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Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. Rosen

DATE: August 20, 1963

FROM : Mr. G. H. Scatterday

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON
 AUGUST 28, 1963
 SUMMARY OF PRINCIPALS INVOLVED

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

The Chairmen who issued the official call for the March on July 12, 1963, consist of the national leaders of six organizations: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); the Negro American Labor Council (NALC); the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and the Urban League (UL). This group, according to literature issued by the committee, is fully and solely responsible for the policy, program and expenditures of the March.

The Administrative Committee, consisting of six persons from the afore-mentioned six organizations plus several non-affiliated individuals, is to supervise the director and his deputy and the coordinators to see that the policy as established by the Chairmen is carried out. The members of this committee can act fully for the Chairmen in their absence.

The director is responsible for setting up the national organization required, for helping to raise funds, and for the assembling of a staff and volunteers to get the job done. He is assisted by a deputy director.

A District of Columbia Coordinating Committee has been established to coordinate the activities of all participants in the March while in Washington, D. C. This committee is composed of one member from each of the afore-mentioned six organizations.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Scatterday

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EX-116

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OCT 23 1963

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Re: March on Washington
August 28, 1963
Summaries Re Principals Involved

There are set forth below brief summaries concerning the individuals who have been identified by literature concerning the March and by Bureau sources as comprising the principals in the event.

CHAIRMEN:

Roy Wilkins (age 62) P 1000 1000
Executive Secretary, NAACP

Wilkins has been associated with the NAACP since approximately 1931. During the 1930's and 1940's various communist publications carried articles concerning Wilkins' activities when those activities coincided with programs sponsored by the Communist Party (CP). No information has been received, however, that Wilkins has ever been sympathetic to communist ideology. It has been reported that Wilkins has vigorously opposed communist infiltration in the NAACP and through the years has advocated peaceful methods of attaining racial equality. In June, 1963, he was arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, on a local charge in connection with integration activities.

A. Philip Randolph (age 74)
President, NALC

Randolph has had a long career in the labor movement and was founder and president for many years of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He was the subject of a security-type investigation in 1944 when allegations were received that he was affiliated with various communist front groups. It was determined that in 1940 he had publicly announced withdrawal from one such group because of reported communist influence in the organization and had, from time to time, disassociated himself from other groups for the same reason. His integration activities have, at times, paralleled CP activities; however, no information has been developed indicating Randolph is in sympathy with communist aims. Randolph has also been an advocate of pacificism.

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James L. Farmer (age 45) B. APPROX. 1910
National Director, CORE

Farmer, a Howard University graduate, has, in the past, been active as a labor leader and has long been connected with the integration movement. He is an advocate of non-violent resistance in racial matters. In May and June, 1961, he was arrested by local officers in Jackson, Mississippi, charged with "breach of peace." No information appears in Bureau files indicative of any subversive affiliations concerning Farmer.

John Robert Lewis (age 28) B. APPROX. 1940
Chairman, SNCC

Lewis, a university student, has been arrested on various occasions since 1961 on local charges of "trespassing," et cetera, in connection with integration activities. The Bureau conducted a civil rights inquiry concerning one instance where it was alleged Lewis' civil rights had been violated during or arrest in Charleston, Missouri, by local officers. Lewis, in interview, stated unequivocally that no violence or abusive conduct was employed by arresting officers. No information is available which would indicate any subversive affiliations by Lewis.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., (age 34) B. APPROX.
President, SCLC

King is the subject of a continuing security-type investigation and is included in Section A of the Reserve Index. He is closely associated with several individuals having subversive affiliations including a concealed member of the CP who has described King as a wholehearted Marxist who has studied Marxism, believes in it, agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion does not dare expose it publicly. Information has also been received that King is currently romantically involved with a woman other than Mrs. King and has planned to meet her in Washington on August 28. He has been arrested on various occasions since 1956 on charges arising out of integration activities and also for traffic offenses.

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Whitney Moore Young (age 42) B. APPROX. 1911
Executive Director, UL

Young is a graduate of the University of Minnesota and throughout his life has been employed primarily in the educational field. An applicant-type investigation conducted concerning Young in 1956 was favorable with the exception of information developed that a reference of Young's had allegedly associated with communists, received communist literature, and belonged to a communist front. No information indicating subversive affiliations on Young's part was developed.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE: B. APPROX. 1915

Cleveland Llewellyn Robinson, Chairman (age 48)
Vice-President, NAACP
President, New York Chapter, NAACP

Robinson, a native of Jamaica, British West Indies, entered the United States in 1944. He has been active in the labor field as a union official and has been described as a figurehead in the union who merely does what he is told. A security-type investigation conducted concerning Robinson developed information from informants that he had formerly been a CP member but was expelled from the Party in 1952. It was also ascertained he had participated in various CP and communist front activities in New York City. In interviews with Bureau Agents he has not been hostile but has advised he doesn't believe in security-type investigations and has refused to furnish any information.

