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10/6/75

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

U. S. SENATE SELECT
COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE
ACTIVITIES (SSC)

It is made to SSC
request dated 9/8/75,
which was forwarded to
the FBI by let from Michael R. Shaheen, Jr.,
Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination,
Dept of Justice, dated 9/11/75. Enclosed for ur
approval and forwarding to the SSC is the orig
of a memo which responds to Item 12 of SSC
request 9/8/75. Also encl for ur records is
copy of the memo & set of materials given SSC.

#MDR-16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/26/00 BY SP2AMKP

SSC REQUEST 9/8/75
ITEM 12

#MDR-16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/29/00 BY SP2ALN/KP

10-11-11

881

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Evans _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 23, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Bland
1-Mr. Gurley

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to the Director's request, there is attached a detailed memorandum concerning the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to exploit the American Negro.

There is set forth below in this cover memorandum a synopsized version of the detailed memorandum.

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DATE 10/29/00 BY SP2AUMH

SYNOPSIS

The 19 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, USA. Since 1919 communist leaders have devised countless tactics and programs designed to penetrate and control Negro population. It has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars propagandizing the Negroes in a variety of ways. These colossal efforts have been related to "equal opportunity" and "self-determination" policies (the latter being discontinued in 1959 with the approval of Soviet Russia because it was ineffective), front organizations, parades, demonstrations, articles, pamphlets, books, films, speeches, civil rights, "peaceful coexistence," et cetera. These efforts, among other things, have resulted in establishing today such active Negro communist front groups as the African American Heritage Association, Freedomways Associates, and Southern Conference Educational Fund (not yet cited by the Attorney General). Additionally, efforts have been and are being made to infiltrate with limited degrees of success such legitimate Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Other legitimate Negro organizations not known to be infiltrated, influenced or controlled but are targets include Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. ENCLOSURE

Enc.
100-3-75

FJB:skw
(7)

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-75

While much propaganda is issued, there is no known substantial implementation of Communist Party aims and policies among Negroes in the labor field. The Communist Party has done all possible to exploit a great number of events and issues among Negroes such as the Scottsboro Case; Emmett Till Case; Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; 1956 March on Washington, D.C.; 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; "sit-in" demonstrations; "freedom riders"; and school integration campaigns. While not the instigator and presently unable to direct or control the coming Negro August 28 March on Washington, D.C., communist officials are planning to do all possible to advance communist aims in a supporting role. Martin Luther King, a key figure in the March, does have as an advisor, Stanley Levinson, a secret Communist Party member. King himself has been reported to be a Marxist. ✓

A SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

Despite tremendous sums of money and time spent by the Communist Party, USA, on the American Negro during the past 44 years, the Party has failed to reach its goal with the Negroes. The Director, on January 26, 1960, said publicly: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism."

Negroes represent ten per cent of the population of the United States or 19 million. If one was to apply this breakdown to Gus Hall's figure of 10,000 Communist Party members today, it would give to the Party 1,000 Negro members. (Applied to our classified figure of 4,453 active Communist Party members, the estimated number of Negro communists would be 445. This would not, of course, include communist sympathizers, supporters or dupes but only those included under our very strict and exacting Party membership requirements.) Despite the obvious failure of the Communist Party of the United States to appreciably

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-75

infiltrate, influence or control large numbers of American Negroes in this country, the fact remains that the 19 million Negroes in this country constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party of the United States. It would be foolhardy on anybody's part to ignore this very significant truth. Further, we are right now in this Nation involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists. The Communist Party in the next few years may fail dismally with the American Negro as it has in the past. On the other hand, it may make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negroes, to the serious detriment of our national security. Time alone will tell.

L.G.

W.C.S.

for

for

This memo reminds me vividly of those received when Castro took over C.R. You contended then that Castro & his cohorts were not Communists & not influenced by Communists. Time has proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, O'Dell, Levinger, Rastin, Hall & as having many more - in testimonial aspect grow the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists.

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

9/18/63

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

While the attached memorandum bears the initials of Mr. Baumgardner, it was prepared from a rough-draft furnished to him by Mr. Sullivan.

It should be understood that Sullivan, Baumgardner, Sizoo and Belmont read the memorandum and agreed with it prior to its submission.

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 DATE 10/26/00 BY SP8AMK

Enclosure

REC-5

100-3-116-2537

22 DEC 5 1963

Clyde Tolson

CT:LCB

ENCLOSURE

I have certainly
 been misled by
 previous memos
 which clearly
 showed Communist
 penetration of the
 racial movement. The
 attached is con-
 trary to all
 that. We are wasting
 man power trying
 to investigate C.R. and
 the

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 NEGRO QUESTION
 IS - C

Tolson _____
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 DATE 10/24/00 BY SPANK

Reference is made to the enclosed material on which the Director has written: "This memo reminds me vividly of those I received when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro and his cohorts were not Communists and not influenced by Communists. Time alone proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, O'Dell, Levison, Rustin, Hall et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists."

The Director is correct. We were completely wrong about believing the evidence was not sufficient to determine some years ago that Fidel Castro was not a communist or under communist influence. On investigating and writing about communism and the American Negro, we had better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us.

I do think that much of the difficulty relating to the memorandum rightly questioned by the Director is to be found centered in the word "influence." We do not have, and no Government agency or private organization has, any yardstick which can accurately measure "influence" in this particular context, even when we know it does exist such as in the case of the obvious influence of the concealed communist Stanley Levison over Martin Luther King and King's influence over other Negro leaders. Personally, I believe in the light of King's powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders over all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.

On determining membership of Negroes in the Communist Party, we are not confronted with the same problem. We do have here accurate yardsticks for establishing membership. Of course, our standards are very exacting. This means there are many Negroes who are fellow-travellers, sympathizers or who aid the Party, knowingly or unknowingly, but do not qualify as members. These we must not ignore. The old communist principle still holds: "Communism must be built with non-communist hands." Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence

Enclosure

100-3-75

WCS:lml:djw

(5)

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-75

that would stand up in testimony in court or before Congressional committees that the Communist Party, USA, does wield substantial influence over Negroes which one day could become decisive.

The memorandum which the Director penetratively questioned, while showing in the details the communist impact on Negroes, did suffer from such limitations. These limitations we will make every effort to lift in the future. The great amount of attention this Division is giving to communist activities directed toward the Negro should enable us to do this.

For example, here at the Seat of Government, the Negro - communist question takes up as a whole the time of one supervisor and during the past few weeks four men have been so occupied. Additionally, (1) specialized instructions are regularly given the field on communist infiltration of the Negro; (2) monographs have been written on the subject and widely disseminated; (3) regularly disseminated are memoranda and reports; (4) August 21, 1963, we devoted the entire Current Intelligence Analysis to the communist plans for the Negro March of August 28, 1963, (149 copies of this Analysis were disseminated to 44 agencies of the Government); (5) much material on the issue is given to Agents at In-Service; and (6) an SAC Letter is under preparation in this Division now giving the field the benefit of what we learned from the Negro March on Washington and issuing instructions for increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro.

As the memorandum pointed out, "this Nation is involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists." Nineteen million Negroes constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA. This is a sombre reality we must never lose sight of. We will do everything possible in the troubled future to develop for the Director all available facts relating to Negro membership in the Communist Party, plus the more complex and difficult to ascertain influence of communist organizations and officials over the leaders and masses of Negroes.

We regret greatly that the memorandum did not measure up to what the Director has a right to expect from our analysis.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

[Handwritten signature] *W.C.S.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/20/00 BY SP4M/KP

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Casper
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Bland
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Morley
1-Mr. Kleinkauf
1-Mr. Phillips

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
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This memorandum recommends increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro. The history of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is replete with its attempts to exploit, influence and recruit the Negro. The March on Washington, 8-28-63, was a striking example of such communist activity as Party leaders early put into motion efforts to accrue gains for the CPUSA from the March. Well-documented information concerning the Party's influence on a principal March leader, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is but an example. The presence at the March of around 200 Party members, ranging from several national functionaries headed by [CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall], to many rank-and-file members, is clear indication of the Party's favorite target (the Negro) today.

All indications are that the March was not the "end of the line" and that the Party will step up its efforts to exploit racial unrest and in every possible way claim credit for itself relating to any "gains" achieved by the Negro. A clear-cut indication of the Party's designs is revealed in its plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a [Gus Hall] "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting.

The entire field is being alerted to this situation in a proposed SAC Letter (attached). The field is being instructed to intensify our coverage of communist influence on the Negro by giving fullest consideration to the use of all possible investigative techniques. In addition, the field is being told to intensify its coverage of those communist fronts through which the Party channels its influence and to intensify its investigations of the many Party members and dupes who engage in activities on behalf of the Party in the Negro field. Further, we are stressing the urgent need for imaginative and aggressive tactics to be utilized through our Counter-intelligence Program--these designed to attempt to neutralize or disrupt the Party's activities in the Negro field. Necessity for prompt handling of all facets of this matter to insure timely dissemination to the Department and other interested agencies is also being emphasized.

100-3-1164
1 - 100-3-175 (CPUSA, Negro Question)

11 OCT 16 1963

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
[100-3-116]

The proposed SAC Letter requires key security offices to submit to the Bureau, within 30 days, an analysis of their current coverage of communist activities in the Negro field plus details of their plans for intensification. Also, those 16 offices participating in the Counterintelligence Program on a regular basis are being required to include in their next monthly letters due 10-15-63 their plans to neutralize or disrupt Party activities in the Negro field.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, attached SAC Letter go forward apprising the field as above and urging full implementation so that the desired results may be achieved. Also attached for approval are necessary Manual changes.

Yes. *W.S.* *V.* *EW*
No. I don't understand how you can so easily switch your thinking & evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective & infinitesimal. This notwithstanding many memos of specific instances of infiltration. Now you want to load the field down with more coverage in spite of your recent memos deprecating the influence in racial movement. I don't intend to waste time & money until you can

...the situation really is #

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

To: Mr. A. H. Belmont

Date: September 25, 1963

From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/26/00 BY SPANK

Predication:

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum dated 9/16/63 and to the attached proposed SAC Letter.

On returning from a few days leave I have been advised of the Director's continued dissatisfaction with the manner in which we prepared a Brief on the above-captioned matter and subsequent memoranda on the same subject matter. This situation is very disturbing to those of us in the Domestic Intelligence Division responsible for this area of work, and we certainly want to do everything possible to correct our shortcomings. We absolutely will not be stubborn about admitting any mistakes we have made or be stiff-necked and unbending concerning our analysis of this matter. The Director indicated he would not approve our last SAC Letter until there was a clarification and a meeting of minds relative to the question of the extent of communist influence over Negroes and their leaders. In this memorandum I will seriously and sincerely, try to clarify a most regretable situation. It is prepared not on official office memorandum but rather on plain bond believing that this discussion need not be made a matter of official record.

Common Agreement:

First, I am sure we all are in agreement on the following which was in both the cover memorandum and the detailed brief attached: (1) for the past 44 years the Communist Party, USA, has spent enormous sums of money and ceaseless efforts to influence Negroes and to make communists out of them; (2) the 19 million Negroes in the country today constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA; (3) Negro leader Martin Luther King, reported to be a Marxist, does have as an extremely important advisor Stanley Levison, a secret Communist Party member; (4) we are right now in this nation engaged in a form of social revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists; and (5) the Communist Party could in the future make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negro to the serious detriment of our national security. In addition to the above, the material furnished contained many pages of specific examples of communist policies, programs and activities

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

showing communist involvement in Negro racial matters in this nation, relative to which we can all agree.

Essence of the Situation:

The essence of the situation seems to be this: We presented what facts there are in our files in the Brief in question and I know that the Director certainly would not want us to do other than this. The position taken at the time the Brief was written was that, while there is communist influence being exerted on Negroes and Negro leaders, it has not reached the point of control or domination. This historically has been the position of the Bureau in this matter in light of file reviews going back ten to twenty years. *Certainly this is not true with respect*

The Historical Position:

For example, in a detailed document prepared on Communist Party and the Negro in 1953, we find the statement referring to "the failure of the Communist Party to attract even a significant number of Negroes in the United States to its number." Another example is to be found in an analysis in this same field prepared by the Bureau in 1956 to the effect that communist efforts have been "unsuccessful on a state or national level" in infiltrating "legitimate Negro-fraternal, protest and improvement organizations," although they made limited success in some "isolated chapters." The Director's book, Masters of Deceit, published in 1958, states: "It became obvious that the Party, despite great efforts, had failed to win over even a significant minority of Negroes." In 1960 the Director's statement to The Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, reads: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party." In 1962 similar public statements were made. On page seven of the Brief submitted to the Director under the date of August 23, 1963, this historical position was restated and it was said, "One of the bitterest disappointments of the communists has been their single failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the Party." This statement was set forth again in the cover memorandum which the Director marked. *to the revision. King connection*

The point I wish to make here is this: The fact that this has been our historical position in the Bureau for many years is no reason to assume that it is the correct position at this time, as the Director has clearly explained. Times and conditions change and, as the evidence mounts, naturally we need to change our position along with this evidence.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Interpretation:

As we know; facts by themselves are not too meaningful, for they are somewhat like stones tossed in a heap as contrasted to the same stones put in the form of a sound edifice. It is obvious to us now that we did not put the proper interpretation upon the facts which we gave to the Director.

