Toward

Celebrating 71 Years of Global Reports From a Grassroots Perspective

VAL-KILL COTTAGE HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS COUNTY NEW YORK

October 19, 1953

Of course you did not make yourself Dear Mr. Lloyd: disagreeable to me by your question. However, you are expecting a great deal from Very sincerely yours,

mere mortals.

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Edited by Rebecca Kemble

Toward Freedom

Celebrating 71 Years of Global Reports From a Grassroots Perspective

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Toward Freedom: Celebrating 71 Years of Global Reports from a Grassroots Perspective

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Introduction

As the Board of Directors of *Toward Freedom* came to the difficult decision to cease publication in July, 2023, we reflected on the long and storied history of the publication going back to its founding in 1952.

Rebecca Kemble



OAU Founding Conference

In the aftermath of World War II, anti-colonial movements spread throughout the world giving rise to the non-aligned movement. At the end of 1952 Bill Lloyd started a newsletter to inform readers in the US about independence movements in Africa and the non-aligned movement in general.

Called *Toward Freedom*, Lloyd's newsletter would evolve over the next 70 years into a print magazine and then a website with the mission to publish international reporting from a grassroots perspective and incisive analysis that exposed government and corporate abuses of power, while supporting movements for universal peace, justice, freedom, the environment, and human rights.

Hundreds of thousands of readers have subscribed to the magazine and visited the website to read about issues rarely – or poorly – covered by the US mainstream media. Provocative and at times controversial, *Toward Freedom* has consistently published a wide diversity of voices from the frontlines of liberation struggles around the world.

None of this would have been possible without the dedication of the Lloyd family and other committed financial supporters, as well as the editors, photographers and writers across the globe who brought thousands of stories to life.

This volume is a collection of essays written by past editors, writers and board members reflecting on their involvement with the publication, bracketed by biographical notes written by Bill Lloyd in the late 1970s to accompany the gift of his personal files and correspondence to the Melvin J. Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University, and a concluding essay by Gnaka Lagoke which connects the roots of TF with present-day initiatives for Pan-African Unity and liberation from neocolonialism.

Each essay reveals a different facet of *Toward Freedom* and illustrates what the publication has meant to a wide variety of people working in and around liberation movements. From its inception, *TF* has been rooted in on-the-ground struggles and a spirit of determination that organized people acting in solidarity can change oppressive systems.

Bill Lloyd's personal correspondence with world leaders like Tom Mboya, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, Daniel Chapman and Eleanor Roosevelt is full of strategic political questions, and also contains hard asks of those in power, as well as offers of material support for movement building and education, revealing deeply personal connections with many of those with whom he collaborated.

The brief letter printed on the cover of this book was a response to Lloyd's apology for springing questions on Roosevelt during an in person event in Chicago in which he also requested that she use her influence at the United Nations to urge the UK, France and Portugal to "liquidate the remnants of their former colonial empires." He further cautioned: ...if the colonial powers wait until they are ignominiously expelled from their possessions by force, they will be branded permanently in the eyes of the rest of the human race as defeated but impenitent imperialists. A firm American policy would do better for Western Europe than it knows how to do for itself."

A similar blend of activism and journalism brought me to the *TF* board in 2017. I was recruited by then-President of the Board Sam Mayfield, an independent filmmaker and journalist who I met while documenting her arrest at the Wisconsin State Capitol in 2011. I was writing for The Progressive magazine and was a founding member of the Wisconsin Citizens Media Cooperative which was organized to report on the details of how Scott Walker and his billionaire backers were systematically dismantling democratic institutions in the state after a massive rightwing takeover of all three branches of government. I entered the organization during a time of transition as we attempted to broaden the base of financial support and diversify readership on a shoestring budget. After six years of trying different approaches, we were unable to come up with the resources to survive in a media environment that has been completely transformed since the days of sending paper newsletters through the US Postal Service. Keeping up with the algorithms on all the social media platforms while editing and publishing original multi-media stories from writers across the globe is a great deal to ask of a part-time editor, and fundraising with a small volunteer board was not enough to sustain TF's mission.



TF board member Jacqueline Luqman and Kamau Franklin at the 2022 African Peoples' Forum

We are gratified to witness the resurgence of Pan-Africanism and new expressions of anticolonialism and the Non-Aligned Movement, and we applaud the multitude of independent and grassroots media outlets sharing news of liberation struggles on the ground.

Passing on the baton of critical, independent journalism, we look forward to the next generation of freedom fighters' and independent media makers' contributions to the creation of a new and just world for all.

A luta continua!

For the *Toward Freedom* Board of Directors Rebecca Kemble, Vice-President and Treasurer

I The Biographical Notes of William Bross Lloyd, Jr.

William Bross Lloyd, Jr. was born of publicspirited, activist parents. His father was William Bross Lloyd, his grandfather was the author and social reformer, Henry Demarest Lloyd and his great-grandfather was William Lloyd Bross, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois. His mother was Lola Maverick Lloyd, a founder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Her grandfather was Samuel A. Maverick, an early (1835) pioneer in Texas.

Educated in the public schools of Winnetka, Illinois, Lloyd was graduated from Antioch College under Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, in 1932, with a BA degree in economics. During 1933 he worked with a sociological survey of the local community and on May 27 married a fellow student, Mary Reid Norris of Jeffersonville, Georgia.

Late that year, he started graduate work in economics at the University of Chicago, and took part in the conversion of an area buying club into a true cooperative--now the Hyde Park Cooperative Society.



In 1934 under the impact of the Depression, he launched a weekly labor paper with the help of the strong Waukegan, IL Cooperative. Lacking sufficient support within the community, the paper folded. Lloyd accepted the call to take over the editorship of a labor weekly known as the *Racine Day* where he served for two years. Following this he served as educational director of the Racine Consumer Coop for nearly two years.

In 1938, impressed by the danger of World War II, he went to work full-time for the Campaign for World Government, the object of which was a universal, non-military and Democratic Federation of the World.

In frequent trips to New York and Washington, he brought the message of world federation to Congressional Committees, major party platform committees, and private institutes and conferences. Meanwhile, he edited a monthly journal of the movement.

A convinced pacifist, Lloyd took the conscientious objector stand in WW II and served about 21 months fighting forest fires in the U.S. Forest Service. In free time, he organized a committee which drafted and published a proposed federal constitution for the world.

Further research on federalism and particularly on the constitutional period of the United States beckoned, and some of it was done at the Huntington Library of Pasadena on leave from the Civilian Public Service camp. This trend of thought sparked action to utilize the Convention clause of the Constitution for the reform of U.S. methods of handling foreign affairs. In the reaction to WW II there was much support for programs in this field.

Over the period of a year many trips to Madison, Wis. were made in an attempt to secure passage of a resolution which would have had Wisconsin calling for a new U.S. Constitutional Convention under Article V of the Constitution. The resolution was defeated in the Assembly by two votes after Lloyd's CO record was brought out at the last minute. In nine other state legislatures, however, similar resolutions were successfully sponsored by the United World Federalists.

Having learned something of Switzerland's federal structure during a year's stay in Geneva after graduation from high school in 1926, Lloyd was interested in researching the Swiss historical record for possible signposts on the route to world federation. He moved to Geneva in 1947 for a year that turned into two, with his wife, their four children, and his wife's niece.

But even before arrival in Geneva, the focus of the study was changed from Swiss federalism to a hitherto unrealized aspect of Swiss history: the planned and institutionalized use, in settling disputes among the cantons, of recognized neutral cantons as mediators.

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Toward Freedom emphasizes not only political, but economic and social freedom for all peoples of the world



The resulting study, entitled *Waging Peace: the Swiss Experience*, traces the use of conciliation, mediation, and arbitration by the Swiss cantons from the origin of the modern Swiss federal state in 1848.

The pre-1798 Swiss system of internal colonies or "subject territories" and the positive role of some of these communities after the granting of equality prompted a step into world colonial developments. Delegates from Madagascar, The Sudan, Ghana and other colonies came to various federalist and internationalist congresses, and were all burning with a desire for national independence.

Back home in the United States. Lloyd organized a committee of support for an anticolonial publication, including leaders at Roosevelt University, in the YWCA, the labor



movement, and the American Friend Service Committee. The first issue of *Toward Freedom* was distributed in December of 1952. Illness prevented Lloyd's further participation until the June 1953 issue; then regular publication 11 times a year was commenced in September 1953, and continued to date.

Toward Freedom emphasizes not only political, but also economic and social freedom for all peoples of the world, and is thus not limited to Africa.

Lloyd attended the "Freedom Of Movement'' conference of English-speaking Caribbean colonies in Trinidad in 1955. This meeting was intended to ease restrictions on inter-island migration. Articles on other Caribbean islands followed each year as visits continued.

To be closer to African sources, Lloyd spent the year 1962-3 in Tunis with his wife and their youngest son, Chris. During this period, he took a side trip to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the Founding Conference of the Organization of African Unity. One entire issue of *TF* was devoted to the preliminary Foreign Ministers' conference, and a second entire issue to the Conference of the Heads of State.

Another aspect of Lloyd's work in international relations concerned potential uses of radio and later of other electronic media to promote world understanding and peace. Already in 1943 he wrote an article envisaging a worldwide radio broadcasting operation following the end of the war. In July of 1947, *Common Sense* (edited by Alfred Bingham) published his article entitled: "Station World".

In 1950, he took his wife to India on a "side trip" from their Geneva stay. He was able to see Jawaharlal Nehru for about a half hour. P.M. Nehru found the concept challenging but since the UN was an active combatant in Korea, Nehru felt that it was disqualified as the administrator of a neutral world radio and that India should not propose it.

The world radio concern remained a live one along with the regular publication of 11 issues of *Toward Freedom* each year and trips to Africa from time to time.

With the advent of satellite communications, Lloyd felt that the rationale for world wide administration was even more logical and more pressing than before. In 1973, Lloyd brought a Chicago United Nations Association committee together on the possibilities of this approach and on Sept. 10, 1978, the national body of the United Nations Association, U.S.A., through its Conference of Chapter and Division Presidents, proposed a world forum of nations administered by the UN in which all national governments willing to have their people hear the broadcasts of other nations would be invited to air programs reflecting the culture, the accomplishments, and the views on world affairs of their countries. This proposal is being given exposure in national fora wherever possible.

