

**H**ouse  
**U**n-American  
**A**ctivities  
**C**ommittee:

**Bulwark of Segregation**

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*By* ANNE BRADEN

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We are living through the most crucial moment of our history, the moment which will result in a new life for us, or a new death. When I say new life, I mean a new vision of America, a vision which will allow us to face, and begin to change, the facts of American life; and when I say death, I mean Carthage. This seems a grim view to take of our situation, but it is scarcely grimmer than the facts. Our honesty and our courage in facing these facts is all that can save us from disaster. And one of these facts is that there has always been a segment of American life, and a powerful segment, too, which equated virtue with mindlessness.

In this connection, the House Un-American Activities Committee is one of the most sinister facts of our national life. It is not merely that we do not need this committee; the truth is we cannot afford it.

James Baldwin



## The Cry of "Red!"

*Why does the battle for integration continue to lag so far behind the needs of the moment? Why are the Birmingham bombers, the slayers of William Moore, the wielders of cattle prods not brought to justice? Why, with Negro demands at a peak and so many white Americans in support, does segregation remain built into our social structure?*

*Social change requires people — thousands of people, people in motion, not just on a national level but in every hamlet across the land. As yet, there are not enough people speaking out on this issue. Why? Where are they?*

“I want to warn you that it’s the communists who are behind this integration mess.”

The speaker was MacDonald Gallion, then attorney general of Alabama. It was 1961, and he was talking to Bob Zellner, now a veteran of many jails and a front-line worker in the integration movement, but then an undergraduate college student taking his first tentative steps in opposition to segregation.

Reared in Alabama, son of a white Methodist minister, Bob

was a student at Huntingdon College, a small Methodist institution in Montgomery, Ala. Groping like many young Southerners for some contact with the civil-rights movement, he attended some meetings at a Negro church. That caused him to be called to the attorney general's office.

"He wanted to know who from outside the state had been influencing me to get involved in these things," Bob recalls. "I told him it was my own conscience that was influencing me, and that's when he warned me about the communists..."

The world has heard of Bob Zellner because he happened to be strong enough to resist this pressure. He went on to work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and to take his stand for integration. How many other young Southerners, also seeking the civil-rights movement, received similar warnings from public officials, teachers, and parents and, unlike Bob, decided to stay in their own back yards?

Sam Shirah, like Bob one of a handful of white Alabamians who stand openly for integration, and who also now works for SNCC, says:

"There were at least 15 students in my high-school and college classes who would like to be doing just what I'm doing, and as I've traveled around the South I've met many more — but they don't because they've heard the movement is infested with communists. I think they'd be willing to go to jail and to risk the physical danger, but the word communist means 'traitor' to them, and they don't want to be called that."

For these 15 young people, there must be 15 counterparts in every school across the South, plus thousands of young adults and some older ones. This is impossible to document, of course, because the world will probably never hear of these people, and we cannot know how many there actually are.

What we do know is that the ranks of those fully committed to the freedom struggle are discouragingly thin, especially among the whites. This is true at the grass roots in the communities where change must come, despite the fact that a growing number of national leaders speak out for civil rights. It is particularly true in the South, but nowhere in the country are there enough dedicated workers to achieve the rebirth our society must have.

And we know that the advocates of civil rights are persistently



*Freedom Walkers entering Alabama from Georgia in 1963 are stopped by state officers who say they use HUAC files to check on integrationists.*

called communists. This has always been true, but it intensified during the 1950's when Communist-labeling became a national pastime, and it has continued to increase in the 1960's.

The evidence is mounting that there is a direct cause-and-effect relationship between this labeling process and the shortage of people ready to act for integration.

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For example: In Savannah, Ga., a major civil-rights force is the Southeast Georgia Crusade for Voters, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In three years, it doubled the registration of Negroes in Chatham County from 7,200 to 15,000 and made itself a power to be reckoned with.

Then in July, 1963, at the height of a nonviolent direct-action campaign against segregation in Savannah, a series of newspaper articles in an Atlanta newspaper charged the Crusade for Voters with communist connections.<sup>1</sup>

Hosea Williams, Savannah Negro leader who organized the Crusade, said the charges were ridiculous and that Crusade people hardly knew what communism was, but he described the effect of the accusations as follows:

"It hurt us bad. Especially with the local white people. Last summer some of them were beginning to take an open stand with us and a lot more were quietly sympathetic. But when the

communist business started, they all backed off. Now they won't touch us with a 10-foot pole. It confused some of the Negroes too. Parents got worried about their children taking part in demonstrations. And some Negroes who didn't want to do anything anyway used this as an excuse. A few professors at the local Negro college who received a fund appeal from us asked us to take their names off our mailing lists."

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And for example: In Roanoke, Va., in 1963, a group of high-school and college students formed an organization, marched to City Hall, and demanded total desegregation of public accommodations, plus equal opportunities in education, employment, and housing. The organization got off to a lively start and attracted both white and Negro students by its action program.

Then it began to fall apart. One reason was that all of the local white students dropped out. Why?

Not because they were jailed, or expelled from school, or bombed or beaten.

"It was because the rumor got around that communists are behind the civil-rights movement," reported Miss Lansing Rowan, a student at nearby Hollins College who was a member of the group.

The principal at one of the white high schools warned the students to stay away from such activities because they were likely to be "subversive." One of those who dropped out was a young man who had already finished high school; he had previously lost a job and an apartment because of his participation in the movement. Neither of these events fazed him, but the label of "subversive" was too much. "Maybe there is something wrong with all this," he told the others, and he burned the records of the organization.

Did those who whispered "communist" at the Roanoke student movement cite any facts whatsoever to back up their accusations?

"No," said Miss Rowan, "It was just a feeling people had."

• • •

"Just a feeling people had." This "feeling" that there is something subversive about the integration movement is widespread. Few people can actually define it, but it's there, and it is one

of the major factors impeding progress today. Not only does it deter thousands who know that segregation is wrong, like those in Savannah and Roanoke. For many, it is a seal that shuts the mind before they ever begin to think.

For example, there was the white student at the University of Alabama, to whom student YWCA workers mailed a reprint of an article by moderate Ralph McGill, Atlanta publisher. She returned it with a penciled notation, "I won't read it; it's communist propaganda."

It is this same "feeling" that enables white Southerners to use communism as a nebulous scapegoat to which they can shift the guilt for the crimes of their society. For example, immediately after the church bombing which killed four Negro children in Birmingham in September, 1963, the *Birmingham News* printed many letters from white Alabamians who were searching their own souls. Then Gov. George Wallace declared that the bombing would never have happened if it had not been for outside "communist agitators" stirring up trouble in the state; soon, as if a magic cleansing action had occurred, the letters stopped.<sup>2</sup>

And at the extreme, it is this "feeling" that turns apparently decent citizens into mobs. As Archibald MacLeish said in an *Atlantic* article on the riots at Oxford when James Meredith enrolled in the University of Mississippi:

"Oxford would have been impossible if the students in that mob who shouted 'communist' at the United States marshals had been brought up in a generation which believed not in anti-communism but in America . . ."<sup>3</sup>

### HOW DO YOU FIGHT A FEELING?

What can be done to offset this feeling that is hampering the civil-rights movement?

Some say the answer is for civil-rights workers to make sure they do *not* have any connection with communists, to try to prove away the feeling with facts.

But experience has shown this to be futile. When people start trying to prove what they are not instead of what they are, they weaken themselves.

For example, when the current sit-in movement began in 1960, a student integration group at Emory University (white)



in Atlanta decided that the best way to avoid labels was to steer clear of affiliation with any national or regional civil-rights organizations. After about a year, the group died. When the original group of students graduated, there was no continuity. Where people fear organization, activity soon dies out.

On a Negro campus, Virginia Union University in Richmond, an early student sit-in group not only avoided national affiliation but also started checking on its own members. Charles Sherrod, then beginning civil-rights activity as an undergraduate, and now a veteran of SNCC campaigns, describes the result:

"We needed help and somebody suggested we get in touch with CORE. Then somebody else said no, CORE was communist and we'd better be careful. So we didn't. Then somebody said there were probably communists in our group, and we started looking around. I didn't even know what communism was — and then somebody called *me* a communist. I began to wonder whether the others were communists. We were all looking at each other, wondering, 'Which rock are they under.' We wasted months that way before we finally decided to forget it and go after segregation. I made up my mind then that I was never going to be led down a blind alley like that again."

Some national and regional civil-rights groups have made massive efforts to prove to the world that charges of subversion against them are false. They have published literature denying the charge and have purged from their ranks all who have been called communists. These groups have sometimes refused to work with others who have declined to take such steps. Some have even joined in the cry of "red" against other civil-rights groups, apparently hoping that this would convince the public that *they* were not communists.

But none of this has decreased the cries of communism against these groups at all. If anything, the shouts have increased. The only notable result has been that the civil-rights movement has been weakened because parts of it feared to associate with other parts, and the "feeling" that integration is subversive continued to spread and immobilize people.

The attempt to disprove the charge that integration is subversive presupposes that this feeling is a rational one. It is not. No amount of rational argument will dissipate a feeling that no one can define. The trouble is in the atmosphere. Not even

the outspoken civil-rights statements recently made by national leaders and church spokesmen have helped to dissipate it much, because the same voices that charge integrationists with subversion also whisper that the National Council of Churches of Christ is "red."

