernize their economies and develop a higher standard of living. The Japanese delegation made trade agreements with Egypt and Indonesia; offered to build up Burma's rice industry and India's inland transport; agreed to give technical training to more Asian and African students.

In the long run, Bandung indicated that the example of planned economic and social development set by China will

have the most profound effect on the under-developed countries represented at the conference. Visitors from India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan—including economists and government officials—have already been tremendously impressed by the extraordinary economic and social progress China has made in five years. Peking's influence will increase and expand as other Asian and African nations take advantage of Premier Chou En-lai's invitation to send officials and trade and cultural missions to China. Some have already accepted these invitations. Asians and Africans will also learn the true story of what is happening in China as the Asian-African Journalists Association—formed at the close of the conference to promote greater coverage of Afro-Asian news—begins to function.

There were many camp-followers of the Western imperialism at Bandung, and not all delegates fully accepted the implications of the conference. Yet in the perspective of history the conference will be seen to have given notice, as Nehru said, that "there are going to be in the future no 'yes men' in Asia and Africa. From now on we talk to the West only as equals."

## The Bandung Declaration

### ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION:

The conference recognized the need and the desire "for economic co-operation among the participating countries" without precluding "co-operation with countries outside the region, including investment of foreign 'capital'; agreed to exchange technical assistance and establish national and regional training and research institutes; recommended "early establishment of a special UN fund for economic development" and an "international finance corporation" to undertake equality investment; called for "stabilizing international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements"; stressed peaceful atomic energy development.

### CULTURAL CO-OPERATION:

The participants resolved "to work for closer cultural co-operation . . . in the larger context of world co-operation," and condemned "racialism as a means of cultural suppression."

### HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION:

The conference supported "the fundamental principles of human rights [and] the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the UN Charter and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as common standard of achievement [and] the UN resolutions on the right of peoples and nations to self-determination"; deplored racial segregation in Africa and other parts of the world; supported "the rights of the Arab people of Palestine [and] the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

### DEPENDENT PEOPLES:

The conference urged reopening of Indonesia-Netherlands negotiations for freedom of W. Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and freedom for N. African colonies; declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end."

### WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION:

The delegates recommended universal membership in UN; considered as imperative for peace "the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war" and urged immediate suspension of experiments with such weapons; called for freedom for all colonial peoples "with the least possible delay"; supported all nations' right "freely to choose their own political and economic systems" in conformity with the UN Charter; respected each nation's right "to defend itself singly or collectively" so long as such defense arrangements were not used "to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers"; advocated "the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means. . . ."



SOLIDARITY OF THE OPPRESSED: When Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited the U.S. in 1949 he expressed his concern for the struggles of American Negroes by accepting a gold medal and life membership in the NAACP. Mrs. Robert L. Vann, then publisher of the Pittsburgh "Courier," makes the presentation, above, as Roy Wilkins of NAACP looks on.

# NAACP Bids Govt. End Jim Crow on Oil Jobs

A double-barreled attempt to obtain government intervention halting job discrimination against Negro workers was undertaken by the NAACP on the eve of its convention.

Two suits charging discrimination against Negro workers by four major oil refining companies, and four unions, were placed before the National Labor Relations Board and the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

The action squarely places the responsibility for an official decision ending job discrimination upon two agencies of the Republican Administration.

The companies named in the complaints are Esso Standard Oil Co., Cities Service Refining

Corp., Carbide and Chemicals Co., and the Lion Oil Co. The unions are the Independent Industrial Workers Assn. of Baton Rouge, La., Local 969, AFL Teamsters, Lake Charles, La.; Local 374, AFL Operating Engineers, Texas City, Texas; Local 381, AFL Operating Engineers, and Local 434, CIO Oil Workers, El Dorado, Ark.

While each complaint, filed June 1, reveals a different set of allegations, the companies and unions were accused of four basic charges:

Maintaining a policy of hiring Negroes as laborers and excluding them from other job classifications;

Excluding Negro employees from apprenticeship training

programs which are maintained in accordance with collective bargaining agreements;

Promoting and upgrading Negro workers only in general labor classifications, regardless of ability, experience, qualifications, length of service or actual work performed;

In certain plants Negro employees are assigned to semi-skilled and skilled jobs at classifications other than laborers but the unions and the companies refuse to classify and compensate them, although white employees who perform the same work are properly classified and receive higher wages.

