

The 'Big Truth' is the Answer To the 'Big Lie' of McCarthy

By PAUL ROBESON

JUST JOIN ME for a moment in taking a look at what kind of country this could be if peace reigned in the world. What could we do with the 40-to-50 million dollars of your money and mine which an arrogant government now spends to build up a war machine here at home and all over the world.

white, are going to have decent homes to live in then we must have peace.

How many counties are there in the South with large Negro populations but not a hospital which Negroes can enter? How many thousands of our people have had their life's blood drip away, like Julia Dericotte (whom I knew, and Bessie Smith, one of our great artists, because the county hospital would not take them in? Could not some of these billions be used to build hundreds of hospitals and clinics in rural and city areas, South and North, for Negro and white Americans who now lack adequate medical facilities?



Path to Freedom

Every consideration of the interests of the Negro people, every concern for their security, their fight for equality, their dignity, demands that every gathering of Negro Americans declare that we must have peace, not war! Let Mr. George Schuyler marry Joe McCarthy if he wants to—we beg to be excused from the ceremony. Let the decrepid Max Yergan lounge around in illusions of 19th century imperialist omnipotence, if he will—we have other ideas. We are convinced by everything that has happened in this nation and abroad that the path to Negro freedom lies in firm conjunction with the giant strides which humanity is taking in all other countries of the world, barring none, toward enforcing the peace and silencing the warmakers.

Now, if you preach this doctrine of peace, friendship and brotherhood among the world's peoples—you may still run into a little trouble in the United States. That old devil McCarthy may set out to get you!

Reject 'Big Lie'

But a lot of Americans are waking up to the fact that to be the victim of an attack by McCarthyites may not be fatal.

In fact, the only thing fatal for the American people would be the failure to fight the McCarthyite madness. For McCarthyism means destruction of the constitutional rights of free speech and free press and free religion. It means the prohibition of free assemblies. It means the burning of books which proclaim the scientific truth that all men are created equal. It means the reign of fear, intimidation and terror.

I have no doubt that we will beat back McCarthyism and restore our traditional liberties. But to do this we must reject the Big Lie on which McCarthyism thrives. The big lie is the fairy tale that the American people are somehow threatened by "communism."

Support 'Big Truth'

If we subscribe to this falsehood then any militant leader of labor or the Negro people's struggles may be in jail tomorrow. If we concede that the ex-city councilman of New York, the ex-lawyer from Atlanta, Ben Davis, belongs in a

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Freedom

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

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JANUARY, 1954 10c

NAACP Says: "Stand Firm" on "The Precious Charter of Our Liberty"

THE CONSTITUTION of these United States unequivocally guarantees to all Americans freedom of speech, thought and assembly. If these liberties should be lost, weakened or destroyed either by legislation or by direct or indirect intimidation, our crusade for civil rights will be seriously hampered.

Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or "un-Americanism."

In some communities, textbooks, courses of study and teaching techniques dealing with human relations and minority group situations have been condemned or eliminated on the ground that these are not "American."

In examinations designed to test the loyalty of applicants for or holders of positions in government, a question frequently asked persons is whether they believe in the equality of the black and whites races or entertain Negroes socially in their homes.

In many areas the advocates of low-cost public housing are already branded as socialists, while those advocating non-segregated housing are called communists.

Professors and teachers who declare that segregation and discrimination based upon color are undemocratic are suspect, as are those who assert that scientific inquiry supports the thesis of the basic equality of peoples, regardless of race or color.

Books which displease Senator McCarthy or others are to be banned, if not burned. We recall that it was a controversial book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which helped mightily to strike the shackles of slavery from the ankles of America's slaves.

In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked in our nation's capital until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a tornado, it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination and inequality.

In this day of pillorying, of browbeating, of branding, of cunning indictments, we call upon our people to stand firm upon the platform of the Americanism of the founding fathers as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States of America and stoutly to defend and protect it. These are the precious charters of liberty for free Americans. Under them we have life. (Resolution adopted at 44th National Convention, St. Louis, 1954)

Leading Racists Back McCarthy

By CHARLES ALLEN

When [Senator] McCarthy joined in the attempt to block the appointment of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg to the post of assistant secretary of defense in the Truman administration, the Wisconsin senator worked closely with one of the foremost racists of America today, Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith and his organization, the Christian Nationalist Crusade, are blatantly anti-Negro.

