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1
December 3, 1964

NOTE FOR THE RECORD:

FROM: Bill Moyers

I today informed Mr. DeLoach that we have confidence in Mr. Hoover's ability to decide who, on the basis of the national security, should see the attached report. He replied that they would follow through accordingly.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

December 1, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Bill D. Moyers
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought the President would be interested in the enclosed current study entitled "Communism and the Negro Movement-- A Current Analysis."

Your advice is requested as to whether we should disseminate this document to responsible officials in the Executive Branch of the Government.

The sources used in the enclosure have furnished reliable information in the past, and because of their sensitive nature the document has been classified "Top Secret." Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be "J. Edgar Hoover", is written over the typed name.

Enclosure

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16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



SUBJECT: COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--
A CURRENT ANALYSIS

DATE: November 27, 1964

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By Sj, NARA, Date 6-10-02

GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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Introduction

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort. 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.

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 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 has knowingly, willingly, and regularly cooperated with and taken guidance from communists. This individual--Martin Luther King--has used the communists and, in turn, has been used by them in an alliance that could have serious consequences both for the Negro movement and this Nation.

Hand in Hand

The composite of information available about Martin Luther King depicts an unprincipled, opportunistic individual, as well as a man considered and described within the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) as a Marxist.

In King's rise to national prominence since his leadership of the bus boycott by Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956, he has been closely allied with communists. He has shown not only a willingness but even an eagerness to accept communist aid, to support communist causes, to associate and confer with prominent communist leaders, and to work closely with and rely upon the advice and guidance of dedicated communists with concealed affiliations, despite the fact that they have been identified reliably to him as such.

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.

A Dedicated Communist

One of the individuals, for example, who have greatly facilitated King's rise to prominence in recent years is Stanley David Levison. Ostensibly only a New York City attorney and successful businessman who has been helping King, he also is a shrewd, dedicated communist and is known as such by King.

Levison has dedicated a part of his life to advancing the cause of communism in this Nation. Since the late 1940's, he has led a double life for the CPUSA, necessitated by a highly clandestine role with which he was entrusted to raise and handle secret funds used by the Party to finance part of its activities.

Operating in this clandestine role for years through a maze of business enterprises as head of a group of concealed Party members--a group which included his twin brother, who goes by the name of Roy Bennett--Stanley Levison turned over thousands of dollars to the CPUSA. Just in the two-year period covering 1956 and 1957, the group raised \$66,000 for the Party. Since 1956, the group has turned over more than \$100,000 to the Party.

Alliance with King

Levison gravitated to Martin Luther King's organization in 1956 and applied equal dedication in support of King's activities. He quickly developed a close personal relationship with King. By 1958, he was referred to as King's "Assistant Chief" and was described as a real-estate man who spent half his time helping King. In 1961, he was Assistant Treasurer of the SCLC.

In his support of King's activities since 1956, Levison has expended prodigious efforts in King's behalf. He has actively involved himself in fund-raising drives for King, served as his legal counsel in certain matters, suggested speech material for him, discussed with King demonstrations in which King was involved, guided him in regard to acceptance or rejection of various public appearances and speaking commitments, and helped him with matters related to articles and books King has prepared.

"The Time Is Now"

Levison also played a role in the evolution of plans that led to the March on Washington on August 28, 1963.

Originally Negro leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the Negro American Labor Council, had proposed a march on the Nation's Capital sometime in the Fall of 1963. Subsequently, after consulting with Levison, who agreed that "the time is now," Martin Luther King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of the other Negro leaders in backing King's proposal for an earlier march--a move that put King squarely in the forefront of the events as they developed.

Financial Support

Part of King's great dependence on Stanley Levison is attributable to the money Levison has furnished him. James R. Wood, who worked for the SCLC as Public Relations Director from 1960 until he resigned in 1962, has advised that during that period Levison acted primarily as King's business manager and donated large sums of money to him when funds were low. He said Levison was very close to King, had his confidence completely, and was one of the few people who could get King alone, give him advice, and always have it accepted.