2 Robin Lloyd

Thoughts and Thanks: Toward Freedom, from Beginning to End

It was difficult for my aging parents to leave the Chicago area in 1986, where they had raised me and my siblings, and move to rural Rochester, Vermont.

It was especially difficult for my father, as he had nurtured his passion project, *Toward Freedom*, since the 1950s, and had developed a unique board of Chicago folks committed, as he was, to international affairs, the non-aligned movement, and the struggles for African independence.

Would the board stay involved during this time of transition? Some board members felt it was a good time to let go.

The person who would not let it go, and who choreographed this transition and helped to build a new board and energy here in Burlington, Vermont was Greg Guma. He developed a friendship and respect for my father and for the issues that motivated him. At first Greg helped Dad edit articles that came in. Gradually, as Dad's mental capacity diminished, Greg took on the role as editor. He wrote up the early history of *TF*, and interviewed Bill for the stories behind the stories. (https://towardfreedom.org/towardfreedom-history/),

If Greg with his special skills had not stepped forward at that time, I don't know whether *TF* would have survived.

During *TF*'s glory years in the 1990s when our monthly distribution of hardcopies soared, we had wonderful editorial and development staff: Michael Riley, Pamela Polston, Paula Routly and Dian Mueller. Nat Winthrop served loyally on the board for years, as treasurer and donor. And Dorie Wilsnack as a board member applied her skills in development and outreach. Jerry Colby's historical insights helped us interpret complex developing events.

Greg was followed by talented editors, Kevin Kelley, Ben Dangl, Charlotte Dennett, Dawn Paley, and Julie Varughese. In recent years, Rebecca Kemble has been steadfast in keeping us together as board chair and/or treasurer, and we have enjoyed a wider perspective on the world with new members Eric Agnero, Fatuma Bulle, and Jacqueline Luqman. Now, as the world is roiling its way towards a multi polar world, and a majority of the earth's population is refusing to submit to the hegemony of the United States, the non-aligned nations are again joining together and asserting their own interests.

One of the speakers we engaged on Africa Day 2023, both in Washington DC and in Burlington VT, was Gnaka Lagote, an educator from Ivory Coast and a proponent of Pan-Africanism.

While he stayed at my house I showed him the bound volume of *TF* issues from 1952 onward.

He was delighted to see that *TF* printed articles on the early independence efforts of Kwame Nkrumah who led his country from Gold Coast to Ghana in 1957 and called together the African Peoples' Congress just a year later. Gnaka said few other media sources took note of these events that were so seminal to the burgeoning freedoms of Africans. And now, a new spirit is rising up, refusing to pledge fealty to one super power or the other.

I wish my father could be here to see these changes! But we had a good run during these 71 years, and the *Toward Freedom* website towardfreedom.org will continue to live, for modern researchers to delve into and read stories whose histories are still ignored by the mainstream media.



Left to right: Robin Lloyd; Robin's mother, Mary Norris Lloyd; Jesse Lloyd Guma in the arms of Bernard O'Shea; and Greg Guma at the Nuclear Freeze Rally in New York City on June 12, 1982

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Robin's police clearance for obtaining a visa to then-Belgian Congo in 1957 when her father took her and her brother on a 6 month tour of soon-to-be independent African countries

3 Greg Guma

When I first wrote for *Toward Freedom* in 1981 Ronald Reagan was beginning his first term as president, the Sandinistas had recently staged a revolution in Nicaragua, and I was editing an alternative weekly in Burlington, The Vermont Vanguard Press. Although I had traveled outside the US a bit, I seldom wrote about international issues. But William B. Lloyd, *TF*'s foundereditor, thought I had some potential and asked me to cover an anti-apartheid conference in New York. The assignment made a deep impact.

Over the next years we often discussed global issues and, in 1986, he suggested that I step in as acting editor as he moved into an emeritus role. The Board of



Directors was still based in Chicago then, but Bill had retired to Vermont. At the end of the year, I officially became editor, but the question was whether the publication should long survive its founder.

The argument in favor of continuing was that *TF*'s core mission — covering the developing world from a progressive, internationalist perspective — remained vital. But the format and scope would have to change. As I explained in January 1987, "In the future, *TF*' will attempt to describe and evaluate the non-aligned movement while expanding its coverage of developing countries."

Long before the anti-globalization movement, Bill and other democratic internationalists understood that political independence would bring few benefits for the vast majority if it came with too many economic strings.

TF's long-term editorial focus on "third world" development had nurtured an early awareness of the impactof World Bank and International Monetary Fund programs, and how the struggle between a corporate New World Order and Indigenous movements was taking shape.

By 1993, the once-modest newsletter had grown into a 24-page magazine that published more than 100 exclusive reports

a year. The *Utne Reader* repeatedly cited it as one of the best alternative magazines covering international affairs. The next phase of globalization was just exploding. In Mexico, the Zapatistas emerged dramatically in response to the North American Free Trade Agreement. Africa was re-stabilizing after the end of apartheid in South Africa. And around the world Indigenous resistance to "structural adjustment" programs was percolating.

During this period *TF* defined two focus areas that would inform its editorial choices for the next decade. Complementing its concern for human rights and self-determination, they were the impacts of corporate globalization and the state of mass communications. By 1997, TF had a website and was attracting new readers with distinct, often groundbreaking coverage.

Bill Lloyd's death in 1995 had left *TF* with a modest bequest. This and other support from the Llovd family helped to finance a marketing effort to increase circulation through direct mail TO HAVE PLAYED A ROLE and retail sales. In a sense it worked. By 1998 TF had a more retail-friendly cover and was available in bookstores. That and the direct mail campaigns brought in new readers. But it was a never-ending cycle.

As the publication approached its 50^{th} anniversary it struggled to compete in a changing media environment. No matter how fresh and relevant the content, most people still had no idea it existed. While attending a conference I was told by a former subscriber that, although she appreciated TF, she was dropping it. There was simply too much to read.

On one hand, we were attracting the recognition of our peers. On the other, financial limitations forced us to drop retail distribution in 2000 and return to a more streamlined newsletter format. The quality didn't change, but the decision represented an admission that *TF* wasn't able to transform itself into a mass market publication. This sparked more soul-searching.

In late 1999 anti-globalization activism burst into prominence with the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization. TF had been covering globalization for years, but this mobilization, combined with the emergence of Independent Media Centers (IMC), pointed to a potential strategy. The first step was to develop an independent media focus, beginning with a conference. "Building Independent Media" brought together about 300 people in October 2000 and helped TF to expand its reach. The following spring staff and board members were active in the mobilization against the Free Trade Area of the I LEFT THE Americas meeting in Quebec City, as well as **EDITORSHIP** developing an IMC in IN 2004 AND AM HONORED Vermont.

Next, we looked for a IN TOWARD FREEDOM'S local project, one that REMARKABLE addressed an obvious need and reflected TF's mission. Focusing on human rights we decided to build on the prison rights work that Board Chair Dave Dellinger and his wife Elizabeth Peterson had been doing for years. Based on meetings with prisoners, their families and activists we organized another conference and spurred the formation of the Alliance for Prison Justice.

> We had come a long way from simply collecting articles and producing a publication. Part of the reason was practical: For small nonprofits, special projects are often easier to fund than

JOURNEY.

ongoing operations. But it also reflected *TF*'s original approach — combining the periodical with classes and public events, support for important campaigns, and special issues.

The next few years were tumultuous. Looking back, cover story headlines underline the situation: Siege Mentality, Turning the Tide, Colonial Comeback, and The Power of No. The last referred to an article about resistance to New World Order economics at a meeting of the World Trade Organization. *TF* correspondents had attended and filed reports that offered new hope for globalization from below. The headline also spoke to an ongoing predicament — the need to balance withdrawal of consent from illegitimate rulers with constructive alternatives that people around the world can embrace. "No" has power, but it needs a "yes" to address most problems. That was also often my struggle as editor: how to balance criticism and analysis with viable solutions. In some cases, the alternatives we found felt small and tentative when measured against the forces of capitalism. But we continued searching.



Human Rights Power & the People



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4 Nat Winthrop

I served on the TF board for exactly 20 years, from just after the then newsletter celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2002 until the end of 2022. I was born in 1951, the year before Bill Lloyd founded Toward Freedom. Bill's daughter Robin took over the publisher role in the mid-80s. She and I go way back, starting when she mentored me as a Goddard College fledgling filmmaker in the mid-70's, and then as I wrote for the Vanguard Press starting in the early '80s, around the time it endorsed Bernie Sanders in his first run for Burlington mayor. At that time Greg Guma was Vanguard editor, later taking over as editor of TF. I was associate publisher at the time; I would go on to become publisher a few years later. (I was also co-founder of the AlterNet news service in 1984.)

Besides our both being Vermont writers and publishers with an interest in film, Robin and I had other things in common. We both came from privileged backgrounds - she from Chicago and I from New York - and we both had progressive parents with an interest in world affairs, which we inherited. Dave Dellinger chaired the *TF* board when I joined, and his wife Elizabeth Peterson (who spearheaded *TF*'s Alliance for Prison Justice initiative) was also a director. Investigative reporter/



Dave Dellinger and Elizabeth Peterson

author Jerry Colby joined the board at about that same time. *Toward Freedom* was at a peak, starting in the late 90s under Guma's editorial leadership. He and Dellinger were also responsible for shifting more of our coverage to domestic issues.

With so few US-based progressive media (or US media in general) stressing global coverage, especially in the developing world, I've always valued Toward Freedom's emphasis on Africa and Latin America, with a focus on our government's and US corporations' nefarious anti-democratic and imperialist legacies in those and other parts of the world. Just as Robin Lloyd had accompanied her father on a trip to Africa in the late '50s, I spent a summer in Ghana while in college, with the Vermont-based Experiment In International Living (now World Learning), later visiting South Africa, and I have always had an interest in sub-Saharan African affairs and culture.

