

Freedom

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

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Terror Grows in South; Congress, Ike Duck Action

Big and powerful guns, manned by latter-day rebels, have been opened up against the liberty, livelihood and lives of the Negro people in the past several weeks.

Fast on the heels of the Supreme Court May 31 decree "implementing" the outlawry of segregation in education, a Dixiecrat-led Southwide offensive has gained murderous momentum.

The rebel revolt against the Constitution fans out from Mississippi, stronghold of racism. There it is led by a U.S. Senator, James O. Eastland.

As chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee, Eastland is titular Congressional "guardian" of the American way of life. In his capacity of instigator and leader of Mississippi's "white supremacists" the planter-politician has presided over the known killings of two Negroes in as many months.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written to Attorney General Herbert Brownell:

"Negroes in Mississippi have no recourse except to the Federal Government. In the midst of a civilized nation in 1955, they are in a jungle of race hatred and terror, at the mercy of any hoodlum who chooses to attack."

Wilkins wrote the Attorney General after the cold-blooded murder by a white gunman of a 60-year-old Negro, Lamar Smith, shot down in broad daylight, August 13, in the courthouse square in Brookhaven, Miss.

Smith had been an active political fighter, urging Negroes to disregard the death threats sent through the mails to registered Negro voters.

No Federal Guarantees

But Federal authorities offered no assurance they would intensify their efforts to halt the rising terror against Negroes. After four months of investigation into the wanton slaying of NAACP leader Rev. George Lee in Belzoni, Miss., the Justice Department's Civil Rights Section said: "We're still investigating."

Brownell's chief of the Civil Rights Section, Arthur Caldwell, explained: "There are certain conditions in the South that have to be met and overcome."

Caldwell failed to mention that the Department of Justice has failed to "overcome" these "certain conditions" for two generations. As a result not a



BURNING CROSSES. This scene of a KKK orgy was being revived in the South as the night riders intensified their war against desegregation.

single lyncher has ever been convicted by the federal government and in all the Southern states hundreds of known murderers of Negroes strut up and down, free to kill again, unmolested by the FBI.

(This situation was given a farcical twist by the announcement of Val Washington, President Eisenhower's propagandist among Negroes, that among the GOP's achievements in the past two years has been the "strengthening" of the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Dept.)

But while Brownell and his G-men fiddled, the racists were warming up to their devilish misdeeds by burning crosses. One such crude cross was set ablaze before the home of Attorney Oliver Hill, former Richmond, Va., city councilman and a leader in the legal fight to end segregation in public schools.

In Georgia a new "legal" gimmick was announced and quickly abandoned, in the drive to intimidate Negroes. The state's attorney general, Eugene

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Complete Record Of Civil Rights Bills Passed By The 84th Congress



Afro-American

As the first session of the 84th Congress adjourned with bi-partisan consideration of a rash of Eisenhower "must" bills which had been stalled until the last legislative days, Negro Americans took a look at the score.

The count stood: Civil rights legislation passed—zero.

Once again the vital bills embodying the demands of the Negro for equal citizenship had been done to death by a bi-partisan coalition. Eisenhower Republicans, bound by the President's oft-stated opposition to civil rights action in the legislative field, had taken no initiative to push any of the score of bills which would outlaw discrimination in many walks of life.

Democrats, controlling both houses of Congress and all key committees, surrendered once more to their Southern anti-Negro contingent.

Thus far the script seems to run along the lines of other Congressional sessions. But this time there was a difference.

Negro Protest at Peak

In the first place, tired of the perennial run-around, Negroes voiced their discontent in tones more outspoken than ever before. And, regardless of their party affiliation, they included both Republicans and Democrats in their bitter denunciation of Congressional duplicity.

The tip-off came as early as the 46th Annual Convention of the NAACP in June. Clarence Mitchell, the Association's legislative representative, said:

"Republicans and Democrats have united in a bi-partisan program of smothering civil rights legislation in the 84th Congress.

"On one end of Pennsylvania Avenue, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson stands ever ready to douse the smallest spark of positive action with a bucket of harmony.

"At the other end, the President maintains complete silence on much needed civil rights bills, but becomes very vocal in opposing vital civil rights amendments."

The civil rights amendments were also something new in the recently concluded Congress. When Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) introduced into the Military Reserve Bill and the federal aid-to-education bill provisions prohibiting segregation in these establishments, the calamity-howlers shrieked at the top of their lungs.

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PAUL ROBESON PUSHES PASSPORT FIGHT; SUPPORT NEEDED

A Federal District judge in the nation's capitol has upheld the State Department in its refusal to grant Paul Robeson a passport. The ruling of Judge Burnita S. Matthews seems to imply that Mr. Robeson must sign a "non-communist affidavit" before he can have a quasi-judicial hearing which the Court of Appeals recently decided (in the Schactman case) is a due-process inherent right of all citizens when faced with the government's arbitrary edicts against their travel abroad.

Reacting to the decision, Paul Robeson has said: "Of course I won't sign. I consider it an invasion of every constitutional liberty I have."

Thus an issue is joined which will eventually go to the Court of Appeals and probably to the Supreme Court for decision. Briefly stated, in two parts, the issue is:

- (1) Whether the State Department has the right to demand the signing of any kind of affidavit relating to a citizen's political beliefs;
- (2) Whether the Department has a right to deny a citizen the right to travel simply because he entertains views which may be abhorrent to the crew of officeholders currently running the government in Washington.

These questions have not been reached by the courts in any of the recent passport decisions. In insisting that his case be decided on the fundamental constitutional issues involved, Mr. Robeson renders another important service to the whole American people.

Especially is his case of the most intimate concern to Negro Americans. For the same reasoning which says the State Department can keep Robeson under in virtual house arrest because of his views, will con-

done Georgia Dixiecrats firing Negro teachers because they favor integration of schools or are members of the NAACP.

Robeson's fight must be first and foremost, therefore, the fight of Negro Americans and their organizations. The NAACP is called upon to speak out for the right of this distinguished Spingarn Medalist to practice his art wherever people want to see and hear him. The Elks, meeting in Atlantic City this month, the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Philadelphia, the National Alliance of Postal Employees, the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, and all other bodies convening in the coming weeks or months should do the same.

In addition to Negroes, all Americans who have breathed a sigh of relief at the easing of international tensions and the increase of the spirit of cooperation among the great powers, have a stake in the Paul Robeson passport case.

As Mr. Robeson has said, it is "rather absurd" that Soviet farmers should visit the United States and American Baptist preachers go to Moscow while he is "not allowed to travel because of my friendship—for the Soviet people and the peoples of all the world."

In an attempt to defend the State Department's indefensible position, a spokesman has said: "It is standard practice to demand non-Communist affidavits in cases where the affiant's motives are in doubt." But here is precisely a case in which there can be no doubt about the "affiant's" motives. Paul Robeson has seized every reasonable opportunity to make his motives known to the people of the United States and of the world.

