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# Met With Communists? McCrackin Doesn't Know

The Rev. Maurice McCrackin said Monday he attended a Tennessee integration meeting but he said he doesn't know if any Communists were there.

Peter Outcall, Republican candidate for Council, says acknowledged Communists attended the session at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

Mr. Outcall cited the incident as an argument for a proposed ordinance which would forbid Communist sympathizers from using publicly supported buildings.

"I attended that meeting," said Mr. McCrackin. "I don't know if any Communists were there or not. If any were there, they did not give out the party line."

Mr. McCrackin, pastor of West Cincinnati-St. Baranabas Church, 1111 Dayton street, was asked if he is a Democrat or Republican, and was quick to answer he is neither.

"I'm a Christian following the doctrine of peace and non-violence," he said. "I belong to no political party."

He refused to say if he is a Communist. "I don't say I'm not a Communist," he said. "I don't want to be on the defensive."

He added, however, that

since he isn't a member of any political party, by implication the statement also would include the Communist Party.

Mr. McCrackin said the Labor Day meeting was solely for a discussion of the integration problem, and that for this reason Gov. Marvin Griffin, of Georgia, has opposed the Tennessee school.

Asked if he is willing to work with Communists toward the objective of integration and peace, Mr. McCrackin said he would work with Communists. "I believe in free association," he said.

Mr. McCrackin withholds a portion of his federal income taxes each year as a protest against the military budget.



REV. MAURICE MCCRACKIN  
... he won't say

## TODAY in THE POST



Remember how important clothesline was for

DOUBLE TAKE

61-7511-224

ENCLOSURE

# Integration Is Complicated By Dixie Rift, Bettman Says

By William Collins  
Enquirer Reporter

The attack on a recent inter-racial school in Tennessee makes our problems in Cincinnati harder than they might be, Bettman says. Municipal Judge Gilbert Bettman said last night.

Judge Bettman was a member of a panel of four who discussed local implications of the attack on the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., before a crowd at St. John's Episcopal Church, Clifton.

The judge referred to material circulated by the Georgia State Commission on Education. The photographer took pictures of Bettman has charged that an integrated workshop at the school is a tool of the Communist Party. The danger in this material, said the judge, inevitably got into the picture is giving the impression that desegregation was identified with Communism.

The matter became an issue when a local minister, the Rev. Madison McCrackin, pastor of the Cincinnati West St. Barnabas Church, came under fire for having attended a Labor Day seminar at the school last year.

The attack on the Rev. Mr. McCrackin has been spearheaded by elements in the American Legion. Several Legionnaires wearing their caps were present at last night's meeting.

The principal speaker was Myles Horton, director of the Highlander Folk School, who described the work of the school in adult education.

One of the school's chief projects in recent years has been to help the south. Horton said that Georgia's Rev. Luther Tucker, pastor of the Indian Hill Episcopal Church, was the first to raise the issue of "guilt by association."

The Governor's "private commission on Education. The Communist Party. The danger in this material, said the judge, inevitably got into the picture is giving the impression that desegregation was identified with Communism.

Horton said he did not know who the alleged Communist was until after the workshop began. "It is easy to see how with a team like the storm trooper photographer and a cooperative Communist Governor Griffin could discredit any pro-integration he thought important."

"Few organizations could feel free to have a public meeting. This would make it difficult if not impossible for people of good will to expand their forces and would leave the field free for the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan if their attack isn't answered."

In the question-and-answer period, Horton said he regarded the Communist Party as "morally bankrupt." But he said he feels the party has a right to exist as long as it does not act illegally.

Two members of the panel which was chaired by the Rev. Luther Tucker, pastor of the Indian Hill Episcopal Church, raised the issue of "guilt by association." Morse Johnson, attorney



MYLES HORTON



REV. LUTHER TUCKER

emphasized the legal principle that "Crackin" is an individual and not a personal, not association. "We are a country of meetings," he said. "If we begin to fear who might be at a meeting, we will begin to restrict our willingness to associate."

The important thing about a meeting, Johnson said, is its purpose and that is done at the meeting.

James Paradise, president of the Cincinnati Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and a member of the panel, said the doctrine of guilt by association, which has given rise to an attack on one of our best citizens, the Rev. Mr. Mc-

Crackin," is an individual and not a personal, not association. Congressional investigating committees.

"Their start in trade has been to induce in character assassination by imputing guilt by association."

The Rev. Mr. McCrackin himself attended the meeting and told a reporter he would have no comment to make.

