



EXCERPT from **MARCHING BLACKS** BY A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

PART ONE

THE final V-Day must be the signal for the immediate beginning of the greatest migration that America has ever witnessed within its shores. As soon as World War II is over millions of marching blacks of the southland must pack up and move. Freedom road is no longer an unmarked trail in a wilderness. It is a highway. It has already been trod upon by the millions of blacks who left the South. At first was only a direction—North! The stars were the only markers; black pioneers were on the move as much as four centuries ago using the North Star as their beacon light. The underground railroad charted the first course. At the close of the reconstruction era the number of pilgrims began to swell and a faint trail appeared. By the beginning of World War I a rough road had been made by the feet of unwearied travelers. During the years of that conflict more than two million moved out of the South and wherever they went they went to stay. The Great Depression brought others. World War II has already seen the northward movement of over a million souls. Freedom road is a well-paved highway now, built for one way traffic only.

Whatever sections states, counties, cities or hamlets have failed to undergo a profound change in race relations since Pearl Harbor will not change within this generation nor for many more to come. They must therefore be evacuated immediately. In the South there are concentrated ten million people made in the image of God who have met with every form of un-Christlike hatred, prejudice, segregation, discrimination, exploitation and persecution. They are forced to live under a dual democracy, are kept in their places, on the fringes of society and relegated to the status of second-class citizens.

The people must move—and NOW! This is the only answer to the South's inhumanity to man. Migration does not mean running away from the problem. It represents the considered conclusion that some portions of the South are hopeless. It will serve notice that it must change immediately.

The South evidently does not want the Negroes even though it needs them, or it would not treat them so cruelly. Some Negroes in the South are happy with their lot as slaves. Let them remain. There are others who, though Negroes, have reaped great profits from the misery of their fellow blacks. Let them stay and starve. But to the vast millions who have been suckled with the milk of freedom from the depths of black bosoms—let them leave! Turn their backs on Egyptland! On Pharaoh and his power! The way ahead is still a wilderness and it may take forty years, or more, but Canaan is surely in the distance.

It is far better to be free, even though hungry, than to be a slave and starve. Freedom up North will not bring everything over night. It will, however, provide better schools, hospitals and houses and above all the opportunity to participate in the non-violent bloodless revolution of ballot and boycott that the new Negro and the new white man are carrying out.

From the beginning of time, oppressed mankind has ever been on the move. Pioneers have always left areas of persecution to pitch their tents in more favorable environments. There can be no progress where people move in centripetal ruts. It has been the centrifugal force in history that has brought culture to where it is today. Look out over the world and see the high points of man's endeavors. They were attained first by pioneers.

The present war has already seen vast dislocations of people. From the European boundaries where stalked defeat and disaster, millions of Russians moved to what was formerly the waste land of Siberia and there set up a civilization which would be



It does not matter how you come, brother, but come. Come flying, riding or walking.

more secure. Almost overnight the heroic peasants of China transplanted not only themselves, but entire factories and universities a thousand miles to the interior. The Negroes have wasted in the wilderness of the South long enough. The cry now is "Turn Ye Northward."

Leave the fascist portions of the South, freedom lovers, while the world is in the process of change! You will win no consideration in the postwar plans of America so long as they hold a death grip upon ten million black souls and thereby dictate the economic life of all the poor, both black and white. The postwar world will be a people's world, but it will only be so where the people are in the ascendancy. Tyranny is now more oppressive in some sections of the South than it has ever been. In those sections a people's world will be impossible.

The death grip of tyrants can only be broken when the victims escape from their persecution. The first Americans broke the grip of European tyranny by migrating to these shores and founding the colonies.

The people of Europe hit the jack-pot of America because they turned their backs in religious and economic persecutions of Europe and shoved their last slug into the slot. The grip of tyranny was broken again at the turn of the twentieth century when twelve million people from Europe came to America within eight years. Forty million souls have migrated to America in the last hundred years. The nazi-fascist Jap-Axis found the going tough whenever the mass moved from its dictatorial masters. Trumpets are blowing today! All over the earth they are summoning free men, to move or die. The coin has been tossed! It's heads up. There will not be a time like this again for many generations. Those souls who refuse to answer the trumpet call do not deserve to live. The future belongs to free men who have heard the call. The world has always belonged to those who dared. Come on, brother, leave now!

Don't worry about what's left behind. The few ragged, broken, earthly belongings are not worth considering. Walk out, leave your doors and windows, if you have any, wide open. No one will come to live in those shacks that right never intended human folk to inhabit. The North is not Canaan yet, but there is no lynching and no poll tax; there are good schools and hospitals, and even the slums are better than miserable sharecroppers' huts. It does not matter how you come, brother, but come. Come flying, riding or walking. The great Hegira has begun. The American Exodus is on its way—**GLORY Hallelujah!**

Migration must be purposive. It must have objectives as well as direction. Roughly it will be carried out by three groups, the seaboard, inland-delta and Southwest Negroes. V-Day plans for blacks call for the Negroes of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia to move to New York and Philadelphia with Boston catching the overflow. The inland-delta Negro of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee should point toward Detroit and Chicago with Ohio and Indiana receiving some migrants. Two million Negroes in the Southwest, concentrated mostly in Texas, should move to Los Angeles and San Diego. Some souls should venture into the Northwest, San Francisco, Spokane and Seattle. One million Negroes to New York, a half million to Philadelphia, a quarter of a million to Boston, three-quarters of a million to Detroit and Chicago, a million sprinkled over Ohio and Indiana, a quarter-million to Los Angeles and San Diego, and a half a million to the Northwest. This would mean five million in the first wave of the migration. The rest could move in easy stages picking those places where their concentration would do the most for themselves and democracy.

(Continued Next Week)

Now is the Time to Read Congressman Powell's Dynamic Book!

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS GREAT DUAL OFFER!

(1) **MARCHING BLACKS** Regular Value \$2.50

(2) **THE PEOPLE'S VOICE** (including Fotoscope) for 52 weeks Regular Value \$5.20

TOTAL VALUE \$7.70

YOU RECEIVE BOTH FOR ONLY \$4.00, A SAVING OF \$3.70

Fill Out and Mail the Coupon Today

The People's Voice	
210 W. 125th St.	
New York City	
Sire—I enclose \$4.00 (check or money order) for a copy of Congressman Powell's <i>Marching Blacks</i> and a 1-year subscription to <i>The People's Voice</i> .	
NAME
ADDRESS
POST OFFICE