Guma's departure as editor in 2004 coincided with *Toward Freedom* ceasing its print publication to become an online magazine. The next year Ben Dangl, then a young Spanish-speaking author with a focus on South America, ushered in another dynamic chapter in *TF*'s history. Editor Dangl recruited many new accomplished writers and correspondents, filling Guma's substantial shoes for more than a dozen years, before moving on to teach at the University of Vermont.

To complement *TF*'s coverage and to reach a broader audience, Robin Lloyd, Jerry Colby, Charlotte Dennett and I formed the Henry Demarest Lloyd Investigative Fund (named for Robin's muckraking great-grandfather) in 2008, first under the Center for Investigative Reporting in California and then, since 2011, in collaboration with the Nation Institute (now Type Investigations) in New York. Later I stepped up to become



Henry Demanent Lloyd

co-chair of the *TF* board with documentary filmmaker Sam Mayfield in 2017, before we handed over the reins to Rebecca Kemble, a Madison, Wisconsin-based writer and activist.

While I (and all *TF* directors) have regrets about *TF*'s ceasing publication earlier this year, I look back on my long tenure at *Toward Freedom* with great pride and satisfaction and in being part of its proud 70+ year legacy. Here's hoping another generation will soon pick up our gauntlet and again help provide much needed independent coverage on human rights in the global south.

5 Benjamin Dangl

My first introduction to *Toward Freedom* was through my grandfather, Dr. Linden Summers, a progressive college professor and participant in the Civil Rights and Anti-Vietnam War movements in the 1960s and 1970s. I read his copies of *TF* as a teenager. The publication was an empowering and refreshingly rebellious lens through which to see the world, an antidote to the narrow-minded and conservative politics of my hometown.

It was therefore a great thrill for me to become the editor of *TF* in 2005, just a couple of years after graduating from college and during the fevered movements against US wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. I remember the first time I met the *TF* board when Elizabeth Peterson, the pacifist and anti-war leader Dave Dellinger's wife, said, "My generation gives hugs," and embraced me into the *TF* fold. From then on, I gained so much radical knowledge from movement protagonists and seasoned journalists on the board like Robin Lloyd, Nat Winthrop, Gerry Colby, Greg Guma, Jay Moore, Joy Hopkins and many others. They shared stories about their fearless investigative journalism and direct actions to stop war. I corresponded with Robin while she was in jail for civil disobedience against the School of the Americas and later when she was teaching in Cuba, defying the US-imposed blockade. These are people who walk the walk.

As editor, it was an honor to guide the publication's coverage of such tumultuous events such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, the Black Lives Matter movement, and the 21st century rise of leftist movements and governments in Latin America. I worked from my downtown Burlington, VT office



with writers resisting dictatorships in Africa, covering workers movements in India, participating in struggles against neo-fascism in Europe and the US, and standing on the front lines against logging in the Amazon.

We proudly received letters from US embassies and corporate PR firms denouncing our writers' coverage of the disasters wrought by imperialism and global capitalism. When our reporting contributed to a movement victory, we celebrated the proof that independent media can help make a better world.

The people I was able to meet over 14 years as *TF* editor and journalist made the experience particularly powerful for me: People's stories at the barricades in Bolivia, the worker-occupied factories in Argentina, the landless farmer schools in Brazil, the Indigenous territories in Chile, and the direct actions against the World Bank and IMF in Washington, DC.

These reporting experiences, and the camaraderie I enjoyed with amazing *TF* writers around the world, were part of our collective belief in the power of a different kind of media -

media which amplifies and supports grassroots solutions to our planet's monumental problems. This is the media ecosystem that *TF* was involved in for over 70 years, and it speaks to the power of news from below to take on some of the most powerful systems in the world.

As a *TF* reporter years ago, I remember speaking with Juan Contreras, a local leader and producer in a community radio station in El 23 de Enero neighborhood in Caracas, Venezuela. He and his community had transformed a prison and police station – a symbol and site of historic repression in the neighborhood – into the Free Radio of El 23 de Enero, a center for community media, organizing, and culture.

"It is evidence of the revolution made by us," Contreras explained about the neighborhood's popular organizing to turn the prison into a community radio station. "We can't hang around waiting for the revolution to be made for us; we have to make the changes."





KENYA by St. Clair Drake and Ethel Untermyer

Kenya is an East African British Colony with about 30,000 European settlers, 90,000 Asians, and 5 million Africans.

In July of 1952 the British Parlaiment voted a Royal Commission to study the social and economic conditions in Kenya. In mid-September the activities of a secret society, among Africans, inown as Nau Nau, emerged in the news. It had been intimidating both African and European settlers and had been guilty of several political assassinations. Nau Nau had been repudiated by all responsible African leaders. The on-the-spot reaction was a series of repressive emergency laws including the jailing of all leaders.

The leaders are all in jail now, except the son of an old Kiluyu chief, who finds peace in London. One student we know is being deported from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania to Kenya. "Make them fear the settlers more than they fear Mau Mau" has become the motto of the settlers. Mau Mau itself has fallen at the wayside and whole villages of Kikuyu are being rounded up. One Englishman objected that surely the dogs that get incarcerated along with the women and children behind barbed wire are not accomplices. Oliver Lyttleton, Colonial Secretary, tells Parlaiment that the repressive policy pursued in Kenya will bring about chaos. We are all sorely troubled, while the settlers arm.

And arm they might, for distrust and fear pervade the country.

Penner Brockway, Member of Parlaiment, complained, when he visited Kenya recently, of the armed radio car that shadowed him. Europeans, in particular, stayed away because of this protection that the government imposed upon him. But it can be argued that his life, too, was in danger.

But now goes a commission to study the problem. To sift the fact from the

First issue of Toward Freedom newsletter published on December 6, 1952.

larify in precise

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fancy, perhaps, and clarify in precise terms the extent of Mau Mau and what solutions and alternatives there seem to be. Malan's charge that the unrest in South African villages lately has been stimulated by Mau Mau must be explored, too.

Another UN problem, perhaps.

DEFINICE SOUTH OF THE LIMPOPO by Homer A. Jack

Although the defiance campaign against unjust laws was thly launched on June 26 already it has begun to have an effect on South Africa. Here than 6,000 African and Indian volunteers have been jailed for breaking a series of spartheld (jim crow) laws. Lowentrations have been held in all the large cities of the Union and are beginning to spread to rural areas.

On result of the campaign has been increased oppression on the part of some white leaders. This, at/least in part, accounts for the several rists in Port Elizabeth, East Lonion, and Kimberley. This violence has been severely denounced by leaders of the campaign and, indeed, they have charged that some has been initiated by <u>agents</u> <u>proventeurs</u>.

Although the first reaction of Port Elizabeth to these disorders was to clamp down on the nen-whites-at the request of the Union government-wher counsels provailed and the Oity Conneil has hold unprocedented conversations with leaders of the Africans. Similarly the Einberley City Council decided to "enter inty direct and immediate consultations with [the non-whites] to ascortain griovances and complaints and eradicate them."

If the defiance campaign mulntains its restraint and keeps non-violont, it will result in significant changes in white and non-white relations. Through all these events, the newly-formed Americans for South African Resistence (513 W. 166 St., New York 32) has done an important job in interpreting this campaign.

UIGERIA by Dr. Lorenzo D. Turner

Nigeria, British West Africa, with an area about the size of Tenns, Illinois and Indiana combined, and a population of approximately 35 million, is Britain's largest dependency. Its European population numbers only a few thousands. Its largest city, Ibadan, seat of the University College of Nigeria, has a population of about three guarters of a million and is the third largest city on the continent of Africa. Only Cairo, Egypt and Johannesburg, South Africa, surpass it in population. Its capital is Lagos with a population of 500,000.

Toward Freedom December 6, 1952.

The population consits of voried people with ancient cultural backgrounds. The Yoruba people, for example, are said to have occupied the same area since about 3,000 years before Christ.

It has been estimated that there is one dector to serve every 200,000 people and one hospital bed for every 4,000 of its population. All Higeria has five dentists.

The country is divided into three provinces: Western, Eastern, and Northern. Its new constitution, adopted a year ago, provides for three Regional Hauses of Assembly--Western, 80 members; Eastern. 30 members; and Horthern, 90--250 in all. Thrugh the powers of the Governor of Figeria have been greatly curtailed by the new constitution, he still must give his consent to all bills cortified by the House of Representatives as money bills, and he or the Atterney General may reject a bill or motion affection the Civil Service.

Though not as far advanced politically as the Gold Coast, Nigeria is rapidly approaching the time when self government will be a reality.

BRITISH CRITERAL AFRICA by Ethel Untermyer

Three countries here with varied terrain and with different degrees of political expression accepted from African citizens.

Federation of Northern Rhodesis, Southern Rhodesis and Nyasaland is the current topic, much discussed at home, in the British Parlament and to a surprising extent unheard of by segments of the African population.

Though the Labor Party's Clement Attlee is as counitted to Federation as Minston Churchill, some liberal settlers and all African leaders are opposed to it. They contend that Federation would impose racial policy more in harmony with the one in South African and do away with the right of African appeal to the Colonial Office in London. I have seen mention of one African supporting Federation. His aumounced position has been sheptically greeted.

The debate becomes a heated one stretching the length of the continent with Kingsley Martin in the current New Statesman and Maticm telling of a thoughtful softler suggesting that "We must have 'closer union' in East Afries, rule the country ourselves without this nonsense of control from the Celonial Office, link up with the Cantral African Federation, and so belong to one White State from Nairabi to Cape Town." Some think a full discussion of Federation in the UN might go far to prevent the development of a new area of conflict.

URGE UN MEDIATION IN FRENCH-TUNISIAN TALKS

In the face of French threats to boy-cott all UN discussions of her North African territories, Asian-Arab nations are formulating a proposal for United Nations representation or mediation in the French-Tunisian talks.

The Committee for Freedom of North Africa appealed on Oct. 10 for U.S. to end concelle aid to France until the Tunisian and Morecean questions are settled, citing similar action in the Dutch-Indonesian and Arab-Israeli cases.