The charge became a publicized figure here originally by his refusal to pay income taxes as a protest against government spending for armaments.

The meeting was the first in a series sponsored by Fellowship House under the title "Facts For Fellowship Forum."

## 'Prejudice' Hit In Legion Rap At School Issue

An American Legion spokesman yesterday charged "discrimination and prejudice" to participants in a meeting here on the Highlander Folk School issue.

The charges were made in a letter to the Legion's first chairman of the Legion's first district, Council, and was addressed against a meeting Thursday at St. John Lutheran Church, Clifton, where Myles Horton, director of the Tennessee school, was charged with "guilt by association."

The meeting, sponsored by Fellowship House, included panel discussion. Wetteman said he had a letter to the pastor of the church, asking for the proceedings, and announced by "analysis and comment by Legion."

The obvious prejudice in Thursday night panel was the fact that the director of the school, Myles Horton, was the only one to be named as a "prejudice" maker.

# Chest Opens McCrackin Inquiry As Church Asks His Removal

A Community Chest investigation of the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, Cincinnati minister who refuses to pay income taxes, will come to a head "in the very near future," Guy Thompson, executive director of the Chest, said yesterday.

Thompson's statement was given on the heels of a disclosure that the Knox Presbyterian Church, Hyde Park, has asked the Cincinnati Presbytery to remove Rev. Mr. McCrackin as pastor of the West Cincinnati St. Barnabas Church.

The minister serves also as executive of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, a Chest agency.

His refusal to pay income taxes as a protest against armaments and, more recently, his attendance at a Labor Day seminar at a Tennessee school charged with Communist connections has brought him under fire.

"Chest officials are deeply concerned about this problem," said Thompson, citing "very serious allegations" against the minister.

"We are gathering facts," Thompson continued. "These facts will be presented to the board of directors of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House with the request that it, as a



REV. MAURICE MCCRACKIN

responsible body, take whatever action is indicated by the facts.

"Our investigation is not yet completed but the community can be assured that the board of trustees of the chest will see to it that a fair conclusion based on facts will be reached in the very near future."

Rev. Mr. McCrackin had this to say:

"I believe in the right of the

individual to follow his conscience. My conscience tells me that war is wrong. Therefore, I cannot voluntarily give to its support. I do not believe it is anyone's province to stand in judgment of another's conscientious convictions."

The Session, or governing body, of Knox Church detailed charges against Rev. Mr. McCrackin in a letter to Dr. Lowell Palmer, executive secretary of the Cincinnati Presbytery.

The allegations included the clergyman's "refusal, since 1942, to pay the tax, and now his refusal to file a return;" his refusal to give the Internal Revenue Service salary information; his request to the church's Vestry-Session to instruct the church's bookkeeper to withhold such information, and his stated intention to take the matter to his congregation.

The letter charged that Rev. Mr. McCrackin is setting a bad example and is "no longer a suitable person to serve West Cincinnati St. Barnabas."

The Knox Church also asked that its financial support of West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas be withdrawn.

Dr. Palmer would not comment on the letter. But the Rev. Melvin Campbell, pastor of the Knox Church, said the letter was referred to the Council of the Presbytery for study.

Although West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas is a combined Episcopalian and Presbyterian congregation, Rev. Mr. McCrackin is a Presbyterian minister.

Rev. Mr. Campbell said the matter arose when the Knox Church Session was reviewing its 1958 Benevolence budget.

## BIRTHS

### Joy Reigns In The Home

ABERT-James and Frances, 2246 Morris Ave. by January 8.  
 ALBERT-Lloyd and Roberta, 2894 Burdick Ave. by January 11.  
 BALSORE-Dorothy and Paul, 4281 Bay View Ave. by January 8.  
 BARNHART-Solomon and Pearl, 926 Dye St. by January 8.  
 BLANTZ-William and Evelyn, 2284 Plaza Ave. by January 7.  
 BLIVINS-Conrad and Phoebe, 991 Elm St. by January 8.  
 HARMON-Ruth and Sara, 2809 Winton St. by January 8.  
 HAZPES-Helen and Robert, 222 Seward Ave. by January 9.  
 HAZPES-Louise and Audrey, 2127 Jackson (Corner) Ct. by January 8.  
 HARRISON-Steve and Colene, 2718 E. 4th Ave. by January 8.  
 HATHFIELD-George and Helen, 1842 E. Loop St. by January 8.  
 HUBBARD-Dorothy and Ella, 218 W. 12th St. by January 8.