It is the atmosphere we must change. We must thread our way back and find how this climate originated. It did not just happen. It has been spread and encouraged. It is time we found out how.

## CHAPTER II: *The Sources of the Poison*

In recent years, charges of subversion against the integration movement and its leaders have intensified.

If you analyze each charge and trace it back, you find the same common fountainhead: either the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC); its counterpart in the U.S. Senate, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), headed by James O. Eastland of Mississippi; or one of several state committees modeled after these. For example:

- Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., the adult-education center that inspired and trained many integration leaders, was closed and padlocked; its \$130,000 property was confiscated by the state of Tennessee, and its main building burned to the ground. The lynch atmosphere which made this possible was created by hearings before a committee of the Tennessee Legislature; this committee tried to show that the school was subversive despite the ardent support of such distinguished Americans as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Reinhold Niebuhr. Source of the charges were files of HUAC and state committees.<sup>1</sup>

- At the time of the Freedom Rides in 1961, Senator Eastland inserted into the *Congressional Record* 12 pages of so-called communist connections of 13 national leaders of CORE and said CORE was "carrying on the fight for a Soviet America." The source: HUAC files. This material continues to be widely quoted in the segregationist press.<sup>2</sup> In September, 1963, officials in Clinton, La., sought an injunction against CORE, which was working to register Negroes to vote there. One of their chief



*Myles and Aimee Horton amid the ruins of Highlander Folk School.*

arguments before the court was the old charge that CORE was “an arm of the communist conspiracy.” Again the obvious source: the same old HUAC files.<sup>3</sup>

- In the summer of 1963, at the height of a campaign for federal civil-rights legislation, Rep. E. C. Gathings of Arkansas inserted into the *Congressional Record* voluminous material seeking to prove that the NAACP, which has led the legal aspect of the battle against segregation, is subversive and communistic. The “proof” was 30 pages of so-called subversive citations of 59 of its leaders — from Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, and Phillip Randolph, on to local leaders. The source: HUAC. This material was then quoted in Southern newspapers attacking the August 28 March on Washington.<sup>4</sup>

- During the same legislative campaign, Governor Wallace of Alabama, Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi, and Attorney General Bruce Bennett of Arkansas appeared before committees of Congress to oppose civil-rights laws. Their principal argu-


ment was that the civil-rights movement was communist-led. As "proof," they asserted that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., associated with communists. Their documentation of this was that he attended a session at Highlander Folk School, which segregationists had accused of subversion on the basis of HUAC files.<sup>5</sup>

• The Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis published a pamphlet entitled "Unmasking Martin Luther King, Jr., the Deceiver." The brochure charges that Dr. King is in "alliance with communist objectives and personalities."<sup>6</sup> A similar brochure has been published by the American Nazi Party, entitled "Is Martin Luther King a Communist?"<sup>7</sup> The sources quoted in both: files of HUAC and similar state committees. More respectable newspapers have taken up the cry against King too, for example the *Birmingham News*<sup>8</sup> and the *Richmond News Leader*.<sup>9</sup> Their chief point of attack is that Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference had employed a man once investigated by HUAC.

• In New Orleans, La., city and state police raided the offices of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a South-wide interracial organization working to bring white Southern-

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*American Nazi Party Literature distributed in 1963.*

ers into the integration movement. They arrested its leaders and repeated old charges that the group was "communist." Again the source: files of HUAC, SISS, and state committees.

- In Atlanta, Ga., in early 1964, just when the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee was spearheading a new drive against segregation in public facilities, a newspaper article charged that two supporters of SNCC's campaign were "communists." Documentation for these charges: the files of HUAC. Whereupon the Atlanta Board of Aldermen, under pressure to adopt an ordinance forbidding discrimination in public accommodations, passed instead a resolution asking HUAC to investigate integrationist activity there.<sup>12</sup> And a group of white students from Georgia Tech who had broken through the color wall to participate in demonstrations were called to the office of the college dean. There they were questioned and warned about "communists" by representatives of the state attorney general — just as Bob Zellner had been in Alabama in 1961.<sup>13</sup>

- The State of Alabama reported in early 1964 that it was amassing information on civil-rights advocates. Among its techniques was the photographing of every white person who attended the funeral of four young girls killed in the bombing of a Negro church in Birmingham in September, 1963. And as a part of its detective work, the state added to its files during the year "101 files on reports from the House Committee on Un-American Activities."<sup>14</sup>

And in other communities across the South — in Danville, Va., in Jackson, Miss., in Birmingham, Ala.,<sup>15</sup> wherever and whenever militant action appeared to threaten segregation seriously — the communist cry found its rising echoes. In every instance, if you follow the thread back far enough, you arrive at the same source: HUAC.

### THE POISON SPREADS

Nor have the civil-rights organizations been the only targets. The poison spreads, and often the Southern moderate who simply speaks out for law and order is also labeled subversive.

For example, after the demonstrations in Birmingham in 1963, moderates there set up a Community Affairs Committee to stimulate progress in the city. One aim was to establish lines of communication between white and Negro citizens. After the

committee's first meeting, Art Hanes, at that time just recently voted out as mayor of Birmingham, said in a speech to the White Citizens Council that six people who attended the meeting were communists.<sup>16</sup> He never named them. In a speech sponsored by the United Americans for Conservative Government he accused the churches of promoting communism; he said his own Methodist Church was circulating material written by communists. His source for this when he was later challenged: HUAC.<sup>17</sup>

#### AND IN THE NORTH

As the civil-rights revolution spread into the North, the technique of labeling spread with it. For example, in the summer of 1963, in Columbus, Ohio, when some 40 persons picketed the governor's mansion asking for a fair-housing law, newspapers photographed *one* of them and said he had been called a communist by a state investigating committee more than a decade before.<sup>18</sup>

And after demonstrations against de facto school segregation in Chicago, a newspaper article charged some of the participants with communist connections. Again the source: HUAC files. Actually only one of the persons named had even been called before HUAC; the others were accused of such remote connections as having, with hundreds of other persons, attended public meetings sponsored by organizations other than the Communist Party which are listed as "subversive" by HUAC. Yet the headline on the article read: "Bare Reds' Infiltration in Local Demonstrations."<sup>19</sup>

#### AN UNDESERVED PRESTIGE

All this does not mean that HUAC and its counterparts alone *originated* the communist charge against integrationists. Civil-rights groups are challenging society as it is, and all through history those who want to keep things as they are have labeled advocates of change as "subversives," "outsiders," and "traitors." To the white man on the street in the South, the word "communist" means just those things. Thus, long before HUAC, Southerners who feared change were calling all who questioned the South's racial patterns communists.

What HUAC and the other committees have done, however, is to give weight to these reckless charges by placing upon them the stamp of approval of a government committee. They have

provided the official national and state legislative reports which can be quoted with immunity to libel. They have enabled the segregationist to tie his kite to the national issue of communism and thus pose, not as the defender of a corrupt Southern status quo, but as a guardian of the national security.

What are these committees that in this late hour in the 20th Century have given the segregationists such undeserved prestige?

### CHAPTER III: *The Committees and the Racists*

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), and the little HUAC's of the various states are part of a vast network of official "investigators" that has grown up in our midst over the last 30-odd years. They are committees of Congress and the state legislatures which investigate the thoughts, associations, and political activities of American citizens.

The first committee of this kind was a temporary one established by Congress in 1930 under the leadership of Rep. Hamilton Fish, a noted right-winger of that day. HUAC, as we know it, began in 1938; the Senate committee, SISS, was created in 1950; state committees have been set up by various legislatures at different times, but in the South chiefly since the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court against school segregation. The most publicized of the investigators was Sen. Joseph McCarthy, who captured headlines in the early 1950's. He ran roughshod over the rights of so many people that the U.S. Senate eventually censured him; but the kind of investigation which he personified *was not* repudiated, and today many people consider these investigations an accepted part of our way of life.<sup>1</sup>

The professed purpose of the investigations is to uncover and root out "communism."

Communism, according to *Webster's Dictionary*, is "a system of social organization in which goods are held in common," and more specifically in this period, "a program based on revolutionary Marxian socialism, . . ." its ultimate objective being a "classless society." Regardless of one's opinion of its theory or practice, it is a rather significant concept in the world today, since

over a third of the world's people live in communist countries and many more live in nations influenced by it; most intelligent people agree that it is a subject everyone should have knowledge of.

There is nothing in the record of HUAC and similar committees, however, to indicate that they have contributed anything to this kind of intelligent understanding. On the contrary, in their activities, the word "communist" has become a label, a hazy scare word with no precise meaning. The same is true of the word "subversive" as they use it.

HUAC alone has cited more than 600 organizations as "subversive"<sup>2</sup> and has investigated and compiled files on over one million Americans.<sup>3</sup> It has not said that all of these were "communists," but it has listed what it calls "citations" about them. A citation means some alleged connection, often remote, with an organization that HUAC or some similar committee has called "subversive." Often it is no more than a name on a letterhead that produces a citation. HUAC is careful to say in its reports that such citations are proof of nothing, but in the public mind they become verdicts of guilt and can cost a person his job, drive him out of his profession, and ruin his reputation. It was this type of listing against 59 NAACP leaders that a Southern congressman put into the *Congressional Record* to "prove" that the organization was subversive.