Martin Luther King:

We have been aware of the communist influence for nearly two years on Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and in the comprehensive memorandum entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question," dated 8/23/63 we set out information to the effect that a number of Negro leaders in this country have had subversive connections in their backgrounds and that Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dealing with Stanley Levison, a concealed communist, as well as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a secret member of the National Committee of the CPUSA. As previously stated, we are in complete agreement with the Director that communist influence is being exerted on Martin Luther King, Jr., and that King is the strongest of the Negro leaders. As we have stated before in a memorandum, we regard Martin Luther King to be the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country. In addition, we know the Party is directing a major effort toward strengthening its position among the Negroes inasmuch as we have information the Party plans to intensify its efforts to exploit the racial situation for the purpose of gaining influence among the Negroes. To this end, the Party plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meeting. Furthermore, in the last few days ~~Hall has advised an informant he contemplates requesting the Levison brothers to set up an office in Atlanta, Georgia, to be used by Hunter Pitts O'Dell which will serve as the office for "Freedomways," a Communist Party sponsored publication, and as headquarters for Communist Party activity in the South.~~

SENSITIVE
FOREIGN
INTELLIGENCE
OPERATION

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

SAC Letter to the Field

I would like to set forth here briefly why I think that the enclosed SAC Letter, which was returned to us by the Director, should be sent to the field offices. My first reason is this: We need to renew our efforts and keep the pressure on and leave no stone unturned to develop every and all facts which exist in this matter. Some of these facts may not yet have been unearthed by our field offices, and will not be unless we follow up this matter evermore closely with them. My second reason why I think the SAC Letter should be sent is related to the present changing situation in the Communist Party - Negro relations area. During the past two weeks in particular there have been sharp stepped-up activities on the part of communist officials to infiltrate and to dominate Negro developments in this country. Further, they are meeting with successes. This should be no surprise to us because since the Negro march on Washington on August 28 communist officials have been doing all possible to exploit the very troubled racial situation. As they said weeks ago, the end of the Negro march would be the beginning of evermore systematic activities on their part to penetrate and influence Negroes and Negro leaders. They are now in full force acting upon this intention of theirs expressed weeks ago. The field should be alerted to this fact and given instructions to investigate exhaustively new communist - Negro activities. The SAC Letter in question will be a great help toward this end, and it should result in our developing important facts relating to the current changes and pertinent activities going on during the past few weeks in this entire field.

Subject of Deep Concern

May I repeat that our failure to measure up to what the Director expected of us in the area of communist - Negro relations is a subject of very deep concern to us in the Domestic Intelligence Division. We are disturbed by this and ought to be. I want him

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

to know that we will do everything that is humanly possible to develop all facts nationwide relative to the communist penetration and influence over Negro leaders and their organizations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the Director reconsider giving approval for sending the enclosed SAC Letter to the field.

V. o.k.
H

(2) In order that other agencies and prominent government officials will be aware of the determined efforts of the Communist Party to exploit the racial situation, if the Director approves we will prepare a concise document setting forth clearly those attempts to penetrate, influence, and control the Negro movement. By setting these facts forth, succinctly and clearly, the reader cannot help but be impressed with the seriousness of the communist activities.

~~10~~ V. Q WEB
o.k.
H

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA --
NEGRO QUESTION

#MDR-16
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2ALMKP
ON 10/26/00

CLASSIFIED BY ~~2047~~
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY ~~2~~
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON ~~Indefinite~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

August 23, 1963

100-3-116-253X

~~TOP SECRET~~

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I.

COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION OF NEGROES

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
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I. COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION OF NEGROES

It is not surprising that the Negro, who comprises approximately 10 per cent of our total population, is a primary communist target group. One of the principal goals of the CP in the United States is the infiltration and control of the Negro population in this country. For this reason, Negroes have long been subjected to intensive and extensive communist agitation and propaganda.

Early communist efforts to infiltrate and influence the Negroes are evidenced by the fact that, in 1922, the Communist International (Comintern), on application of its American affiliate--the CP of the United States--approved a subsidy of \$300,000 for agitation and propaganda activities among American Negroes. In 1925, the Comintern issued instructions to the CP in this country to select some Negro communists to be sent to the Soviet Union for training in agitation and propaganda work. About a dozen were chosen. One Negro communist leader, returning to the United States several years later, brought with him a draft for \$75,000 from the Comintern to be used for propaganda activities among the Negroes.

The CP has always depicted itself to Negroes as the "champion" of social protest and the "leader" in the struggle for racial equality. But the truth of the matter is that the CP is not motivated by any honest desire to better the status or condition of the Negro in this country, but strives only to exploit what are often legitimate Negro complaints and grievances for the advancement of communist objectives.

Controversial or potentially controversial racial issues are deliberately and avidly seized upon by communists for the fullest possible exploitation. Racial incidents are magnified and dramatized by communists in an effort to generate racial tensions. The Emmett Louis Till case is typical of communist exploitation of a racial situation. Till, a 14-year-old Negro youth from Chicago, was murdered in August, 1955. This case will be discussed in more detail later.

Communists have been especially adroit at exploiting social problems to confuse rather than correct inequities and injustices. Nowhere is this fact more clearly evident than in communist efforts to exploit racial problems and situations in the United States.

Communists are not content to publicize selected instances of racial inequity and injustice to exclusively American audiences, but they see to it that the message is

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transmitted to every part of the globe through their world-wide communist propaganda apparatus. They do not confine themselves to facts, but resort to distortion, exaggeration, and the big lie. Communists thus capitalize on the adverse propaganda effect that reports of discrimination and oppression in the United States can produce in the eyes of the rest of the world, particularly among the African and Asian peoples. Throughout the world, the treatment accorded American Negroes is one of the constant themes of anti-American communist propaganda.

One of the most flagrant propaganda acts put on by communists occurred in 1951. William L. Patterson, a leading American Negro communist and then Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, a notorious communist front, presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations a lengthy petition, signed by 93 Americans. This document charged the United States with the crime of "genocide" because of its "oppression" of the Negro people. The report was published in booklet form and widely distributed throughout the world as an indictment of the United States.

American communists specialize in campaigns with the aim of fomenting and developing the class and racial antagonism on which communism feeds and thrives. This explains why so many communist campaigns revolve around Negroes who run afoul of the law or pertain to issues of great interest to Negroes. Such campaigns are used to portray the CP as the "champion" and "protector" of the Negro people, and are utilized as a steppingstone to extend communist influence among them.

Communist campaigns are cynically inspired by purely selfish political and propaganda objectives rather than by any humanitarian motives. Despite the "morality" and sentimentality with which communists cloak their campaigns, they have little or no concern with the personal fate or welfare of the subjects of their campaigns. Their only interest lies in exploiting these individuals--alive or dead--to propagate communism.

The one underlying concept permeating communist tactics pertaining to Negroes is that communists regard Negro advancement as a political and propaganda matter. Communist activity among Negroes is not based on any benevolent or altruistic principles, but is tied to the dictates of the Soviet Union and the attainment of world communism. This ulterior motive is clearly shown in

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instructions issued by the CPUSA to its members as early as 1925:

"The aim of our Party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression in every form and which will be a militant part of the revolutionary movement of the whole American working class, to strengthen the American revolutionary movement by bringing into it the...Negro workers and farmers in the United States to broaden the struggles of the American Negro workers and farmers, connect them with the struggles of the national minorities and colonial peoples of all the world and thereby further the cause of the world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Since the CPUSA is nothing more than an instrument of Soviet policy, the strategic needs of the CP--as directed by Moscow--not the goals and aspirations of the Negro people, take precedence. Whenever the interests of Negroes conflict with the political interests of the USSR, communists forsake the Negro.

For example, when World War II broke out, the USSR and Nazi Germany were allied by a nonaggression pact. The conflict was immediately characterized by the CPUSA as an "imperialist" war of no interest or concern to the United States. Communist propaganda protesting the segregation of Negroes in the Armed Forces during this period was designed principally to cripple our own defense preparations and our aid to the nations then fighting Germany. But Party tactics shifted suddenly when the Soviet Union was invaded by the Nazis in June, 1941, and the USSR became our ally. To prevent any possible disruption of aid to the USSR, the Party promptly discontinued its efforts to have the Armed Forces desegregated.

The CP cannot resist attempting to use the Negro movement, as it does everything else, to promote its own interest rather than the welfare of those to whom it directs its agitation and propaganda. It may collect funds ostensibly in behalf of Negro activities, hold discussions on civil rights at all levels, and increase its coverage of Negro affairs in its publications, but behind all of its efforts is its clear-cut primary interest in promoting communism.

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The CP is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among Negroes. In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement that have been gaining momentum in recent months.

There were an estimated 19,000,000 Negroes in the United States as of 1960, comprising approximately ten per cent of our population. The Party no longer registers its membership. However, Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, has estimated the current CP membership to be roughly 10,000. It is estimated that ten per cent of the Party membership is Negro. Therefore, according to Hall's figures concerning the total membership, there are approximately 1,000 Negroes in the Party today. (The Bureau's estimate of the current active Party membership is 4,453. Therefore, ten per cent of this figure would be 445 Negro Party members.)

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II.

CPUSA POLICY CONCERNING NEGROES

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II. CPUSA POLICY CONCERNING NEGROES

The basic position, policy and program of the CPUSA with respect to Negroes since the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928 is implicit in two slogans: "equal rights" and "self-determination" for Negroes in the South. The Sixth Congress formulated and issued the first pronouncement of the Comintern on the Negro question in the United States. The Negro people in this country were defined in a resolution as an "oppressed race" in the South struggling for "self-determination" and an oppressed national minority in other parts of the country fighting for equal rights. The resolution directed the CPUSA to "come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states."

By this theory of "self-determination," communists meant that in many counties of the southern states Negroes composed a majority of the population and, as a separate race, they constituted a nation with the right, if they so desired, to secede from the United States and form their own nation and government. This concept was adhered to and developed by the CPUSA for nearly 30 years.

The complete speciousness of the communist line of "self-determination," which the Party blindly and slavishly followed for so long on orders from Moscow, is readily apparent. It would result, as noncommunist Negro leaders repeatedly pointed out, not in the integration of the Negro into American life on the basis of equality--which is the fundamental goal of the Negro in the United States--but in the worst kind of segregation.

The policy of "self-determination" was questioned more and more in Party circles following Stalin's death in March, 1953. In December, 1958, some members pointed out that the Party, through its adherence to such a position, was in effect advocating the segregation of Negroes from the rest of the population. Members of the Party's National Committee recommended that the policy of "self-determination" be modified or abandoned. However, they did not dare make a change without Soviet approval.

As a consequence, in February, 1959, James Jackson, a top leader of the CPUSA and a delegate to the 21st Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union in Moscow, presented the proposed change to the Soviets for their endorsement. On his

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return to this country, Jackson reported to Party leaders that the Soviets had approved discontinuing the policy of "self-determination."

In December, 1959, the CPUSA, at its 17th National Convention, adopted a resolution which brought an end to the 30-year-old policy of "self-determination." The resolution replaced it with a call for equality for the Negro throughout the United States in all phases of political, social and economic life--in other words, full and complete integration.

At the present time, American communists seek to equate and link the movement for Negro freedom in the United States with the communist campaign for "peaceful coexistence" throughout the world. Political Affairs, monthly theoretical organ of the CPUSA, declared in its July, 1963, issue:

"The key to the future, in fighting both for peace and civil rights, clearly lies in the strengthening and advancement of the mass movements and struggles. In fact, both the possibility and the need of setting masses in motion now exist as never before. In this connection, the fight for Negro freedom has become the focal point, which at this juncture holds the key to all other struggles, including the fight for peace. What is demanded, therefore, is that all progressive and Left forces, and especially all Communists, throw themselves fully into the battles which lie ahead on this front."

In late August, 1963, one of our sources advised that the CP's current policy on the Negro question in general is based on the Party's estimate of the capitalist system in the United States and its conclusion that the present struggle for Negro rights is objectively a struggle for socialism in this country. Therefore, the source indicated, the CP endorses and supports the program and activities of the civil rights movement and organizations because it is the Party's judgment that during the course of the struggle for Negro rights, the Negro people will find that it is capitalism which is restricting their full development.

The Party is attempting, the source said, through its agitation and propaganda, to transform the Negro struggle into an anticapitalist struggle. The Party believes, according to this source, that the Negro struggle advances the cause of socialism and communism for the reason that sooner or later this struggle will come into a head-on collision with the capitalist system. As a result, the source said, the Negro people will realize that only socialism can solve their problems and satisfy their needs.

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III.

COMMUNIST FAILURE TO ATTRACT NEGROES

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III. COMMUNIST FAILURE TO ATTRACT NEGROES

From the time it was organized in this country in 1919, the CPUSA has devoted an extraordinary amount of time, money, energy and manpower to an effort to propagandize, organize and recruit Negroes. But one of the bitterest disappointments of the communists has been their signal failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the Party, despite more than four decades of intense and sustained communist activity directed toward Negroes in the United States.

One reason that the CP has failed so miserably among American Negroes is the policy of the CPUSA toward the Negro. It has been governed, because of the Party's complete subservience to and domination by the Soviet Union, not by any change in the status of the Negro in this country, but by the exigencies of the USSR. The Negro--as well as the vast majority of Americans--realizes only too well that the constant shifts in the CP line are determined solely by the needs of the Soviet Union and not by those of the United States.

The CP does not seem to understand that its failure can be attributed to its adherence to Marxism-Leninism. The Party views the struggle for equal rights as part of the Marxist concept of the never-ending class struggle and not, as most Negroes see it, an attempt to solve a racial issue. Thus, the Party would involve the Negro in a much broader struggle than the already titanic one in which he is now engaged.

By its very character, the CP cannot advocate specific goals in the Negro struggle unless these are consistent with the Party line at any given moment. Negroes have become aware of this, which explains in part the failure of repeated efforts to build a larger CP among them. This also accounts for the lack of success of communist front organizations, since Negroes are reluctant to support any organization whose orientation is supplied by the CP and which alienates them from the mainstream of American life.