King - Levison Contacts Guarded

Although King has attempted to maintain covert his association with Levison and keep to a bare minimum personal meetings between the two, such meetings have been observed. On November 20, 1963, King met personally with Levison at the International Hotel, Kennedy International Airport, New York City. The site was a room registered in the name of one of King's assistants. King and Levison again personally met in New York City on January 8 and February 7, 1964. During the period March 9-10, 1964, Levison spent considerable time in the Atlanta, Georgia, offices of the SCLC. King was occupied in these offices during the same period. The evening of March 9, 1964, witnessed Levison dining at the King residence. One of the purposes of these March, 1964, visits with King was a discussion as to whether Bayard Rustin was to be hired by the SCLC.

Since April, 1964, Levison's contacts with King have been handled through an intermediary, Clarence Jones, who is also a frequent advisor to King. Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the SCLC. During the mid-1950's Jones held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Levison met with Jones on several occasions in the Spring and Summer of 1964.

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Jones, in discussing Levison with King, usually refers to Levison as "our friend." On September 29, 1964, Jones again met with Levison at the latter's office. The subject was business relating to the SCLC. On October 30, 1964, plans were underway for a personal meeting of King and Jones with Levison which was to take place in the near future in Atlanta, Georgia. In preparation for this meeting, Jones told King to think about what role Levison could play in the future, adding that Levison had been helpful in the past. On November 24, 1964, King contacted Jones and asked that Jones and Levison, among others, submit five-minute speeches which King could use in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. King would select the best material from these speeches.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell

Another important communist whose advice King has relied on is Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Long active in the communist movement, O'Dell worked for a number of years as a district organizer for the CPUSA in Louisiana. In December, 1959, at the Party's last National Convention, he was elected a member of the Party's National Committee under a pseudonym. In 1960, at which time he was working as the assistant to James Jackson, the Party's National Secretary for the South, O'Dell also began to work actively in support of Martin Luther King's movement.

There are two important points that should be noted in connection with O'Dell's gravitation to King's movement. Early in 1960, it was learned that efforts were being made by the Party to get O'Dell into a special type of activity. About the same time, a Party official stated that the Party was in a position to place people in Martin Luther King's organization, the SCLC. Subsequently, in 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC's New York office. In addition, two other Party members, Hazel Gray and Loretta Pauker, worked there under O'Dell at one time or another.

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. 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."

Another incident shows how the communists blended King's activities into support of their own objectives. Early in May, 1962, the Party's leader, Gus Hall, directed another Party functionary to

select a full-time Party member for a special assignment in the South. The member selected was Hosea Herman Hudson, of New York, and, later that month, he attended a Party meeting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

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.

Hudson told an individual unaware of the underlying communist purpose in the voter registration drive that the money for the mass organization work would come from Martin Luther King's group. However, confidentially he told two Party members that the Party had appropriated the money for the work. How the Party intended to funnel the money through King's group was revealed when Hudson arranged for the Party's Baton Rouge area leader, Sargeant Caulfield, to meet O'Dell in Atlanta several days later, at which time O'Dell told Caulfield he would pay him \$1000 a month to organize the work. Although Caulfield was unable to work full time in this capacity, O'Dell is known to have worked actively for several months in the voter registration drive for the SCLC in the South.

This fitted nicely into the communists' scheme of things. Only a month before, Caulfield had instructed Party members in his area to conceal their Party affiliations and join noncommunist 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.

O'Dell's Exposure

An opportunity for the communists to put O'Dell directly on the scene permanently in regard to the voter registration drive arose in June, 1962, when King mentioned to Levison that he was thinking of adding an administrative assistant to his staff. Levison recommended O'Dell, who was still serving as head of the SCLC's New York office, and King said he liked the idea. It is clear that, at the time, King was well aware of O'Dell's communist affiliations.

Subsequent to Levison's proposal, O'Dell went to Atlanta to work for the SCLC and used the name J. H. O'Dell. But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations.

King's Reaction

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.