Thus, although HUAC claims to be defending the country, this widespread labeling has over the years actually weakened the nation. It has silenced many who would have been dissenters, made people fear to discuss controversial issues, ruined lives and careers of talented citizens, and rendered suspect organizations that protest against things as they are. Worst of all, it has embedded in the public consciousness the notion that there is something wrong and subversive about those who work for social change, and has thus stifled that element which is the lifeblood of democracy — citizen activity.

With all this, HUAC has produced only one piece of legislation, which is the function of a congressional committee. That legislation, the McCarran Act, simply writes into law the techniques of HUAC investigations and sets up government machinery for labeling organizations as subversive and un-American by a Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB). This legis-



lation is under challenge in the courts as unconstitutional, but already its listings are being used in the same way that HUAC files have been used against the integration movement.

For example, the newspaper articles attacking the Savannah Crusade for Voters, mentioned earlier, quoted not only HUAC files but SACB. This came about because the Crusade for Voters had been given free office space by the Savannah local of the Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, whose international union had been cited by SACB as "communist-infiltrated."<sup>14</sup> This citation is being appealed through the courts.

Hosea Williams, the Savannah leader, pointed out that so far as he was aware none of the international officers who were under attack had ever been in Savannah; he said that local-union members contributed the office space because they were the city's poorest Negro workers (mostly in fisheries and shrimp factories) and they had little money to give. Yet, because of the listing by a distant board, directed at other people entirely, a scare atmosphere was created which drove potential support away from the campaign to increase the number of Negro voters.

#### WHY DO THEY DO IT?

When Hamilton Fish was setting up his original congressional investigating committee in 1930, a number of congressmen opposed the whole idea. One was Rep. Fiorello La Guardia, later mayor of New York City, whose protests were prophetic. He predicted that there would soon be "investigators and agents provocateurs just as there were during the war — anyone who had a grudge would send in anonymous communications or make complaints against their neighbors, charging them with 'disloyalty' or being 'Un-American.' . . ." <sup>5</sup>

At that time the nation was in the depths of a great depression, and people everywhere were hungry. Rep. C. William Ramseyer, Iowa Republican, said: ". . . This Congress ought to create a committee to see what is wrong with our industrial and economic system which . . . permits the most distress for want of food and clothing and shelter. . . . Why do we not address ourselves to that problem? Oh, it is easier to go out on this wild-goose chase, to go witch hunting . . . and thereby it is hoped that the minds of the people will be shifted from the great economic problems. . . ." <sup>6</sup>

From that day to this, the committees have done exactly that. The more than three decades since then have been times of great social upheaval, not only in this country but all over the world. The world's have-nots, both here and abroad, have been coming into their own; those held in second-class citizenship are seeking a place in the sun. The committees, instead of meeting these challenges with constructive programs, have simply seen it all as a "subversive" plot.

A mere look at the numbers of citizens listed in the files of HUAC and the other committees (thousands in the files of state committees in addition to the more than a million in HUAC files) seems to be prima facie evidence that they could not possibly all be communists. Indeed, many are on record as being extremely anti-communist. What they all have in common, however, is that they are people who have worked in one way or another to bring about changes in society. Invariably, the investigators are people who have worked to keep things pretty much as they have been. They are men whose power depends on preventing any change in the political balance, and invariably their prime targets have been those people and organizations and movements which represent vital new political power.

Thus, the first main targets of HUAC when it was organized in 1938 were the CIO and the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, both of which were a basic challenge to the economic and political power structure that had previously prevailed in America, and both of which HUAC saw as a communist plot.

Given this pattern, it is easy to see why HUAC and its imitators have been the logical weapon for those politicians who see the civil-rights movement as a threat to their way of life – and to their political power.

### HUAC: HAVEN FOR RACISTS

Equating movements for racial equality with subversion goes back to the Fish Committee. It stated ominously that communists were spreading "revolutionary propaganda among the Negroes" and were "openly" advocating that "there must be complete social and racial equality between the whites and Negroes even to the extent of intermarriage . . ."<sup>7</sup>

This line has continued, and a study of the men who have led HUAC provides important clues as to why.

# MARTIN LUTHER KING....

## AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



PICTURED HERE (foreground) is Abner W. Barry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On the first row are Reverend Martin Luther King (2nd from right) of the Montgomery Boycott, Aubrey Williams (3rd from right) president of the Southern Conference Education Fund Inc. and Myles Horton (4th from Right) the director of Highlander Folk School. These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought 'ansion, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism".

*Above is a Ku Klux Klan leaflet purporting to show Dr. King at a Communist Training School. Actually the photo was taken at Highlander Folk School, which even a Tennessee legislative committee couldn't prove "subversive."*

The first chairman, from 1938 to 1945, was Rep. Martin Dies, traditional segregationist from Texas whose political position was threatened by movements to increase the number of Negro and poor-white voters. Dies appointed as first committee investigator one Edward F. Sullivan, a publicity specialist for Nazi groups in America.<sup>8</sup> Dies himself was one of the most ardent foes of the New Deal, opposing such legislation as minimum wage laws and suggesting that the way to cure unemployment was to deport the six million "aliens" he estimated were in this

country.<sup>9</sup> The first reports of HUAC under Dies followed the pattern of the Fish Committee in equating racial equality with subversion; Report No. 2 stated that "communism is a worldwide political organization advocating . . . (among other things) absolute social and racial equality."<sup>10</sup> J. A. Colescott, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, wrote in the *Fiery Cross* in November, 1939, that "the nation owes the Dies Committee a vote of thanks . . ."

Until 1945, HUAC was a temporary committee, which had to be reappointed by each Congress. The man who then pushed through a resolution to make it permanent was Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi, the power behind the Committee in subsequent years. Rankin, elected by 10,400 votes in a district with a population of over 200,000,<sup>11</sup> was a self-professed crusader for segregation and bragged that he was "not only an American but Anglo-Saxon."<sup>12</sup> He was obsessed with the belief that Negroes were happy in the South's segregated system until stirred by "communist agitators."<sup>13</sup>

He was known nationally for his outspoken anti-Semitism as well as his racist opinions. *Time* called him the "No. 1 Jew-baiter of the House."<sup>14</sup> He called Walter Winchell a "communistic little kike"<sup>15</sup> and once in a speech quoted in the *Congressional Record* referred to a delegation from New York as "that gang of communistic Jews and Negroes."<sup>16</sup> One of his great crusades was against FEPC, and he called his activities on this a "battle to save America for Americans."<sup>17</sup> Another pet project was to prevent mixing of white and Negro blood in blood banks, which he said was "one of those schemes of these fellow travelers to try to mongrelize this nation."<sup>18</sup>

Another chairman of HUAC in the 1940's and early 1950's was Rep. John Wood of Georgia, also an ardent segregationist elected by 6 per cent of the eligible voters in his district.<sup>19</sup> When asked about the Ku Klux Klan, he said "The Klan is an old American tradition, like illegal whiskey selling."<sup>20</sup>

The chairmanship of HUAC was assumed in 1963 by Rep. Edwin Willis of Louisiana, who led the Southern opposition to the civil rights bill in Congress in 1964.<sup>21</sup> He had presided at HUAC hearings where Southern integrationists were summoned to Atlanta in 1958. Soon thereafter he was re-elected to Congress, like most Southern lawmakers, without Republican opposition

and by a relatively minute balloting — 8,962 votes, only a fraction of the normal vote in congressional districts elsewhere in the nation.

Taking over as vice-chairman of HUAC under Willis was Rep. William Tuck of Virginia. According to reports from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, his is a district where the percentage of white persons registered to vote runs two to three times higher than the percentage among Negroes; and in seven of his 13 counties, Negro registration is less than 20 per cent of its potential.

Tuck was an architect of Virginia's now discredited massive resistance to school integration. When told that some parts of the state wanted to desegregate, Tuck said, "If they won't go along with us, I say make 'em."<sup>22</sup> On June 10, 1963, in Danville, Va., police used fire hoses and night sticks to break up a demonstration against segregation and injured 47 people.<sup>23</sup> The next day Tuck wired the mayor of Danville and commended him for the "forthright manner" in which the demonstration was handled. Tuck promised to stand behind the mayor "100 per cent."<sup>24</sup>

The other chairmen of HUAC have been Northerners. Rep. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, who served from 1947 to 1949, later went to jail for conspiracy to defraud the government. From 1953 to 1955 the chairman was Rep. Harold Velde of Illinois. His attitudes were indicated when he opposed legislation for mobile library service in rural areas because, he said, "the basis of communism and socialistic influence is education of the people:"<sup>25</sup> From 1955 until his death in 1963, Rep. Francis Walter of Pennsylvania was chairman.

Ironically, a national scandal which finally established definite links between HUAC and organized racism in America occurred not while a Southerner headed the Committee but during the regime of Walter. In 1960, two widely respected newspapers, the *York, Pa., Gazette & Daily*, and the *Washington Post*, revealed that HUAC personnel were closely linked to professional racists. These papers reported that Richard Arens, then staff counsel for HUAC at a salary of \$16,000 a year, was drawing another \$3,000 a year as consultant on a project designed to show that Negroes are genetically "inferior." The papers also disclosed that Rep. Francis Walter, who was HUAC chairman at the time,

was a member of a committee connected with this project.<sup>26</sup>

The project was the work of one Wycliffe Draper of New York City, a multi-millionaire. Draper, the newspapers disclosed, was making grants for scientific research and many reputable scientists turned down his grants. One of them told the *Gazette & Daily*:

"He (Draper) did not really know any genetics himself and was a racist of the usual type. He wished to prove simply that Negroes were inferior to other people and wished to promote some program to send them all to Africa."