Since the 1948 national convention of Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, anti-Negroism has been an official plank in its platform. This writer possesses a tape recording of part of this convention. In one speech by a Smith lieutenant, Smith's followers roared in raucous approval when he ranted: "Now we're not demagogic about the Negro problem. . . . We're going to speak what we believe, we're going to seek what is the only solution of the problem of black and white mixture in the United States. We advocate a constitutional amend-

(Continued on page 3)



MCCARTHY GUNS FOR NEGRO VICTIMS: Among those hailed before McCarthy's Senate Investigating Committee in recent weeks have been Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, left, Army clerk who was fired and then rehired when McCarthy's charges turned out to be a dud, and Arthur Owens, United Electrical Union member at the General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y., who accused McCarthy of trying to "Ku-Klux" him out of a job.



The article on this page on McCarthy's backers, and the ones on pages 3 and 4, are by the noted journalist, Charles Allen, and are printed through the courtesy of the monthly magazine, JEWISH LIFE.

Urgent Notice!

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McCarthy Bans Books That Honor Negroes

WHEN the State Department at the prodding of McCarthy "banned" several hundred works of some 40 authors from the shelves of U.S. libraries overseas, the N. Y. Times noted that "the nearest to a common factor" for removing the books "appeared to be the refusal (by the authors) to tell Federal investigators about communist affiliations."

But an examination of the list of banned books will reveal that conspicuous among the titles that fell victim to McCarthy were the outstanding contributions concerning racial discrimination, particularly anti-Negro oppression, in the United States.

Anti-Communist Banned

For example, the banning of books by two well-known anti-communists, Walter White and the Swedish Rockefeller-financed scholar, Gunnar Myrdal ("A Rising Wind" and "An American Dilemma") dramatically attests to the pure and simple anti-Negroism of McCarthyism.

During World War II, Mr.

troops then stationed (1944) in England, all of them, with the exception of a single anti-aircraft group, did only manual labor.

A Southern View

Mr. White also quoted from "an official order of an American colonel of Southern birth": "Colored soldiers are akin to well meaning but irresponsible children. . . . They cannot be trusted to tell the whole truth. Among the peculiar characteristics of the whole race (are) excitement, fear, religion, dope, liquor. . . . They individually or collectively can change form with amazing rapidity from a timid or bashful individual to brazen boldness or madness. The colored individual likes to 'doll up,' strut, brag and show off. He likes to be distinctive and stand out from others. Everything possible should be used to encourage this."

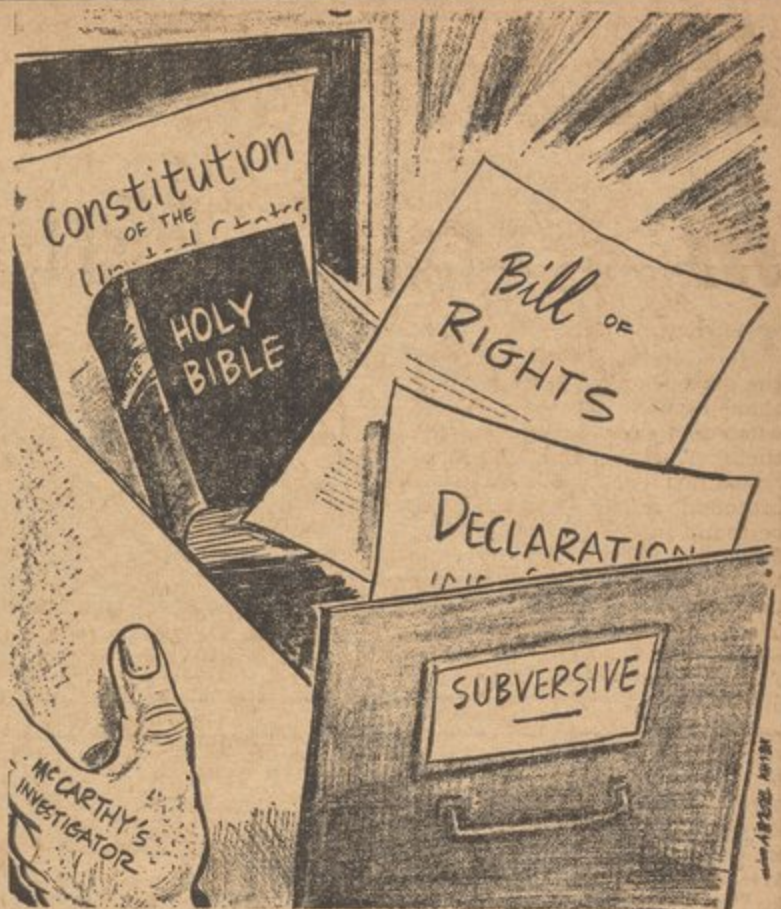
Such reporting, by McCarthyite standards, is "subversive" and should be removed from overseas libraries. The fact that protest resulted in restoring this book to the