The complaint cited several

cases of Negro employees with five to 36 years of service who performed the same duties as white union employees but are still classified as laborers.

On April 20, NAACP attorneys filed a similar complaint with the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The unions were also accused of maintaining separate sections within the local for Negro members.

## 20 UNIONS JOIN IN NAACP CONVENTION

Twenty trade unions, both AFL and CIO, will send fraternal delegates to the NAACP

annual convention in Atlantic City, N. J., June 21.

Herbert H. Hill, NAACP labor secretary, said "widespread interest" has been indicated by the labor unions in a convention session on "The Role of the Trade Unions in Effecting School Integration."

The union fraternal delegates also will participate in a discussion of organized labor and the NAACP, as well as a workshop panel on eliminating discrimination in the training and employment of Negro workers.

William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, will also deliver a major address at the convention.

# Pledges Fight for Anti-Bias Rider

The NAACP pledged to continue to press unequivocally for anti-segregation amendments to federal legislation despite President Eisenhower's announced opposition to anti-bias clauses in pending bills.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, reiterated the Association's position as follows:

"President Eisenhower has not only refused to recommend civil rights legislation to the Congress but has consistently indicated apathy towards and, in [the] press conference, opposition to efforts to bring federal legislation in line with executive action and judicial decrees in this area," Wilkins pointed out.

An anti-segregation amendment to the military reserve training bill, specifying that reservists cannot be assigned to segregated reserve units, was proposed by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (D-N. Y.), last month, and adopted by the House of Representatives. No further action has been taken by Congress on the bill since.

The federal aid for school construction bill is in committee in both houses of Congress. It is widely believed that



ROY WILKINS  
Congressman, ex-Klansman

it has been left there because of NAACP insistence that an anti-segregation clause be incorporated before the bill is reported out.

Of the military reserve bill, Wilkins said: "The armed services have been desegregated by executive order. The Powell amendment to the military reserve training bill would extend that principle to Natl. Guard units to which reserv-

ists could be assigned. This amendment concerns military service only. It is by no means 'extraneous' or 'irrelevant.' It simply implements an established federal policy."

Wilkins said of the school aid bill:

"The NAACP - sponsored

amendment merely reaffirms the unanimous Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, outlawing racial segregation in public education. In view of openly announced defiance of these rulings by certain demagogues, the amendment is vitally needed.

# and Hits Ike's KKK Choice

The NAACP has asked that the nomination of former Congressman John S. Wood of Georgia for the U. S. Subversive Activities Control Board "be firmly, definitely and finally rejected."

Following Mr. Wood's admission, during a hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, that he had once made application to join the Ku Klux Klan, Clarence Mitchell, director, NAACP Washington bureau, sent a telegram to members of the committee denouncing the Georgian as "totally unfit for the high position to which he has been nominated."

"It is shocking," the NAACP spokesman said, "that he ever

cleared the White House."

Previously, upon information received from John Wesley Dobbs of Atlanta, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary sent telegrams to the White House and to Attorney General Herbert Brownell reporting Mr. Wood's alleged connections and activities with the KKK and urging an investigation of the charges before confirmation of the appointment.

Mr. Dobbs, a vice-chairman of the Republican State General Committee of Georgia, had himself informed the Attorney General of Mr. Wood's background, pointing out that the KKK "has been designated as a subversive organization."



JOHN WOOD

# Big 4 at Bandung:

China, India  
Burma, Indonesia . . .

Of all the countries attending the recent Bandung conference the two giants are, of course, China and India.

These two leading nations are quite different from each other. They freed themselves from colonial rule by revolutions, but in China's case, the struggle was more bitter and ploughed a much deeper furrow in uprooting the past. Each nation is now proceeding toward industrialization by different methods, and at differing rates.

China's objective is a Socialist society which it hopes to reach by relatively rapid and giant strides. In India's case, it is a big question whether a Socialist society, which Nehru upholds as his objective, can be reached so long as its capitalist class is in the leadership of industrial development. Yet, here lies the importance of the Bandung parley. It brought together such dissimilar but kindred peoples in order to work out a common program for the peace and security of half of

humanity.

China, with six hundred million people who occupy an area the size of the United States across the mainland of Asia, is prepared to work closely with India, a nation of almost four hundred millions which occupies a key position between the Arab world and Southeast Asia, for the sake of maintaining the peace.