Two committees of a foundation set up by Draper dispensed the grants, the newspapers reported. Arens worked for one of them; he told a reporter that he served as a consultant channeling research funds into certain aspects of "genetics and immigration." Walter was a member of the same committee. The *Gazette & Daily* said:

'... it seems clear that the consultants and two committees suggesting and approving recipients were set up to forestall further rebuffs from scientists who turned down Draper's offers."

After these reports, Arens was removed as committee counsel and given another job in Washington.<sup>27</sup> But none of the cases of civil-rights advocates and others on whose "Americanism" he had sat in judgment were ever reopened, and Walter never explained his own Draper connections.

No wonder that when HUAC was fighting for its appropriation from Congress in 1963 its most vocal support came from Southern congressmen. After a long period when virtually no congressmen dared raise their voices in opposition to the Committee, this was the year when 20 voted against the appropriation and only 13 actually spoke on the House floor in support of it; except for members of the Committee, all but two of these 13 were Southerners.

One of the most ardent was Rep. Albert Watson. He is from a South Carolina district where, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, five out of nine counties have Negro majorities but where white registration runs from 65 to 100 per cent, whereas Negro registration is as low as .8 per cent of potential in one county. The HUAC appropriation was necessary, Watson said, as a means of "preserving our way of life."<sup>28</sup>

## AND WHAT ABOUT SISS?

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) was established by the late Sen. Patrick McCarran, who became its first chairman. He and Representative Walter authored the McCarran-Walter Act, which favors immigration into the United States of light-skinned people from northwestern Europe and limits those with darker skins from elsewhere. The next chairman of SISS was Sen. William Jenner of Indiana, a strong supporter of Senator Joseph McCarthy and a leading proponent of anti-labor legislation.

But for most of its life, since 1955, the chairmen of SISS has been Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Eastland is the personification of segregation and has called the whole desegregation effort "a plot of a few agitators."<sup>29</sup> Owner of a huge plantation in the Mississippi Delta, he is elected to the Senate from a state where discriminatory laws and various forms of intimidation keep all but 5 per cent of the Negroes from voting.<sup>30</sup> He has accused the U.S. Supreme Court of being "brain-washed by left-wing pressure groups."<sup>31</sup> Soon after the court's decision against school segregation, he told a White Citizens Council meeting in Mississippi that "you are not obligated to obey the decisions of any court which is plainly fraudulent."<sup>32</sup>

When Eastland, as chairman of the Senate committee which controlled civil-rights bills, refused to hold hearings, he declared on a television program: "... They accuse me of violating their rights and violating the law. Now what is the fact? I am just as guilty as they said I was."<sup>33</sup>

Eastland, like the chairman of HUAC, was disclosed as a member of one of the committees charged with dispensing the grants of Wycliffe Draper.<sup>34</sup>

• • • • •

These are the men who have led the Senate and House investigating committees. Other congressmen have been members of these committees, but the men described here have set the policy, provided the direction, and been the spokesmen. Clearly, they are the kind of men who will be out of office when the civil-rights movement succeeds in its goal of changing the political face of the South and revitalizing the North. Obviously, they

have been determined to do everything in their power to guarantee that the movement does not become that strong.

#### CHAPTER IV: *The Record of Attack*

The first major assault by HUAC on the civil-rights movement occurred in the 1940's when it attacked the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW).

Organized in 1938, SCHW was an expression of a great liberal upsurge in the South, uniting Negro and white Southerners for the first time in this century. It was essentially a New Deal organization which brought together Southern supporters of Franklin D. Roosevelt's program. It advocated repeal of poll taxes, an end to the white primary, integration of public transportation, fair employment practices, support for the CIO, and aid to small farmers.<sup>1</sup>

The organization was first attacked by HUAC under Dies, as part of his general assault on the New Deal. A 1947 HUAC report then charged that SCHW was not really interested in human welfare but only in furthering the aims of the Communist Party.<sup>2</sup> Walter Gellhorn, Columbia Law School professor, writing in the *Harvard Law Review* of October, 1947, analyzed this report in detail and wrote:

"This report demonstrates not that the Southern Conference is a corrupt organization but that the Committee (HUAC) has been either intolerably incompetent or designedly intent upon publicizing misinformation."<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, this 1947 report on SCHW continued to be an official document of the U.S. Congress and thus highly quotable and libel-proof. It continues today as the basis of attack on the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which started as the educational wing of SCHW and, after SCHW went out of existence, continued as an independent organization to bring white and Negro southerners together to end segregation.

The report on SCHW is also the basis for attack on many individuals in the South and, through them, various other organizations to which they belong, for example the NAACP, human-relations councils, etc. This technique was used, for instance, in 1959 hearings before a committee of the Mississippi legisla-



ture, where it was claimed that these organizations had "interlocking directorates" and such moderates as Hodding Carter were labelled "communist."<sup>4</sup>

The 1947 report on SCHW also provided material for an attack on SCEF by Senator Eastland in 1954. White officials of the organization were summoned to hearings before SISS in New Orleans, all testified that they were not communists, but, despite this, Eastland issued a report saying the purpose of SCEF was to promote communism in the South. His major evidence: the fact that SCEF grew out of SCHW and HUAC had so labeled SCHW in the 1940's.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequent major forays by HUAC and SISS into the South took place in North Carolina, 1956;<sup>6</sup> Memphis,<sup>7</sup> and New Orleans,<sup>8</sup> 1956 and 1957; and Atlanta, 1958.<sup>9</sup> The targets were individuals rather than organizations, but these were almost invariably people working for civil rights; a pall of public suspicion was cast over those who might have known them, the organizations they supported, and the civil-rights movement generally.

For example, in the North Carolina hearings, one target was a former president of NAACP youth councils for the state, Nathaniel Bond. In Atlanta, part of the attack was aimed at Carl Braden, field organizer for SCEF, who was already under attack as a "subversive" in Kentucky after he helped a Negro to buy a home in a segregated neighborhood. The latter episode had led to his conviction on a sedition charge in a Kentucky court, with the help of nine professional witnesses provided to the state by HUAC.<sup>10</sup>

On another occasion, when HUAC was sitting in Ohio, it summoned all the way from Nashville, Tenn., Lee Lorch, a white man who had just attempted to enroll his child in a previously all-Negro school in support of the spirit of the 1954 Supreme Court decision.<sup>11</sup> Later testimony before a Louisiana investigating committee showed that the summons had been issued after a clipping about the school incident was sent to a professional witness for HUAC.<sup>12</sup>

As a result Lorch was forced to leave Nashville. He and his family were living in Little Rock when the school crisis developed there in 1957. Mrs. Lorch then received national publicity because she openly befriended the young Negroes who were

hounded by a mob as they tried to enter Central High School. Immediately thereafter, she was summoned to appear before Eastland at SISS hearings in Memphis.<sup>13</sup>

Eastland had previously paid another visit to New Orleans for hearings in 1956. A journalist observing them commented that "none of the proceedings served any purpose except to provide segregationist groups with a weapon to intimidate the city's growing forces of decency."<sup>14</sup>

### THE INDIRECT ATTACK

These were direct attacks. Even more damaging, perhaps than their direct attack on integrationist groups have been HUAC's and SISS's indirect attacks. This has been accomplished through the feeding of material from HUAC and SISS files to Southern state agencies and to private segregationist groups.

It would be almost impossible for a person to have done anything constructive to right the world's wrong and *not* have a "citation" in HUAC files. These huge files are available to any member of Congress and through them to various individuals, organizations, and state officials. The helter-skelter citations thus become lethal smear weapons in the hands of segregationists, both official and unofficial.

### BUSH-LEAGUE INVESTIGATIONS:

#### THE STATE COMMITTEES

Regular users of HUAC and SISS files are the various investigating committees in the Southern states which sprang up after 1954. These committees have had various names — from the Legal Educational Advisory Committee established in Mississippi in 1955 to the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice in Virginia to the more open copying of the HUAC name in Louisiana's Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. But all have similar aims, chiefly to preserve segregation, and their method is to pounce upon those who oppose it. Sometimes the same function is performed by a state sovereignty commission, and some states — Mississippi, for example — have had both a sovereignty commission and a committee. In others, a state attorney general has himself performed much the same function.

In 1958, J. B. Matthews, habitual professional witness for

HUAC and SISS, appeared before the Florida committee. Matthews had been repudiated by even Senator McCarthy in the early 50's after he said that 7,000 Protestant ministers in the U.S.A. were supporters of the communist cause. He told the Florida legislators:

“Communists or communist influence were directly involved in every major race incident in the past four years since the Supreme Court ‘legislation’ on the subject of integration.” (An obvious reference to the 1954 school decision.)<sup>15</sup>

Thus did Matthews verbalize the approach of all the state investigating agencies in this period – and then he proceeded to give them ammunition.

He presented to the Florida committee a 99-page list of alleged communist “citations” of 145 national leaders of the NAACP, and he drew on HUAC hearings to document his charge that such people as Mrs. Rosa Parks, who started the Montgomery bus protest, were communist-inspired.<sup>16</sup>

This material was then published in two pamphlets by the Georgia Education Commission, the equivalent of an investigating committee in that state.<sup>17</sup> This commission fell into silence after a scandal over its alleged involvement in state elections,<sup>18</sup> but this and other of its publications continue to circulate throughout the South and to be widely quoted.