O'Dell's "temporary resignation" consisted of his return to New York, where he continued to operate out of the SCLC's office. He remained there until July, 1963, 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 CPUSA but because of the emotional public response.

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 affiliations 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. 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 and there is evidence that King continues to rely on O'Dell for assistance. In February, 1964, King accepted as a "wonderful suggestion" a proposal by O'Dell that O'Dell prepare a letter to be distributed over King's signature relating to King's appointment as chairman of an ad hoc committee to defend a group of integration leaders who were under indictment by the Justice Department for having perjured themselves before a Federal Grand Jury. O'Dell furnished King with a draft of the proposed letter which was then prepared in the Spring of 1964 for mass distribution on SCLC stationery and bearing the purported signature of King.

Regarded as a Marxist

King's reluctance to discontinue his association with O'Dell may be attributable to either of two factors or to a combination of both. The first involves King's reported dedication to Marxism-Leninism. In February, 1962, Stanley Levison passed the word to Gus Hall that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly." Further, in March, 1962, Levison told a CPUSA functionary that King was concerned about a "communist label" being "pinned on us" but that, at the same time, he wanted to do everything possible to evidence friendship toward the Soviet Union.

Moreover, King has been described within the CPUSA as a true, genuine Marxist-Leninist "from the top of his head to the tips of his toes." The feeling within the CPUSA is that King is definitely following a Marxist-Leninist line.

The Second Factor

The second factor which, alone or in combination with the first, may have had a bearing on King's reluctance to dismiss O'Dell concerned King's reliance and dependence on both O'Dell and Stanley Levison for guidance. In January, 1963, for example, when King desired to hold a meeting to make a "critical review" of "where they are," he asked specifically that Levison be present and is known to have met with Levison, O'Dell, and eight other officials of the SCLC at Savannah, Georgia, later that month. During King's entire relationship with Levison and O'Dell, he clearly became more dependent on them for advice and guidance.

Bayard Rustin

Another of King's key advisors is Bayard Rustin who at one time was Assistant Secretary of the SCLC. King said he had to let Rustin go because they started having problems arising from his homosexual activities. It is to be noted Rustin has long been so inclined, having been arrested in New York City in 1946 for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act and again in Pasadena, California, in 1953 for offering to engage in an act of sex perversion of a homosexual nature, which he admitted and for which he was sentenced to serve 60 days.

Communist Affiliations Ignored

King seemed to be more concerned about Rustin's homosexual proclivities than his prior communist affiliations. Rustin had publicly admitted affiliation with the communist movement in the late 1930's. He had also publicly supported various communist causes and was one of a select group of observers permitted to attend the CPUSA's 16th National Convention in 1957. For a number of years Rustin maintained contact with the Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, who died on August 22, 1964. During 1963 Rustin frequently conferred with Davis and took the position that he did not care who knew it.

Rustin's Current Role

Rustin has been extremely active on King's behalf in connection with King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to be awarded to him on December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. He is arranging a number of affairs to honor King after his receipt of the award and has recently made a trip to England for this purpose. Rustin is being assisted in this endeavor by Saul Mills, who was a member of the CPUSA in the early 1940's. On November 7, 1964, Rustin advised King that he is beginning the draft of a major speech that King will deliver at one of these affairs.

Advisory Committee Established for King

On June 22, 1964, an advisory or research committee, formed with the approval of King, scheduled its first meeting. This committee was formed for the purpose of writing King's speeches and guiding his actions. Among members of the group are Lawrence Reddick, Bayard Rustin, Clarence Jones and Harry Wachtel. The scene of the meeting was Wachtel's office on the fifth floor at 575 Madison Avenue, New York City. King and Rustin were among those observed arriving at this initial meeting. Reddick is a former member of the CPUSA who, as recently as January 18, 1964, visited with Benjamin J. Davis, then the Party's National Secretary. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. King's activities in the Summer and Fall of 1964 revealed the rapid rise of Wachtel as a frequent and key advisor to King. On March 5, 1944, Wachtel's name was on a list of names,

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significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. On the same date records at these headquarters contained the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The advisory committee met with King in New York City as recently as November 5, 1964. Future programs of the SCLC were the order of business.

