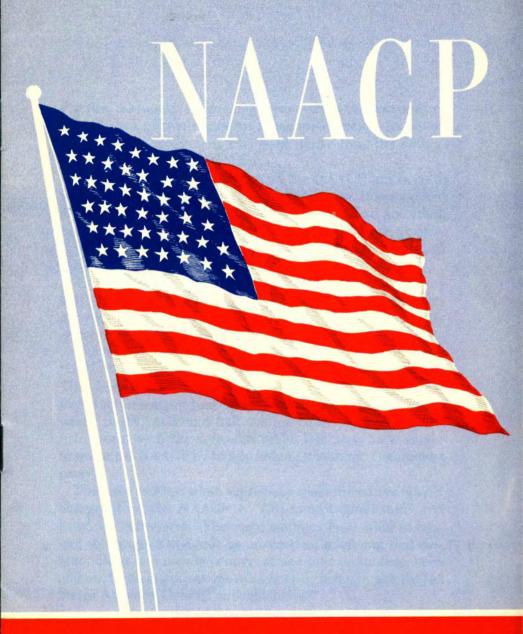
[1956, June]



AN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION

pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands; one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE is an American organization. Its philosophy, its program and its goals derive from the nation's hallowed democratic traditions.

From the beginning, the task of the NAACP has been to wipe out racial discrimination and segregation. It has worked always in a legal manner, through the courts and according to federal and state laws and the United States Constitution. It has also sought the enactment of new civil rights laws and the development of a favorable climate of opinion.

The Association, as the record plainly shows, has won many battles in the long struggle for first class citizenship for Negro Americans. These successes have aroused the anger of those who believe in the Jim Crow way of life.

The leaders of this outmoded system have declared war on the NAACP because it has spearheaded the fight for equality. They have passed laws, invoked economic sanctions, and resorted to threats, intimidation and violence in their efforts to wreck the NAACP and halt the march of progress.

In recent years the defenders of this lost cause have sought to smear the NAACP by falsely linking it with the Communist party.

The more reckless white supremacy spokesmen have openly charged that the NAACP is "Communist-dominated" and listed as "subversive." The more cautious have tried to convict the NAACP of "guilt by association," claiming that certain officers and members have, at one time or another, been affiliated with organizations subsequently listed by the United States Attorney General as "subversive."

The NAACP position on the Communist party is clear and unequivocal.

1. The NAACP is not, and never has been, listed as subversive by any federal official or agency.

Neither the United States Attorney General nor the House Un-American Activities Committee includes the NAACP on a list of subversive organizations. Both the House and Senate committees empowered to investigate subversive activities have at times been headed by such avowed white supremacists and declared enemies of the NAACP as Representative John Rankin and Senator James O. Eastland, both of Mississippi. The NAACP has never been called before either of these committees because there has never been any evidence of Communist domination of the organization.

Citation by the House Un-American Activities Committee is not proof of subversion. Before each citation the Committee places the following notice:

"The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated."

A citation may merely be a record that some unnamed person has made an accusation. Anyone can be so cited.

Senate committees, after investigation, have found so little substance in some of these citations that they have approved confirmation for high federal appointment of certain persons so named. The NAACP grew out of a conference called on Feb. 12, 1909, the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Its basic policies were formulated in the early years. The Association's annual report for 1913 declared: "We intend to push vigorously the fight against segregation in all its forms."

It was not until 1919, after World War I, that the Communist party was organized in the United States. It was not until years thereafter that the Communists initiated an active program to enlist the support of American Negroes.

3. The NAACP is not now, and never has been, in any measure dominated by the Communist party.

Because of the NAACP's strongly pro-American program and policies, the organization has been under constant attack by the Communist press and spokesmen who have repeatedly branded the Association as "reformist" and "reactionary." Leaders of the NAACP have been called "tools of capitalism," "Wall Street stooges," and "collaborators with the lyncher-bosses of the South."

A 1932 Communist pamphlet, Negro Liberation, by James S. Allen, a party spokesman, asserts: "An imperialist policy, softened with meaningless mumblings of protest, is followed by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its leaders."

Reporting to his party's eighth convention in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, Harry Haywood, a longtime Communist functionary, said:

"Among the Negro reformist organizations we find the chief role is still allotted to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the leadership of this organization, we find Negro bourgeois reformists of the type of Walter White, Pickens, Schuyler, DuBois en bloc, with white liberals ('enlightened' imperialist elements) of the type of Spingarn, Mary White Ovington, etc., and even outspoken imperialist politicians such as Senator Capper, Governor General Murphy of the Philippines, etc.; also open Negro reactionaries of the type of Dr. Moton of Tuskegee."

