

JAN 18 1978

Mr. James H. Lesar
1231 4th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Dear Mr. Lesar:

This is in reference to your request pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act for records pertaining to the review conducted by the Martin Luther King, Jr., Task Force.

As the Deputy Attorney General has advised you in his October 31, 1977 letter, you are to receive, in addition to other appendix material, Exhibits 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 of Appendix A. Pursuant to your request, one copy of each of these documents is being sent to Harold Weisberg.

Sincerely,

/s/

MICHAEL E. SHAHEEN, JR.
Counsel

cc: Harold Weisberg
Old Receiver Road, Rt. 12 ✓
Frederick, MD 21701

EXHIBIT 7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. ROSEN *John*

DATE: May 22, 1961

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY *John*

SUBJECT:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

(b)(7)(C)

(b)(7)(C)

(b) (7)(C)

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

Lawrence

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Name Check Section
- 1 - Mr. Brown

17 JUN 2 1961

WJ:KFW:GEM:WJL:FK:fjb

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

(b)(7)(C)

(b)(7)(C)

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent integrationist who led bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and "sit-in demonstrations" has been associated with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Congress of Racial Equality. King has not been investigated by the FBI.

Recent files reveal: King thanked Socialist Workers Party (cited by Attorney General) for support of bus boycott; attended meetings of Progressive Party (cited by Subcommittee of Senate Judiciary Committee); and was honorary chairman of Young Socialist League campaign on behalf of victims of racist terror.

King in 1950's mentioned as potential victim of assassination plot and in 1957 attended Communist Party training school seminar and reportedly gave closing speech. King President of

See me have more details

Memorandum for Mr. Rosen

(b) (7) (c)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (to further Negro vote registration) and advised "The Civil Rights law...is meaningless unless we get out and make use of it." King thanked Benjamin Davis, Jr., Communist Party official, for giving blood when he was in a hospital following assault. King in 1960 indicated his support for Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as communist front) and in 1961 wrote article in "The Nation" which called for integration of FBI to help speed integration. King attended meetings with integration leaders in Montgomery, Alabama, 5-21-61.

(b) (7) (c)

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

(b)(7)(C)

(b)(7)(C)

ACTION:

For information.

Rosen

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

Send memo on all
except (b)(7)(C) to

a.g.
[Handwritten mark]

1-11

EXHIBIT 8

~~TOP SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. 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

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

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, 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 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

Original copy of Enclosure B sent to OPR 8/29/74
 W.C.S.

Enclosure
 100-XXXX
 WCS:mld:djw
 XEROX
 SEP 5 1963
 SENT BY VECTOR
 8/29/63

REC-5 100-3537
 22 DEC 5 1963
 S. K. [Signature]

~~TOP SECRET~~

Classified by 4915
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2,3,4
 Date of Declassification Indefinite
 1-17-77

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. (u)

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. (u)

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. (u)

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. (u)

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

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature] W.E.S. (u)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Handwritten initials and stamps:
 Mr. Tolson
 Mr. DeLoach
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Bishop
 Mr. Casper
 Mr. Callahan
 Mr. Conrad
 Mr. Felt
 Mr. Gale
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Sullivan
 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 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

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

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 "banstorming" 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.

100-3-116
 1 - 100-1-76 (CPUSA, Negro Question)
 Enc. (SPP:mj:skw (RD))

REC. AG. 100-3-116-567
 31 OCT 16 1963

IN FILE

Memozandum 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.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

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.

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H.S.

10/17

WES

V.

Expensive to implement at the situation really

No. I can'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 loop the field down with a 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

EXHIBIT 11

~~TOP SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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

Preface:

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

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, does have as an extremely important advisor; (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.

Enclosures 2-26-63
 WCS:dbr 4Xref 8032A

REC-411
 11 OCT 15 1963
 INT.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Classified by 4915
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3, 4
 Date of Declassification Indefinite
 1-77-77

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 most true with reason*

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 1955 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 1953, 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 communist efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party." In 1962 similar public statement 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 (u)

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. (u)

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. (u)

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 (b)(1)

(u) (1)

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.