King's Attraction for Communism

Two other aides of King are Cordy T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates of the SCLC, and Randolph Blackwell, SCLC Program Coordinator. Both these individuals are former members of the CPUSA.

King's "Ghost Writers"

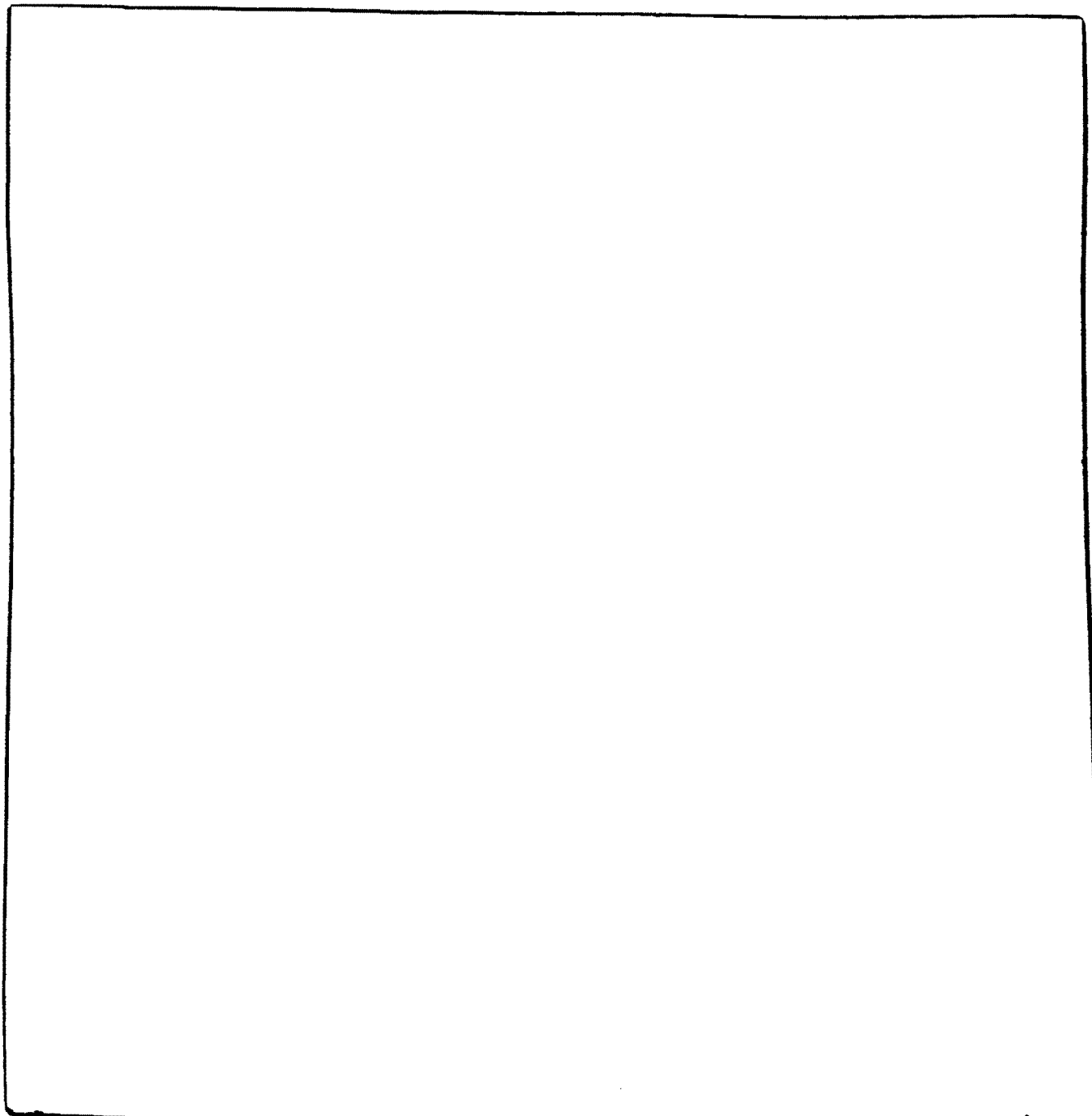
During the latter part of 1963 and early 1964, King frequently conferred with Levison and Jones concerning a book which was being written by King. Both Levison and Jones were consulted on a number of occasions regarding the content of this book and actively participated in negotiations with the publishers regarding the book. This book, which was entitled "Why We Can't Wait" was published in June, 1964. In the Summer of 1964, King began negotiations with "The Saturday Evening Post" concerning the publication of an article which would carry King as the author. Rustin told a group of associates that the article was, in fact, written by Jones, and King did not even read the article before giving the "Post" permission to go ahead with its publication. This article, entitled "Negroes Are Not Moving Too Fast" appeared in the November 7, 1964, issue of the "Post." In November, 1964, Wachtel wrote an article for King entitled "Looking Ahead" which was to be turned over to the "New York Herald Tribune" by Wachtel after receiving King's approval.