Courtland Cox (age 22) B. APPROX. 1911
Member, SNCC

Cox was one of three Howard University students who staged a sit-in demonstration in the Attorney General's Office in March, 1962. These students entered the Justice Building in midafternoon and had to be forcibly evicted from Mr. Kennedy's Office that night. They were protesting the jailing of several integrationists in Louisiana. No information is available which would indicate any subversive affiliations on the part of Cox.

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(Administrative Committee Continued)

Ann Arnold Hedgeman, also known as B. APPROX. 1949
Mrs. Merritt A. Hedgeman (age 64)
Coordinator for Special Events
National Council of Churches

A loyalty-type investigation was conducted concerning Hedgeman in 1949 in view of her reported membership in a communist front organization in the 1930's. At that time she was an assistant to the administrator of the Federal Security Agency. She was considered eligible for Government employment by the Loyalty Review Board. The investigation determined that in connection with work involving fair employment practices she appeared before some groups that were CP dominated and also had some associations with individuals who had been active in CP activities. Persons acquainted with her described her as an active integrationist but anticommunist. She has been interviewed on various occasions by Bureau Agents and has exhibited a very uncooperative attitude and an aversion to investigations of Government employees conducted by the FBI. She has further advised Bureau Agents that she feels her race was being discriminated against and that undoubtedly numerous members of her race had become interested in the CP because various programs offered by the CP espoused equality. After resigning her Government position in 1953, she became an administrative assistant to Mayor Wagner of New York City. She has continued to be extremely active in Negro organizations.

Reverend Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Vice President, New York Branch, NAACP

Kilgore during the period 1949 to 1959 was reportedly active in various functions sponsored by communist front groups. In this connection, he was a member of the sponsors committee for the Paul Robeson Welcome Home Rally held in June, 1949, active in the American Peace Crusade, a sponsor of the New York Peace Institute and in 1959 was reportedly to act as New York City area leader for the "Clergymen's Appeal" of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

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(Administrative Committee Continued)

Reverend George Lawrence
Regional Representative, SCLC (1962)

In 1960 Lawrence was described as President of the Antioch Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York. No information is available indicative of any subversive affiliation by Lawrence.

James T. McCain (age 57) B. APPROX.
Senior Field Representative, CORE (1961)

McCain has been with CORE since 1957 and is the former president of the NAACP in South Carolina. He was formerly employed as a teacher in South Carolina and unverified allegations have been received that he was fired by two Negro high schools for stealing money. It was reported in October, 1946, that McCain while president of a teachers' association appeared as a "platform guest" at an annual meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, a cited organization. The Bureau has had considerable contact with McCain in connection with the Freedom Rides. He was a complainant in a civil rights inquiry in November, 1961, wherein it was alleged he had been discriminated against in the purchase of a bus ticket in Jackson, Mississippi. McCain instituted a civil suit in 1962 against Louisiana State officials and hotel officials after having been refused the rental of a room in New Orleans.

Gloster Bryant Current (age 50) B. APPROX. 1913
National Director of Branches, NAACP

Current has long been active in the NAACP in Detroit and New York City and has frequently criticized public officials and law enforcement agencies for nonactivity concerning Negro problems and for their attitude toward the Negro race. A security-type investigation conducted during the 1940's revealed information concerning Current's participation in activities of several communist front groups and his associations with several known communists. He has, however, been described since that time as definitely anticommunist. He has repeatedly accused the CP of trying to stir up trouble and racial tension in the NAACP. He has been interviewed many times by Bureau representatives and has always been cooperative.

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(Administrative Committee)

Richard Harris (age 60)
Director of Public Relations, UL

Harris, a native of Guadeloupe, French West Indies, matriculated at Amherst College and Columbia University. He has been with the Urban League since 1945 and is a resident of New York City. Harris has been very active in various groups organized to support and speed up desegregation. In various contacts between Harris and Bureau Agents, Harris has been very cooperative. No information is available which would indicate subversive affiliations by Harris.

Irwin Small (age 38)
National Secretary, Socialist Party
Social Democratic Federation

Small was the subject of an applicant-type investigation which developed no information indicative of subversive affiliations. Information was developed that he had been arrested on various occasions for picketing, disorderly conduct, etc. He has been active in the labor movement and described by persons interviewed as anticommunist. He authored a recent book "The American Ultras" which is primarily an attack on the "ultra right wing" or professional anti-communist groups. The book is critical of the fact that the Director had endorsed the Freedoms Foundation.

Mathew Ammann
Director, National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice

Bureau files contain no information concerning any subversive affiliations on the part of Ammann. A 1962 reference named him as a member of a Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt.

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(Administrative Committee)

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (age 56)
National Council of Churches

Dr. Blake has long been connected with the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church. In 1956 he visited Russia with a delegation of American Protestant churchmen and publicly urged cooperation between American and Russian churches as a means to promote peace. Dr. Blake has charged the House Committee on Un-American Activities with abusing the rights of witnesses, using unsupported allegations, etc., and has publicly urged the abolishment of the Committee. He has participated in recent racial demonstrations near Baltimore, Maryland, and was arrested on July 4, 1963, on a charge of "trespassing" in connection with such a demonstration. Information received prior to the demonstration indicated Dr. Blake was very anxious to be arrested in this demonstration.