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Another factor in the inability of the CP to win the Negro has been the vigorous and unrelenting opposition of responsible and influential Negro leaders and organizations by their recognition of the deceptive nature of communism. They know that no communist "Utopia" can compete with the American creed embodied in our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Still another factor which has contributed to the bankruptcy of the CP's Negro program includes the Party's persistent espousal of the afore-mentioned theory of "self-determination" when it was obvious that most Negro Americans rejected the idea because of their desire for total equality within American society.

It can be said that the work of the CP has greatly impeded the recognition and realization of the legitimate goals, hopes and aspirations of the American Negro. No minority group in the United States or elsewhere has ever solved, nor can hope to solve, its problems by embracing the communist ideology. Negroes are first and foremost Americans, and their goals and their aspirations are deeply and inextricably rooted in American institutions and in American culture.

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IV.

CPUSA EFFORTS IN THE NEGRO MASS ORGANIZATION FIELD

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IV.

CPUSA EFFORTS IN THE NEGRO MASS ORGANIZATION FIELD

The CPUSA, in following the line set by the international communist movement, has always recognized the fact that it is largely dependent on the support and assistance of noncommunists for the achievement of its aims and purposes. The Party's efforts in this regard are usually carried out by the creation of front groups (used as auxiliary bodies and "transmission belts") and by attempting to infiltrate established legitimate nonsubversive organizations. This method of operation, referred to as united front action and mass organizational work, enables the Party to extend its power and influence beyond the limits of its own membership. Thus, the Party has been furnished an elaborate facade behind which the communist conspiracy has been able to operate in the United States with every resemblance of legitimacy and legality.

The importance of mass work to the CPUSA over the years is evidenced by the statement of the National Executive Committee, CPUSA, unanimously adopted on November 21, 1958. This statement declared in part:

"Despite its weaknesses and the uneven tempo of its advance, the Party is beginning to move forward again in mass work. This is evidenced in the growing extent of its participation in the struggle for peace, for Negro rights, for jobs, and in the election campaign and other mass activities," and "Guided by the interests and needs of the working people of America, our Party will exert ever greater efforts in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism to expand its mass work and gain new influence and strength for more effective mass leadership in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism."

There follows examples of the Party's efforts to create fronts, to use existing fronts and attempts to infiltrate legitimate nonsubversive organizations in the Negro field.

A. Communist Front Organizations

Negroes in the United States have long been subjected to intensive and extensive communist agitation and propaganda. The first Negro communist front organizations appealed to Negro workers primarily on a class line. Later fronts sought to appeal to them as a racial group. Now these appeals have been merged.

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American Negro Labor Congress

This was the first Negro communist front organization in the United States. It was formed in 1925. It had little appeal and, five years later, was succeeded by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The same lack of success attended this organization, and it was merged with the International Labor Defense in 1936. The International Labor Defense has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

National Negro Congress

The next Negro communist front of any importance was the National Negro Congress, launched in 1935 under non-communist auspices for the purpose of protecting Negro rights. In a matter of a few years, however, the Congress was infiltrated and dominated by the communists. By 1947, the Congress was recognized as having failed to organize the Negro people and it was absorbed by the Civil Rights Congress.

National Negro Labor Council

From 1951 to 1956 the paramount Negro communist front group was the National Negro Labor Council. It was founded in 1951 to fight for the economic, political and social freedom of the Negro people. It encouraged the active participation of Negroes in labor union affairs and urged the passage of a national fair employment practices statute. Its headquarters was in Detroit, Michigan, and was the last Negro communist front operating on a nationwide basis. It was dissolved in 1956 as it claimed it did not have sufficient funds to fight the action pending against it before the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) pursuant to the Internal Security Act of 1950. Thereafter, the action was dismissed by the SACB on September 23, 1957.

It is an interesting commentary that of all the numerous front organizations which the CPUSA has launched on a national scale over the past four decades to implement its Negro work, not one has survived to the present time.

At the present time the following are examples of organizations operating in the Negro and integration fields.

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African American Heritage Association

The African American Heritage Association, formed in 1959, is located in the Chicago area. It was founded by Ishmael Flory ostensibly for the purpose of teaching African history and culture to American Negroes. It has a governing body of both communist and noncommunist members. Ishmael Flory, Organization Director who is a member of the Negro Commission of the Illinois CP, continues to be the guiding force in this organization.

The organization's current program advocates:
(1) Protection of the Bill of Rights all over the nation, particularly in the South; (2) Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; (3) Abolition of the Subversive Activities Control Board; (4) Repeal of the McCarran Act and the Taft-Hartley Law; and (5) Investigation of the FBI and its anti-African racism and anti-Semitism.

Two chapters of this organization are under the leadership of members of the South Side Club, CP, and their aims include efforts to recruit new CP members and to reactivate ex-CP members.

Freedomways Associates, Incorporated

Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, New York City, formed in 1961, is an organization which publishes the magazine "Freedomways." This magazine is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement."

The central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

"Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by James Jackson. Jackson has been identified as a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA. Esther Jackson (wife of James Jackson) is the Managing Editor of "Freedomways."

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Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a Southwide interracial organization working to end segregation and discrimination, came into being in 1946. Its headquarters is in New Orleans, Louisiana. "The Southern Patriot" is the official publication of the SCEF. The editors of this publication are Carl and Anne Braden, who are also Field Secretaries of the organization. Activities of the organization have included raising bail funds for those arrested in connection with integration activities, sending food and other relief shipments to depressed southern Negro areas and holding conferences and workshops. The conferences and workshops deal with discussing ways and means to speed the integration movement.

Of the 11 officers of the organization in January, 1963, three are suspected of being CP members. Carl and Anne Braden, Field Secretaries of the organization and Editors of "The Southern Patriot," were last described as being CP members as of December, 1954, by Alberta Ahearn, an admitted former CP member.

A source reported that in the past he has considered James Dombrowski, Executive Director, to be a communist, if not actually a CP member, because he followed communist principles.

Dorothy Rochelle Miller, who described herself as a paid staff worker of the SCEF in 1962, was identified as a CP member at that time.

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B. Communist Attempts to Infiltrate
Mass Organizations

As previously stated, one of the tactics used by the CPUSA in carrying out its mass organizational work is its attempts to infiltrate legitimate nonsubversive organizations. Organizations in the Negro, civil rights and integration fields are ready-made targets for the CP attempts in this regard.

The November, 1959, issue of "Political Affairs," theoretical organ of CPUSA, contained an article "The Party and the Masses." Regarding mass organizational work, this article states in part:

"...We have come to realize that cadres in the mass movement must begin to build 'political bases,' on the strength of their work on such questions as peace, civil liberties and civil rights, the Negro-labor alliance, independent political action, etc."

"...In New York State, our members have been involved in all the important mass struggles - in peace activities, integration action, key industrial strikes, youth marches for example."

"We have learned, of course, that the problem of how to become a political force will vary from organization to organization and from one situation to another. There are still many areas, for example, where it is next to impossible to work publicly as a Communist. But we have found that there do exist sections of advanced workers who can be approached today on such questions as the decay of the capitalist system, the meaning of Socialism, and our Party itself."

The FBI, in carrying out its responsibilities in the internal security field, investigates efforts of the CP to infiltrate mass organizations. Such investigations are directed solely toward establishing the extent of CP infiltration and the legitimate activities of the organizations are not investigated.

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The following are examples of organizations in the Negro, civil rights and integration fields which are, or could become, specific targets for attempted CP infiltration.

Congress of Racial Equality

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was organized in Chicago, Illinois, in 1941. It advocates nonviolence and direct action by racial groups to eliminate segregation and discrimination. Its headquarters is located in New York City.

The fact that CORE is anticommunist and aware it is a possible target for CP infiltration is evidenced by a statement made in August, 1961, by Gordon R. Carey, Director, Program and Training Department of CORE. At that time Carey stated the constitution of CORE forbids communists from belonging to the organization; he realizes CORE is a target for communists; and it is his intention that any local CORE chapters which might be headed by communists should not be admitted to the national organization of CORE.

The FBI is not currently conducting a communist infiltration investigation of CORE as there has been no evidence received of CP infiltration, domination or control. However, in 1953 the Bureau's New York Office conducted an investigation of allegations of CP infiltration but no evidence was developed of such infiltration or CP activity in CORE.

In 1960 the New York Office again checked out allegations of CP infiltration. No evidence of CP infiltration or activity in CORE was developed. A check with all logical informants and sources acquainted with CP activity in the New York City area did not develop any information indicating the CP had infiltrated, or was attempting to infiltrate, CORE. It appeared, from the information developed at that time, it was the Party's policy to endorse and support the work of CORE whenever possible but not to try to direct the actions of CORE so as to harm CORE's work by drawing "red baiters and spies" into its ranks.

There are no known present CP members among the officials and members of the Advisory Committee of CORE whose names are listed on a CORE letterhead dated January 18, 1963. Included were the names of James Farmer, National Director, and Gordon R. Carey, Director, Program and Training Department.

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), with national headquarters in New York City, was organized as a permanent body in New York City in May, 1910. NAACP filed a certificate of incorporation under the membership corporation laws of New York State on June 19, 1911.

Among the aims and purposes set forth in the certificate of incorporation were the following:

"To promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudices among the citizens of the United States.

"To advance the interest of colored citizens.

"To increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law."

The February, 1963, issue of "The Crisis," official organ of the NAACP, stated the Association's 1962 membership was 390,347; there are 1573 active local units in 49 states; and the only state in which the NAACP is not operating is Alabama.

The CP has at various times during the existence of the NAACP evidenced interest in infiltrating the NAACP. For example, in July, 1947, the National Board of the CPUSA at a meeting in New York City decided to dissolve the then leading communist front organization in the Negro field, the National Negro Congress, and instructed all CP units to have their members join the NAACP in an attempt to gain control of it.

The November, 1953, issue of "Political Affairs," theoretical organ of the CPUSA, contained an article "The N.A.A.C.P. Convention" which outlined the Party's program with regard to infiltration of the NAACP. In January, 1954, Abraham Kotelchuck, Baltimore, Maryland, functionary of CP District #4, stated the above article was the CP's new line with respect to the NAACP and educational discussions on this article were to be conducted throughout the CP nationally.

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On January 16, 1959, Claude Lightfoot, Chairman, Illinois CP District, called a meeting for the purpose of forming a committee to "control, direct and facilitate work in the NAACP for the Communist Party." The purposes for this meeting, as stated by Lightfoot, were the following: (1) obtain "national connections" in the NAACP; (2) infiltrate all NAACP committees and add new ones if possible; and (3) recruit new CP members from the responsible people within the NAACP.

During the period July 1-6, 1963, the NAACP held its national convention in Chicago, Illinois. The CP interest in this convention is seen in the fact that Claude Lightfoot, Illinois CP functionary, attended the first session of this convention on July 1, 1963. On July 2, 1963, Lightfoot held a discussion with CP members stating this group should follow the convention very closely. On July 2, 1963, a CP caucus was held in connection with the convention. At this caucus a three-point program was arrived at and efforts were to be made to present this program to the convention.

On July 3, 1963, a high level CP meeting was held in Chicago for the purpose of discussing the NAACP convention. At this meeting it was stated the Party had no effective machinery at the convention to place its proposals in motion.

Benjamin J. Davis, national CPUSA functionary from New York City, was in Chicago during the period of the NAACP convention. On July 3, 1963, he was interviewed by a reporter of the "Chicago Tribune." During this interview Davis stated he was interested in the NAACP convention; had attended public sessions of the convention; and he was an observer to the convention and was not a member of the NAACP nor was he registered with the convention as a guest, delegate or anything else.

In view of the CP's interest in and attempts to infiltrate the NAACP the FBI has conducted an investigation to determine the results of the Party's efforts. The FBI has not investigated the NAACP or its legitimate activities during the course of this investigation. This investigation, together with our over-all coverage and investigation of the CP, has disclosed that some local NAACP chapters have been infiltrated by CP members but the CP, on a national level, has not been successful in influencing the NAACP or its policies. While

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Some local chapters have been infiltrated, the CP members in such locals do not exercise any influence therein. In other areas the local CP's are not taking any action to infiltrate the local chapters. The following are specific examples.

On March 25, 1963, there was no CP influence in the St. Louis NAACP.

On April 3, 1963, there was no current CP program to infiltrate or attempt to gain domination of the NAACP in Los Angeles.

On April 4, 1963, the Party in Philadelphia had shown no intention of infiltrating the NAACP.

As of April 18, 1963, Robert Hymer was Third Vice President, Brenetta Howell was Assistant Secretary and Lester Davis was a member of the Executive Committee, respectively, of the Chicago NAACP Branch. All three individuals were then current members of the CP of Illinois; however, in view of the fact they are greatly outnumbered by aggressive non-Communists, as of April 18, 1963, the success which had been achieved by the CP in infiltrating the Chicago NAACP Branch was almost nonexistent.

As of April 9, 1963, the influence of the CP in the Chicago NAACP Branch was summarized as extremely weak.

Over the years the NAACP has voiced opposition to the CP and its efforts to infiltrate its organization.

As its 41st Annual Convention in Boston in June, 1950, the NAACP went on record as opposing communism and enjoined its directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be communist controlled. The NAACP reaffirmed its stand against communism in subsequent conventions.

On October 19, 1956, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP official, stated the "NAACP not only is not associated with the communists or any communist front organizations but anyone found in the confines of the NAACP who is a communist is put out without ceremony. That is policy."

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Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP, and one of the leaders of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, when notified of the CP's intent to take part full force in the March, stated:

"We do not welcome and will not receive any delegations of the Communist Party. This is not a Communist Party affair. This is an affair of persons who want to support the civil rights movement. The Communist Party will not be received as a delegation or any other way, if we can detect it."

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Negro American Labor Council

The Negro American Labor Council (NALC) was established at a founding convention in 1960 at which time A. Philip Randolph was elected as President. Headquarters of the organization were established in New York City. The purpose of the organization is to seek equal opportunity in employment for Negroes and remove discrimination of Negroes in labor unions. The constitution adopted at the founding convention provides that the NALC design programs to fight racism, communism, corruption and racketeering in trade unions.

