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10/8/75

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

Reference is made to SSC
request dated 9/8/75,
which was forwarded to
the FBI by let from Michael N. 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 SP2AMK/P

SSC REQUEST 9/8/75
ITEM 12

#MDR-16
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/29/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

[Faint handwritten scribbles]

821

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
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 synopsis of the detailed memorandum.

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DATE 10/29/00 BY SP3AUM/ML

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)

REC-5 REC-5 100-3-75 2527

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

While much propoganda 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 OPERATION

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 propoganda 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.S.

W.C.S.

8/13

John

This memo reminds me vividly of those received when Castro took over C. Cuba. 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, Levinson, Rastin, Hall & Cub as having any more -13- in testimonial aspect for the effort 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.

REC-5

100-3-116-2534

22 DEC 5 1963

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DATE 10/2/00 BY SPAM/MP

Enclosure

Clyde Tolson

CT:LCB

ENCLOSURE

*I have certainly
 been misled by
 previous memos
 which clearly
 showed communitarian
 penetration of the
 racial movement. The
 attached is con-
 tradictory of all
 that. We are assisting
 many papers to
 disseminate this
 information.*

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
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Casper	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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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 signatures and initials]
- 2 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	
Belmont	
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Holmes	
Gandy	

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

- 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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 10/20/00 BY SP4MMP

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons.

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 the 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.

100-3-116
 1 - 100-3-175 (CPUSA, Negro Question)
 NW 5454-500-100-3-116 (1) Page 10

REC-46
 100-3-116-367
 11 OCT 16 1963
 INE/SEC

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.

S.S.

W.S.

W.S.

V.

W.S.

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

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
 From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 NEGRO QUESTION
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Date: September 25, 1963

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 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 regrettable 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.

The Historical Position:

Certainly this is not true with respect to the revision. King connects.

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.

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.