He wants complete equality for the Negro people of the United States—an end to seg-

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Answer this Question . . .

THE BEST DEFENSE, we believe, is the offense. And we feel that this is the time to go over to the offense in our continuing struggle to make FREEDOM grow.

This is our plan of action:

- Convert FREEDOM from a monthly newspaper to a pocket sized magazine;
- Make FREEDOM a magazine INTERPRETING the news and actions of the Negro people.

We believe these steps will enhance FREEDOM'S ability to influence greater numbers of people. We believe these changes will enlarge our opportunities of growth.

But, we cannot take these steps without additional help from you—our readers and supporters. Before we commit ourselves to any change, which involves slightly higher costs in printing and mailing, we must know the extent of the support you are willing to give us.

We do not doubt that the support will be forthcoming. For five hard years you have always heeded our appeals for help. We ask you now for a little extra—an investment in the future of FREEDOM.

With a magazine designed to reach people never reached before, and appealing to people we did not attract before, we hope to become a PERMANENT AND SECURE voice of the freedom aspirations of the Negro people.

We believe this is the time to attempt putting our plan into motion. The question we ask you is: "Do you want to see FREEDOM go forward?"

Write us today. Enclose that EXTRA support we need. If you can't give us anything extra, put what you can into an envelope and mail it to us, 139 W. 125th St., New York 27, N.Y. Your dollars will indicate the measure of support we can expect.

And we expect everyone wants FREEDOM to go forward.

'If Enough People Write Washington I'll Get My Passport in a Hurry'

By PAUL ROBESON
SAN FRANCISCO

MY LAST FEW WEEKS, spent here in San Francisco, have been exciting ones. And I'd like to tell you about that.

I came here to give a concert honoring the 10th anniversary of the United Nations in its founding city. I found something much more than a mere celebration.

The delegates — the great men and women from all over the world who met here and gave such moving testimonials to mankind's longing for peace and brotherhood — were exciting to meet and talk with.

But I found more excitement in talking to the men and women on the street, especially in talking to the Negro people of this western city. There's a new wind a-blowing and it's as full of promise as spring.

More and more people seem to be shaking off the cold war hysteria. The American people, I'm proud to say, never did buy the "hate your neighbor" policy pushed with such intensity by our State Department and other Washington politicians.

It is saying nothing new to point out that the Negro peo-

ple showed the least inclination to buy this propaganda. We know ALL about what "hate your neighbor" means. We were born and bred in that briar patch.

The good thing I found here is not so much in this as in the fact that a whole lot more of our people are willing to talk out loud about how they feel. I met a whole raft of friends who a year ago were quiet as mice—but no more. Where they used to whisper, "Paul, I'm with you," they are now standing up on the rostrum to let the people know how they feel.

I WAS ESPECIALLY GLAD to see so many new friends out here who are backing me in my fight for a passport. It has been five years since the State Department arrogantly and arbitrarily refused to let me travel abroad to practice my craft as a singer and actor, to earn my living wherever people wanted to hear me.

I've been invited to sing in a dozen countries since that time. India and France and the Soviet Union and India, to name but a few, have invited me to sing or to act. The British Actors Equity has invited me to do "Othello" over there again and promised, in an extraordinary action, to make available a supporting cast including the best actors in England. All of England's leading musicians and composers joined in signing another invitation for me to give a concert over there. This in-

cluded Vaughn Williams, dean of British musicians.

Despite all these invitations, the State Department continued to deny me a passport, refused me my Constitutional right to go where I please and when I please so long as I don't break the law.

THE ONLY REASONS they gave for their refusal was that I criticize the United States when I go abroad; and that I speak up for African liberation, thereby interfering with U.S. foreign policy.

I did speak up for the African people when I was abroad. I spoke up for my people here in America, the descendants of African people. And I'll speak up again.

The answer to injustice is not to silence the critic but to end the injustice. I'm proud that I'm one of many people whose voices raised around the world in protest against Jim Crow and exploitation of the Negro people both here and in Africa helped rally the world protest that had so much to do with the recent Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in U.S. schools.

The right to travel is a Constitutional right. And there's nothing in that document that says you have to be muzzled before you can pack your bag.

The State Department does not want anyone to travel who is likely to speak out about the horror of Jim Crow in the South. The State Department

was even nervous about letting Congressman Adam Clayton Powell go to Bandung. Instead of worrying about cleaning up their own back yard in Dixie, they want to keep me, and every other Negro who dares to speak up, under wraps.

They weren't really worried so much about keeping Paul Robeson home as they were about keeping the story of Mrs. Ingram and Robert Wesley Wells and Lieutenant Gilbert, the story of the way Negroes are treated in the Navy and have their houses burned in Chicago—stories like that from spreading around.

THE FIGHT FOR MY PASSPORT is as simple as that. And more and more Negroes are coming to recognize that fact. In my trip to the West Coast, hundreds of my people — church leaders, fraternal leaders, women's club leaders and men and women on the street — talked to me and showed me they recognized my fight for a passport is a part of the fight of all the Negro people for first-class citizenship.

As that realization grows, as the Negro people grow more loud in protest, the Dixiecrats and their friends in Washington will have to bend and yield.

The way was opened to win that fight in two recent decisions of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington. In the case of Dr. Otto Nathan and in the case of Max Schacht-

man, both of whom had been denied passports, the court decision made it clear that the right to travel is a "human right" . . . "which cannot be capriciously denied by government officials."

"A restraint imposed by the government of the United States upon this liberty, therefore, must conform with the provision of the Fifth Amendment that 'No person shall . . . be deprived of . . . liberty . . . without due process of law.'"

These rulings put the State Department on the spot. It means if the State Department wants to continue to deny me my passport it will have to come into open court with real evidence that such a denial is contrary to the best interests of this country.

And they have no such evidence.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICA are already letting the government know how they feel about this. The N.Y. Amsterdam News and the Afro-American weekly papers came out with editorials supporting the fight. If enough people join in and write Washington, I'll get my passport in a hurry.

And when you're writing you might add that we need a wide exchange of singers and actors and all kinds of people all over the world. We need French and Chinese and English and Soviet artists coming over here.

We need exchange because we know that all people ARE brothers, no matter what the "hate your neighbor" crowd would like to have you think.

If we sit down together, shake hands and talk things over and get to know one another, world peace will change from a growing hope to a positive fact.



From Canada: Dear Paul...

Thousands of Canadian and American citizens gathered at Peace Arch Park, near Blaine, Wash., on July 24, to cheer Paul Robeson at his fourth annual concert at the border and to support his fight for a passport. Estimates of the crowd ranged from 15,000 to 20,000 persons, most of them coming from Vancouver, B. C., 30 miles away.