India's foreign policy has opposed the formation of war blocs, has helped to achieve peaceful solutions, as in the armistice for Indo-China, and now stands in the way of war over Formosa. China's interests coincide with these. Thus almost a billion people have been transformed in a very short time from cannon-fodder for wars which the Western colonialists have visited upon Asia for two centuries into bulwarks of peace. That is in large part what the Bandung parley meant. The peoples whose raw materials have been exploited so long, whose countries have been the stamping-ground of

wars brought by the West, now decline to let that go on. In fact, they have turned into active and effective forces for peace.

Alongside these two giants, China and India, stand a series of smaller countries. Two of them—Burma and Indonesia—are bound to play a key role in world affairs. Burma, an immediate neighbor of India and China, is a small country of some thirty millions, rich in oil and a major factor in the world market for rice. Its government is similar to India's in the sense that it represents a segment of those capitalist forces who have seen the weight of imperialism thrown off, and who envisage the possibility of developing their countries under their own leadership but who fear that war in Asia or in the world will entirely upset these prospects. In Burma's case, the government led by Premier U Nu has bitterly opposed the Left which for many years was fighting for power by arms. Yet Burma definitely

plays a part in the bloc for peace which has taken shape in Southeast Asia.

Indonesia, the host country to the Asian-African conference, stands next to Japan in population. With some 75 million people it is one of the largest in the world. Its territory stretches in a chain of islands over an area in the South Pacific as large as the United States, and thus it is a strategic factor of first-rate importance. Its rubber and tin and oil and rice are big elements in the world market, and having gained its nationhood by a sharp struggle with Dutch imperialism, Indonesia naturally sides with the other Asian and anti-colonial countries. Its government is a coalition in which the Sobsi, the trade union movement and the Left, play a considerable part.

While United States business interests tried to support the Dutch positions and then to inherit them, and therefore have a baneful influence in the internal politics of the country, the main trend of recent years has been toward a united front of the national-democratic circles in Indonesia, in solidarity with China on many questions, and in support of India. With

its large Moslem population, Indonesia is a natural link between Asia and the Moslem world.

Unlike China, where thorough-going democratic reforms of land ownership, of education, of the rights of women, have taken place in these past five years, all these three countries—India, Indonesia, and Burma—have great problems which remain unsolved. Their land system, their agricultural productivity, the status of women, health and education all have a long way to go. They are by no means going as fast and as surely as China. Their industrialization programs depend on foreign capital and foreign technicians, mainly from the Western countries. On the other hand, in China the element of capitalist investment from abroad has disappeared, and the help from the Soviet Union comes from a fraternal and kindred kind of state.

But the main fact remains that for the first time in Asia, peoples of differing systems and until now hardly associated with each other, have come together to discuss mutual problems.

# The Congress of the People

## SOUTH AFRICANS ON EVE OF HISTORIC MEETING TO DRAFT A FREEDOM CHARTER

By BEN GILES

JOHANNESBURG

ON JUNE 24th, THE 1955 SESSION of the South African Parliament comes to an end. It will be the end of one of the most significant and crippling sessions in our history. For during these past four months, Parliament has presided over the fascist state-building initiated by Dr. Malan, and now being carried on at greater pace by his embittered successor, Advocate Strydom.

In the circumstances, there will be few who will mourn the closing of Parliament on June 24th. But the date is significant, and will be remembered in South Africa, because the following day there will assemble in Kliptown, Johannesburg, a more truly representative body of South Africans, who, unlike this fascist-front Parliament of the white minority, will speak in the name of, and with the authority of the overwhelming majority of South Africa's people, black and white alike. This is the Congress of the People.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE has been a year in the making. The decision to convene it was taken at a joint meeting of the four bodies who have come to be known in this country as "the four Congresses"—the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Colored Peoples' Organization. The unity of these four is something more than the "non-white united front" which the local press tries to make it; for the Congress of Democrats is something new on the South African scene. It is an active and vocal body of white South Africans who work and campaign for the same objectives of equality and independence which are the reason for being of the three non-white bodies.