cial Problems of Negro Education," a work commissioned by the federal government when he served as research associate for President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education in the late thirties. At the hearing the author described his work as "analysis of the horrible discrimination against Negroes in education."

Is Education Subversive?

Professor Wilkerson, formerly a member of the Howard University faculty, pointed out that the book contained "nothing about communism" but rather concerned itself with a "weakness of American democracy." He said, "if the proposals had been followed" that were laid down in his book, "it would have strengthened democracy." His question: "Is there something about a book on Negro education that is subversive?" provoked a typical McCarthy outburst when the Wisconsin senator gavelled, "We'll ask the questions!"

And most of the questions had to do with everything else but the book. Particularly did Senators Mundt and McCarthy stress the witness' alleged advocacy of "force and violence." But Mr. Wilkerson doggedly tried to keep the hearings on their ostensible subject, a book on discrimination against Negroes in American education. His refusal to knuckle under to intimidation finally prompted Senator Mundt wearily to call for the book's removal from the overseas libraries. For McCarthy the opportunity proved too tempting. He openly proclaimed himself a book-burner when he snapped defiantly: "I don't care what they do with that book . . . whether they burn it or not!"



From the N. Y. Amsterdam News

Mrs. Robeson Proves Too Much For Sen. McCarthy
Baltimore Afro-American July 14, 1953

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Declar-
 ing that the

Ike, 'Book Burning' McCarthy At Odds
Afro-American July 14, 1953

Senator Would Burn Wilkerson's Study Exposing Discrimination

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Ap-
 propriate for graduate and pro-
 fessional study at publicly con-

White Asks Dulles About Ban On Book
St. Louis, Mo.—Walter White is a telegram to secretary of State John Foster Dulles, that week requested information on why his

White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, served as an accredited correspondent for the N. Y. Post. His reporting was eventually published in the book "A Rising Wind—A Report on the Negro Soldier in the European Theatre of War." It is a factual, well-told account of the positive as well as the negative aspects of the Negro GI's treatment by the U.S. military in Europe during the war against fascism.

Among other facts Mr. White disclosed that, while Negro troops comprised more than one-tenth of all American

shelves, does not alter the initial impulse to ban it. Before the McCarthy committee, the Negro poet and writer, Langston Hughes, renounced his past and cooperated with McCarthy. Yet McCarthy was not primarily concerned with Mr. Hughes' recantation. He was interested in such Hughes books as "Simple Speaks His Mind," which were banned abroad notwithstanding the author's cooperation. The following selection particularly irked the Wisconsin book-burner:

"You figure the Constitution has fallen down on you?"

"I do," said Simple, "Just like it fell down on that poor Negro lynched last month. Did anybody out of that mob go to jail? Not a living soul! But just kidnap some little small white baby and take it across the street, and you will do 20 years. The FBI will spread its dragnet and drag in 40 suspicions before morning. And if you are colored, don't get caught selling a half pint of bootleg licker, or writing a few numbers. They will put you in every jail there is. But southerners can beat you, burn you, lynch you and hang you to a tree . . . and every one of them will go scot free."