King: His Personal Conduct



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[REDACTED]

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Direct CPUSA Involvement

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. Through the years, such organizations have been a constant target for communist-infiltration efforts.

In February, 1964, national Party functionary, Hyman Lumer, told a Party school that the Party's fight for equality is a fight against monopoly capital, and the fight for democratic rights for the Negro becomes a fight which is part of the whole "antimonopoly struggle" within the United States. According to Lumer, the Negro struggle and the peace struggle fall within the class struggle so, for Marxists, the class struggle remains the underlying basic question with full equality and "democracy" the goal of the struggle. As the Party's General Secretary, Gus Hall, has said "Jim Crow can be dealt with only by dealing with capitalism." The Party's National Negro Commission Chairman told the Commission in February, 1964, that the Party must wage an all-out fight for the Civil Rights Bill through pressure on the Congress and, if necessary, through direct action such as demonstrations and marches. In April, 1964, the Party's Legislative Director, Arnold Johnson, stated that it was definitely true that the Party is in the current civil rights movement, but because of the "hysteria" of the news media and opposition by the Government, it was not feasible to publicize the assistance the Party is giving to this movement. Currently, Party instructions are that Party members, in numbers, should attend a national conference of top Negro leaders scheduled for January, 1965.

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Violence Hinted

The frightening truth of the communist involvement is illustrated by comments made at a May, 1964, meeting of the Party's National Negro Commission by one of the Party's national functionaries who said that a total revolution is in the process of development and that no one can predict whether the reactionaries in the United States will drive this country into a bloody, sacrificial conflict in order to prolong the hour of their ultimate defeat. In this statement we see not only a hint at possible violence but coupled with it the Party's advance charge of placing the blame elsewhere.

Party Recruitment Planned

The Party's involvement in the racial situation is intended to also serve in the all-important task of recruitment. In early June, 1964, the Party's national headquarters proposed that headquarters be opened in major cities for the purpose of holding forums. The objective, as explained by a Party functionary, is to organize special study groups designed to exploit sincere civil rights workers and attempt to recruit them into the Party.

Communist In Action

The following incident pointedly illustrates direct communist involvement in the racial picture. The opening of the World's Fair in New York City on April 22, 1964, witnessed efforts by racial groups to demonstrate and cause disorder through such tactics as "sit-ins" and "stall-ins." One of the leaders was Eugene Tournour, a field secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality in St. Louis, Missouri. He was arrested for disorderly conduct as he led 100 pickets at the Fair's opening. Most significantly, just two days previously, on April 20, 1964, Tournour, who has been reliably reported as a member of the CPUSA, met in New York City with Gus Hall and another high Party functionary, Mortimer Daniel Rubin.

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Aim to Heighten Tension

In short, the CPUSA'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.