Sponsored by the British Columbia district of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the annual event was first held in 1952 to protest the State Department ruling that barred Robeson from visiting Canada, and this year's concert was a celebration of the lifting of that ban.

Here is a letter to the artist from a Canadian woman who attended the latest concert—eloquent testimony of what Paul Robeson means to the people of her homeland and to people everywhere.

Dear Paul:

Just a letter that will be one of the thousands you are receiving in support of your fight for freedom.

We have always had the recording of your first Peace Arch concert, and have played it countless times, lent it out to the neighbors, and had many people in to hear it. And how many tears of sympathy and comradeship it has stirred! It is impossible for me to describe the strength of that record and the bond of solidarity with which it reaches out to encompass all its listeners!

However, we were never able to get to your actual concert until yesterday, for the first time, and what a thrill! My husband is a logger, and this time of the year (fire season) they frequently work early shift, which means if we went to the Peach Arch it takes a very long day's traveling, and he must go to work next day climbing those steep sidehills after only a couple of hours'

sleep or so. So with this in mind, we never did get there until yesterday when we took the chance.

What an experience it was to see and hear you, world citizen, one man who in his way personifies more than any other the imperialists' suppression of international love and solidarity. What an impact it must make upon the world when soon you will be released to sing your precious songs in all lands! What an incomparable weapon we have in you, Paul!

Four years ago your songs were rarely played on the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. network, and for a long time the disc jockey who had the nerve to play them would tell us of the opposition he received for it, asking those of us who liked you to write in and say so. I used to write in and congratulate them on anything they played of yours, or anything else in the line of peace. . . Well, times have changed all right. We hear you quite often now—and the other

day they played part of your first Peach Arch concert recording, "Every Time I Feel the Spirit." None of your commentary yet!

Sometimes we feel our own little corner of the world is pretty placid and insignificant, but when I saw you yesterday, I can only say I felt drawn so close to the international struggle of which you are playing such a great part, we can just hope we have words to fill out the meaning of it to our friends and neighbors who love you just as we do.

I wanted to shake your hand, Paul, very much. But I thought maybe with this letter I could thank you just the same, and tell you how we're cheering with all our beings every step of progress you are making in your fight to gain freedom. I'm writing a letter to the State Department too, right now.

Sincerely,
Myrtle B.



PAUL ROBESON is shown in San Francisco congratulating Harry Bridges, at an affair celebrating the longshore leader's victory in defeating the government's fifth attempt to victimize and deport him.

Need Help for Passport

(Continued from Page 1)

regation South and North.

He wants a better standard of living for all American workers and equal job and upgrading opportunities for Negro workers—NOW.

He wants freedom and independence for the peoples of Africa and Asia, the Caribbeans and Latin America.

He wants peace in the world, an end of the horror of atomic destruction, friendship between East and West and the flowering of popular cultures.

These are not only Robeson's "motives." They are the deep aspirations of all liberty-loving

Americans. In his fight for a passport Paul Robeson represents the best interests of the great majority of the American people.

Have you done anything to help him win this fight? You can, today. Write a letter to the State Department, Washington, D. C., or to President Eisenhower, demanding that Paul Robeson be given a passport. Ask your social club, union local, church organization, to do the same. No American has given so much as Paul Robeson in our common fight for peace and a decent world. Can you do less than to speak out now?



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Georgia Chain Gang Refugee Wins Freedom

EDWARD BROWN, of Philadelphia, won his long fight for freedom—with the help of **FREEDOM**.

Last month, the 42-year-old Negro chain gang refugee defeated efforts of Georgia authorities to force his return to the chaingang. Gov. George M. Leader of Pennsylvania, withdrew an extradition warrant signed in 1952 by the former governor, John S. Fine.

Leader's action marked the first time that a governor has withdrawn such a warrant after all state and federal courts had ruled against the refugee.

Brown's victory gave hope to another escaped chain gang victim, Willie Reid, in New York. Reid is a refugee from a

Florida chain gang, and Gov. Averell Harriman of New York has signed a warrant for his extradition. Reid is appealing, but in the meantime, many individuals have requested Harriman to reconsider his order.

Brown is a free man today because of the unceasing efforts of David Levinson, an attorney in Philadelphia who fought the case in the courts and through the public.

Levinson, working without fee, appealed to all newspapers to help tell Brown's story. **FREEDOM** was one of the first to respond, and in our July, 1952 issue printed sketches drawn by Brown to illustrate the tortures he had suffered. One of the sketches, showing him staked out, bound and help-

less, with face covered with molasses to make him more of a prey for wild animals and insects, is reproduced here.

His story was even more shocking. He described a "sweat box" in which he had been kept:

"You can't stand up in it and you can't lie down. You got to be in a crouch all the time. First your knees give out and when you try to sit down you must pull your knees up. Then your seat gets it because the bottom of the box is roughed-up concrete, and pretty soon you have to stand up again. Now you get awful headaches because your neck is bent down. Finally you ache all over; after a while you pass out."

Congress, Ike Duck Action

(Continued from Page 1)

Powell and the NAACP, which sponsored the amendments, were accused of "endangering vital legislation." Negroes were cautioned not to be "too insistent" and to wait for their rights until the "larger interests" of the nation were served.

Twice, in press conferences, Eisenhower condemned the Powell amendments. It was reported that strong pressures were brought by NAACP national board members to influence its leaders to back down in the fight. It was hinted that insistence on including

in legislation the non-segregation provision which the Supreme Court had announced as the law of the land in the school cases, would alienate the Negro's friends in Congress.

What of these erstwhile friends?

Here we come to another new feature of the 84th Congress. In the past a small band of Republicans and Congressmen, usually northern Democrats, could be counted on to put up a last-ditch fight for civil rights legislation.

Lehman Stands Up

No so this time. This little

band was reduced to — one. Aside from the three Negro members of the House, the only legislator who went all-out for civil rights legislation and for the anti-segregation amendments was Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.).

On the other hand, Congressmen who had previously been in the forefront of civil rights fights now took the lead in urging Negroes to go slow.

The result? Negroes fought hard for civil rights legislation—with belated avowals of support from Americans for Democratic Action and the CIO in the closing days of the Congress—only to lose.

This experience has greatly heightened the mood of condemnation of the two old parties among Negroes; and this has begun to cause some consternation among the ranks of politicians, Republican and Democrat, who have considered that the Negroes' loyalties were "in the bag."

Thus Val Washington, GOP minorities expert, has issued a long and boastful record of the Republicans on questions affecting Negroes, but he fails to deal with his party's record of Congressional inaction and sabotage.

On the Democratic side, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, the Minnesota double-talker, has been roused sufficiently from his love-feast with the Dixiecrats to have reportedly suggested to Adlai Stevenson "that a meeting with Negro leaders be

called this Fall to settle the issue lest it irreparably split the party and spoil chances for victory next year." (Chicago Defender, 3/13/55).