From the joint meeting of these four bodies came the "Call to the Congress of the People," which was distributed far and wide in South Africa, and publicized considerably abroad. It was a simple call. "Let us speak together" was its slogan. "Let us speak of freedom." Using that Call, members of the four Congresses have gone out far and wide, calling people to small meetings to "speak of freedom" and of the changes that they want in life to make them free. For months now, the demands of the South African people have been gathered and written down, thousands and thousands of time. The little dog-eared scraps of paper, the sheets torn from school exercise books have come flooding into the office of the Congress of the People. There, in simple words, written in a dozen different languages, the ordinary people of this country have "spoken of freedom" and set out the changes that they seek.

All these thousands of demands are now being collected together, and classified, so that they can be written into a single statement of the aims and wishes of the people of South Africa—the Freedom Charter.

IN THE LAST few weeks, especially in the cities, there has been a hum of activity in all the working peoples' areas; meetings are being held from yard to yard, in those slum ghettos where the African people are concentrated, whole families to a room and a score of rooms around each yard; Congress of the People is in the air. And everyone connected with the organizing of it speaks of a minimum of 4,000 delegates and a maximum that none can guess. And this is against the background of vast distances to be traveled by the delegates—1,000 miles from Cape Town to the Congress of the People. \$35.00 train fare for every delegate to be paid in by the people he represents, mainly laborers earning \$4.20 a week. It is this—the widespread readiness to make considerable effort and sacrifice to send a delegate to Kliptown, that sets the Congress of the People apart from every other such gathering we have known in this country.

No one, in this police state, can dare assume that the Congress of the People will be tolerated by the Nationalist Government, and meet free from police provocation, summary bans, arrests and prosecutions. From its very beginnings, Congress of the People has had to suffer all the lies, slander and persecutions that this autocratic government could bring to bear against it. Repeatedly, the police have alleged that "high treason" is being planned by the organizers of the Congress of the People. Time and again they have raided meetings, taken the names and addresses of all present on the allegation that they are investigating "sedition." Almost every leader of the people, whose names has been prominently associated with Congress of the People has been summarily banned from attendance at gatherings, or from participating in the campaign, by the wide and arbitrary powers granted the government by the Suppression of Communism Act.

THERE IS STILL THE POSSIBILITY—some here rate it a certainty—that the Assembly on June 25 will be declared unlawful. Such a step by the Strydom government would surprise no one; for Congress of the People represents the real voice of the people of South Africa, the real "volkswil" of which the Nationalists talked so glibly when they legislated for fascism during this session of Parliament. They are afraid to hear that voice; and their fear will drive them certainly to acts of repression, or of provocation.

But the voice itself can not now be stilled. The people of South Africa have spoken of freedom, and of what it means for them. Their statements and their voice are there, in their demands for the Freedom Charter. And come what may, the Freedom Charter will now be written, no matter what obstacles are placed in the way of the assembly which should adopt it on June 25. The Freedom Charter has been worked for, and won. And nothing that can now be done can stop a new and mighty upsurge of the people, fighting for the new life of freedom in South Africa, to which the Freedom Charter leads them.

# TIDE'S RISING, CHARLIE!



## Freedom Forum

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### News of Robert Wesley Wells

Enclosed find \$2.00, one to renew my subscription and the other for a small donation. Also enclosed find three articles on Wesley Robert Wells. I hope that out of all three you will be able to use parts that will lead to helping Mr. Wells. I have been writing and visiting him for years and find him to be a very wonderful man, in many, many different ways.

Preston Hill  
Long Beach, Calif.

(Note: We regret space does not permit printing the articles on Wells, whose death sentence was commuted to "life imprisonment without possibility of parole" on April 1, 1954. In a future issue we will carry news about this remarkable man who remains a victim of race prejudice and an inhuman prison system.—Ed.)

### Magnificent Job

I think FREEDOM is doing a magnificent job in the battle for racial tolerance, and it disturbs me to think it might be forced to "fold." Keep your chins up.

Bruce Walker  
North Bend, Ore.

### Vital Information

Please send me FREEDOM for another year. I get more information on affairs I'm vitally interested in.

Clyde B. Hayes  
Detroit, Mich.

### Scrambling for Rent

I enclose a check as a contribution to FREEDOM. I wish I could send more, but right now I'm scrambling to make up my rent. I hope you get enough small contributions to make a big enough fund to keep going.