Joachim Prinz (age 61) *1962*
President, American Jewish Congress

Prinz, a native of Germany, since 1940 has been named as a sponsor of, a speaker for, or a signer of petitions in connection with several communist front groups. In 1955, Prinz won a libel judgment from the editor of "Common Sense" for the latter's characterization of Prinz as a "red rabbi" in a 1952 article. In July, 1963, Prinz, on behalf of the American Jewish Congress, joined with leaders of two other Jewish organizations in charging the Soviet Government's newspaper "Izvestia" with "shocking distortions about justice and anti-Semitism in the United States."

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(Administrative Committee Continued)

Walter Philip Reuther (age 55)
President, CIO Division, AFL-CIO

B. APPROX. 1963

Reuther was afforded an applicant-type investigation in 1955 and 1956 which included inquiries concerning allegations of his affiliation with the CP and the Socialist Workers Party in the 1930's. Allegations that he was a member of the aforementioned parties were not substantiated during the investigation. It was developed that he reportedly broke with communist factions in labor in 1939 and since that time has been a subject of attack by Soviet publications and the communist press in the United States. He was arrested on one occasion in 1937 by Detroit authorities in connection with a labor dispute. An unsubstantiated allegation was received by our Houston Office in 1960 that Reuther had deposited \$10,000,000 in cash in various banks throughout Texas for the purpose of promoting the Kennedy election campaign. This information was furnished to the Department and no further investigation was requested. In June, 1963, information was received that a newly published book "The Far Right" referred to the memorandum from Reuther to the Attorney General concerning steps he felt should be taken to combat right-wing extremism. In this memorandum Reuther reportedly accused the Director of exaggerating the communist menace.

John A. Morsell (age 51)
Assistant to the Executive Secretary, NAACP

B. APPROX. 1963

Morsell, a Columbia University graduate, for many years was active in the New York City Department of Welfare and in social research work. An applicant-type investigation conducted in 1951 developed no information which would indicate subversive affiliation by Morsell and the investigation was favorable. In his present capacity in the NAACP, he has actively supported the integration movement and in one speech in connection therewith advised he had urged Attorney General Kennedy to use force to bring the Governor of Mississippi and his henchmen to justice. He has corresponded with the Bureau on occasion requesting that the Director send messages of greeting to various NAACP functions. These requests have not been complied with.

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DIRECTOR

A. Philip Randolph

(See summary under Chairmen, page 2)

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Bayard Rustin (age 50) B. APPROX.

Rustin is an ardent pacifist and has been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations. He was investigated by the Bureau for a Selective Service violation in 1943 and 1944 for which he was convicted and sentenced to prison. He has been active in numerous picket lines, demonstrations and other agitations protesting military conscription and racial segregation. He reportedly joined the Young Communist League in 1936 and according to his own admission broke with that organization when they accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. It has also been reported that in a 1950 speech he stated he was a former CP member but no longer so affiliated. He has adopted a militant integration approach as he states he now believes his former passive resistance has been unproductive. He was arrested for "lewd vagrancy" in Los Angeles County, California, in 1953 and has been arrested on several occasions for activities in connection with racial demonstrations.

Thomas David Kahn, also known as
Tom Marcel (age 24)
Assistant to Deputy Director

B. APPROX. 1939

Kahn is a recent graduate of Howard University. A security-type investigation was initiated in 1957 when information was received indicating Kahn's membership in the Young Socialist League. Investigation developed he was very active in that organization 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. Until entering Howard University in 1961 Kahn remained active in the successor organization to the Young Socialist League known as the Young Peoples Socialist League, the youth branch of the Socialist Party. He is the author of a book on the Negro sit-in movement entitled "Unfinished Revolution."

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D. C.

D. C. COORDINATING COMMITTEE

B. AREA

Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, Chairman (age 60)
Regional Director, SCLC

Fauntroy has been personally active in numerous racial demonstrations in Detroit, Washington, D. C., and other localities. In numerous contacts with Bureau Agents, Fauntroy has been most cooperative and has been utilized as a contact between the Bureau and groups sponsoring integration. No information is available to indicate any subversive affiliations by Fauntroy.

Joseph Allen Beavers (age 42) WFOK 1921
Vice-President, NALS

Beavers is a labor union official and was the subject of a security investigation in 1950 after having been identified by a source as having been issued a CP membership card in 1946 and as having been associated with several organizations described as communistic fronts or completely dominated by the CP. It was revealed in 1950 he had signed a noncommunist affidavit in his capacity as a union official; and when interviewed, denied membership in the CP and denied having any knowledge of a CP membership card having been issued to him. He did admit having known the individual who allegedly sponsored his CP membership. The Department declined prosecution relative to the above. Beaver's wife, Helen, was the subject of a loyalty investigation in 1954 while employed by the Army. The investigation developed membership in an organization described as dominated by the CP and further disclosed she had a number of associates who were known CP members. The Civil Service Commission advised she was separated from her employment due to the foregoing.