In a speech brondeast to all North Africa, Sultan Mohammed Ban Youseef of Merocco on Nov. 18 ridiculed Frenchproposed reforms that would have "under-mined our sovereignty," and, while expressing the greatest respect for the French people, insisted on French withdrawal from Morocco.

Monnubile Algoria seemed ready to make a bid at least for the greater internal autonomy, with the two nationalist groups vying for the favor of the people.

LEADERS PLAN AID TO COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES

Twenty New York Miberal landers met Oct. 27 to organize assistance to petition- Africa: F. Untermyer on political probers from colonial areas of the world and to facilitate their appearance before the Trusteeship Council or the Gamaral Assembly.

Hold under the mispices of the International League for the Rights of Man, the Conference outlined the following purposes: To assist petitionars; to discuss problems and suggest action; to circulate material on colonial issues; to on list aid in lobbying at Trusteeship Council and General Assembly meetings.

Roger N. Baldwin, former president of the American Civil Libertics Union, prehided, and those present included: Dr. Emory Hoss, Harold Insacs, Hev. Walter Offatt, Jr., John Collier, Maurice Dawkins, Clarence Senior, Father Nevin (Maryinoll Inthers), John Nevin Sayre, William Sorsby, Prof. Z.K. Matthews, A.J. Muste, George Carter, Ernest Howell, Rev. Michael Scott; S.O. Anodwe and J.C. Ezenelwe of Migerin ; Earl Senton and K. Japhet of Tanganyika.

LOOK AT THE RECORD

Below are United States actions in UN on colonial innues:

Voted for discussion of the Tunisian and Morocean questions.

Voted with the colonial powers against continuance of the important sub-committee of the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee, charged with watching

Toward Freedom December 6, 1952.

over the interests of nearly 200 million souls in "non-self-governing" territories.

Sponsored a resolution accepting the status guo in Togoland, in the face of official indications that a sajority of the inhabitants favored unification and independence.

Abstained on the Asian-Arab resolution to establish a UN "good offices" commission to study the race situation in S. Africa and presumbly to mediate informily.

Voted for a UN good offices commission to help settle India's 6 year old complaint against South Africa.

In addition to these UN actions, Mashington's Mutual Scourity Administration is considering a further loan to Belguim's closely-censored Congo empire, to supplement two Marshall Plan loans already totalling \$17,278,000.

THE WAY

A group of interested persons have been meeting during the past few months under the chairmanship of Wm. B. Lloyd, Jr., discussing formation of an organization, tentatively entitled "Midwest Committee for Colonial Freedom.

In the Spring Semester, Roosevelt Collogo will offer four courses dealing with lens in Central Africa; S. Drake on anthropology of African peoples; L.Turnar on literature and folk lore; S. Drake on contemporary Africa --- svening workshop.

PERTINENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Terror that Walks by Day," by St. Clair Drake, the Mation, Nov.29. Account of personal involvement in Konyp.

"Democracy in Africa: The Gold Coast." by Edith Dobie. Foreign Policy Assn. Bulletin, Sept. 1, 1952.

Africanisms in the Gulinh Dialect, by Dr. Lorenzo D.Turner, U.of C. Press.

IFTHODUCTION

Toward Freedom makes its bow to the Chicago public as a bulletin of a group of Chicagoans interested in the cause of the dependent peoples. Its sponsors are Leon M. Despres, Homer Jack, Robert Pickus and Harold Snell. The Editor is William Bross Lloyd, Jr.

W. B. Lloyd, Editor, Toward Freedom, Room 503, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Illinois. Name

Address Annual contribution \$5. enclosed/

Toward Freedom

A Newsletter on Colonial Affairs

HArrison 7-3877

ROOM 503, 343 S. DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO 4, ILL.

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Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr.

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Roger N. Baldwin Charles F. Boss, Jr. Van Wyck Brooks George S. Counts Henry Hitt Crane Jerome Davis Leon M. Despres Arthur N. Holcombe Harold R. Issacs Sidney Lens Arthur E. Morgan Aletta Root Norman Thomas Willard S. Townsend Jerry Voorhis Dear Friend --

For the majority of mankind living in Asia and Africa the movement for self-determination and independence occupies the center of the world stage. Because we feel that you will be interested in following this upsurge of former colonial peoples, we have sent you several sample issues of TOWARD FREEDOM.

CONTRACTOR B

22

Arnold Toynbee, the eminent historian, declared on Oct. 13, 1953, in Rome:

"European nations should liquidate the remnants of their former colonial empires. If the colonial powers wait until they are ignominiously expelled from their possessions by force, they will be branded permanently in the eyes of the rest of the human race as defeated but impenitent imperialists."

America, with her increased world responsibilities, will unavoidably have a key role in drafting policies leading either toward suppression and violence in colonial areas, or toward prompt and peaceful transitions to self-government. You owe it to your country's position in world history, as well as to yourself, to follow colonial developments.

TOWARD FREEDOM brings you each month at a glance the major developments in the field of emergent nationhood. Please use the form below for your subscription, and mail in the return envelope enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Um. Bross Hoyd Jr.

Early subscription appeal letter

Toward Freedom – 21

We believe that the peaceful elimination of colonialism-be it in Gzechoslovakia or the Belgian Congo--is essential to a free world

70WARD FREEDOM

RANDOM NOTES ON THE GOLD COAST

By Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, formerly president of Antioch College and chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, now consultant on the Volta River hydroelectric project in the Gold Coast. (First of 3 instalments)

Only a small part of the population of the Gold Coast is of indigenous stock. Most of the people are members of tribes that moved into the region during the past few centuries from the north, east and west. They seem to have exterminated or driven out or enslaved the earlier inhabitants. This surging flux of population, which has been characteristic of a large part of the African continent, had not ceased when Europeans came on the scene. The latest comers, the Ashantis, were still pressing upon the coastal inhabitants.

As was true of much of Africa, vigorous tribal leaders would overcome neighboring tribes, consolidating them into small or large nations. Sometimes these nations or empires lasted for centuries; sometimes they fell apart with the death of the tribal leader who had brought them into being. The course of events was somewhat similar to that in Britain in the centuries after the Romans left, with the possible difference that, whereas the Danes, Northmen and Saxons may have adventured of their own free will, the new inhabitants of the Gold Coast area probably were in flight from still more aggressive tribes that had overrun their former homelands.

The first European occupation of the region was as traders along the coast, as receivers of slaves, gold, ivory and other goods brought to the coast from inland by the Africans. However, until a little more than a century ago European contact was almost limited to the coastal towns. About 75 years ago the British began to effectively move into the interior. As they suppressed civil war, the slave trade, and some other customs which they held to be undesirable, the region tended to settle down, population increased, and income began to develop.

<u>Cocca Is Main Crop</u> The greatest source of income in the Gold Coast is cocca. Its cultivation began about 75 years ago, with the planting of a few seeds which an African brought from abroad. After a long and gradual development the cocca industry has come to dominate the economy of the country. The Gold Coast now supplies more than a third of the world's cocca. The entire cocca development has been by Africans. Other interests are gold, diamond, manganese and bauxite mining, and the production of palm oil.

In travelling about the Gold Coast one is often reminded of what he has read of ancient days of India. India was then a forest country, with villages scattered here and there. Much of the land was naturally very fertile, and there would seem to be little necessity for famine. Each village was almost a little democracy, while there were loosely banded states. As population increased the forests were cut, fields were cultivated until they eroded, and gradually, along with increasingly civilized culture there came to be pressure on the land, with poverty and famine.

Soil Conservation Needed

Today there is practically no hunger in the Gold Coast. A large part of the land is forested. However, the coast towns are using a million tons a year of wood for charcoal, and the land is being stripped of forest further and further into the interior. From the large proportion of women one meets along the roads who are carrying babies on their backs it would seem that the birth rate is very high. There has been little regard for preservation of soil fertility.

It seems fortunate that the development of the Gold Coast is coming at a time when the world is becoming sensitive to long-term needs. Without such concern the relative physical adequacy of Gold Coast resources might be short-lived.

Internal government has been gradually taking (Continued on page 4)

Volume 3, issue 4 published April, 1954

PRICES, HEAVY DRAFT STIR PUERTO RICAN UNREST

The effect of soaring food prices on an already impoverished population during World War II, Puerto Rican history, and inordinately heavy draft calls during the Korean war form the background of resentment behind the fanatical outburst of nationalist violence in Washington last month.

Responsible officials of the island have unanimously deplored the shooting in the House of Representatives. They are eager to cooperate with the U.S. in the new commonwealth relationship. But it is important for Americans to realize possible underlying causes of antagonism in order that they may be eliminated.

Granted Autonomy in 1897

The island has been poverty-stricken and overpopulated ever since the United States took it from Spain in 1898. Ironically enough, Spain had already in 1897 granted a degree of autonomy which many Puerto Ricans claim was greater than that under the present constitution.

During World War II, hunger was widespread as retail food prices increased nearly 50% more than on the mainland. A joint publication of the Puerto Rican and U.S. Governments (<u>Incomes</u> and Expenditures of Wage Earners in Puerto Rico., <u>1947</u>) shows a rise in retail food prices on the island of 117.5% from 1941 to 1947. The comparable rise on the mainland was only 79%.

No Vote on Draft Law

Although the United States got its start by opposing taxation without representation, it is now enforcing conscription without representation upon the Fuerto Ricans. The islanders have no vote for Congress or the President, but the U.S. draft is in force.

Possibly mindful of the resentment this situation must cause in Puerto Rico just as it would in Iowa, Selective Service made World War II draft calls on the island only about one-third as heavy as on the mainland. 49,414 Puerto Ricans were inducted from Oct., 1940, to Dec. 31, 1945. In the same period 9,838,725 were drafted from the continental U.S. Related to 1940 populations, this means that one out of every 13 mainland persons was drafted, but only one out of every 37 Puerto Ricans.

The Korean War was a far different story. Selective Service reports show 1,512,052 men from the continental U.S. drafted between November, 1948, and June, 1953, and 37,047 Puerto Ricans. Using 1950 population figures, this adds up to one out of every hundred Americans inducted, and one out of every 59 Puerto Ricans in service--a draft call nearly twice as heavy for the island.