In this case the McCarthy committee was red-baiting Professor Wilkerson's book, "Spe-

15th Amendment

Another Negro called before the McCarthy committee was Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson. McCarthy was particularly taken aback when Mrs. Robeson, in declining to discuss her private beliefs and opinions, underscored the rights of the Negro people by invoking the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This bulwark of the Constitution guarantees equal rights regardless of race or color. When she elected the 15th Amendment in addition to the 5th—McCarthy snapped, "You have no special rights because of your race!" He overruled Mrs. Robeson's position, but not without a final word from the famous anthropologist: "I don't quite understand. As a Negro and as a second class citizen I have been fighting racial discrimination all my life. You're white and I'm Negro and this is a very white committee."

Again the questioning pursued the familiar, relentless line of the McCarthy committee: advocacy of peace, "communism" and the inevitable alleging of advocacy of "force and violence." The last query prompted Mrs. Robeson to rejoin: "I don't know anybody dedicated to the overthrow of the government by force and

violence. The only force and violence I have seen has been that against the Negro people."

Jim Crow Elections

McCarthy tried with a desperate politeness to assure Mrs. Robeson that the only reason no Negroes were on the committee was that there were no Negro senators. The only discrimination he saw was "discrimination by the voters." This apology by McCarthy for Jimerow elections is not naive. He knows the score—and it is clear where he stands on the issue—with the Dixiecrats. Mrs. Robeson took a few minutes out to provide the "naive" McCarthy with a few elementary facts in American life: "Most Negroes are in the South," she said, "and they don't have much right to elect a senator."

Two Guesses

Mrs. Robeson's sharp rejoinders and her refusal to be intimidated by the McCarthy apparatus evoked a significant response from the thoroughly piqued McCarthy. Her answers, McCarthy threatened — but with a "deep courtesy," as the N. Y. Times reported — would normally bring down a citation for contempt." He (McCarthy) would not seek (a contempt citation) . . . as . . . proof that she was getting 'special consideration.'" He added that it would be "different" if a man had given the same testimony. McCarthy compounded the racism when "he asserted that other members of minority groups, as witnesses, had 'capitalized' on their 'race' to berate the subcommittee."

When asked if she had recently spoken on the subject of McCarthyism, Mrs. Robeson acknowledged that she had. McCarthy then asked, "What did she say?" The obese J. B. Matthews replied, "She didn't say whether she was for or against us." Mrs. Robeson laughed and quipped, "I'll just give you two guesses!" While the press noted that McCarthy joined in the "roar of laughter" from the packed hearing room, others observed that Mr. Witch-Hunt shifted in obvious discomfort and relief as the wife of Paul Robeson left the witness chair.



Eslanda G. Robeson (A Very White Committee)



Langston Hughes (No Support for Simple)



Walter White (War Book Irked Ike)

Freedom

Whose one is enslaved, all are in chains!

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A Conversation from Life

By ALICE CHILDRESS

MARGE, there's an awful lot of upsets going on today. You can't pick up the newspaper without getting the tremors. Everybody is going around with a worried hang-dog expression. Too many people are frightened and fearful and worried and just plain heart-sick.

Every word you read is Communist this and Communist that and McCarthy, McCarthy, McCarthyism. Everybody is being investigated to see if they think anything Communist. Air raid sirens are blowing all over the land and the whole populace is stirring and tossing with troubled dreams every night and the little children are crawling under their desks in school and holdin' their little hands over their heads—to protect them from atomic blasts.

The church is being investigated, the school is bein' investigated, the library shelves is bein' investigated, the Army is bein' investigated, the unions is bein' investigated, social clubs, political clubs, scientists, actors, writers, business people, housewives, the post office, the fire department, social workers, factory workers, store keepers, aunts, cousins, sisters, grandmothers, daughters, sons, brothers and husbands—all bein' investigated!

And for what? . . . Yes, that's what they say—to see if they are Communists or sympathize with Communists, or have ever belonged to any organization that had Communists in it, or if they have ever entertained a Communist or spoken to a Communist, or read a Communist paper or thought any thoughts that a Communist might also think.