4. The NAACP has a long record of fighting the Communist party.

The unscrupulous tactics of the Communist party in the notorious Scottsboro case of the early 1930's were exposed and attacked by Walter White, the Association's late executive secretary. Writing in *Harper's* Magazine of December, 1931, Mr. White charged: "... that at least some of the Communists did not want the nine boys saved but sought instead to make 'martyrs' of them for the purpose of spreading Communist propaganda among Negroes." Later, in his autobiography, A Man Called White, published in 1948, he denounced "the cynical use of human misery by Communists in propagandizing for communism."

The Association's official organ, *The Crisis*, asserts editorially in September, 1931, that for twenty years the NAACP "has fought a battle more desperate than any other race conflict of modern times and it has fought with honesty and courage. It deserves from Russia something better than a kick in the back from the young jack-asses who are leading Communism in America today."

Time and time again, *The Crisis* scored the Communists for their scandalous tactics and warned against efforts to mislead Negroes. An editorial in *The Crisis* for March, 1949,

written by Roy Wilkins, then editor, pointed out that the purpose of the Communists in trying to gain a foothold in the Association "is not to build a better NAACP to fight more effectively for civil rights for Negroes under the American Constitution, using legitimate American methods, but to operate one more front group to confuse and embarrass Americans and the American government in the present contest of ideologies."

When the Communists, in 1949, demanded, in the name of "unity," a place in the NAACP-sponsored Civil Right Mobilization, Acting Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins promptly and bluntly rejected the demand. Responding to William L. Patterson, executive director of the Civil Rights Congress, Mr. Wilkins reviewed the history of Comunist betrayal of the Negro and attacks upon the NAACP.

"In the present Civil Rights Mobilization," the NAACP leader told the Communist spokesman, "we have no desire for that kind of cooperation, or that kind of 'unity.' We do not believe it will contribute to the success of the campaign. On the contrary, we believe it will be a distinct handicap. . . . It seems to us that the organizations of the extreme Left, when they campaign for civil rights, or in behalf of a minority, do so as a secondary consideration, activity upon which is certain to be weighted, shaped, angled, or abandoned in accordance with the Communist party 'line.' We can have no truck with such unity."

Writing in the American Magazine of December, 1951, Mr. Wilkins said:

"The greatest failure of the American Communist Party has been the complete fizzle of its attempt to recruit millions of American Negroes into a fifth column for Stalin . . . Their colossal failure can be chalked up to one simple fact which the

Communists either ignored or just did not comprehend: The American Negro is an American. The vast majority of our colored citizens have never even been fellow travelers; a few have been hitch-hikers for short stretches when it served a particular purpose. True, they are dissatisfied with their treatment, often angry and bitter, but at bottom they are loyal to America and its ideals."

5. The NAACP has firmly and consistently turned back efforts of the Communists to infiltrate the organization.

Because the Communists have periodically tried to penetrate and capture the NAACP, the Association's annual convention in Boston, June, 1950, passed a resolution "directing and instructing the Board of Directors to take the necessary action to eradicate such infiltration and, if necessary, to suspend and reorganize, or lift the charter and expel any unit, which, in the judgment of the Board of Directors, upon a basis of findings of the aforementioned investigation and study of local units, comes under Communist or other political control and action."

Previously, in 1947, an NAACP West Coast regional conference had passed a resolution "condemning and actively opposing" efforts of the Communist party to influence the local units of the organization.

Meanwhile, NAACP leaders and *Crisis* editorials repeatedly pointed out the danger of the Communists and urged the membership to be on the alert to keep them out of the organization.

Unable to make a successful penetration of the NAACP, the Communists have on several occasions tried to set up competing organizations under their direct control. Among these defunct organizations have been The American Negro Labor Congress, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, National Negro Congress, and the Civil Rights Congress.

6. The NAACP has, from its beginning, enjoyed the support of eminent Americans of both races and all faiths.

Many famous Americans have held membership in the NAACP, some of them serving as officers or members of the national board or of special committees. Others have been presidents of local branches. Some have expressed their appreciation of the work of the NAACP in addresses before Association conventions and conferences.

Among the 53 outstanding educators, publicists, clergymen and social workers who signed the original call for the organization of the NAACP were Jane Addams, famed head of Hull House in Chicago; Samuel Bowles, publisher of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican; Professor John Dewey of Columbia University; William Lloyd Garrison, the Boston Abolitionist and his grandson, Oswald Garrison Villard, publisher of the New York Evening Post; William Dean Howells, at that time the nation's leading literary critic; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Bishop Alexander Walters; Mary White Ovington; Lincoln Steffens; President C. F. Thwing of Western Reserve University; Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; William English Walling; Ida Wells Barnett; and many others.