Matthews again testified about the “subversive” nature of the integration movement before the 1959 hearings of the Mississippi committee, where he labeled not only SCEF and the NAACP but the Southern Regional Council and its related human relations councils.<sup>19</sup>

The legislative committee in Louisiana got into the act in 1957. Its star witness was Manning Johnson, Negro ex-Communist who was a professional witness for HUAC. The U.S. Supreme Court had found his testimony possibly untruthful and had remanded for rehearing a case in which he testified, but the Louisiana legislators appeared to accept his word as gospel. His chief target was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., whom he called a “dastardly misleader” taking Negroes “down the road to bloodshed and violence. . . .”<sup>20</sup> He placed the communist label on SCEF, SRC, and the NAACP, agreeing with a legislator that the “so-called communist Trojan horse is stabled today within the NAACP.”<sup>21</sup>

The Georgia Education Commission printed this testimony too.<sup>22</sup> And material from the Florida hearings, as well as from SISS and HUAC, eventually turned up in reports of the Virginia committee.<sup>23</sup>

Johnson and Matthews also appeared at hearings of the Arkansas Legislative Council with much the same testimony. These hearings made headlines over the South, but the studiously objective *Southern School News* noted that the links shown between communism and Arkansas were somewhat “second-hand” — consisting mainly of “showing that some members of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the NAACP have been cited as having communist connections and that these persons have associates in Arkansas.”<sup>24</sup>

In 1961, the General Investigating Committee of the Texas Legislature issued a widely publicized report charging that racial “agitation” in Texas is “frequently directed by persons taking orders from Moscow.” The *Texas Observer* commented that “the report stops short of details in support of such allegations.”<sup>25</sup>

The attack on Highlander Folk School was started by the Georgia Education Commission, which in late 1957 published a brochure charging various people associated with Highlander with communist connections. The brochure was based almost exclusively on material from HUAC and state agencies. Bruce Bennett, attorney general of Arkansas, who had pushed the anti-communist investigations of his state and who had proposed a “Southern Plan for Peace” consisting of measures to destroy the NAACP, then suggested to the Tennessee legislature that it “investigate” Highlander. The Tennessee lawmakers obligingly set up a committee, Bennett came over (HUAC files in hand) to testify, and a circus ensued.

It was all very flamboyant, but the *Southern School News* reported that the Tennessee committee “turned up no concrete evidence of subversion.” The truth, however, never caught up with the lie. A hysterical atmosphere had been created, and the school was later closed by court action on unrelated charges.<sup>26</sup>

A new Highlander Center has since been founded in Knoxville, Tenn., where a daily newspaper continues to attack it with charges from HUAC files and to question the loyalty of all who have a connection with the center — for example, the director

of the Presbyterian student center, which has been the gathering place for student groups opposing segregation.<sup>27</sup> When Highlander began building a new conference center in the mountains near Knoxville, it too was burned, and those building it were arrested.<sup>28</sup>

As the various little state HUAC's hold their hearings, they issue their own reports, which then also become "authoritative" sources and are in turn quoted by agencies of other states—or by the congressional committees as further "evidence" of the subversive nature of the integrationists.

### GRIST FOR VIGILANTE MILLS

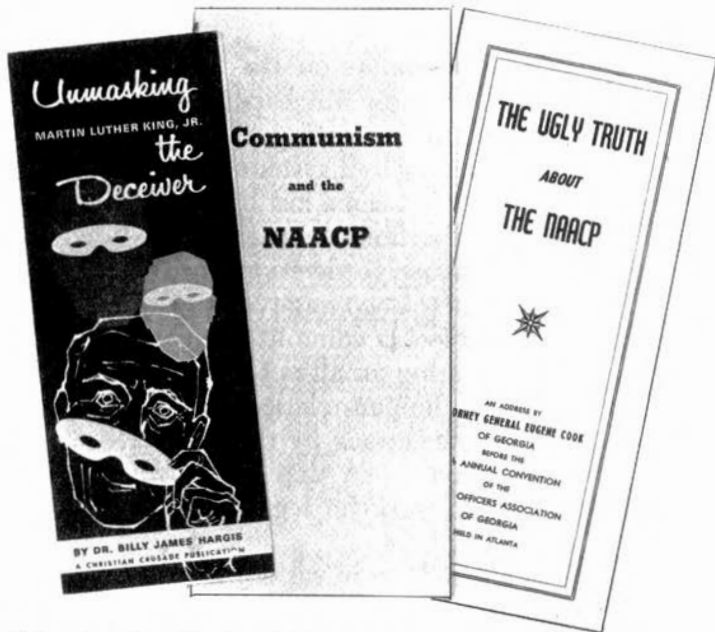
Among those who exploit this material are private segregationist groups and segregationist newspapers. To them, charges of federal and state committees are priceless. First it sounds authoritative to cite a government report. Secondly, if a publication or a speaker quotes a congressional or state committee report, the victim cannot sue for libel with any hope of success.

One of the most quoted documents in the war against the NAACP is a little booklet, "The Ugly Truth About the NAACP." This is a 1955 speech by Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia, printed by the White Citizens Council. Cook quotes from the files of HUAC and SISS to "prove" that the NAACP is communist and that SCEF, SRC, and other interracial groups in the South are communist fronts. He urges all good Georgians to withdraw from these organizations and states the continuing line of the segregationists:

"The issue involved," he says, "is not one of race but of subversion. . . ." <sup>29</sup>

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were not included in Cook's attack; they came into existence later, but the same method has subsequently been used against them and against CORE as it became more active in the South after 1960.

Widely distributed in 1963 in an effort to discredit Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a picture of King at what was captioned a "communist training school." Actually this photograph showed King at the 25th anniversary celebration of Highlander Folk School, the institution which even a Tennessee legislative committee could not prove to be "subversive." But this has not kept



*Typical Literature from Dr. Hargis' Christian Crusade, the Citizens Council of Greenwood, Miss., and the Georgia Committee on Education.*

the vigilante groups from circulating and printing the picture and constantly saying that the school – and King because he was there – was communist.<sup>30</sup>

Similar material is used by the American Nazi Party, the Hargis Crusade, and the Ku Klux Klan.

A new technique that has recently emerged is the use of HUAC-documented newspaper articles as the basis for legal action against integrationists by local officials.

For example, when the Danville, Va., affiliate of SCLC launched direct-action protests against segregation in 1963, local newspapers began a series of attacks charging that communists were behind the movement; authority for the charges were citations of HUAC and the Florida investigating committee. Later, when city officials went to court to stop the demonstrations by injunction, the clippings of these articles were presented as "evidence" that the demonstrations were communist-inspired.<sup>31</sup>

### THE TIMING IS CAREFUL

A survey of the timing of various hearings before investigating committees gives a clue to their purpose. For example:

- The original HUAC report on the Southern Conference came just as that organization was experiencing a rapid post-World War II growth and projecting a sweeping program for change in the South's segregated system. The subsequent Eastland attack on SCEF in 1954 came just before the U.S. Supreme Court decision against school segregation. Knowledgeable people anticipated a favorable decision that year, and SCEF was preparing a program to encourage Southwide compliance.<sup>32</sup>

- The attack of the Florida committee on the NAACP came as that group was mounting an all-out offensive against school segregation. The state's human-relations council was attacked at that time too.<sup>33</sup> A later attack by the Florida committee on SCEF (1961) developed when that group was organizing a state-wide committee to work for legislation favorable to integration.<sup>34</sup>

- The Louisiana committee, in various forms, has been active several times. Its hearings with Manning Johnson were held as liberal elements began to speak out after the silence which descended in 1954.<sup>35</sup> In 1958, the committee investigated college professors after 66 of them signed a petition against closing integrated schools.<sup>36</sup> In 1961, it went after academic people again when a Louisiana State University professor called actions of the legislators on segregation a national scandal.<sup>37</sup> Legislators said he "must be a communist."<sup>36</sup> Meantime, the committee had held a 1960 probe of the sit-in movement.<sup>38</sup>

- The Virginia committee was first active when Negroes and a few scattered whites raised their voices against the massive-resistance laws. David Scull, a white Quaker who refused to give in to the committee, was cited for contempt; he later won an appeal of his case in the U.S. Supreme Court.<sup>39</sup> The committee, under a different name, emerged again to attack local leaders of the SCLC when that group challenged the status quo throughout the state.<sup>40</sup>

- The attack on Highlander came when Southern segregationists were frightened by the new upsurge set off by the Montgomery bus protest of 1956; they felt that many leaders of the new movement were being trained at Highlander.

- Alabama threatened to set up a committee after the Freedom Rides hit the state in 1961 and legislators saw a "communist plot." Saner lawmakers staved off the bill to establish a

committee that year. But in 1963, after the Birmingham upsurge frightened the segregationists again, the committee was established.<sup>41</sup>

And so on. Almost every attack by these committees has come when there was some new upsurge of activity against segregation or when such a move was brewing.

### STICKS AND STONES . . .

“Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words can never hurt me.”

For a long time, the various committees attacked only with words. The words did hurt and do damage but the march toward integration could not be stopped.