Oakley C. Johnson  
New York

### A Puzzled Reader

Enclosed is a contribution. Keeping the progressive movement alive and going (if not growing!) is a problem at any time; but I think there's a new angle added to it now. It begins to look as if there won't be another war—at least for the next six or eight months; partly, I suppose, because the indignation of the world slowed them up on Formosa. Yet, in the meantime we have a strange kind of prosperity, so that the Republicans can rave about what wonders they have done for business. It puzzles me. I know the production for war is back on the boom, but still I didn't expect the boom would last since Christmas the way it has. The average citizen with a job isn't going to pay much attention to us the way things are.

Al Amery  
E. Pepperell, Mass.

(Note: We believe a good look at conditions of Negro workers will show that things are not what they seem; that there's more appearance than substance to the "boom."—Ed.)

### Unemployed Helper

I regret that I am unemployed so that I dare not send more money at this time. Please extend my subscription and the remainder is a gift. I should be teaching in a Negro college but inasmuch as I am a white person who was in Georgia and decent to the Negroes I'm out of a position! Sorry!

L. M. P.  
Boulder, Colo.

### Speaks for Oppressed

Enclosed find check for 1954 and '55 issues of a very interesting publication. I think it speaks for all oppressed people wherever they are. May the Lord move all the people who love to hear the truth to send in their dollar or fives and tens or more to keep this paper alive.

Lowell A. Woods  
Joplin, Mo.

### Clubs for Freedom

We have taken the liberty of setting up Freedom committees throughout the city of Los Angeles. We will gather subs and raise finance to support "Spotlight on Africa" and the newspaper FREEDOM. We had our first meeting and raised \$6 for our initial bundle order and \$5 for five subscriptions. We expect to have within the next two weeks more than a dozen clubs in Los Angeles out of which we can send regular sustainers.

Frank Whitley, Sec'y.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

# children's story: 'BLIND TOM'

## the slave who was a genius

His name was Thomas Greene Bethune, but people who remember him at all remember him best by the name, "Blind Tom."

Tom was born in the spring of 1849 on a plantation in Georgia. He was born into slavery. When he was only two years old he and his mother and some of his brothers and sisters were sold to a new master.

Because little Tom was blind he was allowed to play about the master's house while his mother and brothers and sisters worked in the cotton fields.

He would often lie on his stomach, with his chin cupped in the palms of his hands, listening to the people about him as they worked and talked. At other times the little blind boy would creep into the surrounding woods and listen to the sounds of the forest. He could soon imitate many of the living creatures around him, like the call of the woodcock, the quail and the meadow lark. He also listened to the songs of the slaves, the sad songs and the happy songs and the prayer songs.

When he was four, the master's daughter gave a concert. Little Tom crawled into the living room where the young girl sat playing. He begged to be allowed to touch the piano. And when he was finally permitted to sit on the bench and touch the piano keys he cried out with delight. Within a few minutes the tiny child amazed

everyone by playing the piece of music which he had just heard. After that the master was so amazed with the boy's wonderful musical gifts that he hired musicians to come and play. And sure enough little Tom was able to play exactly what he heard, even though they were very difficult pieces of music.

Soon after Colonel Bethune, Tom's master, hired a big hall where the boy performed concerts. People came from all the nearby towns, crowding into the hall. Tom began to make thousands of dollars for his master.

Just after the Civil War when Tom was sixteen years old, Colonel Bethune took him on concert tours all over the northern states and Europe and Tom earned many thousands of dollars for the Colonel. By this time he was able to play 5,000 compositions by the world's most famous and difficult composers.

About this time, Tom began

to write music himself. Within the next few years he wrote 11 compositions for the piano and 12 songs. Some of the music was based on what he felt about the civil war and many of the songs were drawn from the life of his people.

Tom's musical gifts and abilities were so amazing that many people could not believe what they heard about him until they actually heard him perform, or heard his compositions performed by other people. It seemed impossible that a little slave boy could be a musical genius, which of course is what Thomas Greene Bethune was.

Blind Tom played and composed for forty years. And although he earned more than 200,000 dollars for the Bethune family . . . his mother died poor in Alabama. And Tom himself died with little recognition of his greatness.

But today some of our young Negro pianists have rediscovered the name and the music of Thomas Green Bethune and play his beautiful music at public concerts.

### book review:

## 'NOTHING OF VALUE'

**SOMETHING OF VALUE**, by Robert Ruark. Doubleday. 566 pages, \$5.00.

By JOHN H. CLARKE

Sometime before Robert Ruark preached this 566 page sermon lamenting the beginning of the end of European imperialistic dominance over Africa in general and Kenya in particular, he cried out his purpose in one of his insipid columns in the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun. To quote him as correctly as I can remember, he moaned:

"It is regrettable that the white man will lose Africa and leave it to the stewardship of savages."