Duties and Taxes Paid to Puerto Rico All federal duties and excise taxes are paid to the Commonwealth of Fuerto Rico treasury, and no income or other taxes are paid to the United States. Federal departments such as those of defense, agriculture, and commerce spend considerable federal funds on the island.

On the other hand, Puerto Ricans have nothing to say about the many federal laws that still apply, and judicial appeals go to the Federal District Court at Boston. Antonio Fernos-Isern, Puerto Rico's present representative in Washington, points out in the special Puerto Rico issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for January, 1953, that the Spanish constitution of 1897 gave the insular legislature power over taxation and tariffs. Under the present Commonwealth, the power to fix the level and incidence of excise taxes and tariffs is completely out of the legislature's hands, and consumers must pay for 1,200 to 1,600-mile shipments from the United States. In a country where purchasing power is one of the main problems, outside control of the tariff level is a real denial of economic self-government.

The trade balance always favors the U.S., according to Prof. Ralph T. Templin, editor of a symposium, <u>Is Puerto Rico Fully Self-Governing?</u> available from the editor at Route 1, Cedarville, 0.

"Profit Hunters in Puerto Rico" In order to encourage new industries to come from the mainland, Puerto Rico grants tax exemption for ten years. Under the title "Profit Hunters in Puerto Rico", <u>Fortune</u> magazine for May, 1950, explained wage prospects as follows:

"Even when productivity has been brought within the mainland order of magnitude, there will probably be a differential in going wages. This will be due not so much to labor's disorganization nor to the over-emphasized theory that climate makes labor's cost of living low. A more important wage-depressing factor will be the pressure of the island's huge pool of labor-currently 75,000 unemployed, more thousands partly employed, and, despite constant emigration to the mainland, 11,000 added to the labor force every year."

The commonwealth conception, foreign to the U.S. Constitution, is already being used in a last-ditch fight by Southern senators against the admission of Hawaii and Alaska as states. Ernest Gruening, former governor of Alaska, countered with a demand for "government by consent of the governed--namely statehood." In Puerto Rico, despite strong political pressure of the dominant Popular Democratic Party, the Statehood Party of Puerto Rico polled about 17% in a recent election. The Independence Party polled 19%, a gain of 9%.

Africans Gain In Kenya

In a week when the number of Kikuyu tribesmen killed by British and local settlers reached 145, with continuing Mau Mau terrorism, British Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttleton granted Africans one representative on the Kenya Council of Ministers.

It was the first time in British East and Central African history that an African had been given ministerial rank, and the European settler community immediately protested.

Africans later asked for a second minister, in view of their 5½ million population in the territory. 154, 000 Asians will be represented by two ministers, and 42,000 Europeans by three.



Another body, the executive council, will include a representative of Kenya's 24,000 Arabs.

"There are distasteful things to all racial groups in these proposals, but politics is the art of what is practical," Mr. Lyttleton commented. The new set-up will be considered on trial until the next election, probably a year hence. Members of the Indian community indicated nearly unanimous acceptance of the new plan.

Improvement Expected

Although the move did not immediately stop the small but bitter war now going into its 18th month, some observers felt that -- coupled with the earlier truce offer transmitted through the captured Mau Mau General China--it would lead to a definite improvement in conditions.

Months earlier, Joseph Murumi, secretary of the Kenya African Union, had issued the following plea from London:

Asks Kenya Reforms

"In my view, the first need is to release from prison men who have the confidence of the people and who would, therefore, be listened to when they made an appeal that violence should cease...

"If there is to be any hope of a settlement with real representatives of the African people, the Government must be ready to discuss with them essential reforms. Whatever the origin of Mau Mau, there is not the least doubt that the support given to it arises from a deep sense of grievance

about economic, social and political injustices. It is useless for the authorities merely to declare that they intend reforms after all Mau Mau violence has ceased; one of the essential factors in ending the violence is to convince Africans that they really intend the reforms. And that means beginning now." (from <u>African and</u> Colonial World).

Peace Coalition In Vietnam

Speaking before the Saigon, Indochina Rotary Club Mar. 25, Tran Van Huu, a former premier of French-sponsored Vietnam, called for peace talks to end the seven year-old war.

He thus joined a powerful new nationalist grouping, called the National Peace Coalition, the importance of which is indicated by a Mar. 10 dispatch of the N.Y. Times:

"Their united opposition leaves the Buu Loc cabinat with little support in the country."

Meanwhile Indonesia and Burma announced their support of Prime Minister Nehru's appeal for a cease-fire, previously endorsed by Premier St. Laurent of Ganada. Both Asian nations — and apparently the Indochiness — will be excluded from the April 26 Geneva Conference. However, the Indochina conflict may come up for discussion in the April 28 meeting of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon in Colombo.

CZECHS RESIST PRESSURE

To increase coal production, the Czech government has tried dismissals, bonus systems, higher wages and propaganda. But nothing has worked. Josef Jonas, Minister for Fuel and Energy, has admitted that 4,000 propagandists sent to encourage the workers to greater productivity during the past year have had little success. The labor turnover has reached 30 per cent annually.

TOWARD FREEDOM

(Incorporated not-for-profit under the laws of Illinois. Not a membership organization)

Executive Board; Eev. Homer A. Jack, Pres.; Harold D. Snell, V.Pres.; Leon M. Despres, Sec'y; Edw. J. Sparling, Robert Pickus and Wm. B. Lloyd, Jr., Ed.

Subscriptions: \$3 per year (\$1 for students.) Contributions also needed.

Name

Address

COLONIES STILL STUD INDIA'S COASTLINE

Imagine that France still controlled Port Huron, Mich., Sheboygan, Wis., and a minor Louisiana port, and that England still held New Bedford, Mass., Kennebunkport, Maine, Beaufort, S.C., and Portland, Ore.

If you can picture what the reactions of the American people would be to this situation, then you have some idea of the feeling of the Indian people about the seven colonies or "pockets" on their coasts which are still administered by France and Portugal.

Patience Wearing Out

The situation was coming to a head in late March as five ministers in the French-sponsored government of Pondicherry suidenly came out for immediate union with India. Two days later, the Indian government protosted French intimidation of pro-India groups there.

The Pondicherry incidents followed strong protests by Prime Minister Nehru against increases in Portuguese occupation forces.

France's four colonies comprise a total population of 317,259 and an area of 196 sq. mi. Starting on the east coast, there is Yanaon, Pondichery (pop. 222,572) and Karikal. On the west coast, nor far from the tip of the subcontinent, lies Mahe.

Goa, an important seaport, leads the Portuguese colonies and is located about 370 miles south of Bombay. Damao is on the west coast north of Bombay, and Diu is near the Pakistan border. A total of 637,846 people are involved, in an area of 1,537 sq. mi.

Portuguese Refuse Discussion

Portugal, a protege of British naval power, has simply refused to discuss the transfer of its colonies to India. As a result the Indian Government last June withdrew its diplomatic mission from Lisbon. Government leaders have found it necessary to calm Indian public opinion on the subject. The Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, B.N. Datar, declared in early February that the government was "aware of the necessity of liquidating the foreign pockets, but hasty steps could not be taken in the matter." (Indian Information Bulletin).

Government "weakness" on the foreign pockets issue was utilized to the full by India's communists to prevent Nehru's Congress Party from obtaining a clear majority in the recent Travancore-Cochin elections.

GOLD COAST (Continued from page 1)

form under the tutelage of British Colonial officers. There are more than a bundred small "nations" in the Gold Coast territories. They have been organized into a few regional Councils of Chiefs, and these into a central Council of Chiefs. Through them the indigenous social structure finds expression. There has been steady progress toward a national government, with a parliament of Africans, and with an administration in which nearly all the ministers are Africans, serving under Kwame Nkrumah, the Afri-can Prime Minister. There is general expectation that during the present year the native government will receive from the British Government the grant of political independence within the British Commonwealth, which was asked for last year. This action probably will not be taken until the national elections occur, probably in June.

(Next month Dr. Morgan will discuss land policy and the Gold Coast's future outlook.)

The ending of European colonialism in the Americas was voted by the Venezuela conference of 20 North and South American mations in March, with only the United States in opposition. A Brazilian move for United Nations trusteeship was defeated.

Toward greedom Sec. 34.66. P.L.&R U.S. Poelage PAID A NEWSLETTER ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS Chicago, Ill. 343 S. Dearborn Street Permit No. 5387 Chicago 4 Illinois THERE April, 1954 Lfram Liepe Vol. III, No. 4 International House 1414 East 59th Street 100 Chicago 37, Illinois (Form 3547 Requested)

Sept. 22, 1957

American Metal Company, Ltd. 61 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

I have recently purchased 100 shares of American Metal Company, Ltd., and since I am planning to leave soon on a trip through Central Africa with two of my children, I thought that we ought to try to see one of the Company's mines in the Rhodesias. Which one would be the easiest to reach when travelling by air, and which would be the most spectacular?

If you could advise me on this and send any authorization that might be needed, I would be very appreciative. Please write me at the Ringway Hotel, Accra, Ghana (to Oct. 10), or the Ambassador Hotel, Lagos, Nigeria, where I will be leaving Oct. 13.

Very truly yours,

P.S. If you should be writing quite soon, I will be in the Hotel Ngor, Dakar until Oct. 1.

In an early instance of shareholder activism, Bill Lloyd purchased 100 shares of American Metal Company, Ltd. stock in order to get access to copper mines in Rhodesia.