It would seem a meeting of Negro leaders is needed. But not under the auspices of Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Eisenhower, or any of the old-line politicians. What's needed is a truly non-partisan meeting of Negro leaders from all parts of the country to determine a course of action pointing toward a record registration of Negro voters, the party conventions next summer and the vital 1956 elections.

The masses of Negroes are clearly ready to respond to a clear, non-partisan call arising from such a meeting. The question is: Who will bell the cat?

Racist Terror Grows in South

(Continued from Page 1)

Cook, threatened that all teachers favoring integration or maintaining membership in NAACP would be fired and their licenses revoked "forever." Adverse reaction in many of the daily newspapers, and an NAACP announcement that the scheme would be fought in the courts, caused withdrawal of the threat. In announcing his about-face, however, Cook emphasized that Georgia has enough laws on the books already to provide a "legal" basis for maintaining segregation.

Negro teachers in Wilcox County, Alabama, are faced with a bill which would deprive them of protection under the Alabama Teachers Tenure Act and enable the county school board to fire them with or without notice or cause.

The Hoxie, Arkansas, school board is reported seriously considering restoration of segregation after a short period of mixed schools. The reason? Pressure from the White America, Inc. outfit and an organized boycott of the schools by white parents.

"Voluntary" Jim Crow

Raleigh, North Carolina has joined the large number of Southern cities which announced that their schools will definitely remain segregated this fall. And N. C.'s governor Luther Hodges took to the air in a statewide radio and TV appeal to Negroes to accept Jim

Crow schools on a "voluntary" basis.

As a means of reinforcing his "appeal" Hodges called upon white North Carolinians to "persuade" all Negroes in their employ or under any obligation to them to accept the unequal, segregated schools to which Negroes are now condemned by state law and practice.

Thus the Mississippi pattern of economic pressure was launched in North Carolina by the Tar Heel State's chief executive, himself. Now the Negro cook, porter, maid, mechanic, truck driver, borrower, worker, farmer, municipal or state employee is officially warned that he or she may fight for full citizenship only at the expense of job, loan, mortgage, or land.

Negro Response

But the answer to Hodges' proposal and threat was unmistakable and immediate. The Afro-American editorialized (8/20/55): "It will be a loud, resounding and emphatic no." NAACP's Roy Wilkins countered: "The Supreme Court decisions are a challenge . . . to relinquish the morally wrong philosophy of 1896 (separate but equal) and move up into the mid-twentieth century. The world has not stood still for sixty years. Why should the Negro in 1955 be asked to voluntarily accept in this day what was imposed upon his father and grandfather in

1890?"

As legal subterfuge increases and naked terror mounts, the big question has become: Can the federal government be made to intervene to guarantee enforcement of its own law as interpreted by the Supreme Court?

A dim view of the seriousness of Department of Justice authorities was expressed in an Afro-American editorial. Re-

ferring to the Mims, Florida, murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Christmas, 1951, and the recent Belzoni, Miss., murder of Rev. George Lee, the Afro said:

"We sincerely hope that Mr. Hoover's agents enjoy greater success in cracking the Lee case than they have experienced thus far in the shocking Moore affair. . . . But what has always puzzled us is how the FBI can

have such a high batting average when it comes to ferreting out kidnapers and Communists, yet strike out so miserably in matters involving civil rights."

Displaying similar concern, the Pittsburgh Courier notes that the slaying of Mr. Smith followed closely "the appearance of Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) before a three-state White Citizens Council rally at Senatobia, Miss." Eastland told the crowd that the U. S. Supreme Court's "fraudulent" anti-segregation schools decision need not be obeyed!

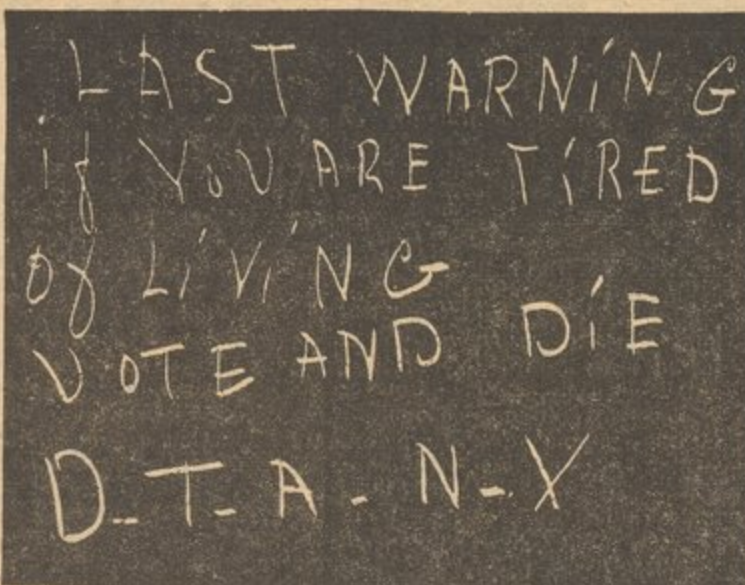
New Stage of Battle

The Courier editorial did not, however, raise the question which is increasingly on the minds of Negroes:

Should not a movement be started to get the Senate to impeach Eastland for violating his pledge to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the U. S.?

Should not the Department of Justice be forced to move against every Southern racist, whether private citizen or public official, who in face of the Supreme Court decision champions continuation of segregation or murderous attack against law-respecting Negro citizens?

It seems clear that when these questions are answered in the affirmative and put before the administration and Congress by an aroused Negro people, fully supported by labor and all democratic sections of the population, a new, winning stage will have been reached in the fight to carry into life the historic Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.



DEATH THREATS. This copy of a letter sent to a Lowndes County, Mississippi, school teacher and his wife was referred to Attorney General Herbert Brownell for action by NAACP Secretary Roy Wilkins. Other forms of racist terror, intimidation and brutality were reported to Brownell, but no action to protect the lives and rights of Southern Negroes was announced by the Justice Department.

People's Congress Held Despite Police Attack

FOR THE PAST five years, under the fascist regimes of Malan and Strydom the leaders of the African and Indian peoples of South Africa have pushed steadily forward toward their goal of full freedom.

In June 1951, the African National Congress executive issued an invitation to the head committees of the national movements for liberation to discuss a campaign of civil disobedience. In June of the following year the Defiance Campaign for the Repeal of Unjust Laws was launched. Meanwhile, leaders of the white liberal and labor movement began to find their places in the struggles of the non-white fighters for freedom. Over 8,000 South Africans of all races and from all corners of the country defied the unjust laws during the Defiance Campaign, winning sympathy for their people's cause all over the world.

Then June 26, 1954 brought the issuance of the Call for the convening of the great Congress of the People to take place one year later.