Why, Marge, WHY? . . . Yes, they say that too—that Communism is wicked or keeps people from being free and is just outright awful. . . . But the particulars are so skimpy. . . . Why is it awful? "Because you'll lose your freedom," they say! The freedoms we prize so much, like—reading what you want, saying what you want, choosing your friends like you want, publishing any book or paper you want to publish, reading what you like, going to whatever church you want . . . every citizen in the land having equal rights to vote, serve on juries and all the rest of the equal rights that citizens are supposed to have. . . .

NOW, MARGE, you just turn on your television set at almost any time and you will be sure to find some discussion ragin' about, "How we can stop Communism"—and it will be called some kind of "forum," and you will see that they have picked three or four or more folks who hate Communism—to tell you what it is; and if by chance there is one person who is not too sure whether it's all that bad, he will sure wish he hadn't been there by the time the others finish ruining his reputation or his business or both.

But one thing you never see is a Communist sittin' in on it and explaining what he thinks Communism is—and defending it. That's not allowed!! No, mam!

Now if the object of McCarthy is to stop Communism and convince all the American peo-

ple that it's bad, it seems to me it would be a shortcut for him to get a well-known Communist on television and rip into him in an open debate and show the people what a Communist thinks about . . . and if McCarthy is right he could pick his arguments to shreds. Why doesn't he do that? I ask you, why?

No. . . . Instead there's a whole lot of hullabaloo about not allowin' Communist books on the library shelves, not allowin' Communists to write on newspapers or teach in schools, or act in plays; or speak their piece anywhere. In other words, they are tellin' the American public, "You just might believe every word you hear."

. . . That's very true, Marge. There are folks that are speakin' out against terrorizin' the public, but most of 'em use the strangest reasonin'. They will say, "We must not be questioning and terrorizing innocent people." Now who in the devil can decide who is innocent beforehand? What they are sayin' really is: "Let's terrorize the Communists by fair means or foul and at the same time try not to bedevil folks who are not Communists."

Now I contend that terrifying and bedeviling are not fit methods to use on any citizen and we are all going to suffer much more until we wake up and defend the rights of Communists—defend their right to speak and be heard, to write and be read, to vote and to run for public office, to have the full benefits of trial by jury.

It is laughable, Marge, but I hear people everywhere beginnin' their sentences. . . . "I am not a Communist, but. . . ." Why does someone have to announce that they are not a Communist before they can tell me what they are thinking?

WELL, the upshot of it all is just this. . . . There is one thing in which I am agreein' with McCarthy. . . . If we are going to persecute people for what they read or think there is nothing else for the persecutors to do but to keep the readin' and thinkin' matter out of sight and sound. Then we must raid the libraries and remove all books that the ruling body in this land deems unfit for our minds. . . . we must suppress all movies that they think unfit. . . . we must close all schools that they think unfit. . . . we must close off every avenue that they think unfit and put away or do away with all people who have such ideas, close all churches and social groups that hold such ideas and purge every home in the land to root out such ideas—that is if we are ready to trade Justice in exchange for Persecution.

That's right, Marge. The question today is not McCarthyism or Communism. It is—American Justice.

. . . What is its definition? You see, Marge, to me peace means a lot more than not bein' in a war. It means peace in your heart and mind; it means my neighbors and friends and all mankind growin' in wisdom and love and understanding; it means findin' a cure for cancer; it means feedin' the hungry, making garden apartments out of the



HUGH BRYSON

What Negro Leaders Think of MCS!

Wide support for what MCS had done for its members exists in the Negro community from coast to coast. Most recently, a resolution passed unanimously in San Francisco at a meeting sponsored by Negro community leaders, had this to say:

"We . . . recognize that those elements most vocal in condemnation of this union's policies have violated and are still violating the laws of our land rather than following the democratic hiring practices of the union they condemn, as far as Negro citizens are concerned. . . ."

"The officers and leadership of this union have helped bring into real practise in their union affairs the Constitution and Bill of Rights of our country. Those who attack this union for its contribution to racial democracy attack the economic and social aspirations of this community."