(b)(1)

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. (u)

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. (u)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

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

V
O.H.
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.

(u)

~~10~~ V
Q
WES
O.H.
H

EXHIBIT 12

~~TOP SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

18E

4:14 p. m.

October 25, 1963

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. MOHR
MR. DE LOACH
MR. ROSEN
MR. SULLIVAN

The Attorney General called and advised me there was a lot of talk at the Pentagon regarding the document, Communism and the Negro - A Current Analysis, dated 10-10-63, which had been disseminated to the military and intelligence agencies by the Bureau. The Attorney General anticipated that this information would leak out as the military didn't like the Negroes.

The Attorney General felt we should get back all copies of the document. I told him we had a tally of all copies and we would get them from all agencies to which they were disseminated. The reason to be given for recalling would be revisions. I also told him if any newspapers asked about this, no comment would be made and no mention would be made that such a document existed.

4:40 p. m.

I advised the Attorney General that Liaison representatives had been sent to get all copies of this document.

The Attorney General wants all copies disseminated to Department officials recalled also.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover
Director

REC-22

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 12:55 PM
DATE 28 Oct 63
BY [Signature]

OCT 29 1963

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

JEH:emni
(10)

1 - Miss Holmes

61 OCT 30 1963

CP USA - Negro Communism

EX-115
1 copy given to OPR 10/26

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 1 - Plastiplate
- 1 - Yellow file copy
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Evans

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22 - 23 - 24 - 25 - 26 - 27 - 28 - 29 - 30 - 31 - 32 - 33 - 34 - 35 - 36 - 37 - 38 - 39 - 40 - 41 - 42 - 43 - 44 - 45 - 46 - 47 - 48 - 49 - 50 - 51 - 52 - 53 - 54 - 55 - 56 - 57 - 58 - 59 - 60 - 61 - 62 - 63 - 64 - 65 - 66 - 67 - 68 - 69 - 70 - 71 - 72 - 73 - 74 - 75 - 76 - 77 - 78 - 79 - 80 - 81 - 82 - 83 - 84 - 85 - 86 - 87 - 88 - 89 - 90 - 91 - 92 - 93 - 94 - 95 - 96 - 97 - 98 - 99 - 100

**COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--
A CURRENT ANALYSIS**

October 16, 1963

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Classified by 65-10 NP
Return 10/25/77~~

~~Classified by 65-10 NP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3, 4
Date of Declassification Indefinite
3/9/77~~

- 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 _____

NOTE: See memo Sullivan to Belmont 10/15/63 re: COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS. CDB/dww.

*CDB/kw:bb
(8) kww
lip
S*

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

*JTBc
D
H/B*

100-3116-416

Introduction	1
Plans in Hand	1
A Dedicated Communist	2
Alliance with King	2
"The Time Is Now"	2
Financial Support	3
Bunter Pitts O'Dell	3
Activities Blended	4
Twofold Purpose	4
[REDACTED]	5
King's Reaction	5
Reluctant Action	5
[REDACTED]	6
The Second Factor	6
Moves Being Considered	6
Clarence Jones' Role	7

(u)

(u)

[REDACTED]