Despite the anticommunist clause in the NALC constitution, the CP hailed its formation and national and local CP leaders instructed Party members to support the organization. Despite the continued opposition to communism in the organization, the CP has continued its efforts on national and local levels to infiltrate, influence and direct this organization. On a national level the Party has had only limited success. Only one national officer of the NALC is a CP member and this Party member is an FBI informant. Ben Davis, National Secretary of the CP, in December, 1962, said the Party is very close to Joseph Overton, a national Vice President and a confidant of A. Philip Randolph.

The "success" of the CP to influence and direct the NALC on a national level is exemplified by the CP's efforts at the last national NALC convention held in New York City in November, 1962. Prior to the convention, CP members and officials caucused and planned CP strategy and proposals to be placed before the convention. The convention, however, was run so tight and the role of the CP was so ineffectual that none of the proposals planned in the CP caucus were adopted and the CP did not exercise any influence at the convention.

The CP has had varying degrees of success in infiltrating local NALC chapters. For example, the New York chapter claims a membership of approximately 1,500. Although some CP members are rank-and-file members of this chapter, none of the officers are CP members. The Party has been very active in working in the NALC in the Chicago chapter. This chapter claims approximately 450 members, of which 40 to 60 are active. Two of the six officers are past or present

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CP members and three of the eighteen members of the Executive Board of this chapter are current active CP members. Leon Jennings, Secretary, described as a former CP member, attended a meeting with Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Illinois CP, in October, 1961, regarding NALC business. Alice Armstrong, Assistant Secretary, was last reported to be a CP member in November, 1962, and Nathan Sharpe, Ralph Turner and Herbert Wright, all Executive Board members of the Chicago chapter, have been described as current CP members.

CP members have opposed A. Philip Randolph, President of the NALC since its founding convention, primarily because of his opposition to CP infiltration of the organization. An example of Randolph's opposition to CP infiltration is his appointment of a committee of vice presidents in March, 1963, to investigate alleged CP infiltration of the Chicago chapter.

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National Urban League

The National Urban League was founded in 1913 and has several branches around the country with its main headquarters located in New York City.

The purpose of the League, which has white and Negro members, is to obtain better living, working, et cetera, conditions for the American Negro. The League shares in annual United Givers Fund and/or Community Chests.

At a CP Eastern Regional Conference on May 17, 1958, at CP headquarters in New York City, Arnold Johnson, a Party national functionary, said the Party should make an all-cut effort to concentrate activities in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and movements of the type originated by Luther King. He indicated that, though there should be heavy concentration in this type of organization, CP members should not become so involved in the group as to forget the principal role of the Party.

A check of sources in a position to know whether Johnson's instructions had been carried out revealed no information concerning Party infiltration of the League and the sources were in a position to become aware of such efforts to infiltrate.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

The Atlanta "Constitution" newspaper of October 15, 1960, carried an article which stated that the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in April, 1960, to coordinate activities of students participating in lunch counter sit-downs and other protest demonstrations.

On November 30, 1962, Daniel Rubin, National CPUSA Youth Director, addressed a CP Illinois District Board meeting and indicated the Party would attempt to establish groups of young people in the North who will attempt to give aid to SNCC.

On February 11, 1963, another source advised that the CP then had no interest in the SNCC and the SNCC in turn was not friendly towards the Party.

New York City is the organizational hub of racial demonstration activity.

As of May, 1963, the New York Office of the Bureau had no information indicating SNCC is the specific objective of communist infiltration, domination or control by subversive elements.

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was launched in 1957 at which time Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was appointed President. A folder published by this organization described it as a nonsectarian agency which has as a basic aim the achieving of full citizenship, equality and the integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life through nonviolent means. The SCLC has been active in the voter registration campaign and has given counsel and advice to other civil rights groups in their civil rights campaigns.

In addition to Dr. King the following are also among the officers of SCLC: Bayard Rustin, Assistant Secretary, and Stanley D. Levison, Assistant Treasurer. Hunter Pitts O'Dell, an employee, has been variously described as Consultant on Voter Registration and Administrator of New York Office of SCLC. Bayard Rustin attended some sessions of the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA as a guest in 1957. Background information concerning Dr. King, Hunter Pitts O'Dell and Stanley D. Levison is contained in Exhibits 1 and 2 of this brief.

The fact that Hunter Pitts O'Dell is a CP member was brought to Dr. King's attention in November, 1962, when this information appeared in the press. At that time Dr. King announced that O'Dell's resignation from the SCLC had been accepted pending further inquiry. As a matter of fact, information received indicates that O'Dell continued to work actively for this organization despite Dr. King's statement to the contrary.

CP officials have urged members to give full support to this organization. In 1960 an admitted communist on the staff of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, reported that the CP was then in the process of placing members of the Party in key positions in this organization. At a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CPUSA in June, 1962, Claude Lightfoot, Illinois CP Chairman, urged Party members to support King and his movement.

Other CP members have also been employed by the SCLC in various capacities. Hazel Gray reportedly was working in the New York SCLC office in 1961 at which time it was

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indicated she was a CP member. In May of 1962 Hunter Pitts O'Dell reportedly offered Sargent Caulfield, a CP member from Lettsworth, Louisiana, \$1,000 a month salary and expenses if he would work full time to urge Negroes to register to vote in Pointe, Coupee and East Carroll Parishes, Louisiana. Caulfield indicated he would not give up his full-time job but would assist in this work on weekends. Loretta Pauker, a current CP member, was working in the New York Office of the SCLC in her spare time in May of 1963. Pauker reportedly was trying to coordinate the SCLC into a united front with other organizations where a Marxist program could be instituted.

CP members have also worked to raise funds and have been solicited for funds for Dr. King and the SCLC. The New York Friends of the SCLC was formed by CP members in early 1962 to sponsor a concert to honor Dr. King and raise money for the Freedom Riders. Although the group was formed by CP members, they were not in the forefront of the organization. The concert was held on February 22, 1962. On December 7, 1962, Vaud Bennett, Chairman of the CP of Indiana, received a request from Dr. King for funds for the SCLC.

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C. The Negro In The Labor Field

The policies and aims of the CPUSA relative to Negroes in the field of labor are clearly set forth in its labor policy statement issued in the form of an article entitled "The Way Ahead for American Labor." This article appeared in the December, 1962, issue of "Political Affairs," self-described as the "theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA."

Among its several new problems and tasks in the field of labor, the CPUSA points out the need for "A new understanding of the common interests of the trade-union movement and the Negro liberation movement. This calls for a leading role by labor in the fight for equality and dignity for the Negro people. This calls for effective struggle against all forms of discrimination outside and inside the unions. In this way a firm alliance of the trade unions and Negro people's organizations can be created."

Included in its suggestions for additional demands to be made by the labor movement is "an end to all forms of job discrimination against Negroes and for representation of Negroes in all apprenticeship programs; for a national F.E.P.C."

A section of the article is captioned "The Trade Unions and the Negro People." It points out that Karl Marx declared "labor in the white skin will never be free as long as labor in the black skin is branded." The CP called for a "Crusade for Democracy" in which the trade-union movement and Negro liberation movement would play a leading role. This includes a crusade to guarantee full and unrestricted right to vote for the Negro and a crusade to end segregation in all walks of life. The article states that such a crusade could create a most powerful alliance for democracy, the heart of which would be the Negro-labor alliance.

The Party statement calls for an end to segregated locals in labor unions and the eradication of discrimination in industry. It urges fullest equality for Negroes in the participation in the life and leadership within all unions and more active support by unions in the "struggles of the Negro people for equality and dignity." The article indicated

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that "the Left-progressive forces" with their great tradition of pioneering in the building of the Negro-labor alliance have much to contribute and a great obligation to promote these efforts.

It further states that "It is the chief responsibility of white workers, however, to work toward the establishment of the Negro-labor alliance by championing the fight for Negro equality."

In setting forth its policies with respect to unions generally, the Party declares that "A Communist who can join a union and doesn't do so cannot consider himself a good Communist. A good Communist is also a personal friend of his fellow workers, Negro and white, and sets an example of unity and solidarity in his place of work."

It further declares "The Left champions the interests of all workers, and especially of Negro workers, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, the most exploited. The Communists and the Left strive to set an example in the fight against all forms of discrimination in the unions and in the shops."

The April, 1963, issue of "Political Affairs" contains an article entitled "Strengthen the Negro-Labor Alliance." This article is described as a statement of the CPUSA. The article points out that the CP fully supports the proposals by the Negro American Labor Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other Negro people's organizations for utilizing every and all measures, including existing laws, to compel all corporations, all employers, all institutions, including trade unions, to grant full and equal rights to Negro workers. The article considers this support as a principle and guide for all communists and hopes it becomes a guide for all trade unionists.

At a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CPUSA in New York City, 5/21-23/63, Gus Hall, in commenting upon the trade-union movement, stated there had been some progress but no spectacular advances. He said there was a need for a Negro-labor coalition and more labor unions must unite against antilabor forces. He stressed the need for the CP to improve its trade-union work.

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There has been no indication of any substantial effective implementation of the aims and policies of the CPUSA as expressed in the December, 1962, statement on labor policy. Various clubs and district committees have expressed to CP members in attendance the desirability of implementing these policies; however, no positive results attributed to the CP have been noted.

At a meeting of leading CPUSA functionaries 6/19/63, James E. Jackson stated that "The Worker" must be utilized, along with Party facilities, to interest the trade-union movement in the Negro struggle and "the Party must register its presence on the street."

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V.

COMMUNIST SUPPORT AND EXPLOITATION OF NEGRO CAUSES

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V. COMMUNIST SUPPORT AND EXPLOITATION OF NEGRO CAUSES

A clear-cut statement of the Party relative to the Negro question is revealed in an article appearing in the east coast communist newspaper, "The Worker," of February 12, 1961, pages 9 and 11, entitled "The Two-Front Fight: On Jimcrow at Home and Colonialism Abroad." The article is written by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, and is excerpted from Hall's report to the January 20-22, 1961, meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA. A pertinent quotation from this article is revealing:

"It is essential for the Negro freedom struggle and for America that more and more Communists be in that great battle. Communists help to bring clarity and direction where there is confusion as to the line of march. They contribute resoluteness and militancy where there is timidity and uncertainty. They bring unity-- unity among the Negro people, unity of Negro and white, unity of the Negro people with labor and all democratic sections of the population."

A. Expressions of Party Leaders on the Negro Question-- Converting the Problem to Party Use

Negro Upsurge in the South

Benjamin J. Davis, CPUSA National Secretary, in a report on "Negro Upsurge in South" delivered to a meeting of the CPUSA National Committee at Chicago, Illinois, on March 26, 1960, referred to the Negro civil rights demonstrations as a revolution. "Although it is not a proletarian revolution," Davis stated, "it is the next thing to it." He emphasized that while the working class may be the vanguard tomorrow, today it is the Negro people's movement. He pointed out that it is the first job of the CP to immediately involve itself in the Negro people's struggle both in the South and North. The importance of the Party should not be underestimated and neither should the influence of "The Worker." The Party must encourage the upsurge of the Negro people and arm it with the correct ideological weapons and must give correct leadership at every stage.

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Party Urges Full Mobilization on Negro Question

At a meeting of the CPUSA National Executive Committee and invited guests held in New York City, May 21-23, 1963, a report was delivered by Davis, which dealt with the Negro question and the struggles of the Negro people. Davis stated that the new frontier in the United States is the South. He pointed out that at that time things in Alabama were happening swiftly but that every action was being taken by the State of Alabama to undermine the victory of the Negro people. Davis then pleaded, "we" must support and help maintain this victory. Davis described Reverend Martin Luther King as "an amazing young man" and said "we" should give support to the demonstrations in Alabama.

Davis related that the CP should have a program to use the events in Birmingham, Alabama, to its advantage and that the Party must develop a movement to bring pressure on the President of the United States to exercise his authority under the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

Gus Hall summed up this three-day meeting of the top leadership of the Party. He stated that on the question of the Party giving leadership to the mass movement, the task is to seize the main link at the present time, which is the Negro struggle for equality. He said that the Party knows and understands, because of Marxism-Leninism, the significance of seizing the main link and why the struggle will affect everything in this country. He added that the Party must mobilize its full resources to end Jim Crow, must win over the white workers, and neutralize the Southern workers.

The Negro Question--A Recruitment Device of the Party

On July 31, 1963, at a meeting of the CPUSA National Board, James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," commented on the Negro struggle for integration. He said "we" have to spell out the task for "our" rank-and-file membership on how to most effectively utilize the struggles to make "our" contribution. In addition to being a part of the movement, "we" have to see in this the opportunity to build up friends with the objective of bringing them into the Party. Jackson said "we"

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have to discuss how the Party can do more, because one of the aspects of this struggle is that it is an ideological struggle for the minds of the many people who come to join "us" in the fight. "We" have a role not only as "activists" but also a role to play in the "ideological ferment" that is being born.

Party Youth Urged to Involve Itself

During the period from June 16-19, 1963, the CPUSA held a meeting of its National Youth Commission in New York City. A suggestion was made that Party members should endeavor to spend at least a week in the South during the Summer of 1963 to become better acquainted with the Negro situation.

Communist Tactics

According to Thomas Nabried, Chairman, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), Philip Bart, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, visited with him in late April, 1963. Bart said that the National leadership of the CPUSA at that time was angry at the Philadelphia leaders for failure to institute local activity around the Alabama racial situation. National leadership instructed that the CPEPD should form a permanent committee composed of CP and non-CP personnel and wage a continuous campaign, utilizing such tactics as street corner meetings, organizing delegations to visit city officials, campaigns to obtain food and clothing for Southern Negroes, et cetera. In early May, 1963, Thomas Nabried appointed a member of the District Executive Committee, CPEPD, to assume full responsibility for forming and operating such a committee. Nabried stated that he and Frances Gabow, Organization Secretary, CPEPD, had agreed that the committee should be headed by someone already known in the political field but who is not a member of the CP.