This book in its entirety is no more than an elaboration of that lament.

He begins his lengthy preaching, trying to justify what is unjustifiable. In the preface to the book, he refers to the works of Elspeth Huxley, L. S. B. Leakey and other apologists for imperialism. This is supposed to prove that his presentation is authentic in spite of its fictional tag. It proves the contrary. Yet, his search for props to hold up his case for colonial exploitation does not stop before he has defiled, slandered, and misinterpreted the writings and activities of a Kenyan patriot who is now in chains.

#### Tired of Jonah Role

Ruark states that he drew particularly from the book, **FACING MOUNT KENYA**, by Jomo Kenyatta, as one of his sources of information on the Kikuyu tribe. He obviously read the book through his prejudices (if he read it at all). Kenyatta's anthropological study of his people becomes, according to Ruark: "An explicit blue-print of the terror which now wracks his land."

Early in the book the African boy Kimani questions the rights of outsiders to subject him to a subordinate status in his own country and predicts the conflict still to come.

"I don't want to be two thousand Kikuyu, Brother," he said. "I was a Kikuyu war party the last time we played this. I am always a Kikuyu, while you are always a Nandi who kills me, or a Masai who kills me, or a Wakamba who kills me. I never get to kill you. It isn't fair. I want to be a thousand Masai."

Unknowingly, the African boy and his English playmate have been playing the game of Jonah and the whale and the African boy has grown tired of being Jonah.

Both the author and Kimani's English playmate show shock and naivete when he grows up to become a leader of the Mau Mau. What other course of action was left to him?

#### Bulky Garbage

This is a thoroughly loathsome book which pours gruesome detail upon gruesome detail until the reader is moved to cry out "Shield my eyes, oh Lord, shield my eyes!"

The money changers of Hollywood have paid a handsome piece of change for the screen rights to this bulky piece of garbage. Now millions of eager-eyed movie-goers (not this one) will be able to see it in technicolor and cinemascope. The Book-of-the-Month Club, continuing its love affair with big and mediocre novels has chosen to distribute this mountain of sadism to its members. The lady member of the Club board was so outraged by this choice that she dissented.

The title on the face of this book is **SOMETHING OF VALUE**. I say, filth, a-la-carte.



NUMBERS-GRAM:

Follow the numbers with your pencil from one to 82.

### MOVIE REVIEW:

By LORRAINE HANSBERRY

When the Japanese-produced film "Hiroshima" opened in New York City a number of weeks ago, some N. Y. film critics were moved to write that the film was not really an "art" product. They proceeded accordingly to write bad or discouraging reviews of it.

The lessons of the atom bomb destruction of Hiroshima are necessary to human survival. Therefore, to discuss whether or not the film is "art" or "not art" is insanely vulgar. "Hiroshima" is not only one of the greatest propaganda films of our times—it is a brilliant if not great piece of motion picture art.

The movie opens with brief snapshots of life under Japanese fascism. We see young girls slapped and abused by the Emperor's drill masters; we see the fascist soldiers strutting about the streets congratulating themselves on the invincibility of their Imperial Destiny.

In the midst of this the film turns to the innocent: the faces of the children upturned to the skies on the morning of August 6, 1945. The night has produced no air raid and the all clear has sounded. Then comes the lonely hum of the single bomber. And then, the bomb.



MISS HANSBERRY

For this terrible moment the filmmakers did not even attempt to reproduce or simulate the sound of the million thunders of an atomic explosion. Rather they have used silence. Complete silence. The mighty mushroom rises and fills out the screen in its awful shapes. And then darkness. Total darkness and total quiet. The effect reminds the audience only of the end of the world.

When the darkness and the quiet pass, we see scenes of death and suffering and destruction almost beyond belief. Burnt hands poke up from radiated rubble; a woman drags out her half-destroyed body from the burning shingles of her home; a girl stands screaming for her mother surrounded by death and nothingness; a father frantically gives up his attempt to rescue his trapped wife in order to try to save his children; masses of young students drown in a boiling river; a naked baby sits alone screaming in the midst of it all. The horror and the reality of the nightmare that was Hiroshima and Nagasaki

pour across the screen.