So the segregationists who run the committees became more anxious. They began to move beyond the realm of words.

In 1961, agents of the Virginia committee burst into the offices of three civil rights attorneys in Norfolk (Len Holt, Ed Dawley, and Joe Jordan) and demanded all their records. The attorneys refused to turn the records over, told the agents to get out, went to court to enjoin the attack, and eventually won.<sup>42</sup>

Then in 1963, the Louisiana committee did not bother to ask for records. It took them.

The legislators obtained warrants for the arrest of James Dombrowski, executive director of SCEF; Ben Smith, a civil-rights attorney and SCEF treasurer, and Bruce Waltzer, his law partner. The committee sent city and state police to the offices and homes of the men. Police broke down a door with sledge hammers, raided the premises, confiscated all records and personal papers, and arrested the men. The three were charged with violation of the state's subversive activities and communist control act.<sup>43</sup>

Three weeks later a state judge in New Orleans dismissed these charges, saying there was no evidence to support them and that the raids had been illegal.<sup>43</sup> Refusing to give up, the legislators then took their accusations to a grand jury and got formal charges against the three men filed anyway. The three were not charged with being communists but with membership in SCEF and, in the case of the two attorneys, the National Lawyers Guild, which the state claims are “subversive” organizations.<sup>45</sup> Their “proof” of this subversion: the fact that the



organizations have been cited either by the Eastland subcommittee or by HUAC, the only "proof" required to show that an organization is "subversive" under the Louisiana law.<sup>46</sup>

Meantime, the Louisiana committee made photocopies of all of SCEF's records and turned the originals over to Senator Eastland and his subcommittee. SCEF went to court to try to stop Eastland from taking the records. While this action was pending, Eastland secretly ordered them taken over the state line into Mississippi and then to Washington.<sup>47</sup>

Thus the material which had long flowed from federal to state committee was now moving the other way; the Louisiana committee fed names and records back to Senator Eastland, laying the basis for more reckless charges against more people, and more citations to be shuttled back again to the state committees and private segregationist groups.

### THE BITTER FRUITS

No wonder there is a widespread "feeling" that there is something subversive about the civil-rights movement.

This has deterred some Negroes, but its greatest effect has been on white people. Perhaps this is because their families and friends are likely to believe the communist charges, whereas it is pretty hard to convince Negroes that the freedom movement is a subversive plot. So the net result has been to keep whites out of action, leave Negroes alone on the front lines, and sometimes to encourage them to suspect the motives of the few whites who are active. Thus the gap has been widened between black and white.

The atmosphere created by the investigating committees has also set rigid limits on where the movement can go.

This is because the same committee investigations that have cast suspicion on civil-rights advocates have also spread the notion that anyone who questions existing economic and political patterns is somehow disloyal and Un-American.

Yet more and more active workers for civil rights are deciding that if changes in our racial relationships are to go beyond integration at lunch counters, there are going to have to be some drastic changes in our society.

Robert Moses, young SNCC leader in Mississippi, has summed it up this way:



*A Hampton, Virginia demonstration in 1963.*

“The Negro seeks his own place within the existing institutional framework, but to accommodate him society will have to modify its institutions — and in many cases to make far-reaching, fundamental changes. . . . The struggle for jobs for Negroes forces questions about the ability of the economy to provide jobs for everyone within our present socio-economic structure; lack of legal counsel for Negroes brings into focus the general lack of legal counsel for all the poor. . . .

“The function of the white American is not so much to prepare the Negro for entrance into the larger society — to clean him up, straightjacket and necktie him, make him presentable for the supper table — but to prepare society for the change it must make to include Negroes. . . .”

And that, concludes Moses, means that “in the coming years, it will be more and more crucial to discuss, debate. . . . Movements for social change require freedom of speech and association. . . .”<sup>48</sup>

But freedom to debate, discuss, and question is exactly what

we don't have in America today, and we won't have it as long as HUAC and its imitators are looking over our shoulders.

## CHAPTER V: *The Brave Will Be Free*

We don't have to continue to tolerate these committees and their works.

We have in the U.S. Constitution the weapon to put an end to them. It is the First Amendment to that Constitution, the cornerstone of what we call our Bill of Rights.

The First Amendment says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

HUAC and similar committees violate that amendment because, through HUAC, Congress has in fact limited free speech just as surely as if it had passed a special law to do so. If an American has to fear that speaking his mind, joining an organization, or going to a meeting is going to lead to a summons or a committee listing that can ruin his life, obviously he is not free to speak, join, assemble, or petition.

Furthermore, since the First Amendment prohibits Congress from legislating in the fields of speech and association, Congress has no reason or right to investigate in those fields. Our Constitution gives Congress the power to investigate only for information it needs for legislative purposes, or to oversee the operation of government. Congress has no power whatsoever to oversee the thoughts and opinions of private citizens. Under our form of government, it is the business of the citizen to ask what members of Congress think and belong to, but under no circumstances does a congressman have a right to demand to know what a private citizen thinks or belongs to.

In recent test cases, a slim majority of five justices of the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld questioning by HUAC on the ground that it is necessary to give up some of our First Amendment freedoms to protect the security of the nation.

But a minority of four justices, Earl Warren, Hugo Black, William Douglas, and William Brennan, holds otherwise; they de-

clare that curtailment of the First Amendment is in itself a threat to the security of the country.<sup>1</sup> As Justice Douglas said: "Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us."<sup>2</sup>

Ever growing numbers of citizens are coming to this view and are speaking out in opposition to the investigating committees. When HUAC scheduled the hearings in Atlanta in 1958, 200 Southern Negro leaders signed an open letter to the U.S. House asking that the Committee stay out of the South.<sup>3</sup> From that action grew a new nationwide movement to abolish HUAC entirely. More than 30 national organizations, including most of the major civil-rights groups, and hundreds of distinguished citizens are on record in favor of abolition. Congress can abolish the Committee any time it wants to, and a National Committee to Abolish HUAC has come into existence to coordinate efforts to persuade it to do so.<sup>4</sup>

### TO MAKE REAL THE DREAM

The rights that are violated by HUAC are the same rights that are violated each time police arrest peaceful pickets and demonstrators — or torture them with cattle prods as they have done in the Deep South. The right to picket and protest is also the right to speak, to assemble, to petition — the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

One reason we find so many violations of these rights today is that *all* of the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution have often been more dream than reality. White people readily forget that, but Negroes can never forget it, because they know that the dream was corrupted from the beginning by their enslavement.

Our Constitution, in its Bill of Rights, stated at the outset some of the loftiest ideals of freedom in the history of mankind. Yet this same Constitution gave official recognition to the institution of slavery and in fact designated the Negro slave as only three-fifths of a person.<sup>5</sup> It is this paradox that has corroded the heart of our society from the beginning.

Thus it is not surprising that the same forces that ignore the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to our Constitution, and seek to keep the Negro in a position of three-fifths citizenship, also

ignore the First Amendment and stifle the rights of free speech through which men can protest the denial of their citizenship rights.

On the other hand, those who seek to establish full citizenship for all must of necessity establish the right of free speech because this is the means of peaceful social change; this is the way to change society without violent revolution. We must establish this right with the police departments that turn high-powered fire hoses on peaceful demonstrators, and we must establish it before the legislative committees that label a man a traitor because he dissents. We must do this not just because freedom of speech is some abstract good we would enjoy, not something to have later like icing on the cake, but because it is a right we must have NOW as the key weapon in the struggle for full citizenship.

In the process, it may be that the civil-rights movement will establish this right as reality instead of dream for all Americans for the first time in our history.

### THE COURAGE TO BE FREE

But, some will ask, suppose some advocates of civil rights have really been communists? What if the committees have occasionally been correct in their identifications?

We have seen how attempts to eliminate this possibility have crippled democracy, weakened movements for social change, and debilitated work for such positive good as integration. Therefore it is time we took a long, hard look at these questions.

The basic decision each of us must make is what we mean when we talk about freedom and a free society. For many it means that a citizen is free to hold and express, without reprisal from his Government, *any* idea — no matter what it is, and no matter how many other people disagree with him. In this view, only illegal acts can be punished in our society, and there is no such thing as an illegal thought. Supreme Court Justice Black has said this eloquently in one of his dissents:

“I cannot agree with the Court’s notion that First Amendment freedoms must be abridged in order to ‘preserve’ our country. That notion rests on the unarticulated premise that this Nation’s security hangs upon its power to punish people because of what they think, speak or write about. . . . I challenge this premise and deny that ideas can be proscribed under our Constitution.

I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices. The First Amendment means to me, however, that the only constitutional way our Government can preserve itself is to leave its people the fullest freedom to praise, criticize or discuss, as they see fit, all-governmental policies and to suggest, if they desire, that even its most fundamental postulates are bad and should be changed. . . . ”<sup>7</sup>

Justice Black says it’s a matter of whether we have the “courage to be free.”<sup>8</sup> If we followed his philosophy, communists would be free to function in our society just like anybody else. There would thus be no reason for them to work underground; they could express their beliefs openly and those who disagree could debate them openly. Under these circumstances, a debate about communism would be clearly that and a debate about segregation would be clearly that. There would be no reason for the two to get all mixed up in people’s minds. The indiscriminate use of the word “communist” as a scare word has been made possible because communists have, in effect, been outlawed in our society.