Marxist Teachings--The Negro Question

Carl Winter, Chairman of the Michigan District (MD), CPUSA, and a member of the Party's National Executive Committee, conducted a Marxist Study Class in Detroit, Michigan, March 27, 1963. Although those in attendance were of the opinion that

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not enough attention was being devoted to the Negro question, Winter stated that in the communist movement in the United States, the Negro question is an indispensable matter.

Winter conducted a Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Tactics Class in Detroit on May 19, 1963. On this occasion, Thomas Dennis, Organizational Secretary, MDCP, spoke at length about the Negro liberation movement in the United States. He said that the Negro movement is the only movement in the country which does any fighting and stressed the need for the CP to energetically organize the Negroes because only the CP has the right program for the Negro.

Party's Use of Civil Rights Issues

On June 28, 1963, an MDCP-sponsored panel discussion and workshop on civil rights was held in Detroit. It was restricted to CP members and their close friends. One of the speakers was Claude Lightfoot, CPUSA National Vice-Chairman, who stated that he would speak on the subject of civil rights as the communist views it. A significant excerpt from Lightfoot's speech follows:

"If the international situation is in such a large manner responsible for the capacity of Negroes to strike out often alone against 'Jim Crow' then in what way do American communists fit into the picture. It was the American communist who helped the world movement, both the colonial and socialist sectors, to understand the nature of the American Negro question and in so doing help rally them to support our struggles. The Negro cannot win freedom by himself, he must have help from whites and progressives who will stand up and speak up for the rights of all persons."

CPUSA Position on Legislation Affecting Negroes

The CPUSA has many times emphasized grievances of the Negro race, not for the purpose of improving the social, political and economic positions of the Negroes but to capitalize on racial grievances for communist aims. As an example, an editorial appeared in the "Daily Worker" of July 23, 1957, entitled "Wavering on Civil Rights." This editorial condemned the efforts that were being made to work out a suitable compromise on a civil rights bill which was then being debated in the

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United States Senate. In many respects, the editorial was a typical communist tactic of agitation, indicative of the fact that the Party desired that no civil rights legislation be enacted, thereby enabling the Party to maintain a major propaganda theme.

The Party and "Negro Marches"

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In July, 1963, Gus Hall stated, as regards the "current Negro revolution," that the CPUSA is very much involved in all of the activities of the Negro groups seeking integration. He stated that the CP is playing a particularly important and influential role in arranging the "Negro marches" and that never in the history of the NAACP has the relationship between the Party and the NAACP been so good. He claimed that the Party's relations with Roy Wilkins, NAACP leader, are particularly good.

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In contrast to the foregoing is information appearing in the column of Jack Lotto headed "Reds Seek to Exploit March" appearing on page 11 of the August 3, 1963, issue of the "New York Journal-American." It is there reported that Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, and one of the leaders of the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, told Lotto, when informed of the communist intent to take part in the March in full force, the following:

"We do not welcome and will not receive any delegations of the CP. This is not a CP affair. This is an affair of persons who want to support the civil rights movement. The CP will not be received as a delegation or any other way, if we can detect it."

At a CP meeting in New York City in July, 1963, Gus Hall spoke of the role "our Party" has played in the Negro racial struggle. He paid tribute to Benjamin J. Davis, William L. Patterson, Claude Lightfoot and other Negroes who attended various demonstrations as onlookers. According to Hall, the Party will not change its tactics but will move as the Negro revolution moves, until it is ahead of the revolution. Hall said that he sees the Negro revolution as a means of achieving socialism in this country. Hall stated that many communists have been arrested in Negro demonstrations; however, these people have been described as being members of CORE. According to him these arrests have not taken place where the CP is "illegal" and most of those who were arrested have been the youth.

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B. Examples of Specific Issues Which Have Served as an
Entree for Party Involvement in the Negro Question

No section of the country is spared; no issue is overlooked--the Party always stands ready to grasp upon matters relating to the Negro question in its attempts to put them to Party use as propaganda weapons, recruitment devices, or for just plain agitational value. Some specific examples will serve to illustrate:

The Scottsboro Case

The first big battle conducted by the CPUSA among Negroes, used by it as a steppingstone to penetrate broad masses of the Negro people and to extend communist influence among them, concerned the Scottsboro Case. This case grew out of the arrest and jailing in Scottsboro, Alabama, of nine Negro youths for the alleged rape of two young white women in March, 1931. The defendants henceforth were to become known as the Scottsboro Boys. A quick trial ended April 9, 1931, in death sentences for eight and life imprisonment for the ninth, who was only 13 years of age.

The speedy verdict marked the beginning of a case that was to be fought back and forth in the courts for years and was destined to become a "cause celebre." After many appeals, reversals, and retrials, the case finally came to a close when the last of the defendants to remain in prison was released on parole June 6, 1950.

Although the arrests received only routine attention in the press, the International Labor Defense (ILD) (designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450) dispatched representatives to Scottsboro to follow the case and the NAACP sent one of its officials as an observer.

By the end of the trial, the ILD and NAACP were engaged in irreconcilable conflict as to the manner of handling the case. The approach of these two groups to the Scottsboro Case offers a revealing study in the contrasting purposes and methods of a noncommunist organization and a communist front. The sole objective of the NAACP was the defense of the individuals involved and it sought to achieve this by providing capable

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legal talent and stirring up public opinion on behalf of the defendants. The ILD, on the other hand, was concerned primarily with making the Scottsboro Boys martyrs in the class struggle even though the defendants had not the slightest conception of communism or any interest in it. To the ILD, communist propaganda was inevitably entwined with legal defense.

On April 10, 1931, the CPUSA, in a statement, signaled the launching of a propaganda campaign and a bitter attack on the NAACP. The Party called upon all working class and Negro organizations to adopt strong resolutions of protest, to wire these to the Governor of Alabama and to organize militant mass demonstrations. The communist attack on the principles and policies of the NAACP soon caused its leaders to relinquish the case to the ILD. The victory of the ILD became complete when the parents of the condemned boys were persuaded by ILD officials to grant the ILD legal authority to represent the defendants. Upon the withdrawal of the NAACP from the case, the ILD took charge of the defense and remained the sole active agent until late 1934.

The ILD embarked on a vigorous campaign, including the mailing of a large volume of communications of protest to persons connected with the case and circulation of millions of copies of pamphlets and leaflets. The amount of space allotted to the case in the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper which ceased publication January 13, 1958, was almost unbelievable. For several years, scarcely an issue failed to mention the latest development or to make some passing reference regarding the case.

Numerous demonstrations took place in the United States and abroad. An example of the violence connected with some of these demonstrations was that which flared up in Cuba in 1932 when a mob of communists attacked a branch of the National City Bank of New York in Havana with stones and other missiles. Demonstrators carried red banners and voiced disapproval of the then scheduled executions. The building of "The Havana Post," an English-language newspaper, was assaulted by about 30 persons displaying a red flag.

The Capitol of the United States was not spared. In the Winter of 1932 and Spring of 1933, both Washington, D. C., and New York City were the scenes of much Scottsboro campaign

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activity. Just before the United States Supreme Court ordered new trials for seven of the defendants in November, 1932, 100 demonstrators were driven off the Plaza at the east front of the Capitol by police, 14 being arrested.

To communists, the Scottsboro campaign was much more than a mere defense of nine hapless Negroes. The defendants were portrayed to the world as unwitting victims of racial prejudice and class exploitation which, as communists have always insisted, are ugly manifestations of the capitalist system. The Scottsboro case provided a stellar attraction by which communists could represent the CP as the "champion" of the Negro people.

The Till Case

The CPUSA placed the utmost emphasis on propagandizing the murder of Emmett Louis Till. Till, a 14-year-old Negro youth from Chicago, Illinois, was reportedly kidnaped and murdered in Mississippi in August, 1955. Two white men were charged with his murder but acquitted after trial; a grand jury later refused to indict them for kidnaping. The Party as well as its numerous front organizations regarded this case as an excellent opportunity to further its agitation and propaganda campaign among the Negroes. The Party press carried innumerable articles on the Till case and issued many pamphlets and leaflets regarding it.

In September, 1955, the national administrative committee (since dissolved) of the Party issued a memorandum to all Party districts regarding the Till "lynching," pointing out that the marked increase of anti-Negro terror in the South should become the immediate concern of the entire Party membership. The memorandum contained the following Party suggestions: (1) development of the movement to force the Eisenhower Administration to intervene in the Till case; (2) petitioning of city councils throughout the United States to urge the Attorney General to act; and (3) projecting the "struggle" into the preparation for the convening of Congress in 1956. The memorandum said that the above actions would necessitate hundreds of thousands of post cards, telegrams, letters, petitions and resolutions to the President and the Attorney General from individuals and organizations. The "Daily Worker" proclaimed:

"THE SAVAGE LYNCHING of the Till boy must be fought militantly. This has already been well begun

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by many demonstrations and activities....The whole American people should be aroused to the terrible outrage of this boy lynching. And, not the least important, this case should be publicized all over the world. Abroad it will get a powerful response from the democratic people, who already thoroughly hate the U. S. jimcrow system, with all its oppression, exploitation, and murder."

Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott

One of the southern racial situations which received the support of Party propaganda was that concerning the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) which was started in December, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama. The purpose of the MIA was to boycott the Montgomery public buses in order to obtain integration and more courteous treatment of Negro passengers by the bus company. Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was an MIA leader and in December, 1956, desegregation of the buses was achieved. The boycott received extensive supporting publicity in the "The Worker" and the "Daily Worker."

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, also known as March on Washington, D. C., March 4-6, 1956

Fifty-one organizations led by the NAACP sponsored a 1956 March on Washington to bring to the attention of Congress the civil rights program being pushed by these organizations. Roy Wilkins, NAACP National Executive Secretary, widely disseminated an eight-point program the NAACP was seeking to have enacted. Careful and elaborate precautions were made to forestall any CP members from attending the conference as delegates. Wilkins wrote to the leaders of local NAACP organizations advising them of the specific number of delegates and alternates that should be named to attend. The local leaders were instructed to carefully select their delegates to assure that no "left-wingers" attended. As an additional precaution, Wilkins also required each local leader to personally sign and furnish to each delegate and alternate that individual's credentials or "certification."

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the NAACP, the Party exhorted individual members to attend the conference

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as observers by attempting to obtain credentials from bona fide organizations which were permitted to send delegates. Those communists not able to gain accreditation to the meetings were nevertheless advised to travel to Washington if at all possible. As a result of the aggressive effort on the part of Party members throughout the country, many members, led by at least eight functionaries representing the Party's National Committee, National Negro Commission and various other District and State Party organizations, did attend. More than 1,000 copies of the "Daily Worker" were distributed to conference delegates at the entrances to buildings in which meetings were held.

Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom,
Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957

In many ways analogous to the involvement of the CPUSA in the August 28, 1963, March on Washington were the Party's plans relative to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom to Washington, D. C., May 17, 1957. The 1957 movement was originally initiated and conceived as a legitimate movement to celebrate in prayer at Washington, D. C., the third anniversary of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court upon desegregation. Notwithstanding the element of legitimacy, the CPUSA mobilized individuals and sentiment to support the pilgrimage. Its efforts were channeled through one of the key organizations behind the pilgrimage, the NAACP, and through trade unions and other mass organizations. The Party's support was rendered in a manner which concealed Party connections. One of the principal individuals active in the leadership of the pilgrimage was Reverend Martin Luther King.

"Sit-In" Movement in South

In April, 1960, the State Board of the Illinois District CP created a subcommittee which was assigned the task of coordinating organizations in the Chicago area for picket line activity and demonstrations in support of the southern Negro students' struggle against segregated dining establishments. One of the main tasks of this subcommittee was to attempt to mobilize the NAACP and Baptist Church in Chicago to participate in this activity. Claude Lightfoot, Chairman, CP, Illinois District, sent two Illinois District CP members to attend a two-day meeting in Raleigh, North Carolina, in

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April, 1960, which dealt with the southern students involved in the "sit-in" demonstrations in the South. The "sit-in" demonstrations of southern Negro students were discussed at a section membership meeting of the Illinois CP in May, 1960. It was announced at this meeting that the task of the CP regarding these demonstrations is to be alert for openings to implement this program "on the road to socialism."

"Freedom Riders"

The "freedom riders" issue presented the Party with a ready-made situation upon which it many times attempted to capitalize by embarrassing the United States Government in the eyes of the world. Gus Hall on various occasions urged organized protests in support of the "freedom riders" and "The Worker" devoted considerable space in support of such activity. On July 10, 1961, Hall, speaking before a group of Party functionaries on the west coast, predicted that the struggle of the Negro people as expressed through the "freedom riders" would continue to grow in strength. He cited the authority of the CPUSA, under certain sections of the Negro people's movement, as being responsible for a new liberalism in the United States.

Upon release from prison, Henry Winston, a leading National Party functionary, held a press, radio, and television conference at CPUSA headquarters in New York City in early July, 1961. When Winston was asked if the CPUSA took any credit for the "freedom riders," Hall interrupted to comment that "we" give them full support. Hall also stated that whenever such struggles take place, one will find communists in them.

Englewood, New Jersey, School Integration

At a CP meeting in New Jersey in March, 1963, attention was directed to the school integration problem in Englewood, New Jersey, and to a petition which had been prepared by a committee called the Paterson Emergency Committee to Support the Englewood School Fight for signatures and ultimately for presentation to the Governor. A Party functionary distributed copies of the petition to those at the meeting and urged their circulation. He pointed out that the Englewood

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situation had become a national issue and urged that Party members support the Paterson Committee with contributions. At the same time, he warned that all action taken in support of the campaign should be discreet to avoid disclosure of Party connection therewith. Later that month, Party members gave impetus to a demonstration that was staged at Trenton, New Jersey, to publicize the school integration issue at Englewood. Although the demonstration was not Party-sponsored, the Party was largely responsible for organizing a caravan of three buses which brought demonstrators from Newark to Trenton to participate in the demonstration. Approximately 50 people arrived in the three buses and about one fourth of them were Party members.