Then we learn something of what happened after the bombing. The lives of the scarred and wounded who hide themselves from the eyes of others; some who have become beggars or demented; and the few who are driven to exhibit their scars to tourists for livelihood.

Yet, this is not a purely negative or hopeless movie.

At the end of the film we see documentary shots of tens of thousands of Japanese making the yearly pilgrimage to Hiroshima in the great peace demonstration. Finally in the very last moments of the movie, the dead of Hiroshima rise and come to us: the tiny mangled babies; men and women with half faces and charred hair, all with their arms outstretched as the commentary repeats the slogan we have seen everywhere scribbled, painted, printed on walls and buildings—"No More Hiroshimas!" Coming out of the movie house into the American streets one repeats it with feeling: "No more Hiroshimas"—anywhere, ever.



**A CONVERSATION FROM LIFE**

By Alice Childress

Marge, the other day I heard a very interesting radio program. It was all about missionaries and how hard they have to work to save "the heathen" in far-off places, and also how much hard cash they have to spend in order to keep up the soul savin' work and how we ought to chip in some dollars to keep the ball rollin'.

Who do I mean by "we?" I mean the two of us right here or rather I should say anybody that was listening to the program. . . . Well now, not so fast. . . . I think missionary work is a good idea. What is

# We Sure Need Missionaries . . . HERE

more important than savin' people?

The man was all upset about savin' folks in India. He told all about how they worshipped false Gods and shouted and hollered over sacrificing a goat as an offering. He was some distressed and told how his heart bled for the poor, ignorant folks. The way he carried on it was enough to draw tears from a turnip.

He got to warnin' up to his subject and tellin' of the many far-off places the missionaries have to go and it struck me all of a sudden that he wasn't the least bit disturbed about

raisin' funds for misisionaries here at home, and there's a whole heap of savin' to be done right here under our very noses.

The kind of dim-minded, cruel human beings who will shoot a man down for voting certainly need to be saved; those who arrogantly assume a false sense of superiority because their skins have a certain tint need to be saved; adults who threaten to spill the blood of little children because they seek to find an education in the public schools . . . don't they need enlighten-

Oh, there are plenty of mis- sions right here that need to be carried out. Everybody is busy these days talking about "equal" education but I hon- estly question whether "equal" education is good enough as it now stands. The important thing is what we are teaching!

All eyes are turned toward the "poor little Negro child" doing without the things the white children have and no- body seems to question what is happening to the white child. Most of their parents seem to smugly assume that they are getting the very best of every- thing. Doesn't it strike you as wrong that these children should be taught arrogance, scorn for others, ignorance in- stead of the light of knowl- edge, the nasty art of ridicule, slander, and yes, even violence.

Some of these poor mis- edu- cated folks even believe they are being "patriotic" and "American" when they bomb homes, scare little children and murder men and women. A parent who willingly goes along with the idea of poison- ous education for his child has great need of missionary help.

Oh, Marge, of course I know that! Anybody that speaks up about these things kind of loud is going to get some of the same treatment. But as the man said . . . "Missions aren't easy but we must carry on."

Yes—we do need mission- aries, and instead of worryin' ourselves to death about a goat bein' sacrificed we had better turn our attention to preventing the sacrifice of hu- man life . . . Later for the goats! First things first!

## sports:

# THE Jump That Exploded Nazi Claim of 'Superiority'

By PAUL ROBESON, Jr.

Track season is here again, and for me it serves as a re- minder that some of the most glorious pages in sports history have been written by Negro track stars, past and present. Let us recall two great achieve- ments which are among the most dramatic.

It is the summer of 1936. The Olympic Games are in progress in Berlin, in the heart of Fa- scist Germany. The finals of the broad jump are on. The two main contestants are Jesse Owens, American Negro, and Fritz Lange, German Army officer, member of the Nazi party. Each contestant is al- lowed three attempts.

The German jumps first, and uncorks a tremendous leap. A thunderous roar greets the an- nouncer's report: 25 feet 11 inches, a new Olympic and European record. A hush settles as Owens makes his first at- tempt. He soars beyond the 26 foot mark, but the loudspeakers blare out: "FOUL!"

The head judge, a German, has ruled that Owens stepped beyond the takeoff board, and the jump is nullified. Lange's second try is short of his first effort, and Owens tries a sec- ond time. Again he jumps past 26 feet, and again the call: "FOUL!"