é 6 THE AMERICAN METAL COMPANY, LIMITED 61 BROADWA NEW YORK 6, N.Y. TELEPHONE BOWLING GREEN 9-1800 CABLE ADDRESS: EFFLUX, NEW YORK EAW/ek September 24, 1957 Mr. William Bross Lloyd, Jr. Hotel Ngor Dakar, French West Africa Dear Mr. Lloyd: Thank you for your letter of September 22nd, from which we have noted you recently became a stockholder of our Company. The decision on visits to the mines of our affiliated companies in the Rho-desias rests with the head office of these companies, RhodesianSelection Trust Limited and Roan Antelope Copper Mines Limited, Hardwicke House, Jameson Avenue, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. We suggest you advise them of your wish to visit the Rhodesian mines. In the mean-time, we have forwarded a copy of your letter to Salisbury. Very truly yours, THE AMERICAN METAL COMPANY, Limited bert E. A. Weil Secretary Ε. England Non 1945 (15:00 CABLE & WIRELESS LTD /IA IMPE ISSUING OFFICE The first line of this named: Prefix Letters Words, Date. Time ha owing particulars in the order Othor of Origin, Number of 113 21 Cun Offic Tructic -if any TIME RECEIVED 127 AWK866 ZEHR 1106_ SALISBURYSRHOD BROSS LLOYD RINGWAYHOTEL 54 REFERENCE 3 15 16 ACCRACHANA YUUR LETTER SEPTEMBER AMERICAN METAL 22 10 COMPANY WILL ARRANGE VISIT BE PLEASED OUR PLEASE MINES NORTHERN ADVISE DATES YOU RHODESIA RHUDESIA EXPECT IF STAYING YOU COMING THROUGH SUGGEST CONVENIENT NAIROBI Enquiry respecting this telegram should be accompanied by this form and miss be BREAK JUURNEY AT NDOLA

Toward Freedom – 27



20th November, 1957.



Wm. Bross Ll**y**yd, Jr. Hotel Aeropole, Khartoum, Sudan.

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

With Christmas greetings wishing you a happy and **successful** journey, I would thank you for your kind letter of November 18th which you wrote while still in Nairobi.

Sorry that I could not be able to send you the material required in time while at Arusha as I prommised. I have now arranged to send you the material direct to your home address, and hope after your return you will find them there. I shall also include with some of the latest publication from Mr. Nyerere, as requested, if he has not written you yet.

As you have also asked for a full address of TANU, I hope you will note the following in your Diary:-

> Mr. or Miss and if official - Organising Secretary General, or President whatever name or rank may be, but not forgetting:-

c/o. Tanganyika African National Union, -25 New Street, P.O.Box 551, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika Territory, East Africa.

How is Robern and her brother? I am glad to learn she has still in mind interacted in the song I taught her. As she requested about my Harvad address, since I am not having the Visa yest, I am sorry I wouldn't make a promise. But however, I hope things will be made clear, and as soon as I know the date of my departure, I shall write you again either to your home address, or whichever may be the quicker.

- 2 -

Maida is still in Uganda, and we are expecting her back the day after tommorow the 22nd of November. Please do write us and keep us informed of your activities while in Africa.

Whshing you again every good fortune and successful voyage.

Yours mos sincerely P.Patrick Mandawa.

Please turn over.





NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

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IN REPLY Please QUOTE NO.

March 2, 1954

Only Prospectus

Dear Mr. Lloyd,

UNITED NATIONS

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 24 concerning the proposals drawn up by <u>Toward Freedom</u> for revision of the United Nations Charter. I have read the proposals with great interest.

Unfortunately, I am not in position to accept your invitation to comment on these proposals since it would be inappropriate for me, as an official of the United Nations Secretariat, to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph J. Bunche Director Department of Trusteeship

Mr. Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr., Editor, <u>Toward Freedom</u>, 343 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Bill Lloyd advocated strongly at all levels on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

SUBSCRIBE AND/OR CONTRIBUTE TO TOWARD FREEDOM

TOWARD FREEDOM is, as far as we know, the only topical journal in the United States dealing with the future of democracy and of economic development in the new nations of all areas of the planet. It is our hope that a better understanding among the people of the richest country in the world for the needs and the aspirations of people in the developing nations will help achieve a realization of world interdependence No man — or nation — is an island, and prosperity in the developing world will help assure our prosperity. On the other hand increasing control of the access to raw materials by the new nations points to their increasing influence on world affairs.

Improved communication — on a **reciprocal** basis between the industrial nations and the developing countries is a must if the peace and prosperity of our grandchildren's world is to be safeguarded. At present reciprocity is impossible since poor countries lack the funds and the technology for mass international broadcasting. But for one-half of one per cent of the yearly U.S. arms budget, a satellite broadcasting network giving every nation the capacity to broadcast to the rest of the world could be put into operation.

Exploring the potentialities of this massive educational effort will be one of **TOWARD FREE-DOM'S** major future concerns, and this activity can be expensive. (Our special Twenty-Fifth Anniversary issue has also involved extra expense.)

Therefore, although we have refrained from making a money-raising campaign out of our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, we would gladly receive any contributions that friends wish to give, to help improve the paper and give it wider outreach.

OVER

The Board of Directors of Toward Freedom invites you to the celebration of its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary at a dinner honoring the founder and editor William Bross Lloyd, Jr. JANUARY 28, 1978 at The Cliff Dwellers 220 South Michigan Avenue Chicago Hon. Ronald V. Dellums, M.C. will be the speaker The Cliff Dwellers Eighth Floor, above Punchbowl 5:30 Dinner 6:15 new Nation Mene Junician Dalad Pili pili chicken, Mogambi Indonesian rice ORCHESTRA HALL Reservations will be honored in order of receipt. Toward Freedom Cream Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

A progressive perspective on world events since 1952



W.E.B. DuBois, UK politician James Callaghan, Mary and Bill Lloyd in Lagos, Nigeria, 1960.

Celebrating Toward Freedom's 60th Anniversary!

April 24, 2012 – To mark six decades of publishing, we have put together the following newsletter highlighting our history, current work and coverage, and commemorative events. In addition to the anniversary lecture on TF and African emancipation in Chicago on May 2, TF is also organizing, with the Vermont Workers' Center, a People's Convention in Burlington, VT from August 31 – September 2. For more information, visit TowardFreedom.com.


Print by Toward Freedom contributor Sam Kerson: "Gaza - Betrayed, Lied To and Deceived."



Print by Toward Freedom contributor Sam Kerson: "Gaza - Punishing the Innocent."

6 James Anderson

Toward Freedom commissioned some of the first freelance articles I authored. Longtime editor Ben Dangl gave those early pieces the green light about a decade ago.

Whether it was on-the-ground reporting on uprisings in Ferguson and St. Louis, a <u>story</u> drawing parallels between the older Independent Media Center in Urbana-Champaign and a then-nascent Infoshop in Carbondale, Illinois, a reported essay putting union co-ops and workplace democracy in brief historical context, or a piece about the solidarity (multistakeholder) co-op model found around Concordia University campus in Montreal, Ben and *TF* gave me the opportunity to write about what was understood as socially significant by many of the oft-neglected people whose actions and voices I tried to foreground in my features. *"TF* cut against the grain"



Independent Media Center in Urbana-Champaign, IL



Ben and *TF* gave me encouragement, and a bit of compensation, to explore, cover and in some small way contribute to what I was passionate about.

Notions of newsworthiness at *TF* differed from the conventional editorial "news sense" operative at a number of publications. While what many decision-makers at other media organizations continue to consider "newsy" tends to reproduce worldviews that normalize unnecessary disparities and legitimize community-damaging stratifications of social power, TF cut against the grain. Ben, as well as other *TF* contributors and supporters, valued research, voices, narratives and empirically verified facts presented in accessible, engaging ways that exposed and unpacked recurring problems with the established order. They valued written accounts of how people around the world were working together, in meaningful if often under-acknowledged ways, to assert control over their own lives and reconfigure relations of power - the power relations so many corporate outlets took (and take) for

granted. The people who undergirded *Toward Freedom* valued journalists interested in a different kind of news, and who endeavored to investigate and do justice to some of the aforementioned, and they valued the perspectives and efforts of individuals acting in concert to make that different sort of news.

As folks who made *TF* a source for edifying news no doubt understood, those writers and movement-makers can be one and the same.

Ben and *TF* afforded me the chance to actively participate in a mutually empowering, formative movement, well, *Toward Freedom*. Here's hoping what we shared enables us to co-create similarly indelible, transformative experiences going forward.

7 Thulani Mpofu



BaTonga woman from a community displaced by the construction of the Kariba dam

In July 2022 I pitched a story to *Toward Freedom.* Having read the website several times and gotten the idea that it reported mainly on the struggles of the people in the Global South, I felt that a story from Zimbabwe about a small tribe that has struggled for access to clean water since the late 1950s would fit the bill.

For centuries, the BaTonga people lived along the Zambezi River, one of the continent's longest, growing crops on its floodplains, drawing drinking water from, and fishing on it.

A Rhodesian government project to build the world's largest man-made lake, Kariba, led to their forced removals in the late 1950s and resettlement in arid places. The colonial government came up with laws preventing the tribe from accessing the river and dam for fishing and drinking. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe maintained these colonial laws.

The Kariba Dam generates electricity for the country as well as for neighboring Zambia, but the BaTonga people, among the poorest in the country, don't have access to it. Indeed, theirs is a story of total dispossession without compensation and a persistent struggle for water rights and overall human dignity.

I was attracted to *Toward Freedom* because of its unflinching and long-term coverage of underdogs, their struggles against colonialism, apartheid and more contemporary oppressions, and their victories that the mainstream media tends to cover thinly, or ignore outright. Rather unexpectedly, I received an email from *Toward Freedom* in February 2023, with the message that I could go ahead with the story. I happily did it and it was published in May. As soon as that piece was published, I sent two more pitches as I was optimistic of a growing professional relationship, but sadly the BaTonga feature was to be my first and last story for *Toward Freedom*. It felt like crashing on take-off. Quite painful it was.

Professionally, I learnt a lot from my brief working relationship with the publication. Editor Julie Varughese was thorough in her editing. She wants points to be presented clearly and in the simplest language. She wants the other side of a story to be given their chance to speak in it. I told myself that that was professional of her, but at the same time, told myself too that a publication that campaigned for social justice, freedom and advanced fairness supported her to be like that.

Who will fill the gap that *Toward Freedom* has left? Who will make it their core business to cover the struggle by Palestine and who will articulate the harm associated with mounting sovereign debts in the Global South?

Will anyone be bothered as Bill Lloyd was in 1952? And as those who inherited the project were until July 20, 2023?



Kariba dam, Zimbabwe



It was an amazing privilege to have edited an international affairs newsletter while living in Vermont. I was able to connect with the wide world from an office on College Street in Burlington at a time when the internet was still something of a novelty and desktop computers were bulky and balky. Working with writers from many countries who had deep understandings of a variety of issues made the job particularly satisfying.