ENCLOSURE

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# LEGION UNIT

## Hits At Pastor

### Associated With School Charged With Red Connections

The Hamilton County Council of the American Legion loosed its first official blast yesterday at the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, West End minister under attack for attending a seminar at a Tennessee school charged with Communist connections.

Previously, elements in the Legion ranks had taken pot shots at Rev. Mr. McCrackin. But yesterday's blast was more like a broadside.

The Legion also denounced James C. Paradise, president of the Cincinnati Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Rev. Luther Tucker, pastor of the Indian Hill Episcopal-Presbyterian Church, as supporters of Rev. Mr. McCrackin.

In a statement signed by Neil Wetterman, the Legion council's Hamilton County Americanism chairman, Paradise and Rev. Mr. Tucker were charged with "distorting facts" in a public meeting on charges against Rev. Mr. McCrackin January 16 at St. John's Unitarian Church, Clifton.

As for Rev. Mr. McCrackin himself, the Legion's spokesman declared it "opposes and will continue to oppose" his presentation of his beliefs to youth. The Legion described Rev. Mr. McCrackin's beliefs as "detrimental to the best interests of our country."

### UNDER FIRE IN '53

(Rev. Mr. McCrackin first came under public fire in 1952 or refusing to pay income taxes. In recent months, criticism of him has stemmed from his attendance last Labor Day at a seminar held at the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn. Several Communist-connection charges have been hurled at the school.)

Wetterman's statement charged Paradise and Rev. Mr. Tucker made public false information about a government witness in a Federal "Communism" case against Myles Horton, director of the Highlander school.

Wetterman said Rev. Mr. Tucker had circulated letters stating the government witness was discharged by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and that the case against Horton had been dropped because of perjured testimony by the witness.

"This is a deliberate untruth, made without substantiation, in addition to being an improper use of the FBI's name," Wetterman said.

The Legion spokesman said Paradise gave out the same information in the January 16 St. John's Church meeting.

Wetterman said the Legion Council "has placed a full report of this matter" in the hands of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

He added that the Legion's stand on Rev. Mr. McCrackin and his supporters has been endorsed unanimously by members of the First District Ohio Amvets.

CINCINNATI ENQUIRER  
Cincinnati, Ohio

DATE 2/10/58

PAGE 10

EDITION Morning Final

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTG/aw  
*24582*

61-7511-226  
ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (65-7511)

72-211 to  
JK, AT 2-28

DATE: 2/21/58

FROM: SAC, Atlanta (100-804)

SAC, Atlanta (100-804)

SUBJECT: HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL  
IS - C  
(KNOXVILLE ORIGIN)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/84 BY JPS/STJ/OL  
245582

Reference is made to Philadelphia letter dated 12/27/57,  
captioned as above.

b7c  
b7D

For the information of Philadelphia Office, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised 1/29/58 that there were 100,000 copies of the publication captioned "Highlander Folk School" printed and distributed by the Georgia Commission on Education 220 Agriculture Building, 19 Hunter St., Atlanta 3, Ga. [REDACTED] advised he did not know to whom this publication was being distributed, but believed that it would be mailed to those individuals who are in local and State politics, as well as those throughout the United States politically inclined on a national level. He advised he did not know if former Special Agents of the FBI had received copies of this publication unsolicited in the mail.

ID

On 10/2/57 [REDACTED] a Confidential Source, whose identity should be protected, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D  
ENCLOSURE

EX-135

- 2 - Bureau (65-7511) (1 encl.) RM
- 1 - New York (info.) (1 encl.) RM
- 2 - Knoxville (61-12) RM
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-3448) (info.) RM
- 1 - Atlanta (100-804)

REC-10

FEB 26 1958

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EX-135

INT. SEC.

AT 100-804

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York are copies of this publication entitled "The Highlander Folk School".

A copy of this letter is furnished to New York for information purposes only, as well as to Philadelphia and Knoxville, Origin. in this case.

RUC.



[Redacted] BK

March 5, 1958

cal 5:

J. B. L.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir;  
In last week mail, Georgia Commission  
on Education, 200 Agriculture Bldg, 19  
Hunter St. N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga. The  
head lines states; Highlander Folk  
School, Communist Training School,  
Monteagle, Tenn.

I just mailed U.S. Congressman Price  
H. Preston (Ga) the paper which has  
some of its material. You could  
contact Congressman Preston for this  
paper. If so please use my name.

What kind of investigation may get  
under way?