Seattle, Washington, Sit-In Demonstrations

The "Seattle Times" and "Seattle Post Intelligencer," both Seattle, Washington, newspapers of July 2, 1963, carried photographs of members of a sit-in group which demonstrated in the office of the Mayor of Seattle, July 1-2, 1963. Articles accompanying the photograph stated that the 24-hour sit-in was designed to dramatize a demand for open housing ordinances. The "Seattle Post Intelligencer" of July 3, 1963, related that the above demonstrators, who numbered 20 at one point during the sit-in, were mostly members of the Central District Youth Club. Eddie Givens was noted as the Club Chairman.

One of our sources advised that a number of the individuals who engaged in this sit-in were CP members and that Eddie Givens was a CP member in the Seattle area. According to this source, Givens and other CP members organized the Central District Youth Club.

From July 22, 1963, to July 25, 1963, a group demonstrated at the Seattle City Council Chambers, Seattle, Washington. According to our source, several CP youth members initiated this demonstration in protest of the composition of Mayor Gordon Clinton's Municipal Youth Rights Commission which included only two Negroes.

On July 27, 1963, the Youth Rally for Civil Rights convened in an Annex of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Seattle, Washington. The rally continued at this location until the

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early afternoon and then moved to the New Hope Baptist Church in Seattle. One of our sources identified a number of Seattle CP members in attendance at both parts of this rally.

Our source had advised that Eddie Givens has been taking a leading part in the youth section of the Negro civil rights demonstrations in the Seattle area.

Our source in this matter has furnished reliable information in the past.

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON, AUGUST 28, 1963

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VI. MARCH ON WASHINGTON
August 28, 1963

The March on Washington scheduled for 8/28/63 is an event which has created national interest and is being supported by a number of nonsubversive organizations. The CPUSA, although it did not initiate nor is it controlling this event, is using the March for the purpose of promoting its own interests.

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It is pertinent to note here, however, the conversation Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the March leaders, had with Stanley David Levison, a secret member of the Party, on 6/1/63. It is known to us that Levison and King have been in contact with each other since December, 1956. As early as September, 1958, Levison was described as one of King's chief assistants who spent considerable time advising and helping King. At one time Levison and his brother, who is known as Roy Bennett, were organizers for the CP in New York. They are both currently known as secret members of the Party and in past years Levison and his brother, Roy Bennett, both have been heavy financial contributors to the CP. During the afore-mentioned conversation, King commented he had never seen the Negro community as aroused, as determined and as enthusiastic as at that time. He said that "We are on the threshold of a significant breakthrough and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration." King added "We are at the point where we can mobilize all of this righteous indignation into a powerful mass movement." King suggested that there be a mass march of literally thousands and thousands of people on Washington. King said that even the threat of such a march might so frighten the President that he would have to do something. He asked Levison "Are we ready for that." In reply, Levison said two things would have to be considered: (1) There would have to be unanimity among all groups. (2) Would more pressure be generated on Washington by a series of local situations rather than by one mass march on Washington. King answered at length and was in favor of one mass march. He said he envisioned such an event would create such an impact that "something would have to give." He again asked Levison if the time was right for such a move. Levison then agreed "The time is now."

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Clarence Jones, Acting Executive Director of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, who was a participant in the conversation, suggested that King discuss his proposal with Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP, and A. Philip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, before any announcement is made publicly concerning a mass march on Washington. At that point King suggested that either Levison or Jones see A. Philip Randolph and that a statement be worked out along the lines of the new militancy throughout the country.

During the discussion it was indicated that Clarence Jones had attended a meeting at which the National Council of Churches had expressed an interest in King's direct action approach. Levison asked Jones whether it would be possible to quote individuals without mentioning names who had attended the meeting as "this is new when white church leadership is looking for something in the way of direct action." Levison said this would give it the biggest, broadest, front ever as "you can see the effect of Negroes joined by the National Council of Churches and not just Negro churches." The significance of these conversations is apparent when consideration is given to the fact that when King first was considering a march on Washington, he discussed it in detail with his contact in the CP and sought the advice of this communist as to whether the time was right for such a march. Additional significance can be attached to these conversations in the light of information we received from a source who has furnished reliable information in the past to the effect that in May, 1963, a national functionary of the CPUSA commented that Stanley Levison, by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King movement, was doing the most important work in the Party at that time. Information received in June, 1963, indicated that while Levison still retains his strong communist convictions and still acts as an effective Party advisor to King, he is becoming critical of the Party's role in the relationship. He believes the Party has lost prestige among Negroes lately because it has not been sufficiently aggressive and effective in promoting civil rights for the Negro and otherwise immersing itself in Negro causes. Levison said he does not consider himself to be under the control of the Party with respect to his dealings with King.

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On 8/2/63, CP leaders in New York City stated that the leaders of the March have not invited the Party to participate and, in addition, have publicly stated they did not want "any communists."

The possibilities inherent in this March as seen by the Party are indicated in a statement made by Gus Hall in speaking to approximately 70 communists or communist sympathizers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 7/31/63. He described the March as an indication of a peaceful transition toward socialism and, according to Hall, it is imperative that as many white people as possible participate. On 8/2/63, Hall commented that the Party should not give the appearance that it is "taking over." Along this line, Party leaders in early August, 1963, urged rank-and-file CP members to clandestinely participate in the March through legitimate organizations.

At a meeting of leading CP functionaries in New York City on 8/14/63, Philip Bart, CP National Organizational Secretary, stated that there never has been a comparable figure in the past wherein hundreds of communists will actually be together with tens of thousands of others as will take place in the March. Bart called for efforts to work with the idea of establishing connection with this new force. At this same meeting Joseph Brandt, a CP national functionary, commented that the Party has blended itself into this "movement" and because persons in the March will be listening to "our" people, the question now arises as to what can be done with these people after the March.

A. Party Program

As early as June, 1963, some semblance of a Party program began to jell and was outlined in an article appearing in the 6/23/63 issue of "The Worker." This article

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suggested a program based on a report adopted at a recent national gathering of communist leaders. It called for: (1) Direct, mass, peaceful action pursued through the Negro people and their organizations; and (2) The support of white allies, beginning with organized labor. Included in the proposals were the withholding of Federal funds from states which deny constitutional rights to its citizens; a petition to the Supreme Court to set a time limit of 1/1/64 for compliance with its 1954 decision on the desegregation of public schools; and, if necessary, the federalization of the State National Guards.

By 7/15/63 the Party had issued two directives "TO ALL (CP) DISTRICTS." One referred to an article in a recent issue of "The Worker" by James Jackson, which identified the "Dixiecrat" politicians and the "Northern Republican ultra-Rightists" as the enemies of the Negro movement. The "Directive" urged Party members to order reprints of this article for mailing to influential figures in Negro organizations, trade unions, fraternal orders and churches. The other "Directive" urged Party support of the March, which it described as "an event of the greatest historic importance."

At a meeting of leading CP functionaries in New York City on 8/1/63, William Albertson, member of the CP National Board, stated that the Party must show the best of everything, including the best picket lines and the best cadre fighting. He proposed that the Party open up a special headquarters in Washington, D. C. At this same meeting, Jack Stachel, member of the CPUSA National Executive Committee, commented that "we" decided that "we" will participate in the March by organizing a minimum of 100 people and by organizing pressure groups from New Jersey, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

B. Participation of CP National Leaders

CP national leaders planning to attend the March include the following:

James Jackson, CP National Secretary for the South
and Editor of "The Worker"

Benjamin J. Davis, CP National Secretary

Louis Weinstock, CP National Committee member and
Business Manager of "The Worker"

Thomas Nabried, Chairman, Eastern Pennsylvania and
Delaware CP District

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George Meyers, Chairman, Maryland-District of Columbia
CP District

Samuel Davis, Midwest Correspondent, "The Worker"

Billy Allan, Michigan Editor, "The Worker"

William Patterson, Chairman, New York CP District

Thomas Dennis, Organizational Secretary, Michigan
CP District

C. Participation of Rank-and-File Party Members

While leaders of all major Party districts discussed participation in the March on Washington, actual organized participation is receiving its largest support in the New York City and Philadelphia areas.

In New York the 11th Assembly District CP Club, which had been advised that the CP should not be directly identified with the March but should participate in other groups, was making arrangements by 8/7/63 for rail transportation to Washington. Five members of the Club pledged their attendance. Three members of the CP Peace Club, Brooklyn, New York, planned to participate in the March and will travel to Washington by train with a group from the 17th Assembly District, Brooklyn, New York. On 8/7/63 it was reported that 100 members of the New York City Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Womens Clubs, whose leadership consists largely of communists, will go to Washington by train. Steve Gordon, a CP member in New York as of January, 1963, is in charge of chartering a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) bus and recruiting persons to accompany the group. Jane Benedict, a member of the New York County CP as of March, 1959, and Chairman of the Metropolitan Council on Housing (MCOH), a federation of tenant organizations in the New York City area, announced that four buses have been reserved for the MCOH delegation and that both she and Frances Goldin, CP member in New York as of April, 1962, plan to attend. On 8/12/63 information was received that a group of New Jersey CP members planned to depart Lakewood, New Jersey, by bus on the early morning of 8/28/63 for Washington. The bus was chartered by an unidentified group.

In Philadelphia, the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC), which was initiated and founded by the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware in October, 1962, decided on 7/22/63

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that it would take up the task of contacting people who would not be contacted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and CORE. The ICC pledged two bus loads.

The Ad Hoc Committee concerning the March, which was set up in Philadelphia by the Socialist Youth Union (SYU), July, 1963, the Philadelphia affiliate of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC), is now known as the "Philadelphia Youth Committee for Jobs and Freedom March." The PYOC was formed under the direction of the CPUSA in January, 1961, for the purpose of establishing a national youth group. The SYU expects to fill three buses.

In Detroit on 7/17/63, Carl Winter, CP functionary, advised that the Party is not happy with President Kennedy's speaking out in favor of the demonstration since this will insure its peacefulness and diminish CP participation. In late July, 1963, William Allan, CP member, Michigan, stated that every Party club organization should try to recruit for the March and he hopes to see at least one chartered bus and several car loads of marchers from the west go to Washington.

In Chicago, Illinois, Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the CP in Illinois and a National Vice-Chairman, stated in early August, 1963, that the CP of Illinois is attempting to get 500 white persons to go to Washington.

In Los Angeles, California, at a meeting of the Jewish Commission, Southern California District CP (SCDCP), on 8/5/63, a recommendation was made for the SCDCP to send a representative to Washington on August 28. Ben Dobbs, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, had stated on 7/30/63 that the SCDCP would not directly support the March by paying transportation costs due to lack of funds.

The Virginia CP State Executive Committee on 7/14/63 proposed that work should begin on getting a delegation to go to Washington as participants or as onlookers.

In Seattle, Washington, the CP leaders of the Central District Youth Club are attempting to raise money with an apparent objective to cover expenses of bus transportation for a group to attend the March. According to a source, NAACP leaders in the State of Washington are having nothing to do with the communists.

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D. Use of Party Literature

Much attention has been given the use of Party literature and a special edition of "The Worker" is being planned in connection with the March. Stachel, on 8/7/63, proposed to leading CPUSA functionaries that "The Worker" and other literature be distributed to delegations to the March. This was accepted but with the qualification that no distribution would be made during progress of the March. Louis Weinstock, General Manager of "The Worker," who originally planned to go to Washington on 8/27/63 with 1,000 copies of "The Worker" in the trunk of his car, proposed on 8/14/63 that 10,000 copies of "The Worker" be distributed at bus and train terminals since there is to be no distribution in Washington, D. C. He also proposed that 10,000 pamphlets be sold at concentration points on the morning of 8/28/63 and the remainder be sold after the demonstration.

E. Support of March By American Communists in Mexico

A group of American communists in Mexico are working actively to support the March. They have revived temporarily a defunct organization known as the League for Defense of Negroes and have been collecting funds to send telegrams of encouragement to the Washington headquarters for the March. Individuals in the group are writing the telegrams and attempting to secure on them the signatures of well-known persons in Mexico. To date, they have succeeded in obtaining the signatures of a number of prominent personalities, including that of the former Mexican President, Lazaro Cardenas. Haywood Hall, described as one of the most militant members of the group, reportedly has left Mexico City already with intentions of joining the March, and Albert Maltz, one of the well-known "Hollywood Ten," reportedly also plans to travel to Washington to take part in the demonstration.

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F. Evaluation of Party Influence and its Utilization of the March

Realizing that plans for the March on Washington are obviously being carried on successfully by other organizations, the Party is making an all-out effort to take advantage of this opportunity to further its cause. The Party has three basic objectives:

- (1) Participation by CP members through legitimate organizations
- (2) Attempt to get the Party line into the hands of sympathizers and supporters of the March through distribution of "The Worker" and Party pamphlets
- (3) Utilize the March as a steppingstone for future Party activity through contacts now being made by Party members involved in the March

It remains to be seen to what extent the Party will be successful in translating its efforts stated above into concrete results.

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G. Subversive Data Concerning Certain Leaders

The files of the FBI contain subversive data regarding some of the leaders of the March on Washington. They are:

- (1) Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
President, SCLC

One of the chairmen of the March on Washington is Reverend Martin Luther King. Pertinent information regarding King appears in Exhibit 1 of this memorandum.