The meeting at which this resolution was passed was sponsored by Dr. and Mrs. Carlton Goodlet, community leaders, Messers Albert James and William Chester, (leaders of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union), Messers Cecil L. Finley and Samuel Coleman (undertakers), Drs. Legrand L. Coleman and Washington E. Garner and the Rev. F. D. Haynes, a leader of the National Baptist Church.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORT

The late beloved pastor of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church (San Francisco) and president of the Baptist Ministers' Union, the Rev. R. L. Turner, had this to say at the 1951 convention of MCS:

"I find it very encouraging to find myself associating with people like yourselves, who dedicate their time and energies to uplifting humanity. . . . I have much sympathy for the MCS. . . . I disdain discrimination from any source. . . . Anything in life that is worth doing must be built in struggle."

At the same convention, the internationally celebrated artist Paul Robeson, who is an honorary member of MCS, spoke and said: "I have never been so proud to be a member of a union, I have experienced no prouder moment than being here and taking part in this discussion as a working member of this union. I can tell you, I challenge any other union to match what I heard tonight. . . ."

In January, 1954, the "Baptist Ministerial Alliance," of San Francisco, representing the Negro Baptist Churches of the Community, passed a resolution pledging full support to Mr. Bryson and his Cooks & Stewards. Thousands of individuals, organizations and unions, have gone on record in support of Hugh Bryson. Won't you join us?

slums, stopping polio, opening up every school in the land to all races; it means friendship and laughter and freedom from fear; it means grownup folks not bein' ashamed to go to school and learn to read and write and enjoy this big, beautiful world; it means making it the social rage to belong to the millions rather than the "four hundred."

That's right, Marge, there are two doors in front of us: Persecution or Justice, and it's up to the American people to decide which one it will be. . . . I've made up my mind, Marge, How about you?

This Man Is On Trial . . . WHY?

HUGH BRYSON is the President of the National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards, one of the oldest maritime unions on the West Coast.

THE TECHNICAL CHARGE on which he is being brought to trial claims that he falsified an oath required by the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Board.

OVER 230,000 other union members have signed this oath, which is required by the law, to the effect that they "are not now" members of the Communist Party, or "affiliated" with that party.

BRYSON WAS the first leader of a national union to be indicted on such a charge. (Several others have since been indicted and similarly face trial.)

THE PURPOSE of Taft-Hartley is to smash unions; the "anti-communist" affidavit is one of the weapons of the law. It is designed to take away from union men and women the right to elect their own officers, and to replace those officers with others who will conform to what the employers—not the workers—want.



EQUALITY IN THE UNION—A union with such principles must carry them into its internal affairs or be found guilty of hypocrisy. Here is President Hugh Bryson (at head of table) with the members of the general council of MCS. Typical leaders are Al Thibodeaux, port agent, and Joe Johnson, national secretary-treasurer, seen to the right of Bryson.

What YOU Can Do to Help:

- Send for the record of Hugh Bryson and his union, the MCS, from the MCS Defense Committee, 148 Liberty St., N. Y. C.
- Bring these facts to your fellow citizens—in your church, your fraternal organization, your union, your neighborhood.
- Contribute as generously as you can to the defense of this outstanding fighter for Negro-white unity.
- Ask Attorney-General Herbert J. Brownell (Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.) to drop the indictment of Bryson.

I am willing to help and have checked the things that I can do.

NAME

ADDRESS

ORGANIZATION

CITY..... STATE.....

'Big Truth' is the Answer

(Continued from page 1)

Terra Haute Jim Crow jail, then we concede McCarthy's right and Brownell's right to jail you and me and Harry Truman, and to dig up Franklin D. Roosevelt and put him in jail too!

The defense of Davis and his colleagues, the demand for their immediate amnesty, is the very foundation of any claim we have to basic civil liberties. Certainly we of the Negro people, bombed and lynched and falsely jailed for

decades understand this. We must counterpose to the Big Lie the Big Truth of our times—that any kind of general war will destroy all the peoples of the world, that different social systems must live together in peaceful cooperation and competition, that the American people will not be abreast of the rest of the world until we choose a government really dedicated to the needs and welfare of the working people, the poor farmers, the Negro millions and all the oppressed of this land.