Conclusion

It is evident from the facts presented that Martin Luther King constitutes a security problem to this Nation. It is equally evident that the Negro people, some 20 million strong, are not aware either of King's security liability or of his personal debauchery. If they were aware, it is not likely that they would be giving to him the support that he now has. At this time, the overwhelming majority of the Negro people have successfully resisted communism and this is to their distinct credit. Under King's leadership, will this condition be changed? This is the serious question which must be faced realistically. The Negro people are certainly entitled to all civil rights enjoyed by white people. Can their legitimate aspirations and efforts in this direction be separated permanently from communism? It is believed this can be done if objectivity is pursued and the facts known acted upon constructively.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



SUBJECT: COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--
A CURRENT ANALYSIS

DATE: October 16, 1963

SANITIZED
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By Sj, NARA, Date 6-10-02

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Introduction

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort. 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.

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 in Hand

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Levison has dedicated his life to advancing the cause of communism in this Nation. Since the late 1940's, he has led a double life for the Communist Party, necessitated by a highly clandestine role with which he was entrusted to raise and handle secret funds used by the Party to finance part of its activities.

Operating in this clandestine role for years through a maze of business enterprises as head of a group of concealed Party members--a group which included his twin brother, who goes by the name of Roy Bennett--Stanley Levison turned over thousands of dollars to the Communist Party. Just in the two-year period covering 1956 and 1957, the group raised \$66,000 for the Party. Since 1956, the group has turned over more than \$100,000 to the Party.

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Levison also played an important role in the evolvement of plans that led to the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. Originally Negro

leaders, principally A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the Negro American Labor Council, had proposed a march on the Nation's Capital sometime in the Fall of 1963. Subsequently, after consulting with Levison, who agreed that "the time is now," Martin Luther King seized the initiative and secured the cooperation of the other Negro leaders in backing King's proposal for an earlier march--a move that put King squarely in the forefront of the events as they developed.

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Hunter Pitts O'Dell

Another important communist whose advice King has relied on is Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Long active in the communist movement, O'Dell worked for a number of years as a district organizer for the Communist Party in Louisiana. In December, 1959, at the Party's last National Convention, he was elected a member of the Party's National Committee under a pseudonym. In 1960, at which time he was working as the assistant to James Jackson, the Communist Party's National Secretary for the South, O'Dell also began to work actively in support of Martin Luther King's movement.

There are two important points that should be noted in connection with O'Dell's gravitation to King's movement. Early in 1960, it was learned that efforts were being made by the Party to get O'Dell into a special type of activity. About the same time, a Party official stated that the Party was in a position to place people in Martin Luther King's organization, the SCLC. Subsequently, in 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC's New York office. In addition, two other Party members, Hazel Gray and Loretta Pauker, worked there under O'Dell at one time or another.

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. 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."

Another incident shows how the communists blended King's activities into support of their own objectives. Early in May, 1962, the Party's leader, Gus Hall, directed another Party functionary to select a full-time Party member for a special assignment in the South. The member selected was Hosea Herman Hudson, of New York, and, later that month, he attended a Party meeting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

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.

Hudson told an individual unaware of the underlying communist purpose in the voter registration drive that the money for the mass organization work would come from Martin Luther King's group. However, confidentially he told two Party members that the Party had appropriated the money for the work. How the Party intended to funnel the money through King's group was revealed when Hudson arranged for the Party's Baton Rouge area leader, Sargeant Caulfield, to meet O'Dell in Atlanta several days later, at which time O'Dell told Caulfield he would pay him \$1000 a month to organize the work. Although Caulfield was unable to work full time in this capacity, O'Dell is known to have worked actively for several months spearheading the voter registration drive for the SCLC in the South.

This fitted nicely into the communists' scheme of things. Only a month before, Caulfield 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.

O'Dell's Exposure

An opportunity for the communists to put O'Dell directly on the scene permanently in regard to the voter registration drive arose in June, 1962, when King mentioned to Levison that he was thinking of adding an administrative assistant to his staff. Levison recommended O'Dell, who was still serving as head of the SCLC's New York office, and King said he liked the idea. It is clear that, at the time, King was well aware of O'Dell's communist affiliations.