Outlawing an idea does not destroy it. It merely provides witches for a witch hunt and labels for labeling. HUAC has always objected to having its activities called a witch hunt, and Representative Walter once said: “The Salem witches were the product of pure imagination. But the Communist witches are plaguing the earth.”<sup>9</sup> Yet Walter was wrong, because communists until they are outlawed are just human beings — whom some may hate but who can be dealt with like other flesh-and-blood creatures. It is when communists (or any other group) are outlawed, cast into outer darkness, and set apart from the rest of the human race that they take on the unearthly quality of witches. They become, in the public mind, shadowy and ill-defined, the personification of evil and wrong. And people, in all their frailty, identify such proclaimed demons with anyone or any idea they fear and hate. To the business executive, that may be a labor leader; to the army general, it may be a pacifist, or perhaps mothers who fear the effects of fallout on their children; and to the segregationist, it most certainly is the integrationists.

Such labeling breeds fear, and such fear means a sterile and

silent society, and to those who follow Justice Black's philosophy it is this silence that is the real threat to the welfare and security of a democracy. We have seen what such an atmosphere has done to the potential of the integration movement.

If this be so, it would seem that a civil-rights group must ask itself whether it really helps its cause if it feeds this atmosphere by screening out those who are called communists. Whether the charge be true or false, the more pertinent questions would seem to be: What did the person do for or against civil rights? Did he support the aim and methods of the movement and the organization to which he belonged? If it is said that his participation in the movement did harm to the cause, was this because of some misconduct on his part? Or was it because of the attacks on him by government committees and private segregationist vigilantes? Was it because the atmosphere created by outlawing communists allowed the segregationists to use this label to try to destroy the integration movement? And if the harm derives from the atmosphere, what can be done to change it?

The summer of 1963 provided at least two good examples of how the civil-rights movement can handle the charges of communism in such a way as to make them go away and help change the atmosphere in the process.

One was the experience of the Cleveland, Ohio, CORE group. Just as hundreds of Cleveland citizens were preparing to join the August 28 March on Washington, a Cleveland newspaper published front-page headlines declaring that one of the local march organizers, a CORE leader, was an "Admitted Red."<sup>10</sup> Obviously, Cleveland segregationists expected this revelation to cripple Cleveland's participation in the March and to destroy the rising civil-rights activity in that city. If local CORE leadership had panicked, it might have.

Instead, however, a local CORE leader simply issued a statement saying that the organization asks only two questions of a prospective member: whether he believes completely in racial equality and whether he adheres unequivocally to nonviolence. "Every member is asked this," the statement said, "and we do not ask what his other affiliations are or have been."<sup>11</sup>

The Clevelanders' trip to Washington proceeded on schedule, undiverted. The red-baiting attacks died down, since no one had risen to the bait, and CORE in Cleveland continued strong

# THE PLAIN DEALER

122ND YEAR—NO. 131

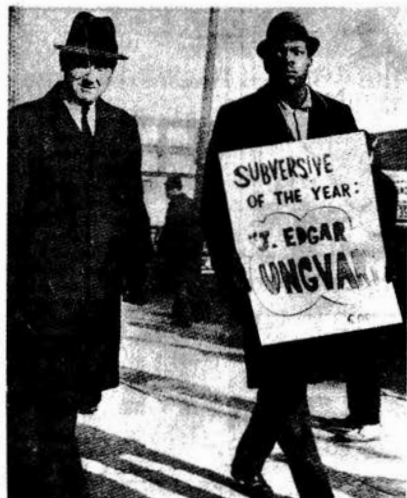
ESTABLISHED 1846

CLEVELAND, FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 16, 1963

68 PAGES

500 Superior Ave. N.  
West 14th St. at 4th St.

*CORE members picket in protest. Sgt. John J. Ungvary (left) had used HUAC files to impute previous Communist ties to five sit-in demonstrators. CORE members are shown picketing Ungvary and police sub-unit in Cleveland, Ohio.*



and thriving, concentrating on its program to end de facto segregation.

Simultaneously, Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was attempting to destroy the entire March on Washington by inserting in the Congressional Record charges that the chief March organizer Bayard Rustin, was red-tinged.<sup>12</sup> Newspapers made a great display of the charges, but other civil rights leaders, like those in Cleveland, refused to panic; they closed ranks around Rustin. One of the march leaders, A. Philip Randolph, brushed off suggestions that Rustin be removed from the leadership.<sup>13</sup>

On some occasions in the past some civil-rights forces *have* panicked when the opposition yelled red. It is perhaps noteworthy that these two instances when they did not were followed by a mass march that was the most successful venture in the history of the civil-rights movement in this country.

## WHAT WOULD IT MEAN?

This may be a clue to what it would mean to the civil-rights movement if HUAC and similar committees were abolished.



It would not mean that the battle against segregation was over, but it would mean more freedom to work toward the real objectives without getting caught up in side issues.

Segregationists would still cry "subversive," but their words would be denied the weight of government authority. Abolishing the committees would discredit their tainted reports. Then the words of the segregationists would be on even ground with those of the integrationists — a debate in the open market, as disagreements should always be in a democracy.

Thousands more, white and Negro, would appear on the picket lines, speaking out, demanding change, knowing that they might be attacked for their action but that they could not be effectively labeled traitors. American citizens would feel free again to take a critical look at their total society and, as Robert Moses suggested, "prepare it for the change it must make to include Negroes. . . ."

The silence of civilized whites in the South in the 1950's was not simply a Southern phenomenon. It was a part of the general silence in liberal America. It was produced by years of HUAC, McCarthy, and Senator Eastland; it produced a generation that grew up never knowing anything else.

It was Southern Negroes who finally broke through that pall of silence with their cry of Freedom Now, and suddenly the road seemed open to make democracy work. But even as the road opened, those who had imposed the silence before tried to close it again with the same old charges, the same old fears, the same old threats. Whether they are finally successful depends on each of us and the stand we take; for each of us, whether we live in the South or the North, whether we are black or white, contributes a bit to the atmosphere — for or against HUAC, for or against freedom, for or against democracy, for or against America.

## Reference Notes

### CHAPTER I

1. Atlanta Constitution, articles by Bill Shipp, July 22, 23, 24, and 25, 1963.
2. Governor Wallace said this on NBC-TV "Today" show Sept. 27, 1963. Printed on front page of Birmingham News same day.
3. "Must We Hate?" Atlantic, February, 1963.

### CHAPTER II

1. See notes under Chapter IV for sources on Highlander.
2. Congressional Record, May 25, 1961, pp. 8349-8363. On June 30, 1961, New York Times quoted head of Mississippi Highway Patrol as saying Freedom Rides were "directed, inspired and planned by known communists." The material cited by Eastland turned up in attack on CORE in July, 1963, White Sentinel and other publications.
3. Statement of facts attached to complaint filed in Federal Court by Clinton Movement and CORE, styled Collins vs. Jimmie Davis.
4. Congressional Record, July 29, 1963, pp. A-4785 - A-4815. Quotes from this were used in ad in Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Aug. 27, 1963, attacking March on Washington.
5. New York Times, July 13, 15, 16, and 17, 1963. Birmingham News, July 15, 1963.
6. Hargis pamphlet published by Christian Crusade, Tulsa 2., Okla.
7. Rockwell Report, Vol. II, No. 20, Aug. 1, 1963, published by American Nazi Party.
8. Birmingham News, July 26, 1963.
9. Richmond News Leader, Sept. 27, 1963. Editorial reprinted in Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, Oct. 1, 1963, and in Birmingham News, Oct. 5, 1963.

10. See notes under Chapter IV for sources on SCEF raid.
11. Atlanta Journal & Constitution, Feb. 2, 1964.
12. Atlanta Constitution, Feb. 4, 1964.
13. An effort has been made in this pamphlet to identify the source of every factual statement, but the source of this one about the Georgia Tech students must remain anonymous because of possible reprisals. The only other instance of this is covered in Note 14 under Chapter IV. The fact that these two people (and many others whom we could have quoted in this manner) must yet remain anonymous is in a sense documentation of all this pamphlet says, and helps to explain why it was published.
14. New York Times, Feb. 17, 1964.
15. For Danville, Va., Danville Register, July 17 and Aug. 28, 1963, Danville Bee, March 27, 1963; for Jackson, Miss., Jackson Clarion-Ledger, Sept. 1, 1962; Jackson Daily News, Aug. 31, and Sept. 1, 3, and 4, 1962, when red-baiting coincided with start of NAACP efforts to integrate Jackson schools. For Birmingham, see Birmingham News, Oct. 5 and 6, and Nov. 4 and 10, 1962. These are only a few of the many instances of the red scare. One especially interesting case occurred in Lynchburg, Va.; there the cry of red began just after a campaign got started to save the life of a Negro sentenced to die. See Lynchburg Daily Advance, March 29 and May 20 and 22, 1963; Lynchburg News, March 30 and May 22 and 23, 1963.
16. Birmingham News, July 21 and 24, 1963.
17. Birmingham News, Aug. 17, 1963; letters column Aug. 21 and 25, 1963.

18. Columbus Evening Dispatch, Aug. 19, 1963; similar incident reported in Columbus Evening Dispatch, July 12, 1963.
19. Chicago's American, Sept. 6, 1963.
14. Current Biography, 1944, p. 556.
15. Congressional Record, floor speech, Feb. 21, 1944.
16. Congressional Record, July 1, 1943.
17. Congressional Record, March 13, 1945.