### Towel Takes Off

Lange's last attempt is short, and now Owens walks down the runway to get set for his last try. He stops, picks up a towel, and goes back to the take-off

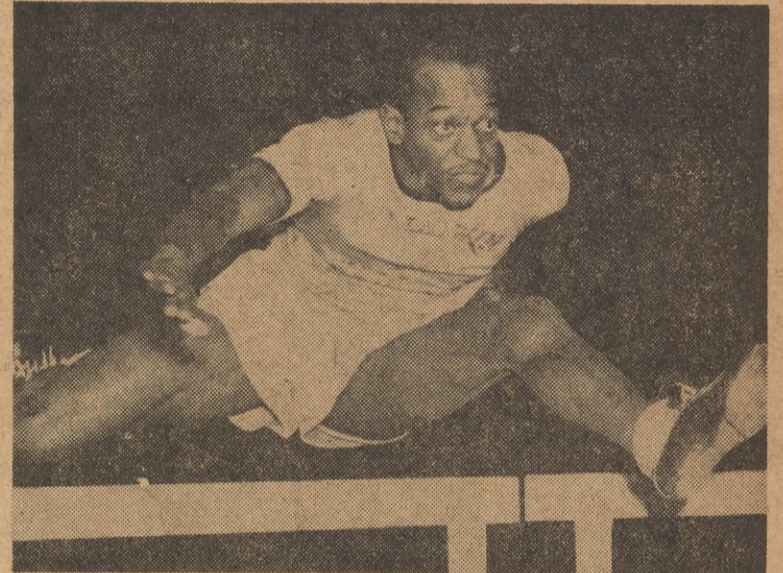
board. Deliberately, he folds the towel till it is about a foot wide, and places it in front of the board. The puzzled mur- muring of the crowd changes to a gasp as Owens' intention becomes clear: he is going to give away a full foot, and take- off from in front of the towel so that a foul cannot be called!

Owens takes a deep breath and comes rocketing down the

runway. He seems to explode into the air. Everyone waits for the announcement with bated breath. Then it comes: 26 feet 5 inches for a new Olympic record! Amid the deafening roar, Hitler stamps out of the stadium in a rage. Owens goes on to win three more gold medals and set two more Olym- pic records in the greatest Olympic performance ever.



**JESSE OWENS:** Here is the lepd of 26 feet, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches which set a new Olympic broad jump record at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany.



**HARRISON DILLARD:** The timber-topping champ, formerly of little Baldwin-Wallace College in Ohio, shows the form which won an Oympic title in 1952.

of those incredibly bad breaks, said somebody, but what can you do?

But Dillard decided to do something. He hustled over to the officials and just managed to get into one of the prelimi- nary heats of the 100 meter dash. When the smoke cleared from the heats and semi-finals, there was Dillard lining up for the final with the greatest sprinters in the country, in- cluding the world record holder.

### In By A Whisker

He got another break—a poor start, and he was off dead last. But Dillard wouldn't quit. He kept digging and with a des- perate lunge barely managed to win the last qualifying place.

When they lined up for the Olympic 100 meter final in

London, Dillard was there again—nobody quite believed it, but there he was! This time, when the gun sounded he was first off the mark, and never let up. He simply ran the world's best into the ground to win the gold medal—the first time in history that a hurdler has won an Olympic sprint championship.

Four years later, at Helsinki in 1952, Harrison Dillard won the Olympic hurdles champion- ship, and he may well repeat in the 1956 Olympics in Mel- bourne.

### Wishes for Many More

**FREEDOM** must not die! I know full well the problems of any paper that is not support- ed by advertising and whose work is all the more important for it has genuine freedom. For a big basic crisis the en- closed check is only a drop in the bucket. I wish you might have many more. Meantime I hope for the best.

Anna Rochester  
New York



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12 years later in 1948, Harri- son Dillard, all-time great hurdler, was getting set for a qualifying heat in the trials for the U.S. Olympic team. He was far and away the best hurdler in the world, he held the world record, and he was in perfect condition. Everyone conceded he was a sure bet to win the gold medal in the hurdles event at the London Olympics.

The gun went off and Dillard was out in front of the field as usual, when suddenly he stepped into a hole in the track and stumbled. He wasn't able to regain his stride and fin- ished last. Everyone knew what that meant—he was through as far as this Olympics was con- cerned. He'd have to wait four years for another chance. One