The Association continues to enjoy the support of men and women of the calibre of the signers of the original call. Distinguished persons in government, in business, the arts, science, organized labor, the church, education and the law serve the NAACP in various capacities. Both President Eisenhower and former President Truman have addressed NAACP meetings. These and other Presidents have regularly sent messages of greetings to NAACP conventions.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City has annually proclaimed "NAACP Week" as have mayors of numerous other American cities. In his 1956 proclamation, Mayor Wagner cited the NAACP as "an American organization working

for American goals within the framework of the American constitutional system."

The late Senator Arthur Capper, Republican of Kansas, was a member of the Association's Board of Directors and was at one time the president of the NAACP branch in Topeka, Kans. The late Harold Ickes, who served as Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was at one time president of the Chicago NAACP branch.

J. Edgar Hoover, whose business as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is to know who is and who is not a Communist, has said:

> "Equality, freedom and tolerance are essential in a democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."

7. The NAACP has been exonerated by the nation's press of the Communist smear.

The press of the country, including the pro-segregation newspapers of the South, has generally recognized that the attempt to pin the red label on the NAACP is a fraud. Writing in the New York World-Telegram and Sun of May 19, 1956, Frederick Woltman, who won a Pulitzer Prize in journalism for exposing red infiltration, said that of the various organizations the Communists tried to penetrate, "the NAACP was one of the least receptive." Further he wrote:

"... NAACP's top leaders have sternly resisted Communist inroads. Not only are they opposed to the philosophy and strategy of communism, but they realize the Communists' first allegiance goes to Russia and world revolution. And that the Red tag would mean the kiss of death to their entire movement. Consequently, the Communists have waged intermittent war on Roy Wilkins, the late Walter White, and other NAACP officers."

Other newspapers have editorially dismissed the charges of Communist domination.

The Cheraw (S.C.) Chronicle: "It is simply not true that the NAACP is a Communist-inspired organization."

The Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer: ". . . let it be said that the charge of Communism has not been proved against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

The Springfield (III.) Journal: "If Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia has proof that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a 'front and tool' for subversive groups in the United States, why didn't he cite chapter and verse to substantiate his claim? He has no such evidence, of course."

The Florence (S.C.) News: "The NAACP is highly unpopular in our Southland, but it isn't illegal. In spite of extreme speeches and editorials, it hasn't been properly identified as an arm of the Communist Party."

The Louisville (Ky.) Times: "The NAACP is not a conservative organization. But neither is it subversive. It has consistently fought attempts by Communists to gain inroads among Negroes. It is an aggressive organization . . ."

The Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News: "... difference of opinion by no means justifies this campaign to smear the NAACP with the paintbrush of subversion... J. Edgar Hoover, whose vigorous hostility to any organization even faintly tinged with Communism is widely known, has frequently praised the NAACP."

8. The NAACP is a thoroughly American organization.

In a keynote address opening the Association's 40th annual convention in Los Angeles on July 12, 1949, Roy Wilkins eloquently summed up the Americanism of the Negro and the NAACP in the following memorable statement:

"In demanding these things — that our national government enact a civil rights program and that mobs, whether they be lynchers in Georgia or swimming pool hoodlums in Missouri, be blotted out — we do not cry out bitterly that we love another land better than our own, or another people better than ours.

"This is our land. This is our nation. We helped to build it. We have defended it from Boston Common to Iwo Jima. We have helped to make it a better land through our songs, our laughter, our expansion and clarification of its Constitution and its Bill of Rights, through our talents and skills, all the way from Benjamin Banneker who helped to lay out Washington, D. C., to Ralph Bunche who made peace a working reality in 1949.

"No, we are Americans, and in the American way, with American weapons, and with American determination to be free, we intend to slug it out, to fight right here on this home front if it takes forty more summers — until victory is ours."

The NAACP makes no concession either to the Left or the Right.

The business of the NAACP is to work for civil rights, for the elimination of racial barriers, for an America with full equality for all its citizens. It was founded for, and has adhered to, this high purpose. The Association does not propose to be diverted from this goal by the enemies of our country, either of the Left or the Right. The Association will not be intimidated by the threats and smears of the white supremacy cabal. Nor will it let down the bars against the red conspiracy. The Association will continue to operate as an American organization.

June, 1956