~~TOP SECRET~~

An Opportunistic View 7

Communist Affiliations Ignored 7

Questionable Personal Relations 8

The Broad Target 8

August March Added Impetus 8

Party's Role a Hidden One 9

Aim To Heighten Tension 9

Shift in Tactics Considered 9

Greater Militancy Urged 10

Importance of the "Link" 10

Period of Growth Envisioned 10

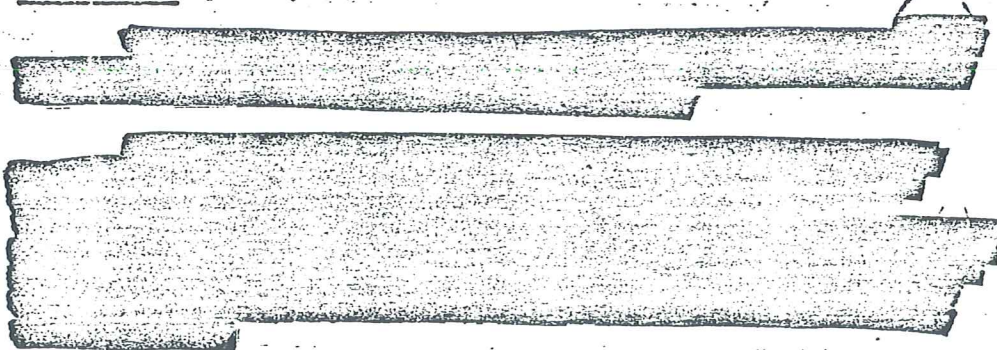
Conclusion 11

Introduction

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort.¹ Communists are using every means possible to divert the course and force of the unrest into support of communist objectives. Long-range communist strategy looks to the establishment of a Negro-labor coalition which the communists hope to be able to manipulate as a powerful political-action weapon. Using this weapon, they aim to provoke class struggle and promote legislation which can serve as a step toward a communist system of government.²

At first glance, the communist goal may seem unrealistic. But it develops realistic potential when all aspects of current communist tactics being used in connection with the current racial situation are viewed in their totality. More, it constitutes a serious national security problem in light of the fact that the individual playing a most dominant role as a leading spokesman for the estimated 20 million Negroes in this country today is knowingly, willingly, and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists. This individual--Martin Luther King--is using the communists and, in turn, is being used by them in an unholy alliance that could have serious consequences both for the Negro movement and this Nation.

Hand Mr. Eand

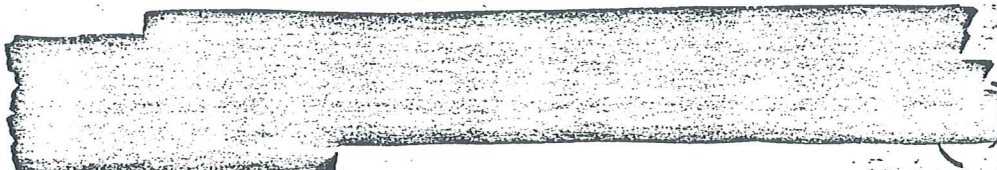


Since 1956, communists close to King have blended their actions skillfully into his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and have done so clearly with his approval.

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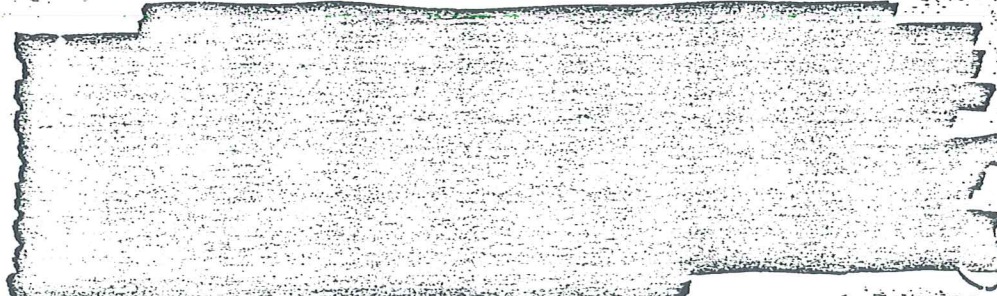
Activities Blended

The operations of the SCLC's New York office illustrate how communists blended their activities into support of King. A major function of the office is the solicitation of funds for King through letters mailed out over his signature.³¹ It appears, for example, that the mailing list for one such solicitation was that used by the publishers of the "National Guardian," a weekly publication which has been cited as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."^{32 33}



Twofold Purpose

At the meeting, Hudson announced that he had come to organize full-time Party members to do both Party work and mass-organization work. The purpose was twofold--to develop recruits for the Party and get all eligible Negroes registered to vote.³⁶ (u)



This fitted nicely into the communists' scheme of things. Only a month before, Cauffield had instructed Party members in his area to conceal their Party affiliations and join mass organizations interested in the integration movement. They were told to urge complete voter registration for all members of the groups and, then, to maintain close contacts with the leaders of these groups to influence them to follow the Party line.³⁹ (u)

klm
had

~~TOP SECRET~~

O'Dell's Exposure

(u)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] O'Dell went to Atlanta to work for the SCLC and used the name J. H. O'Dell.⁴² But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations.