Thanking you for your interest. 61-7511-220

Sincerely,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

MAR 11 1958

63 MAR 17 1958

BK

M. [unclear]  
3/11/58  
CRIME

March 24, 1958



CAMPBELL CHAPTER D. A. R.  
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Mr. F. Edgar Hoover,  
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir;

The members of Campbell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, one hundred strong, wish to call your attention to the Highlander's School located in Mount-eagle, Tennessee and urge you to take steps to revoke it's charter. We are not familiar with the necessary technical procedure for such an act but have confidence in your knowledge and ability.

We feel that this school, though accomplishing some good, is influencing the mountain people of that area toward Communistic ideals.

We do not want such a school anywhere but certainly not in Tennessee.

We would like for you to know we stand firmly back of you in all such efforts. Very truly,

*ack  
1-2-58*

*See report  
Nashville report  
245332*

[Redacted signature block]

Nashville, 5, Tenn.

*5-1*

**EXP. PROC.**

MAR 28 1958

REC-98

MCT-1061 - 7511-229

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3 MAR 28 1958

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DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTJ/aw  
245332

EX-101

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*PC*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1958

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245538

Classified by SP8 BTJ/MSZ

Declassify on: OADR 3/2/84

245538

(Handwritten initials)

aka [redacted]

[redacted]

98

61-7511-229

Dear [redacted]

Your letter dated March 24, 1958, has been received, and I appreciate the interest which prompted your communication.

I would like to point out that the FBI is strictly a fact-gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual or organization. Also, the revocation of the charter of the school you mentioned is not a matter within the jurisdiction of the FBI but is a responsibility of officials of the State of Tennessee. In view of the comments in your letter, you may desire to discuss this matter with appropriate state officials.

In the event you secure additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Memphis Office located at 1104 Sterick Building, Memphis 3, Tennessee.

I am indeed grateful for your kind remarks indicating this Bureau has the support of your organization.

Sincerely yours, J. Edgar Hoover

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

(SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO)

COMM - FBI  
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- Nelson \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Knoxville (Enclosure)  
1 - Memphis (Enclosure)

SEE NOTE TO SAC ON PAGE TWO

64 APR 10 1958

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pw:ers(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

*OK* [REDACTED]  
~~ATLANTA: 303-251-1111 AND 303-251-1112~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed for your information is a copy of correspondent's letter.

167285

*OK* [REDACTED]

The activities of the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, are well known to you. (61-7560-6254)

The above is furnished for your information only.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent desires to call the Bureau's attention to the Highlander Folk School. She feels the school is influencing the people of that area toward communistic ideals. She states she is not familiar with the technical procedure to revoke the charter of the school but has confidence in the Director's knowledge and ability. She also states that she and the organization she represents stand firmly back of the Director.

*Monteagle, Tenn*  
The Highlander Folk School is supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions in form of payments for students attending its courses. It offers courses of instruction in labor organization, social economy and the general field of labor education. It has had CP members on its staff and has followed the practice of welcoming communists as students. It has never offered courses of instruction in communism, nor has the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of the school. Due to its interracial character, it has been the subject of numerous past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee. The allegations have never been substantiated. (61-7511-210)

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61-7511-229

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# STANDARD OPINION

The Inside of Politics



SUITE 1202 — 105 WEST MADISON STREET

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*J.P.*

CHICAGO 2, ILL., June 13,

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DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTJ/cw  
245581

*Highlander Folk School  
Wardville, Tenn*

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
United States Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover.

The enclosure will explain  
itself.

Thought you might like to  
see it, i.e., if you have not already re-  
ceived copies from others.

Kindest regards,

[Redacted signature area]

Enc.

ENCLOSURE

REC-43

61-7511-231

18 JUN 16 1958

EXP. PROC. JUN 16 1958

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ENCLOSURE

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61-7511-231



CONFIDENTIAL

June 19, 1958

REC-43 61-7511-231

CONFIDENTIAL

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DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTG/CW

Classified by SP8 BTG/CW  
Declassify on OADR 3/2/84  
245532

[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of June 13, 1958, with enclosure,  
has been received. You may be sure that I deeply appreciate  
the interest which prompted you to bring this matter to my  
attention.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: [REDACTED]  
He enclosed the publication, "Highlander Folk School," which has  
previously been brought to the Bureau's attention on numerous occasions.  
This school, which is supported primarily by donations from individuals  
and labor unions, offers courses of instruction in labor organization,  
social economics and the general field of labor education. It has had  
CP members on its staff and has followed the practice of securing  
communists as students. It has never offered courses of instruction in  
communism nor has the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of this  
school. Due to its international character, it has been the subject of  
many past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism  
in Eastern Tennessee. These allegations have never been substantiated.  
(61-7511-210)

MAILED 9  
JUN 19 1958  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

58 JUN 25 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Dear Sir. Some papers that I got talk  
about this school some of the doctors and  
preachers here are going down the highway  
I think it ought to be looked into. it the only  
way of it kind in America they say  
and preachers from other states are telling  
about it over the radio esp. Texas and other  
states. Saying America has a communist school  
I don't know any thing about it.  
I would tell more when you read this paper.  
Yours Truly.