### CHAPTER III

1. More detailed information on HAUC may be found in: The Dies Committee, by Father August R. Ogden (Catholic University Press, 1945); The House Committee on Un-American Activities, by Robert K. Carr (Cornell University Press, 1952; The Un-Americans, by Frank Donner (Ballantine Books, 1961); A Quarter-Century of Un-American, Edited by Charlotte Pomerantz (Marzani & Munsell, 1963).
2. Guide to Subversive Organizations, Revised Dec., 1961. Subversive listings keenly analyzed in study by Religious Freedom Committee, 118 East 28th St., New York, N.Y.
3. The House Committee on Un-American Activities by Robert K. Carr (Cornell Univ. Press, 1952) p. 253.
4. Atlanta Constitution, July 22, 1963.
5. Congressional Record, June 13, 1930, pp. 10652-10656.
6. Congressional Record, May 19, 1930, p. 9392, during debate on resolution establishing Fish Committee.
7. Majority Report of Fish Committee, Investigation of Communist Propaganda, Jan. 17, 1931, pp. 13 and 32. (Library of Congress Serial No. 9331.)
8. Hate Groups and the Un-American Activities Committee, by David Wesley, published by Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, p. 6.
9. Current Biography, 1940, p. 241.
10. House Committee on Un-American Activities Report No. II, Jan. 3, 1939, p. 12.
11. A Quarter Century of Un-American, p. 31.
12. Congressional Record, Nov. 5, 1942, p. 8717.
13. Congressional Record, April 7, 1943; Oct. 17, 1943, p. 8301.
18. On floor of House, May, 1942, quoted in Current Biography, 1944, p. 557.
19. A Quarter Century of Un-American, p. 47.
20. Civil Liberties in the Atomic Age, Robert E. Cushman, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Jan., 1947.
21. Associated Press dispatch, Jan. 16, 1964. Congressional Record, Jan. 16, 1964, p. A-265, Willis statement at committee hearing on civil-rights bill inserted in record by Rep. Howard Smith, Virginia.
22. Virginia's Massive Resistance, by Benjamin Muse (Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 23.
23. Danville Register, June 11, 1963; New York Times, June 12, 1963; Brief for appellants filed in U.S. Court of Appeals for Fourth Circuit, Baines et al. vs. Danville city officials.
24. Danville Register, June 11, 1963.
25. Speech to House of Representatives in March, 1950, quoted in The Un-Americans, p. 35.
26. All materials on Draper grants in this and following paragraphs from York Gazette and Daily, March 4 and 9, 1960; Washington Post, March 13, 1963; Nation, May 14, 1963. Direct quotes from March 4 Gazette and Daily.
27. York Gazette and Daily, Aug. 23, 1960; Washington Evening Star, Aug. 24, 1960.
28. Speech to House of Representatives, Feb. 27, 1963.
29. The Segregationists, by James Graham Cook (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 302.
30. Report on Voting, 1961, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 31.
31. Southern Patriot, June, 1954.

32. Speech at rally of White Citizens Council at Senatobia, Miss., Aug. 20, 1955, quoted in Southern Patriot, Sept., 1955.
33. TV program, Sept. 6, 1954, quoted in Southern Patriot, Sept., 1955.
34. York Gazette & Daily, March 4, 1960; Washington Post, March 13, 1960.

#### CHAPTER IV

1. Best and most authentic record of the program and activities of Southern Conference for Human Welfare in its early days is its own publications at that time, principally the Southern Patriot, published monthly from 1942 on.
2. Report No. 592, Committee on Un-American Activities, June 16, 1947.
3. Harvard Law Review, Vol. LX, No. 8, Oct., 1947.
4. State Times (Jackson), Nov. 19, 1959; Clarion-Ledger, Nov. 19, 1959; The Citizens Council, Nov., 1959.
5. Report of Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on 1954 hearings in New Orleans, quoted in The Segregationists, p. 295.
6. Investigation of Communist Activities in the North Carolina Area, Report by HUAC, 1956.
7. Communism in the Mid-South, Report by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1957.
8. Report of Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on 1956 hearings in New Orleans; Investigation of Communist Activity in the New Orleans, La., Area, by HUAC, 1957.
9. Communist Infiltration and Activities in the South, HUAC report, 1958.
10. Nathaniel Bond testimony pp. 3537-3551, report of North Carolina hearings; Carl Braden testimony pp. 2667-2681, report on Atlanta hearings; facts in Braden case in Louisville are in brief by Attys. Louis Lusky and Robert Zollinger in Braden vs. Kentucky, Kentucky Court of Appeals, 1955.
11. The Afro-American, April 28, 1956.
12. Public Hearings, State of Louisiana, Joint Legislative Committee, March 6-9, 1957. Part II, p. 232.
13. Southern School News, December, 1957.
14. A responsible journalist in New Orleans, who, like the source in Note 13, Chapter II, must remain anonymous — a mute testimonial to the problem this pamphlet discusses.
- 15 and 16. Associated Press dispatch, Feb. 10, 1958; Southern School News, March, 1958; The Segregationists, p. 300.
17. Communism and the NAACP, two booklets by Georgia Education Commission.
18. Southern School News, Aug., 1958.
19. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, Nov. 19, 1959.
20. Public Hearings, State of Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee, Part II, p. 204.
21. Ibid, p. 214.
22. Ten Directors of the NAACP, Associations with Communist Fronts, by Georgia Education Commission.
23. Report of Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, to Virginia General Assembly, 1962. Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Jan. 10, 1962.
24. Southern School News, Jan., 1959.
25. The Texas Observer, Aug. 18, 1961.
26. Excellent accounts of the early charges and hearings regarding Highlander are in Southern School News for March and April, 1959. Two of the few over-all summaries of entire Highlander case appeared in York Gazette and Daily, Sept. 30, 1963, and in the Southern Patriot, Sept., 1963.
27. Knoxville Journal, April 30 and May 1, 1963.
28. Knoxville Journal, June 21, 22, 24, 25, and 27, 1963.
29. The Ugly Truth About the NAACP, speech by Eugene Cook to Peace Officers Association in Georgia, published by Citizens Council, Greenwood, Miss.
30. An example of how this picture was used in the Southern press was in

- Danville, Va., where at the height of demonstrations, the Register printed it across five columns at the top of front page, July 14, 1963. During demonstrations against segregation in Atlanta in the winter of 1963-64, leaflets carrying this picture were distributed by United Klans of America. This was sponsorship name which appeared on the leaflet.
31. Affidavit filed by Attys. J. L. Williams and Len Holt in support of application for a delay of the trials (application was granted).
  32. Discussion of anticipated Supreme Court decision against school segregation appears in Southern Patriot, Nov. and Dec., 1953, and Jan., 1954. SCEF had been advocating end to school segregation for many years; major study on subject was printed as a special issue of Southern Patriot, Oct., 1947.
  33. Southern School News, Feb. and March, 1958.
  34. Report of Florida Legislative Investigation Committee to 1961 Session of Legislature.
  35. The Segregationists, p. 297-299.
  36. Southern School News, Aug., 1958; New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 13, 1958.
  37. Southern School News, Jan., 1961.
  38. Jackson Daily News, Sept. 22, 1960.
  39. Swarthmore Alumni News, Oct., 1959.
  40. Southern School News, Oct., 1961.
  41. Montgomery Advertiser, July 12, 1961, and Birmingham Post-Herald, July 15, 1961, reported debate and passage of bill by the House. It was quietly killed in committee in Senate by determined group of opponents. An article about committee which was finally set up in 1963 appears in the Birmingham News, Oct. 9, 1963.
  42. Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 8, p. 1096, Jordan vs. Hutcheson.
  43. New Orleans States-Item, Oct. 5, 1963; New Orleans Times-Picayune, Oct. 5, 1963.
  44. Times-Picayune, Oct. 26, 1963.
  45. Associated Press dispatch, Jan. 29, 1964.
  46. Louisiana Revised Statute 14, Sec. 358 et seq. The statute defines a communist front organization as one which has been officially cited or identified . . . by any committee or subcommittee of the U.S. Congress.
  47. New York Times, Nov. 2, 1963. Complaint filed against Eastland by SCEF in U.S. District Court for District of Columbia.
  48. Statement distributed by Provisional Student Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee at National Student Congress, 1963.

#### CHAPTER V

1. Classic dissents by the four justices mentioned appear in Barenblatt vs. U.S.; Wilkinson vs. U.S.; and Braden vs. U.S., all cases in which the majority of the Court upheld convictions on contempt charges of persons who cited the First Amendment in refusing to testify before congressional committees.
2. Speech Dec. 3, 1952, in New York City, to Authors Guild.
3. Washington Post, July 31, 1958.
4. Over 600 distinguished Americans have listed their names as sponsors of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC. The organizations on record against HUAC include labor groups, church groups, student groups.
5. U.S. Constitution, Article 1, Section 2, Subsection 3.
7. Dissent by Justice Black in Barenblatt vs. U.S.
8. Also from Barenblatt dissent.
9. A Quarter-Century of Un-American, p. 115.
10. Cleveland Plain Dealer, Aug. 16, 1963.
11. Same as Note 10.
12. Congressional Record, Aug. 13, 1963, pp. 14030-14035. Associated Press dispatches, Aug. 14, 1963.
13. New York Times, Aug. 16, 1963.

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