King's Reaction

(u)

King reacted by trying to minimize O'Dell's role with the SCLC. He said most of O'Dell's work had been in the North and simply involved mailing procedures. He also tried to imply ignorance of any communist affiliations on the part of O'Dell and stated that O'Dell had temporarily resigned pending an SCLC inquiry into the matter.⁴⁴

O'Dell's "temporary resignation" consisted of his return to New York, where he continued to operate out of the SCLC's office.⁴⁵ He remained there until July, 1962,⁴⁶ when King advised him his "temporary resignation" was being made permanent, not, as King put it, because the SCLC inquiry had disclosed any present connections between O'Dell and the Communist Party but because of the emotional public response.⁴⁷

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Reluctant Action

Yet it is known that, prior to his action in making O'Dell's resignation permanent, King not only had indicated he knew of O'Dell's communist affiliations⁴⁸ but actually had received information on two separate occasions from unimpeachable sources that O'Dell was definitely a communist. In fact, it can be said that King took action on O'Dell reluctantly and only after being urged to do so most urgently and emphatically by high level and, again, unimpeachable authority.⁴⁹ In addition, even after O'Dell's "permanent resignation" was accepted, he is known to have transacted business for the SCLC later the same month.⁵⁰

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Clarence Jones' Role

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An Opportunistic View

In discussing Rustin with Jones, King exhibited an opportunistic nature.⁶³ At one time, Rustin had been Assistant Secretary of the SCLC.⁶⁴

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King told Clarence Jones he thought it might be a propitious moment to bring Bayard Rustin back into the SCLC.⁶⁵ He based his view on the fact that Rustin had received good publicity as a result of his role as Deputy Director of the August March on Washington.⁶⁸

Communist Affiliations Ignored

In fact, King seemed to be more concerned about [REDACTED] than his prior communist affiliations, which King did not even mention in his discussion with Jones.⁶⁹ Yet, Rustin had publicly admitted affiliation with the communist movement in the late 1930s. He had publicly supported various communist causes and was one of a select group of observers permitted to attend the Communist Party's 16th National Convention in 1957.⁷¹ He has maintained contact with the Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, for a

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Questionable Personal Relations

Supplementing the picture of King as an unprincipled man is his role as a clergyman. He seeks refuge in this role when pressed concerning his relationship with communists. Recently, for example, he was asked by reporters if he took orders from the communists and also whether he took them from Stanley Levison. He replied that he took orders only from God.¹⁰ But his personal conduct falls far

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The Broad Target

While the communists are concentrating heavily on Martin Luther King, they are not ignoring the other Negro leaders and the organizations active in the integration movement, the civil rights movement, and the like. Through the years, such organizations have been a constant target for communist-infiltration efforts. The developing racial unrest in this country in recent years has been accompanied by an increasing determination on the part of the communists to inject themselves into every aspect of the situation through their propaganda and agitation. (u)

August March Added Impetus

The August March on Washington gave added impetus both to the activities of those demonstrating in favor of equal rights for Negroes and to communist activities designed to exploit such incidents. Since the March, there has been a veritable upsurge of communist activities related to demonstrations, rallies, marches, and the like which have erupted on the national scene. Today, there are but few racial demonstrations taking place in the country in which one or more communists are not involved in one way or another. Rank-and-file Party members and communist supporters throughout the country, elated with and encouraged by the results of the March on Washington, are responding now more than ever to the demands of Party leaders for all "progressive and Left forces, and especially all Communists" to "throw themselves fully into the battles" centering around the "fight for Negro freedom." 78 (u)