Said Chief Albert Luthuli, president general of the African National Congress: "On June 26, all fighters for freedom must resolve to fight and die together and never turn back until freedom is won . . . [June, 26] enshrines the determination of the oppressed people in the Union of South Africa to fight unitedly for their liberation from oppression . . . for the realization of a Government of the people, by the people and for the people, and not for 'Europeans only.'"

And so after a year of the most diligent effort, thousands of delegates, elected from the factories, the streets and blocks in the locations and townships, by housewives, by farm squatters, miners in their compounds, by people gathering in large numbers and small, set out for the great Congress of the People in Kliptown.

Most came by lorry or other private transportation, as it was reported that rail tickets were refused scores of delegates. Practically all the delegates were stopped and interrogated, forced to show travel permits, passes and other papers.

Police Attack

On the final day of the Conference, a large force of police was rushed to the area in trucks. From the platform came the words: "Armed police are approaching. We don't know what they want. Please keep your seats." The crowd was then asked to rise and sing the anthem "Inkosi Sikal'eli."

The police moved rapidly to confiscate all documents, cameras, film, even the change on the literature table and then searched all persons on the platform. The entire conference was sealed-off. Separate tables were set up for the questioning of European and non-European delegates and others as they left the Conference.

An eyewitness account reports: "The crowd showed that



MOSES KOTANE, leader of the South African Congress of the People.

it was completely fearless in the face of the police invasion, and shouts of "Mayibuye Afrika!" grew louder and more spirited than ever in the last dramatic hours of the Congress. . . . The chairman asked the meeting if it wished to proceed and when the crowd roared its assent, Mrs. Helen Joseph rose to introduce the section of the Charter demanding houses, security and comfort for the people."

Said a representative of the South African Women's Federation: "It is a pleasure to have police with us, for we know that they can take our documents away, but not our spirit."

Thus as is symbolized in the four-spoked green wheel emblem the South African black majority, in unity with the Indian, Colored and European minorities represented at the Congress, pledged to continue the fight for full African freedom.



HIS LAST STAND

SOUTH AFRICA

On Sunday, June 26, 1955, 2,844 elected delegates representing the peoples of South Africa, met in the quiet setting of Johannesburg, and adopted a Freedom Charter.

For more than a year preparations had been made for the Congress of the People. Four organizations were involved in the historic meeting and the document it adopted—the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of white liberals) and the South African Colored People's Congress.

We, the People For All Our Country

THAT SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of color, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

EVERY MAN AND WOMAN shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, color or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

THERE SHALL BE EQUAL STATUS in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or color discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

THE NATIONAL WEALTH of our country, the heritage of all South Africans,

AFRICA'S FREEDOM CHARTER

delegates, speaking for the sorely-oppressed settlement of Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

had been made for the great gathering—these were primarily responsible for the drafting of the African National Congress, the African Congress of Democrats (composed of colored Peoples Organization).

According to a report from the scene, "Delegates came from every center in the Union of any size, from the reserves and locations, the farms and cities.

"They came by train, cart, lorry and bus, some even on foot, converging on Kliptown from all directions, to speak, as the simple, home-made banners announced, 'of freedom.'"

By presenting below the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People we are happy to acquaint our readers with an event of major significance generally neglected by the U. S. press.

People of South Africa, Declare Country and the World to Know

shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

RESTRICTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP—on a racial basis shall be ended and all land redivided amongst those who work it, to abolish famine and land hunger;

The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land whenever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labor and prison farms shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

NO ONE SHALL BE IMPRISONED, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, color or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

THE LAW SHALL GUARANTEE to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from country-side to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

ALL WHO WORK SHALL BE FREE to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognize the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labor, compound labor, the tot system and contract labor shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

THE GOVERNMENT SHALL DISCOVER, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honor human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of State allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass State education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The color bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

ALL PEOPLE SHALL HAVE the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centers;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

SOUTH AFRICA SHALL BE A fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiations—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY, AS WE SAY HERE: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

THESE ARE SMITH ACT VICTIMS

... Jailed for Thinking

A LAW PASSED in 1940 as an emergency war-time enactment, and sired by slavocrat Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia, has produced a trail of wreckage unparalleled in this country since the days of the Fugitive Slave Act.

In the past five years 88 Americans have been jailed under the Smith Act. Their jailing has been upheld by the highest court of the land, in the Dennis case. But not without some judicial dissent.

In that case two of the nine justices, Douglas and Black

took exception to the majority view that the Communists represented a "clear and present danger" to democracy in the United States. Mr. Justice Black expressed the hope that in a calmer time the democratic will of the American people would triumph over the now-prevailing hysteria and the majority verdict be set aside by public opinion.

Recently, for the first time in an appellate court, another dissenting view has been entered. This minority opinion, written by Judge William H. Hastie of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, is such a powerful and brilliant statement of the case against the Smith Act that we have printed it in large measure in these pages.

WE BELIEVE that Negro Americans particularly will be interested in the growing movement against the Smith act and its consequences for many reasons.

First is the rather narrow racial consideration that Judge Hastie is a Negro. Judge Hastie concluded the defendants whose appeal was brought before him had been convicted in violation of the most elementary rules of evidence familiar in American jurisprudence.

While justice should be color-blind, it is also true that judges are all too human, as Judge Hastie himself remarked in his dissent. We think, therefore, that it is not presumptuous to speculate that the highest-placed Negro jurist in the land, faced with the complete absence of evidence in this anti-Communist case, might easily have thought back to the thousands of cases in which Negro defendants have been railroaded to jail, or death, without evidence or cause, and with only the aroused anti-Negro hysteria of the surrounding community to sustain the trumped-up verdict.

Another reason for Negro interest in the Smith Act is that many of its victims are Negroes. Nine of them are pictured on these pages.

Space will not permit us to tell the story of each of these

defendants in this issue. But we believe it is the special responsibility of the Negro press to find out and report their stories. What are these Negro Communists like? What are their beliefs, their proposed remedies for the ills which Negroes and the nation suffer? Are they honest men and women or charlatans?

WE ARE CONVINCED that the Negro press must find its own answer to these important questions. It cannot depend on Hearst, the Associated Press, Scripps-Howard or the International News Service for the truth about Negro Communists and their white colleagues, anymore than we can expect the Memphis Commercial-Appeal to tell the truth about Roy Wilkins, Channing Tobias and the NAACP.

One thing is clear, without the need for exhaustive examination. If the communist defendants are of the same mold as the well-known Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., we are dealing with Negro leadership whose ability, dedication and fighting spirit is on the highest plane.

Not the bitterest of Davis' political enemies dares deny that he possesses these qualities with some to spare.

Even if Judge Hastie were not a Negro, however, and if all the Smith Act defendants were white, there is another—over-riding—justification for American Negroes' special concern about the Smith Act.