Toward Freedom was a pioneer in bringing US readers information about the independence movements that reshaped Africa, Asia and Latin America and changed the history of the world. I was always conscious of that history and was determined to continue providing readers with news and analyses they could not find anywhere else. I also sought to advance the newsletter's mission of presenting "a progressive perspective on world events," while encouraging independent thinking on the part of readers and writers alike.

The dedication of *TF*'s board members and advisors served as a source of inspiration every time I sat down at the keyboard. We worked jointly to extend the newsletter's reach and to maximize its impact despite ever-present budget limitations. I'm grateful and proud to have contributed to the legacy of this unique publication.



9 Paula Routly

I worked as an arts journalist in Vermont before moving to a remote part of Uganda. I tried to arrange a couple of gigs before I left, but no U.S. newspaper that I contacted was interested. When I came back home in 1990, I was disappointed but not surprised to discover there was little interest in the part of the world I had just spent two years observing.

I was so grateful to find a job at *Toward Freedom*, where I worked with kindred spirits to disseminate information about Africa that no one else was reporting. It helped me ease back into a countrya whose residents don't care about much of anything beyond its borders. At *TF*, I encountered the challenges of marketing a subscription publication -- another version of the question, "How do we make people care?" The lessons I learned working with Robin, Greg and Kevin helped me launch a successful weekly newspaper in Burlington with another *Toward Freedom* alum, Pamela Polston.



Ugandan women miners

IO Charlotte Dennett

It is my honor to bring my reflections on serving as past interim editor for *Toward Freedom* from October 2020 to May, 2021. Despite working in the background, each editor brings his or her own stamp and influence to a publication.

My editorship coincided with what now can be recognized as huge, history-making events. These included: Donald Trump's Presidential defeat in November 2020; the January 6, 2021 assault on the capitol (now confirmed as a coup attempt); COVID 19's continued onslaught; the reinvigoration of the Black Lives Matter movement after the death of George Floyd; and the rise of the right wing in the United States based on claims of voter fraud, similar to tactics used by right wing movements abroad.

These events are reflected in the articles of *TF*, seen through the eyes of writers from the Global South as well as independent journalists in the Global North. Other trends chronicled during this period include the horrific hurricanes in Nicaragua and Honduras - climate change precursors to this year's cataclysmic summer in the US that saw massive wildfires, drought, tornados, floods, mudslides, and deadly heat waves during the hottest summer on record.



Map of pipeline systems in Eastern Europe

TF also covered ongoing proxy wars between giant petro powers. For example, in Nagorno-Karabakh, between Armenian and Azerbaijani forces, about which I wrote, "the conflict is being carefully watched for two reasons: 1) its potential to spread beyond its borders; and, 2) an underlying energy war between Russia, the US, and the European Union."

The connection between oil and this century's endless wars is heavily censored out of US mainstream media. However, it can be found if you look hard enough. I therefore found it incumbent upon as editor to guide some of *TF*'s journalists in Africa to explore this connection when their own news media kept oil out of the local press. As Ugandan journalist Charles Wachira revealed in his articles, the "Great Game for Oil" is now on steroids in east Africa, much of which lies opposite the Red Sea—and Saudi Arabia. And Eric Agnero, writing about his native Cote d'Ivoire, revealed that cocoa, long the most prized and exploited resource of the country, now had a competitor in oil.

In my final blog post as editor, *Moving on, Reflecting Back*, I confessed that, "I came to this job with a geopolitical perspective, one which is followed by most world powers as they survey entire regions for riches..." What were the most sought-after riches of any given time? That's worth a long article in itself. As for the early 21st century, "If you want to understand the many wars that have swept through the Middle East, Central Asia, and now Africa, you need only to follow the pipelines and the oil schemes taking place right now. All this, despite promises by Big Oil to invest in alternative energy to slow down climate change."

We are now living in a pivotal time in world history, with no end in sight for the war in Ukraine, and the threat of nuclear annihila-



tion looming ever larger. Profits of the energy, weapons manufacturing, and big banking sectors are soaring, while the living standards of everyday people are sinking, democracies are suffering under the weight of growing fascist movements, and AI is threatening human extinction if safeguards aren't put in place. Where will it all end?

It is truly sad that *Toward Freedom*, like many other online news outlets, must close down now for lack of sustainable funding, when its independent voices are needed more than ever. For 71 years, *TF* has chronicled the otherwise unheard voices of people struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism around the world thanks to the dedication of its founder, William Bross Lloyd, and his daughter Robin Lloyd. As such, it will be valued as a rich historical resource for future generations.



Il Paul Buhle

My connection with *Toward Freedom* was slight, as an occasional contributor and admirer. I was also in contact with various members of the Lloyd family including a good friend, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, married to Harvey O'Connor of Little Compton, Rhode Island. By a pleasing irony, my sister lives within a block of the old Lloyd House in Winnetka, Illinois. As a local librarian until her retirement, she had issues of Toward Freedom on display for all visitors to see.

As a small publication, it had a large role in supporting the struggles of the Global South, before and after formal independence. As the authorized biographer of C.L.R. James, I looked to *Toward Freedom* again and again.

Much credit to Robin Lloyd and Greg Guma, among others, for continuing the work of Bill Lloyd so long ago, in the dark era of McCarthyism.



44 – Toward Freedom

12 Mohammed Elnaiem

Toward Freedom was my first home as a writer. When I wrote for Toward Freedom, many years ago, I was only beginning to explore the question of self-determination in a world that has yet to be fully decolonised. I was not a superstar, only a little less mediocre than I am now. I was just a young man trying to make sense of the world, who felt compelled to reason by the disappointment of the martyrs who died for our cause. In Sudan we have a saying, our martyrs never die, they live with revolutionaries. How many martyrs have written for *Toward Freedom*?

When I wrote for *TF*, not unlike today, I was trying to make sense of the bourgeoisie in Africa. I did this for their antithesis - the forgotten ones - the women who toiled away in the informal fringes of the African slum, or the entire villages displaced by rentseeking elites and their reified transnational capital allies. In the post-colonial world, whether our elites speak the gospel of free-market capitalism, or wave a red flag, our elite, their ugly imitation of the European ruling elites is living proof that decolonisation is unfinished business. "The weight of dead generations", Marx once wrote, "weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living."

Toward Freedom, then, provides the annals of an intergenerational discussion and debate on the very question of decolonisation - what is it and what is to be done? Even when the magazine changed tack and cast off in a different direction than I would have preferred, it never lost its identity as a magazine dedicated to the cause of anti-imperialism. And to be clear, that means that it was a magazine dedicated to the cause of humanity.

In between the years that I have written and now, I had the honor of joining the Sudanese revolution while my wife, a fellow author at Toward *Freedom*, witnessed the fall of Pinochet in Chile. These are turbulent times, and of course, the colonial ghost has swooped down his scythe once more to crush our dreams for Chile and Sudan. But the struggle goes on. For 71 years, Toward Freedom dedicated itself to the unfinished business, in that respect, it leaves us too early.

13 Matt Dineen



Anti-NATO postering in Chicago, 2012



Anti-NATO march in Chicago, 2012

I had never heard of *Toward Freedom* when my friend Benjamin Dangl became editor. We had only been out of college for a couple years and the taste of teargas still lingered in the back of our throats from protests against corporate globalization and the Iraq War.

It was 2005 and I had been shifting my attention from the oppressive systems we had been fighting against in the streets to radical alternatives, to another world we knew was possible: Yes, toward freedom.

I had just started a project interviewing artists and activists about the collective dilemma of following our passions while surviving in a capitalist society. This would eventually turn into a weekly radio show called Valley Free Radio in Northampton, Massachusetts. But my first outlet for sharing these ideas with the world was *Toward Freedom*. I am forever grateful to Ben for publishing my conversations with people who were actively building a new society and also my own essays about struggling to transcend the capitalist imperatives of survival. *Toward Freedom* helped amplify my vision of collective liberation in dialogue with organizers and visionaries who inspired me to keep building that new world, together.

Over the years, I was able to publish several interviews, articles, and book reviews. This allowed me to stay connected to the global justice movement that has sustained well beyond the so-called War on Terror. And even though it is no longer actively publishing, *Toward Freedom* will live on too.



As a modest contributor and a short-term board member of *Toward Freedom*, I join in the remembrance and celebration of a news outlet which brought perspectives from below, from the sides ... anywhere but from above.

Robin Lloyd and I met during my years at University of Vermont as a member of Students For Peace and Global Justice. She was a local staple in social justice campaigns, particularly around solidarity with Latin America. Years later, in 2009, she supported my research on transnational mining projects in Colombia, inviting me to write about it for *Toward Freedom*. So began my involvement with this platform.

I later met Ben Dangl through Migrant Justice, my political home which he deeply supported. Having written about indigenous resistance in Southern Colombia and being active in the Burlington community, in 2012/13 Ben asked me to join the *TF* board. I nervously accepted, as I'm not a journalist and my life was consumed by Migrant Justice endeavors. I remember the board meetings at Robin's dining table on Maple St. with Sam Mayfield, Ben, and other labor and journalist folks, where we brainstormed guest authors, topics, and fundraising avenues.

While short, my time on the board taught me a little about how journalism on a shoestring works, when the desire to tell untold struggles, feats and defeats fuel the commitment of those with the gift of the written word. I thank Robin, Ben and Sam in particular for that commitment.

I continued to be an occasional *TF* reader, learning about struggles from Eritrea to Bolivia, Europe to Asia. Sharing articles with those I knew would read with appreciation.

It's sad to lose this independent, Vermont-made source of global news. May the torch be carried by new generations and their new tech and communication tools, and may all of us be part of this torch by supporting, sharing and, why not, writing for the new news outlets.

15 Brandon Jordan



I am deeply grateful for *Toward Freedom* being a home for the stories of people joining together and making a difference in the face of despair and grief. *Toward Freedom* is not just the name of the publication, it is also a reflection of the work published. The stories written and the interviews conducted all center on the idea of wanting to move toward freedom from hate, from oppression, from exploitation, and from despair.