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Party's Role a Hidden One

In these "battles," the communists and their sympathizers usually are few in number in comparison to the total number of participants in any particular incident. The major role being played by the Party is still a supporting one, with Communist Party affiliations carefully concealed. This is in line with warnings issued repeatedly by Party leaders, who encouraged widespread participation in and support of the March on Washington, for example, but not in such a way that it would create the impression that the Party was trying to take over. 79 80

Aim to Heighten Tension

In short, the Communist Party's primary purpose has been to add fuel to the fire at the local level to keep the racial unrest at fever pitch at the national level, where the Party hopes to derive its greatest benefit through such important channels as Martin Luther King.

At the intermediate level, the Party continues to utilize its other tools of propaganda and agitation to bring as much pressure as possible to bear on the over-all situation. Party newspapers and Party-sponsored publications pour out propaganda aimed at heightening the tensions. Communist-front organizations originate and circulate leaflets, circulars, and petitions, and bombard Congress and the President with letters and telegrams demanding action of one sort or another.

Shift in Tactics Considered

The Party policy to conceal its role in support of racial unrest was a major point of discussion at the Party's National Executive Committee meeting in New York City, October 1-6, 1963. The meeting was dominated by reports and discussions concerning the situation and ways the Party can intensify its role in relation to it. 82 83

As a result of the discussions at the meeting, the Nation today is confronted with the prospect of a major shift in communist tactics. The Party visualizes the time as being ripe to accelerate its open work and increase its militancy, not only in regard to the Negro movement but also in regard to the Party's ever-all activities.

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Greater Militancy Urged

The Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, pointed out that the temper of the Negro people at the present time indicates an angry mood. He said the more militant elements of the Negro movement are emerging in the struggle and are having an impact on the movement. He added that the struggle must go beyond sit-ins and mass demonstrations, and he visualized civil disobedience on a national scale. He then said the Party should encourage the most advanced proposals within the Negro movement, continue mass activity in connection with it on an intensified plane, and urge the Negro people to continue taking to the streets. Davis concluded that the Party must actively inject itself into the struggle in the South, infiltrate all of the Negro organizations within the Negro movement, and provide the personnel for "some kind of a new left center that would unite the Negro people." ⁸⁴

Importance of the "Link"

The Party's leader, Gus Hall, delivered the main report at the meeting, and it also constituted a challenging demand for expanded communist action. Hall observed that there are 20 million Negroes and countless whites involved in the current struggle, and, he said, they represent the most important "link" the communists can seize at this moment in history to advance the cause of communism in this Nation. ^{85 86}

This reference to the Negro movement as a "link" the Party must seize has been repeated frequently by Party leaders at recent meetings. It is not a chance term they are using. They are following the dictates of V. I. Lenin, who once stressed that "one must be able at each particular moment to find that special link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain, and to make lasting preparations for the transition to the next link..." ⁸⁷

The Party stands to grasp with all its might the link which the Negro movement in general and Martin Luther King in particular represent to make a transition in the Party's role on the national scene. ⁸⁸

Period of Growth Envisioned

Gus Hall envisions the forthcoming period as a fertile one conducive to a revitalization and growth of the Communist Party. He sees it as a period in which the Party will launch a recruiting drive and a press drive, as well as one

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in which the Party's organization will be renovated. In this connection, a proposal already has been made to establish new Party training schools as quickly as possible.

Conclusion

In short, the current atmosphere in the Communist Party is marked by a vigorous spirit of enthusiastic optimism and a determination to launch more open, aggressive action on the national scene. As the situation now stands, Martin Luther King is growing in stature daily as the leader among leaders of the Negro movement. Communist Party officials visualize the possibility of creating a situation whereby it could be said that, as the Communist Party goes, so goes Martin Luther King, and so also goes the Negro movement in the United States.

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- 5 -

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