If Justices Black, Douglas, Hastie and Maris are right, and if the Act does not properly circumscribe acts aimed at the violent overthrow of the government, then there is only one thing which it could be aimed at: and that is the penalizing of unpopular opinion and political dissent.

NEGROES, THROUGHOUT their history in this country, have always been in the forefront of movements to protect the right of dissent, the right to express minority viewpoints, the right, indeed, to advance, radical solutions of deep-seated social ills. At this date in time it should not require serious argument that the Negro will not be free of many of his day-to-day burdens without radical alteration of what many regard as the "American way of life."

Whether this alteration must



PETTIS PERRY, chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party, is now serving a three-year sentence because of his Communist beliefs. He is the father of three sons, one of whom is shown with him.

take place along the lines the Communists advocate is not the point at issue in considering the effect of the Smith Act. The point is that any law which prohibits Communists from saying what they please, however radical, can be used to justify similar prohibitions against other minorities—and

against Negroes.

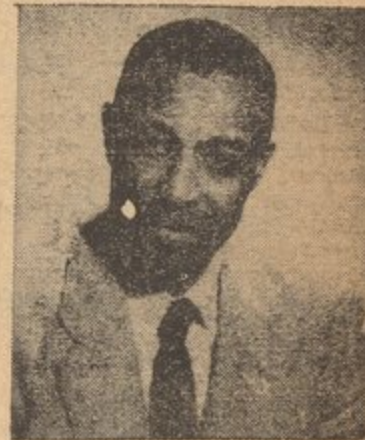
In this sense, then, it is not far-fetched, nor merely Left-wing rhetoric, to say that the defense of the Communists against the Smith Act, the movement to invalidate this piece of thought-control legislation, is a defense and a movement in the specific interests of the fight of 15 million American Negroes for freedom and equality.



BENJAMIN DAVIS, Jr.



BENJAMIN CAREATHERS
(Pittsburgh, Pa.)



THOMAS NABRIED
(Philadelphia, Pa.)



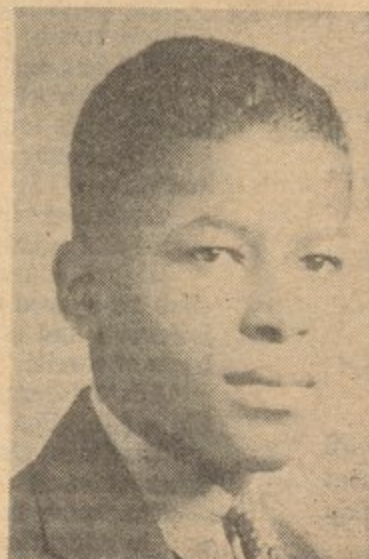
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
(Chicago, Ill.)



CLAUDIA JONES
(New York, N. Y.)



MARCUS A. MURPHY
(St. Louis, Mo.)



THOMAS DENNIS
(Detroit, Mich.)



PAUL BOWEN
(Seattle, Wash.)

Judge Hastie Dissents:

'First Amendment Prevents Government From Proscribing Their Teaching...'

FREEDOM reprints below excerpts from the historic dissent against the Smith Act and convictions of U. S. Communist leaders.

This dissent, ranking with those of Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas in the first Foley Square Smith Act cases, is the first at the Court of Appeals level. It was written by Judge William H. Hastie, first Negro named to the appeals bench, and concurred in by Judge Albert Maris against the majority opinion of five colleagues of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in the cases of the Pittsburgh Smith Act convictions of 1954.

The appeal was argued more than a year ago by attorneys Ralph E. Powe of New York; Frank Donner of New York and Thomas D. McBride of Philadelphia.

The 5-2 decision will be taken to the Supreme Court for review. The present high court will thus have before it for the first time a challenge from the Circuit Court level against prosecution tactics in Smith Act cases, as well as against the actions of federal judges in submitting such cases to juries. Further, the Hastie dissent discloses deep concern over the conflicts between the First Amendment and Chief Justice Vinson's majority opinion of 1951 in the original Foley Square cases, upholding the conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act.

JUDGES ARE LIKELY to be thoughtful, patriotic and well informed citizens who over the years have read, heard and observed much about the world wide organization of the Communist party and its activities. Therefore, they cannot escape serious apprehension, or even strong personal conviction, that policies and practices both hostile and dangerous to our institutions are promoted by that organization. Jurors too are likely to share these apprehensions and convictions.

In such circumstances it is very difficult to evaluate thousands of pages of testimony and exhibits without somewhere along the line permitting the thought that these defendants are an undeserving lot, and likely to have done the things with which they are charged, to distort judgment of the probative value of the evidence, or even to take the place of evidence on some important issue.

Indeed, there is a very clear indication that this has already happened. The record shows that during the trial the prosecutor stated in open court that "at this particular time, we do not contend that there is any question of the personal guilt of any of the defendants involved here, except with the possible exception of Mr. Nelson."

Although the opinion of this court takes the position that the prosecutor's case was not

as weak as he thought, I think the quoted admission accurately reflected the state of the record throughout the trial. In any event, it is difficult to believe that persons trying to be fair, as the jurors here undoubtedly were, would have been willing to send anyone but a Communist to jail after hearing such an admission by the government that the personal guilt of the accused was not established.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY as a Court of Appeals is magnified by the often-stated reluctance of the Supreme Court to review the adequacy of proof which has satisfied both a trial court and a Court of Appeals. Indeed, in the one recently reviewed case of this very type the Supreme Court refused to consider the sufficiency of the evidence to sustain the conviction. *Dennis v. United States*, 1951.

Thus, this court may well be the only appellate tribunal which will consider whether the evidence against the defendants meets the high standard of proof our law imposes in all criminal cases.

My study of the record has convinced me that on certain of the issues thus stated there was no such proof as would warrant submission of the case to the jury. Therefore, the defendants were entitled to directed verdicts of acquittal.

It is basic and inescapable datum of this case, that the defendants were indicted and convicted for conspiracy to engage in dangerous talk and indoctrination, and nothing more than that. It has not been charged, much less proved, that they have joined a conspiracy to overthrow our government. It is not even contended that their plan or scheme which, the government says, was adopted in 1945, matured into or was evidenced by any illegal teaching or advocacy during the three years—the period of the present indictment.

THE DIFFICULTY of squaring such punishment of talk or planning to talk with the prohibition of the First Amendment is immediately apparent. Were the matter one of the first impression, we would face a difficult question whether consistent with the prohibition of this Amendment Congress could, without unlawful abridgment of free speech, make criminal such a scheme to organize and carry out a campaign of dangerous talk.