The end of *Toward Freedom* should not be interpreted as the extinguishing of a light in the world. The stories in *Toward Freedom* live on to inspire others. Anyone can learn and be



Canadians rally against Kinder Morgan's project over problems such as lack of consent from Indigenous communities in 2018

inspired to act. *Toward Freedom*'s existence for over '70 years is a testament to the power of people to come together and make change. That will still exist, and there will always be the desire to listen and share stories of making a difference.

I am grateful that I was able to call *Toward Freedom* a home for the stories that I found and wanted to share with the world. As a person in his early 20s at the time, I certainly understood the value of people-driven change. I remember the many conversations I've had with strangers across the world about actions they were committed to and were willing to share through *Toward Freedom*. It was *Toward Freedom* that was able to connect readers with these activists who felt they were able to make a change.

While I no longer consider myself a journalist, I still cherish and value the importance of organizing and making a difference. I have done that on a few occasions and realized the importance of community. It was *Toward Freedom* that helped me as part of that journey. I will miss *Toward Freedom*, yet I know its memory lives on to inspire the next generation of journalists who share the stories that can make a difference in our lives.

16 Orin Langelle

I've had many articles and two photo covers published in *Toward Freedom*. *TF* helped me get press accreditation to get inside the 2003 WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun, the 2004 UN Climate Conference in Buenos Aires, as well as several other key events. This enabled me to document the resistance occurring inside and outside of these meetings, and to write onthe-ground articles, which together helped expose the way these meetings further the unjust neoliberal model. *TF* was crucial in enabling me and my organization Global Justice Ecology Project to reach a wide audience with our analysis and my photos. Reminiscing and going through photos from that period brings back so many memories of *TF*!

I am sad to see the end of *TF*. It was truly one of a kind.



Police prepare to fire rubber bullets on protesters in Miami, FL during a demonstration against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) summit (2003)

Following a permitted mass-march on November 20, 2003, police clashed with protesters on the streets of Miami. Police used tear gas, rubber bullets, electronic tasers and other less-lethal weapons to attack the protesters. Many protesters and bystanders were injured.

An estimated 20,000 or more marched that day in Miami against the FTAA. Trade ministers from 34 countries had come there to negotiate a new neoliberal trade agreement that would stretch from Alaska to Chile encompassing all of the Americas, except for Cuba.



Robert Zellick, then U.S. Trade Representative, seemed to have 'eyes wide shut' while addressing the WTO Ministerial Assembly in Cancun, Mexico (2003)

Thousands of protesters, the majority farmers, were joined by Indigenous peoples, labor and students to protest in the streets of Cancun, Mexico in September 2003 against the WTO. Protests also occurred inside the WTO conference after a South Korean farmer, Lee Kyoung Hae, 56 years old and father of two, committed suicide while he was on top of one of the wire barricades outside of the convention center. The entire meetings were overshadowed by the slogan, "The WTO Kills Farmers," and the talks collapsed. The collapse of the Cancun talks were viewed as a victory for developing countries including Brazil, India, China, South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt and other nations.

17 René Wadlow

Mediation in Conflict Resolution Efforts: A Vision of Bill Lloyd and Toward Freedom

I came to know Bill Lloyd and the publications of *Toward Freedom* in 1956 when I began graduate work in international relations at the University of Chicago. I had been participating by sending ideas to a monthly discussion bulletin which was edited in Chicago by Everett Millard. Everett asked me to play a more active role by helping to edit the discussion bulletin called CURE - Conference Upon Research and Education in World Government. Discussion and some editing was done once a month at a lunch in downtown Chicago with Everett Millard, Bill Lloyd and myself.

Bill Lloyd and his whole family were active in the world federalist/world citizen movement, although his focus was on the process of decolonization and the role that newly independent countries would play.

At Princeton where I had done my undergraduate studies, I also met Homer Jack, minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, not far from where both Millard and Lloyd lived. Homer Jack had gone to the conference of newly independent countries in Bandung in April 1955. His report was published as a booklet by *Toward Freedom*. Two thousand delegates, journalists and observers had descended on the mountain city built as a vacation place for the families of the Dutch colonials. Zhou Enlai of China and Jawaharlal Nehru of India were the stars of the show which set the stage for the later non-aligned movement. If Bandung was the most eventful meeting of 1955, there was also the eventful meeting *not* held, which was largely the focus of the CURE bulletin. World Federalists and World Citizens had been working since 1953 on the belief that a conference on the revision of the United Nations Charter would be held in 1955 as had been promised and written into the UN Charter in 1945. The idea was that after 10 years there should be a review of how the UN worked, and if needs be, revisions made.

A good deal of effort was put into an analysis of the changes necessary to make the UN more closely into a world federation. However, the promise of a review of the Charter was interpreted by the leading governments to mean that the topic of a Charter Review would be put on the UN agenda for 1955 but not that such a review would actually be held.

Both the US and the USSR did not want a Charter Review, fearing that their past actions would be open to criticism. Thus a Charter Review was swept under the rug, never to appear again. In compensation, a number of countries whose memberships were blocked either by the US or the USSR were given membership.

Thus, what could be done to strengthen the UN without a Charter Revision became the focus of the CURE bulletin. As one contributor, Peter Cooper, wrote, "Our greatest obstacle to effective world law to prevent war is the lack of

TOWARD FREEDOM a progressive perspective on world events since 1952

dynamic leadership - leaders with the vision, ability, courage and motivational drive to move ahead to overcome inertia which is inherent in all change."



The CURE discussions were pulled together by Edward Lee Millard as a book that consisted largely of quotations from the monthly bulletin and published as *Freedom in a Federal World* (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc, 1959, 224pp.) Bill Lloyd and I played a role in editing. The book ends with a list of all those who had contributed ideas, a good cross section of the World Federalist/World Citizen movement as it was in the mid-1950s. Some, like Homer Jack, also wrote for *Toward Freedom*.

I left Chicago in 1958 only to return in the mid-1960s having married a woman from Evanston whose parents were professors at Northwestern University. I had worked for the Ministry of Education of Gabon, Equatorial Africa. After a change in government, I moved to Geneva, Switzerland to teach in an institute created to train African diplomats. Later we expanded our field of interest to socio-economic development and became the Graduate Institute of Development Studies.

I had kept in written contact with Bill Lloyd and had written a few pieces on African politics for *Toward Freedom*.

Based in Geneva, I was at the heart of one of Bill Lloyd's major interests: The role of mediation in the resolution of conflicts. Late in 1958, Bill Lloyd had published *Waging Peace: The Swiss Experience.* In his book on the creation of the Swiss Confederation, he stressed the role that neutral cantons played in the development of the Confederation when difficulties or conflicts arose. Some cantons were constitutionally neutral and trained mediators for use when needed.

Bill Lloyd saw how this pattern could now be applied at the world level. Switzerland itself could play such a neutral role, not then being a member of the UN. However, the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had trained mediators and was designated to uphold the Geneva Conventions of International Humanitarian Law. I had participated in an ICRC working group during the Nigeria-Biafra civil war, 1968-1972 and later helped to write a handbook on humanitarian law for use in Africa.

The vision of mediation in conflict resolution was an important contribution of Bill Lloyd. The need is still there.

18 Gnaka Lagoke

Toward Freedom: A Gold Mine

I discovered the archives of *Toward Freedom*, which turned out to be a real gold mine when I was invited to speak on Pan-Africanism, in Burlington, VT during Africa Day, in May, 2023. The material greatly helped me improve my research on the first Pan-African gathering: The All-African People's Conference (AAPC) that took place in Accra, Ghana from December 8 to 13, 1958, under the leadership of George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah.

I was seeking documents and reports of eyewitnesses, such as Homer A. Jack. I had come across the name of Homer A. Jack as a participant of the conference. I learned from Toward Freedom's Robin Lloyd that Homer A. Jack was a friend of her father, William Lloyd, the founder of *Toward Freedom*. She added that Homer A. Jack was a regular contributor to Toward Freedom, and that the archives of the newspaper were in her house. I received the news with excitement coupled with gratitude. On the eve of my departure from Burlington, I spent 7 hours going through the archives in order to locate the AAPCrelated articles and other useful and relevant documents.





All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana 1958

I made approximately 300 photocopies. This information qualitatively improved my research and brought me new insights. One of my goals in writing the text on the AAPC was to shed light on the first major Pan-African gathering on the continent of Africa and to give an account of the people and agencies that played an active role in the struggle for the decolonization of Africa.

My research seeks to bring to light the contributions - lost in dusty archives - of agencies such as *Toward Freedom* and others. My research on the AAPC is an effort of

historical archeology that led me to discover *Toward Freedom* and to an excavation of the historical artifacts that it contains. I owe a debt of gratitude to *Toward Freedom*, which played a pioneering role during the period of decolonization and the Non-Aligned Movement. Its archives will be the compass for any researcher interested in uncovering another side of the debates about Cold War politics. I pledge to contribute to the consolidation of the historical and political legacy of *Toward Freedom*. "By 1993, the once-modest newsletter had grown into a 24-page magazine that published more than 100 exclusive reports a year. The Utne Reader repeatedly cited it as one of the best alternative magazines covering international affairs. The next phase of globalization was just exploding. In Mexico, the Zapatistas emerged dramatically in response to the North American Free Trade Agreement. Africa was re-stabilizing after the end of apartheid in South Africa. And around the world indigenous resistance to 'structural adjustment' programs was percolating."

Former Editor Greg Guma

"As editor, it was an honor to guide the publication's coverage of such tumultuous events such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, the Black Lives Matter movement, and the 21st century rise of leftist movements and governments in Latin America. I worked from my downtown Burlington, VT office with writers resisting dictatorships in Africa, covering workers movements in India, participating in struggles against neo-fascism in Europe and the US, and standing on the front lines against logging in the Amazon.

"We proudly received letters from US embassies and corporate PR firms denouncing our writers' coverage of the disasters wrought by imperialism and global capitalism. When our reporting contributed to a movement victory, we celebrated the proof that independent media can help make a better world."

Former Editor Ben Dangl

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