- (2) Cleveland Llewellyn Robinson
Vice President, NALC

Robinson is a member of the Administrative Committee of the March on Washington. A security-type investigation conducted into Robinson's activities disclosed that he had formerly been a member of the CPUSA but was expelled from the Party in 1952. It was also ascertained that he had participated in various CP and communist front activities in New York City.

- (3) Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Coordinator for Special Events,
National Council of Churches

Hedgeman is a member of the Administrative Committee of the March on Washington. A loyalty-type investigation conducted concerning Hedgeman in 1949 determined that, in connection with work involving fair employment practices, she had appeared before some groups which were CP dominated and also had some association with individuals who had been active in CP matters. Persons acquainted with Hedgeman described her as an active integrationist but anticommunist. She was considered eligible for Government employment by the Loyalty Review Board.

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- (4) Reverend Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Vice President, New York Branch, NAACP

Kilgore is a member of the Administrative Committee of the March on Washington. During the period from 1949 to 1959, Kilgore was active in various functions sponsored by communist front groups including the American Peace Crusade which was designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- (5) Gloster Bryant Current
National Director of Branches, NAACP

Current is a member of the Administrative Committee of the March on Washington. A security-type investigation conducted into the activities of Current during the 1940's disclosed that Current had participated in the activities of several communist front groups and had associated with several known communists. He has, however, been described since that time as definitely anticommunist.

- (6) Joachim Prinz
President, American Jewish Congress

Prinz is a member of the Administrative Committee of the March on Washington. Since 1940, Prinz has been named as a sponsor of, a speaker for, or a signer of petitions in connection with several communist front groups. In July, 1963, Prinz, on behalf of the American Jewish Congress, joined with leaders of two other organizations in charging the Soviet Government's newspaper, "Izvestia," with "shocking distortions about justice and anti-Semitism in the United States."

- (7) Bayard Rustin

Rustin is the Deputy Director of the March on Washington. Pertinent information regarding Rustin appears in Exhibit 3 of this memorandum.

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(8) Thomas David Kahn, aka
Tom Marcel

Kahn is the assistant to the Deputy Director of the March on Washington. A security-type investigation into Kahn's activities in 1957 disclosed that Kahn was very active in the Young Socialist League in New York City and on the West Coast and held office in both the national organization and in local branches. At that time the Young Socialist League was the youth organization for the Independent Socialist League which, prior to 1958, was designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. In 1958, this designation was removed.

(9) Joseph Allen Beavers
Vice President, NALC

Beavers is a member of the District of Columbia Coordinating Committee of the March on Washington. Beavers was the subject of a security investigation in 1950 after he was identified by a source as having been issued a CP membership card in 1946 and as having been associated with several organizations described as communist fronts or completely dominated by the CP. During an interview, Beavers denied membership in the CP and denied having any knowledge of a CP card having been issued to him. He did admit having known the individual who allegedly sponsored his CP membership. Beavers' wife, Helen Beavers, was separated from Government employment in 1954 due to her membership in an organization described as dominated by the CP and due to her association with known CP members.

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VII.

PRIOR PERTINENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY THE DIRECTOR

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VII. PRIOR PERTINENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY THE DIRECTOR

In the past, the Director has made a number of pertinent public statements relating to communist efforts to penetrate and influence the Negro people in the United States.

A. Statements to Congress

February 7, 1950

"As to the matter of civil rights, the American communists, artists of concealment, for years have been seeking to gain public support through the issue of civil rights, a subject too sacred to be hindered by communist propagandists. The Civil Rights Congress, cited by the Attorney General as subversive, is a good illustration. Whenever the Communist Party wants to start a demonstration, the Civil Rights Congress is called into action. They have picketed Federal court houses; they have marched on Washington; they have issued handbills; and they have sought to inspire a barrage of telegrams and letters, as the Members of Congress know so well. Their protest meetings and campaigns are fervent and frequent."

At the request of Senator McClellan, the Director further clarified the above quoted paragraph with the following:

"My contention has been that these problems in the South--the violation of civil rights status--is a very delicate question, and should be left to the local agencies and to the Federal Government for the reason that there has been a marked improvement both upon the part of the newspapers and representative citizens, recognizing the fact that the problem is one that the South should handle and must handle. Where you have outsiders coming in, not through any sincere purpose, but to exploit the situation when a violation takes place, the result is detrimental to all parties.

"'The Negroes are the most potential reservoir of revolution in the South' is a statement made by the top Communist Party functionaries. They realize that. Therefore, they rush in, not to help the Negro but to aggravate the situation."

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"They are not sincere. It is merely for propaganda purposes, merely to advertise themselves, merely to go into areas of great cities and other areas where there are large minority groups, and appear to them as being the so-called savior or as 'carrying their torch for them.' They merely want to create dissension."

Testimony before the Senate
Subcommittee on Appropriations.

September 7, 1950

"I would say they (communists) are largely in concentrated areas where they figure they can do the most harm economically or industrially or in regard to racial activities. They always concentrate in areas like New York or Chicago to try to inflame any racial feelings. In race riots, or things of that kind, you always find them in the background. Whenever there is a legitimate cause of complaint, they always rush in behind some front organization to agitate and try to make things worse and try to prevent a proper solution under normal conditions. That is their basic, principal operation."

Testimony before the Senate
Subcommittee on Appropriations.

January 16, 1958

"The Negro situation is also being exploited fully and continuously by communists on a national scale. Current programs include intensified attempts to infiltrate Negro mass organizations. The Party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes--but are designed to take advantage of all controversial issues on the racial question so as to create unrest, dissension and confusion in the minds of the American people."

Testimony before the House Sub-
committee on Appropriations.

January 26, 1960

"Another of the major aims of the 17th national convention was to reemphasize the recruitment of Negroes into the Communist Party by reembellishing the same old hackneyed phrases alleging that the Communist Party is the savior of the Negro. It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments

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of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism.

"Behind the Communists' scheme of recruiting Negroes is deceit as there is in every one of their designs. The Reds are not so interested in the Negro as they are in using him to further Communist goals...."

* * * * *

"The Negro resolution adopted by the convention discarded the party's historic position advocating 'self-determination,' meaning that Negroes should be given the right to form a separate nation in the Southern States...."

* * * * *

"The 1959 convention resolution hence represents a party admission that its position concerning the Negroes is bankrupt. Time itself has shown that the party is not interested in the welfare of the Negro, but only in using him as a tool to advance party interests."

Statement to the Senate
Subcommittee on Internal Security
Concerning the 17th National
Convention, Communist Party, USA,
December 10-13, 1959, page 7.

March 6, 1961

"Communist propaganda has always been quick to seize on problems of minority groups. Instances involving the Negro race have been prime targets in this barrage. The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the Party fully exploited to further its own ends. The communists first showed an interest in the demonstrations in late February, 1960, when James E. Jackson and Joseph North,

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national Communist Party functionaries, traveled to Richmond, Virginia, and wrote articles for The Worker, an east coast communist weekly newspaper, concerning demonstrations then in progress in Richmond. Also during early March, 1960, Daniel Rubin, National Youth Director of the Communist Party, USA, visited college campuses in Richmond to obtain statements from students in connection with the demonstrations. The Communist Party strategy was not to openly advocate picketing, inasmuch as this would tend to expose its members, but rather to get behind the movement by urging college students to take the initiative. The importance which the Communist Party, USA, has placed on these demonstrations was sharply brought into focus when Benjamin Davis, the Party's National Secretary, told the Party in March, 1960, that these demonstrations were considered the next best thing to 'proletarian revolution.'"

Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

January 24, 1962

"Since its inception, the Communist Party, USA, has been alert to capitalize on every possible issue or event which could be used to exploit the American Negro in furtherance of Party aims. In its efforts to influence the American Negro, the Party attempts to infiltrate the legitimate Negro organizations for the purpose of stirring up racial prejudice and hatred. In this way, the Party strikes a blow at our democratic form of Government by attempting to influence public opinion throughout the world against the United States."

Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

B. Statements in Books

December, 1957

"The Communist Party from its very inception has held itself out as the 'vanguard of the working class,' and as such has sought to assume the role of protector and champion of minorities. It directs special attention, among others, to Negroes and nationality groups. Actually the vast majority of Negroes and members of foreign-language groups have rejected communism for what it is: a heartless, totalitarian way of life which completely disregards the dignity of man."

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"The Party's claim that it is working for Negro rights is a deception and a fraud. The Party's sole interest, as most American Negroes know, is to hoodwink the Negro, to exploit him and use him as a tool to build a communist America."

Masters of Deceit, pages 243, 246.

May 25, 1962

"Special emphasis is placed by the party on penetrating the major Negro protest and improvement associations in an effort to exploit all controversial or potentially controversial racial issues. However, one of the bitterest disappointments of the Communists has been their failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the party."

A Study of Communism, page 169.



EXHIBITS



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

King is a well-known southern Negro leader who is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and is copastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia. He was born in Atlanta on January 15, 1929. King became nationally prominent during 1955 and 1956 when he organized a protest that ended bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. He was selected one of ten outstanding personalities in 1956 by "Time" magazine. As a result of his activities in racial matters, he has been arrested on numerous occasions by local officials and charged with misdemeanors. Throughout his efforts in the racial field, he has stressed nonviolent action in all integration efforts.

Communist Connections and Influences on King

Stanley David Levison is a New York attorney and businessman.

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Stanley David Levison is a secret member of the CPUSA and has for years been a heavy financial contributor to the CPUSA. At one time he and his brother, Roy Levison, also known as Roy Bennett, were organizers for the CP in New York. Roy Bennett is also known as a secret member of the CPUSA and in past years a heavy financial contributor to the CP. Stanley Levison served as a member of the CPUSA Committee on Finances.

Levison, as early as December, 1956, is known to have been in contact with Martin Luther King, Jr., when during that month he discussed plans with King for the publication of articles that were scheduled to be written by King.

In September, 1958, Levison was described as one of King's chief assistants who spent considerable time advising and helping King.

In January, 1959, Levison was described as legal representative and confidant of King.

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EXHIBIT NUMBER 1

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During May, 1963, James R. Wood, radio announcer, WAOK, Atlanta, Georgia, stated he had been associated with King and the SCLC in 1960. He stated he withdrew from the movement because he was concerned with the possibility that persons with the wrong background or ulterior motives were gaining the confidence of King. As an example, he mentioned Stanley Levison as being very close to King and having King's confidence. Wood was concerned because he knew Levison was closely associated with a publicly known member of the CP.

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During June, 1963, King suggested to Levison that there be a mass march to Washington of literally thousands and thousands of people. He asked Levison, "Are we ready for that." Levison told him there were two things he must consider: Unanimity among all groups, and whether there would be more pressure from a series of local situations rather than a mass march. King voiced an opinion in favor of the march. Levison was asked if he thought the time was right for such a move and Levison agreed, "The time is now." King suggested that either Levison or Clarence Jones, Acting Executive Director of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, who was a participant in the conversation, see A. Philip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, before any announcement is made publicly concerning the mass march on Washington.

Later, in June, 1963, Levison advised King that Jones had been in contact with Randolph concerning the march on Washington at which time he learned that Randolph was planning a similar march in the fall. Levison suggested to King that he attempt to contact Randolph to discuss this as soon as possible in order that they could combine forces.

*SENSITIVE
Foreign
Intelligence
CP*

During June, 1963, one top functionary of the CP stated that Martin Luther King was considered by the top functionaries of the CP as a "true, genuine Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes." He said in the Party the report is that King is following the Marxist-Leninist line. This functionary did not know whether King was actually a member of the CP.

Information received in June, 1963, indicates that while Levison still retains his strong communist conviction and still acts as an effective Party advisor to King, he is becoming critical of the Party's role in the relationship. He believes the Party has lost prestige among Negroes lately because it has not been sufficiently aggressive and effective in promoting civil rights for the Negro and otherwise immersing itself in Negro causes.

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In May, 1960, Levison and his brother, Roy Levison, were working in connection with a mass meeting scheduled to be held in behalf of King on 5/17/60.

Stanley Levison handled arrangements for a "Tribute to Martin Luther King" at Carnegie Hall on the night of 1/27/61.

In February, 1961, Levison was described as Associate Director of the SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia. This same source in March, 1961, identified Levison as being associated with the SCLC, 312 West 125th Street, New York City.

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The records of the Charities Registration Bureau of the New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York, reveal that the "Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Freedom in the South," 312 West 125th Street, New York City, was started on 3/17/60 with Stanley Levison being listed as Assistant Executive Director.

The above records show that the "Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle," 312 West 125th Street, New York City, was started on 11/1/60, with Stanley Levison being listed as Assistant Director and Martin Luther King, Jr., as Co-chairman.

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Levison advised Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, on 2/12/62 that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

During March, 1962, Levison made the statement that King was concerned with the idea that a "communist label would be pinned on us," but on the other hand he desired to do everything possible on the question of showing evidence of friendship toward the Soviet Union.

In May, 1962, Levison was active in attempts to form an organization on behalf of King to be known as the "Gandhi Society for Human Rights."

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In July, 1962, a letter appearing on the letterhead of "Martin E. Seigel and Company, Incorporated, 3 West 64th Street, New York, New York," was directed to various individuals inviting them to become members of an honorary committee for a dinner to be held in New York City on 10/23/62 honoring (1) the first 25 years of service to American seamen and the maritime industry of the National Maritime Union, (2) Joseph Curran's twenty-fifth year as head of this Union, and (3) Ghandi Society for Human Rights, "which was established this year under the honorary presidency of the Reverend Martin Luther King." This letter was under the signature of Martin E. Seigel, Chairman, Dinner Committee. The letter indicated that through this celebration the committee would provide financial support for the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, which seeks to continue the progress in education and voter registration begun by King and to support the activities of other organizations by providing legal assistance for those seeking to utilize their constitutional privileges.

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Levison has prepared speeches to be delivered by King as reported by our sources.