But the Supreme Court has wrestled with this problem and concluded that within stated narrow limits such talk may be punished, the First Amendment notwithstanding. *Dennis v. United States*. However, the fact remains that generally talk hostile to the government is the very sort of thing the First Amendment removes from Congressional power to pro-

scribe. Therefore, the narrow limits which define punishable talk, as the Supreme Court has staked them out in the *Dennis* case, must be regarded as of utmost importance. They are not mere formalities. They are essentials which must be clearly proved to save any conviction of planning or indulging in dangerous talk from the prohibition of the First Amendment.

Of special concern here is the Supreme Court's limitation of its *Dennis* decision to situations in which it is established as a fact that the actual or contemplated verbal conduct is calculated to incite men to violence as soon as circumstances will permit. In the leading opinion in the *Dennis* case, Chief Justice Vinson stressed the fact that the jury must have found pursuant to appropriate instructions, that advocacy was directed toward violent action "as speedily as circumstances would permit."

It seems to have been his view that this much proximity was necessary to satisfy the clear and present danger test, which he recognized as a measure of constitutional limitation on Congressional power in this kind of case. It was the threat of violent action at first opportunity which he regarded as so imminently dangerous that Congress could make advocacy so directed a crime.

TO THAT EXTENT validity remains in Professor Chafee's often quoted formulation: "The real issue in every free speech controversy is this: whether the state may punish all words which have some tendency however remote, to bring about acts in violation of law, or only words which directly incite to acts in violation of law."

Compare the observation of Professor Goodrich, now a member of this court: "This is very important; the liability is not to be found in the general effect of the words, not in what may be thought to be their dangerous tendency. Indeed, the test is similar to the common law liability for attempt to commit a crime—the act done by the wrongdoer must have come dangerously near to success."

Lautner [former Communist Party official who was a main prosecution witness—Ed.] did not point to a single thing indicating that the 1945 program contemplated, beyond inculcation of belief in and approval of an ultimate revolution, teaching that the time had now come to work for the overthrow of the existing government as soon as possible. It has already been pointed out, but will bear re-statement, that this distinction is of basic importance in all constitutional theory of restrictions on utterance permissible under the First Amendment.

The line which the courts try to draw distinguishes punishable incitation to insurrection-

ary action from permissible teaching that at some time in the future violence is inevitable and the "proletariat" must be ready for it. . . . It is not a sufficient basis for proscription that the Communists are committed to ultimate violent revolutionary action.

If their present tactic is a waiting game, characterized by the teaching of revolutionary theory while incitation to action is left for the indefinite future, the First Amendment prevents the government from proscribing their teaching. . . .



JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE
". . . Reverse these convictions"

If Lautner did not indicate any proximity of the violence against government said to be contemplated by the 1945 program, I have not found such evidence elsewhere in the record.

IT IS NOTEWORTHY that this court's analysis of the evidence points to nothing which indicates that the Communist teaching, actual or projected, since 1945 has been calculated to incite people to violent aggression against our government as soon as feasible or within any period of time, however defined.

This time element, so important in our First Amendment context, is not mentioned in the court's analysis of the record. This court, like the government during the trial, has concentrated attention upon Marxist literature and pronouncements used in Communist teaching and propaganda activities during the 1920's and 1930's.

But the whole thrust of this showing is directed at establishing, with the aid of the connecting link supplied by Lautner, that approval and advocacy of proletarian revolution are present in current Communist doctrine. There is nothing to show that under the 1945 program people were urged to accelerate the revolution by seizing the first opportunity for violence against the government.

The Jury was properly charged that it could convict only if the conspiratorial scheme was "to accomplish the

overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit." I think it could have reached that conclusion only by speculation or by assumption de hors the record. . . .

THE JURY MAY NOT be left to speculate in the absence of proof whether an act, innocent on its face, is in furtherance of a conspiracy. There must be evidence which, if credited, shows that design. But here the theory seems to have been that affirmative showing of connection between the 1945 conspiracy and some later action taken within the statutory period was not required.

The government seems to have reasoned that any participation in a Communist meeting in such a way that the participant knowingly joined in the internal affairs of the organization became, without further showing, an act in furtherance of the conspiracy charged.

But this means that the government must change its ground. It is in the position of having to claim that the Communist Party itself is the conspiracy charged. Only on that theory are Communist meetings in themselves and the attendance of defendants evidence of a continuing conspiracy and their participation. An indictment of that theory might be possible under another section of the statute. But no such charge is made here and we, therefore, have no reason to consider its involvements.

The disposition to relax requirements of strict proof in trials of suspected subversives appears whenever the existing order is subjected to stress and strain. It is reported that in 1603, when Sir Walter Raleigh was tried by the king's judges for treason, his demand for stricter proof was silenced by the court with the withering rejoinder:

"I marvel, Sir Walter, that you being of such experience and wit, should stand on this point; for so many horse-stealers may escape if they may not be condemned without witnesses."

In due course the accused was convicted and executed.

It may well be today that a number of Communists, among them schemers for our undoing and destruction, will go unpunished if in their cases we insist upon clear and convincing proof in open court of every element of the alleged crime. There is no gainsaying that "horse-stealers" (and worse) may escape." But that is not too great a price to pay for assurance that our way of administering the criminal law minimizes for everyone the risk of undeserved conviction of crime.

In that spirit, and for the reasons stated in this opinion, I would reverse these convictions.

Support Jim Crow Fighter To Void 15-Year Sentence

THE CONVICTION of Carl Braden on a charge of advocating sedition was assailed by Dr. M. M. D. Perdue in one of the main addresses at the annual convention of the General Association of Kentucky Baptists, in Louisville.

Many delegates voiced approval as Dr. Perdue attacked the 15-year sentence and \$5,000 fine imposed on Braden, a white man, after he helped a Negro family obtain a new house in a so-called white neighborhood.

Dr. Perdue, pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church, launched his attack during an address on the state of race relations in the nation. He declared that the Ku Klux Klan is now operating under new guises, such as luncheon clubs

and fraternal organizations.

Dr. Perdue declared that he will continue to resist Klan elements who are trying to stop desegregation and who are punishing white people who work with Negroes to improve conditions. "If that be sedition, make the most of it!" he shouted.

Delegates crowded around Dr. Perdue and Braden after the minister's address and pledged continued support in fighting the conviction of Braden. Some said they had protested or would protest to Governor Lawrence Wetherby and Senator Alben W. Barkley.

Braden, his wife, and five other white persons were indicted for sedition after the Bradens bought a home in

suburban Shively and transferred it to Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV. Braden was freed from LaGrange Prison July 12 after serving eight months in jail as a result of the house purchase. He was released under \$40,000 bail pending action on his appeal by the Kentucky Court of Appeals this fall. Trial of the others has been postponed.

Braden is a newspaperman, formerly with the Louisville Courier-Journal. His wife Anne and he have long been active in labor and interracial affairs in this area. Dr. Perdue, a leading Negro Baptist, is a trustee of Simmons University. He is also on the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which is devoted to ending segregation in the South.