Subsequent to Levison's proposal, O'Dell went to Atlanta to work for the SCLC and used the name J. H. O'Dell. But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations.

King's Reaction

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.

O'Dell's "temporary resignation" consisted of his return to New York, where he continued to operate out of the SCLC's office. He remained there until July, 1963, 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.

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 affiliations 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. 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.

Regarded as a Marxist

King's reluctance to take action regarding O'Dell may be attributable to either of two factors or to a combination of both. The first involves King's reported dedication to Marxism-Leninism. In February, 1962, Stanley Levison passed the word to Gus Hall that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly." Further, in March, 1962, Levison told a Communist Party functionary that King was concerned about a "communist label" being "pinned on us" but that, at the same time, he wanted to do everything possible to evidence friendship toward the Soviet Union.

Moreover, King has been described within the Communist Party as a true, genuine Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes. The feeling within the Communist Party is that King is definitely following a Marxist-Leninist line.

The Second Factor

The second factor which, alone or in combination with the first, may have had a bearing on King's reluctance to dismiss O'Dell concerns King's reliance and dependence on both O'Dell and Stanley Levison for guidance. In January, 1963, for example, when King desired to hold a meeting to make a "critical review" of "where they are," he asked specifically that Levison be present and is known to have met with Levison, O'Dell, and eight other officials of the SCLC at Savannah, Georgia, later that month. During King's entire relationship with Levison and O'Dell, he clearly became more dependent on them for advice and guidance.

Moves Being Considered

Now, Communist Party leaders are considering a new tactic by which O'Dell might be kept close to King's activities. They plan to propose to Stanley Levison that he finance and open in Atlanta a branch office of "Freedomways," a quarterly magazine established by the Party as a propaganda organ aimed at Negroes, with O'Dell in charge. The Party would use it not only as a legitimate branch office for "Freedomways," but also as a headquarters for intensified Communist Party activities in the South.

In the meantime, Martin Luther King has been considering a replacement for O'Dell as administrator of the SCLC's New York office. King's thinking on the problem focuses attention on two more individuals important in the over-all picture--Clarence Jones and Bayard Rustin--and also serves again to emphasize King's reliance on Levison.

Clarence Jones' Role

King recently has adopted the precautionary measure of avoiding as much direct contact with Stanley Levison as possible. Instead, he secures Levison's advice by maintaining contact with him through Clarence Jones, an attorney in New York City who has represented the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. This is one of several organizations Stanley Levison has assisted in establishing to raise funds for King. In this regard, it also is interesting to note that Clarence Jones was a member of a Communist Party youth group in the mid-1950s.

Recently, in line with his new tactic to avoid direct contact with Levison, King told Jones he wanted him to talk with "our friend" about Bayard Rustin as possible head of the SCLC's New York office. Subsequently, on the same day, Jones relayed King's proposal to Levison, who replied that he would have to give the matter some thought.

An Opportunistic View

In discussing Rustin with Jones, King exhibited an opportunistic nature. At one time, Rustin had been Assistant Secretary of the SCLC. King said he had to let Rustin go because they started having problems arising from his homosexual activities. It is to be noted Rustin has long been so inclined, having been arrested in New York City in 1946 for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act and again in Pasadena, California, in 1953 for offering to engage in an act of sex perversion of a homosexual nature, which he admitted and for which he was sentenced to serve 60 days.

King told Clarence Jones he thought it might be a propitious moment to bring Bayard Rustin back into the SCLC. 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.

Communist Affiliations Ignored

In fact, King seemed to be more concerned about Rustin's homosexual proclivities than his prior communist affiliations, which King did not even mention in his discussion with Jones. 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. He has maintained contact with the Party's National Secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, for a

number of years, recently has been conferring with him frequently, and has taken the position that he does not care who knows it.

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.

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.

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."

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.

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.

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 over-all activities.

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."

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.

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..."

The Party intends 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.

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

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.