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Sensitive foreign intelligence operation
In May, 1962, a national functionary of the CPUSA commented that Stanley Levison, by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King movement, is doing the most important work in the CP today.

In January, 1963, King requested Stanley Levison to meet with him at Dorchester Cooperative Center in McIntosh, Georgia, which place was used as a training base for operations run under the SCLC. This meeting was described, "to be a closeted review of where they are--a critical review," and consisted of a group of the top echelon planning the next moves of the SCLC.

During February, 1963, Levison met with King at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel in New York City, at which time Levison gave King some notes to be used by King in preparation of a speech he was to make that evening at the Essex Hotel, 160 Central Park South, New York City.

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Clarence Jones is currently the Executive Secretary of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, of which Martin Luther King is honorary chairman.

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Clarence Jones has been identified as a member of the Labor Youth League in the mid-1950's. The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Since the Spring of 1962, Jones has been in contact with Stanley Levison on numerous occasions, as well as with Martin Luther King, in connection with King's activities in the civil rights movement.

Clarence Jones was one of those invited to meet King at the Dorchester Cooperative Center in McIntosh, Georgia, on January 10-11, 1963, for a top-level review of their position.

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Stanley Levison met King, Jones, and Hunter Pitts O'Dell at the Savannah Airport, Savannah, Georgia, on January 10, 1963. Hunter Pitts O'Dell has been publicly identified as a member of the CP.

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During August, 1963, Martin Luther King, accompanied by his wife, visited New York for approximately 10 days. During this time they stayed at the home of Clarence Jones, 5505 Independence Avenue, Riverdale, New York.

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Pertinent portions of the above information have been made available to the Attorney General.

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HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

Background and Employment

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who in recent years has called himself Jack O'Dell and J. H. O'Dell, was born in Detroit, Michigan, on August 11, 1923. He graduated from Northwestern High School, Detroit, in June, 1941, and attended the Xavier University Pharmacy School in New Orleans, Louisiana, from September, 1941, to January, 1944. He served in the United States Merchant Marine intermittently from February, 1944, to August, 1949. From October, 1956, to August, 1958, he worked in the insurance business in Alabama and early in 1960 began working full time in the New York headquarters which housed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle, and the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King. According to a statement by King in July, 1963, O'Dell's connections with the SCLC were severed on June 26, 1963.

Communist Party Membership and Activities

During 1946 and 1947, O'Dell attended classes of instructions in Marxism and Leninism conducted by CP leaders in the Miami, Florida, area and, in May, 1948, attended a New York State CP school as a member of the Waterfront Section of the New York County CP. From April, 1951, to April, 1956, he was active in the CP in Louisiana serving as Marine Coordinator and District Organizer and functioning as a member of the Louisiana State CP Committee. During this period, O'Dell made numerous trips to New York City to attend meetings of the CPUSA on a national level including the Party's Southern Regional Convention in September, 1954.

In March, 1956, O'Dell was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which was holding hearings in New Orleans and, during a search by the New Orleans Police Department to locate him, police officers seized, in O'Dell's residence, a large quantity of CP literature including directives from the Party's national headquarters.

After appearing before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in April, 1956, O'Dell left Louisiana and, following a brief stay in New York City from June to October, 1956, during which he attended a meeting of the Southern Regional Committee of the CPUSA, proceeded to Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, where he remained until August, 1958, as

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an employee of the Protective Industrial Insurance Company. Following his arrest by the Birmingham, Alabama, Police Department on September 15, 1958, on a morals charge, which was subsequently dismissed, O'Dell returned to New York City where he was assigned by James Edward Jackson, Secretary of Negro and Southern Affairs, CPUSA, as Jackson's assistant in CP Southern Regional activities. In discussing O'Dell with several Party members, Jackson stated on September 25, 1958, that O'Dell had been District Organizer for the CP in Louisiana for six years and that his employment with an insurance company in Montgomery, Alabama, enabled him to associate with people like the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

In December, 1958, at a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA, in New York City, Jackson introduced O'Dell as "Charles" and said "Charles" was the Party's field secretary of Negro and Southern work. During the period from October, 1958, through November, 1959, O'Dell attended several meetings of the National Executive Committee and National Committee, CPUSA, as well as district conventions of the CP in Virginia and Texas. At most of these meetings, O'Dell spoke on the policy of the CP in regard to Negro matters.

At the 17th National Convention of the CPUSA held in New York City from December 10 to December 13, 1959, O'Dell was elected to the Party's National Committee under the alias Cornelius James.

In January, 1960, O'Dell said that he would continue his work in the South but would also spend a great deal of time in New York City. In February, 1960, O'Dell was reported as being at that time on the payroll of the National Office of the CPUSA but efforts were being made to get him into something away from the Party.

In November, 1960, Gus Hall, the General Secretary, CPUSA, stated that O'Dell who had been active with the Southern Negro Committee was going to school to learn the insurance business but was still active in the CP.

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In July, 1962, Gus Hall stated that O'Dell was still representing the CPUSA, was still on the National Committee, CPUSA, and was doing an excellent job as a "brain trust" for Martin Luther King.

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Although O'Dell is not known to have attended CP meetings since his election to the National Committee of the CPUSA in December, 1959, he has not made an official or public denial of his membership in the CP. During an interview with Bureau Agents in November, 1961, however, O'Dell commented that he has nothing to do with the CP. O'Dell appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in April, 1956, and before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in July, 1958, and on both occasions relied on the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination when questioned regarding his CP membership and activities.

Association with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the SCLC

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In May, 1960, James Jackson, Secretary for Negro and Southern Affairs, CPUSA, stated that O'Dell was at that time working full time on a mass meeting to be held in Harlem in defense of the Reverend Martin Luther King. Jackson stated that the CP considered the Luther King mass meeting of utmost importance and felt that it was definitely to the Party's advantage to assign outstanding CP members to work with the Martin Luther King group. Jackson said that CP policy at that time was to concentrate on Luther King.

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In February, 1961, Jackson stated that O'Dell was on the payroll of the Reverend Martin Luther King and had requested Party permission to attend school at night and to be active and help King in his work during the day. According to Jackson, O'Dell would continue to remain a member of the National Committee, CPUSA.

During the period from February, 1961, to October, 1962, O'Dell was active on behalf of the Reverend Martin Luther King and the SCLC in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia. On several occasions during this period, O'Dell stated that he was in charge of the New York Office of the SCLC and described himself as Administrator of the New York Office of the SCLC. On several occasions O'Dell registered at a motel in Atlanta, Georgia, listing the New York Office of the SCLC as his address.

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On June 20, 1962, Stanley Levison, who was identified in February, 1962, as a secret member of the CPUSA, advised O'Dell that during a recent conversation with the Reverend

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Martin Luther King, Jr., King told Levison he was thinking of getting another administrative assistant. When Levison recommended O'Dell for the job, King said he liked the suggestion adding "No matter what a man was, if he could get up now and say he is not connected, then as far as I am concerned he is eligible to work for me."

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In October, 1962, several newspapers carried articles exposing the CP affiliation of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and his connection with the SCLC. As a result of this publicity, King, on November 2, 1962, issued a statement in which he denied knowledge of any previous communist activities of O'Dell. King's statement denied that O'Dell was Southeastern Director of the SCLC but that he had functioned as a technician primarily in the North and that his work involved the mechanization of the mailing procedures of the SCLC. The statement continued that it is a firm policy of the SCLC that no person of known communist affiliation can serve on the staff, Executive Board, or its membership at large. The statement indicated that, while O'Dell rejected the charges made against him, he had tendered his resignation in order to avoid embarrassment to the SCLC and that the resignation had been accepted pending further inquiry.

COMMENT:

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The above statement by King that he had no knowledge of any previous communist activities of O'Dell is in direct conflict with King's statement to Stanley Levison in June, 1962. In discussing the possible employment of O'Dell as one of his administrative assistants, King said, "No matter what a man was, if he could get up now and say he is not connected, then as far as I am concerned he is eligible to work for me."

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Despite King's statement that O'Dell's resignation from the SCLC had been accepted, O'Dell continued to identify himself as being affiliated with the New York Office of the SCLC and during late November and early December, 1962, was actively engaged in New York City in the work of this organization.

During early January, 1963, O'Dell registered at the Waluhaje Apartments in Atlanta representing himself as being with the New York Office of the SCLC and requesting that his bill be charged to the SCLC. The Atlanta Office of the SCLC

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confirmed that O'Dell's bill would be paid by the organization. On January 10, 1963, O'Dell, King, and eight other officials of the SCLC traveled together via Delta Airlines from Atlanta to Savannah, Georgia. During the latter part of December, 1962, a representative of the SCLC admitted that O'Dell continued to be involved with the organization in New York City in a fund-raising capacity although he was not currently on the SCLC payroll.

During February, March, and April, 1963, O'Dell continued to handle the arrangements for mailing procedures for the SCLC and during this period several checks, payable to O'Dell and deposited to his account, were drawn against the account of the SCLC at a bank in New York City.

Following the appearance of an article on July 25, 1963, in the Atlanta, Georgia, "Constitution" entitled "Onetime Communist Organizer Heads Rev. King's Office in N.Y.," a United Press International release issued on July 29, 1963, in Atlanta stated that "King said last week O'Dell had worked for the SCLC on two occasions but his connections with the integration organization were severed for good last June 26." During a press conference on July 25, 1963, King said that when articles linking O'Dell with the CP appeared in various newspapers (October, 1962), "we asked for his temporary resignation pending an investigation." King stated that the investigation satisfied the SCLC that O'Dell "had no present connection with the CP nor any sympathy with its philosophy" and that on this basis "we brought him back on the staff and continued his employment for a few months on a temporary basis." King said that O'Dell left the SCLC on June 26 by "mutual agreement" because of concern that his affiliation with the integration movement would be used against it by "segregationists and race baiters."

Despite the above statement by King, an employee of the New York Office of the SCLC advised a representative of United Press International on July 25, 1963, that O'Dell was an "administrator" with the SCLC. In addition, two checks dated July 2, 1963, and July 19, 1963, were drawn by the SCLC payable to O'Dell and were deposited to O'Dell's account in a New York City bank. On July 22, 1963, O'Dell visited the offices of a New York City mailing service company and presented a check to be credited to the account of the SCLC. On July 31, 1963, O'Dell was observed entering the premises at 312 West 125th Street, New York City, which houses the New York Office of the SCLC, where he remained for approximately five minutes.

It is noted that following King's press conference on July 25, 1963, at Atlanta, other representatives of the SCLC advised reporters that, although King and the SCLC agreed to

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remove O'Dell from the staff of the organization on June 26, 1963, "it may have been that O'Dell had responded that it would take until around July 15 for him to clear his effects from the office."

COMMENT:

Coverage of O'Dell's activities by the New York Office has developed no information indicating O'Dell's continued association with King and the SCLC since his brief visit to the SCLC Office in New York City on July 31, 1963.

ALL OF THE ABOVE INFORMATION HAS BEEN
PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED TO THE DEPARTMENT.

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BAYARD RUSTIN

Rustin was born March 17, 1913, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, and was educated at Wilberforce University in Ohio and the City College of New York.

The "Washington Post" of August 11, 1963, contained an article captioned "Organizer of D. C. March is Devoted to Nonviolence." This article described Bayard Rustin as the Deputy Director of the committee planning the August 28, 1963, March in Washington, D. C. According to the above-mentioned newspaper article, Rustin is an ardent pacifist and integrationist who has been associated with a number of pacifist and civil rights organizations. In 1952 he became Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League, an international pacifist organization and has worked for this organization to the present time. From 1955 to 1960 he was a part-time aide to Dr. Martin Luther King.

Connections with the Communist Movement

In the above-mentioned article appearing in the "Washington Post," Rustin indicated he had joined the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. He claimed to have soon dropped out of this organization, breaking completely with it when the YCL accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia.

According to his own admission, he was a member of the American Student Union in 1939. Rustin said that he withdrew from this organization in 1940 to embrace the Quaker religion. The American Student Union has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

On October 6, 1959, a meeting sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation was held at the Williams Avenue Young Men's Christian Association in Portland, Oregon. Bayard Rustin addressed the meeting as the principal speaker and in reply to a direct question from a member of the audience stated he had been a member of the Communist Party (CP) but was no longer so affiliated.

The "Daily Worker" of February 25, 1957, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary,

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Bayard Rustin

War Resisters League, was one of eight noncommunist observers at the CP National Convention who had signed a declaration that the CP Convention had been "democratically conducted."

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast communist newspaper which discontinued publication on January 13, 1958.

The "National Guardian" of March 4, 1957, contained an article captioned "Eight Noncommunist Observers Condemn Dennis Subpoena After CP Convention." The article stated that eight noncommunist observers at the recent CP Convention in New York strongly protested the action of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in summoning Eugene Dennis. The group said it found the Convention "democratically conducted" and said there were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to take seriously the idea that anything that happened at the Convention threatened the Nation's security. One of the signers of the statement was Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League. Eugene Dennis was the former General Secretary of the CP who died on January 31, 1961. The "National Guardian" is a weekly publication described by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a "virtual propaganda arm of the Soviet Union."

During November, 1958, Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis to talk over a coming unidentified election. Rustin was in contact with Davis again in May, 1959, concerning his support of an unidentified hospital strike. During January, 1963, Rustin asked Davis to sell tickets for a concert at Carnegie Hall in celebration of the third anniversary of the "Sit-ins."

Benjamin J. Davis is the National Secretary of the CP.

Arrests on Morals Charges

Rustin was arrested by the New York City Police Department on October 25, 1946, for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act. He was again arrested by the Pasadena, California, Police Department on January 21, 1953, for offering to engage in an act of sex perversion. In the latter charge, he was convicted and sentenced to serve 60 days in the Los Angeles County jail.

Pertinent information concerning Rustin has been furnished to the Attorney General.

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