TROUBLE and THE PEACE MAKERS

A Conversation From Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

MARGE, WHAT IS SO STRANGE about wanting to be free? . . . I didn't say that you thought it was strange, I'm talkin' about the general attitude of a lot of people. A man who wants to earn enough pay on his job to feed his family and pay the rent is called a "rabble-rouser" if he speaks out about it. The "rabble" they are accusin' him of "rousin'" are other working men and women. If you don't like being forced to sit in the back of the bus, and you raise your voice against all kinds of discrimination, you are called a "trouble-maker" or worst yet "un-American." Now, when folks call you un-American for seeking justice, they are sayin' some awful things about America.

There is a school of thought going on which tries to teach that any kind of job you get is a reward, and that we should be happy that we are "tolerated" on that job, and the Negro who is workin' eight hours a day on that job is receivin' a taste of "democracy at work."

I am sorry to say that there are some of us who are content to get the crumbs from the

table, and I can even understand why, but what bugs me is how they can get so annoyed with folks who don't feel the same way. They complain about how they make it so "hard for others" and stir up trouble. Some day I hope they will learn that people who aim for their full rights are not trouble-makers but peace-makers.

What's so strang about wantin' to be free? Marge, its just the other way around. It strikes me as strange when a man doesn't mind bein' told where to sit, where to eat, where to ride, what to think, and where to go, and not to expect a fair trial in court, and told not to see plays and movies or even go in the public library, and told that he can't work at certain jobs. The soul who is content with such a state of affairs in indeed hard to understand, and even the folks who are holdin' him back can't understand why he feels like he does.

Well Marge, be that as it may, I say that all those who can't help us get free or don't want to be free can at least do one thing: Hush up and quit low-ratin' all those who do because there are millions of people who want to be as much of a man or woman as they are able, in spite of the few who are glad for a half a loaf.

Literary Pioneers:

Early Writers Used Pens In Fight for Liberation

By OWEN CALDWELL

Ever since the first modern black man or woman dipped a pen into ink, a spark was produced. The democratic spirit of the American and French Revolutions supplied the tinder where the first sparks could burst into the growing flame of Negro freedom.

In Germany, Professor Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840), father of anthropology, became the first collector of Negro literature, in order to prove Negro equality. His library contained the works of Africans in English, Dutch and Latin; including the almanacs of Benjamin Banneker, and the poems of Phillis Wheatley. He may have owned the autobiography of Gustavus Vassa, one of the many writers he knew personally. The work of this former Virginia slave, first published in 1788, caused a sensation, and went through eight editions by 1794, arousing many people against slavery.

In 1808, the French revolutionist and abolitionist Henry Gregoire (1750-1831), elected as the Bishop of Blois, published his treatise *De La Litterature Des Negres*, and thus be-

came the first historian of Negro literature. This peasant's son, active in the political, academic, and church life of France, champion of the rights of Negroes, Jews, and Irish Catholics, was an international figure. Yet, the Encyclopedias Americana and Britannica do not mention his ardent activities, nor those of his friend Blumenbach.

When Gregoire observed a reference to Negro inferiority in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, he sent the American a copy of his work. This made an impression on Jefferson, and a few days later he wrote the poet Joel Barlow that his reply to the bishop was diplomatically worded, as he had not yet made up his mind about Negro equality. Barlow had known the Frenchman for twenty years, and urged him to translate his "work of indefatigable research" into English, for it uncovered, he wrote, "many facts unknown in this country; where the cause of humanity is most interested in propagating that species of knowledge."

The book was printed in English in 1810 by Thomas Kirk of Brooklyn. David B.

Warden of Brooklyn, secretary to the American legation at Paris, was the translator. For decades the volume served as an arsenal for anti-slavery writers. Its impact is clearly recognized in the sixth chapter of *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans*, by Lydia Maria Child. As late as 1863, the president of the Anthropological Society of London attacked Gregoire, and claimed that the accomplishments of those mentioned in his book were attained because the authors did not possess "pure Negro blood." (!)

Gregoire's purpose was made clear by his dedication, in which he named 177 men and women, Negro and white, from many nations: "To all those men who had the courage to plead the cause of the unhappy blacks and mulattoes, whether by the publication of their works, or by discussions in national assemblies, etc."

The study is a mixture of anthropology and literary history, based upon the writings of Blumenbach and other contemporary scholars. The lives and works of eight Afro-Americans are included, in varying detail: Belinda, who addressed a moving petition for freedom to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1782; Cesar, a popular North Carolina poet; James Derham, a slave who became a distinguished New Orleans physician and language scholar; Thomas Fuller, a mathematician who was an ex-Virginian slave; Othello, renowned since 1788 for his forceful *Essay Against the Slavery of Negroes*; Benjamin Banneker; Gustavus Vassa; and Phillis Wheatley. Gregoire had his own collection of Negro authors, which he was eager to display to his guests.

From its beginnings, American Negro literature helped to move the world in the direction of freedom. It will continue to do so in the struggles that lie ahead.

book review

Lamming's Second Novel

THE EMIGRANTS, by George Lamming, McGraw-Hill, \$3.75.

By JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

George Lamming's successor to, "In The Castle of My Skin," concerns itself with a group of emigrants traveling from the West Indies to England in search of a "better break." On shipboard, cast adrift from their home anchorage, they look to England with varying degrees of grim hope and some misgivings. There is no other place to try. With the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act now effectively closing the United States to almost all West Indians, they have begun to flow to England in such large numbers that they have become a "problem." The story of why they leave, what they hope to do, and their shattered dreams is the theme of this book.

The story is presented from a confusing number of points of views, in a style that sometime leans too heavily on the influence of James Joyce. Just the same, the author writes beautifully and movingly of the voyage and the motivations behind the growth of nationalism in the West Indies.

In London the emigrants' hotel holds them together for a time; and later as they experience one by one their disillusionment and self-realization their paths crisscross in a labyrinth of entwining incidents.

The Islanders learn what it means to be alien and estranged in what is supposed to be their "mother country." They learn that there is a wide dif-

ference between the status of a British subject and a British citizen. Their gilded dreams of a better way of life in England tarnishes under the impact of discrimination, smugness and indifference as they seek to find jobs and places to stay.

Among the group are Collis, a writer who loses his sense of differentiation; Dickson, an increasingly paranoid school teacher whose fears become fact; Higgins, who is left defenseless when his proposed ambition to be a cook is denied; the down-to-earth Tornado and his woman Lillian, who so far from home achieve a sense of reality and a higher meaning of love; Ursula, who has run from Trinidad where a calypso singer had immortalized her unrequited love for a man who deserted her.

In spite of the occasional affected mannerism in writing style, the author's serious intent is achieved. George Lamming is easily the best writer to come out of the West Indies since Eric Walrond, who's "Tropic Death" (1927), was a minor classic.

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