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Mr. J. Edger Hoover, J

Dear Sir

You Find inclosed Some Paper. there a lot of talk about this School Some of the Doctors and Preacher here are going down there making talks I think it ought to be look in to. it the only School of it Kind in Tenessie they Say and Preacher From other States are telling about it over the Radio Ark. Texas and other States. Saying Tenessie has a communist School I dont Know any thing about it. You can tell more when you read this paper.  
Yours Truly.

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# **Communism**

and the

## **NAACP**

*Just Page 6.*

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## **Preface**

The information contained in this publication was presented under oath by Doctor J. B. Matthews at a public hearing of the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, on Monday, February 10, 1958 at the State Capitol, in Tallahassee, Florida.

The Florida Legislation Investigation Committee is a legislative investigating committee authorized under the Florida law to compel the attendance of witnesses and their testimony under oath.

Georgia Commission on Education  
19 Hunter Street, S. W.  
220 Agriculture Building  
Atlanta 3, Georgia

## Introduction

In the pages which follow, certain propositions will emerge from the evidence submitted. For the most part, original Communist sources have been cited in order to let the Communists speak for themselves. It should be clear that—

- 1) The Communists are at work, with their customary fanatical dedication, in stirring up trouble in the field of public school integration in the South;
- 2) The Communists have been at work for some thirty years in the field of agitation among Negroes;
- 3) The Communists have organized and promoted a succession of united fronts and fronts designed especially for winning Negroes to Communism;
- 4) The tactics of Communist agitation among Negroes are greatly altered from time to time, but the basic objective of violent revolution remains unchanged;
- 5) Whatever the line of the Communist Party on the Negro question may be at a given moment, it is based upon the so-called Marxist-Leninist analysis and is dictated by Moscow in the special interests of the Soviet Union;
- 6) There is a vast Communist literature on the subject of Communism and the American Negro;
- 7) One of the announced goals of the Communist program is the confiscation without compensation of the property of the white capitalists and landowners in the South;
- 8) The Communists favor racial amalgamation and assert that a Communist revolution would speed up the process;
- 9) The Communists have established friendly contacts with the Negro leaders of most of the recent integration incidents in the South;
- 10) The Communists rely chiefly upon the support which they are able to command from misguided Southern liberals;
- 11) This is an era in Communist strategy when the Party has reverted to the united front policy which prevailed immediately prior to and during World War II;
- 12) Communist leaders have asserted that "Negro liberation" is their Number One issue on the domestic front.

## Communists, Negroes, and Integration

The Communist Party has long been expert at the business of fishing in troubled waters—the more troubled, the more to its liking.

The Communist Party is at it again today; and, unfortunately, the “Keep Off” signs have been taken down by order of the U. S. Supreme Court, in its decisions of June 17, 1957, affecting the Communist conspiracy.

If any issue in our society today may be properly characterized as troubled waters, it is unquestionably the issue raised by the Supreme Court's desegregation order of May 17, 1954. And there is no hazard in saying that these waters will be troubled for a long time to come.

The situation is one which the Communists have welcomed eagerly. It offers them an almost unparalleled opportunity to exploit, for their own ulterior and revolutionary purposes, the inevitable social turbulence resulting from the Supreme Court's order for public school integration. Violent agitation is the meat on which Communism feeds.

### The Bait: Negro Liberation

The bait on the Communist hook is “Negro liberation,” a phrase which has been reiterated by Communist leaders with such frequency over the years that it has become a cliché. It matters not that liberation at the hands of Communists is demonstrably a cruel euphemism for a slavery worse than that from which Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed the Negroes. The Communists still approach the Negro people of the United States with the promise of liberation dangling from their hook.

As long ago as 1928, the Communist Party of the United States published a pamphlet written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist International in the United States, in which Pepper said: “The Communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character.” (American Negro Problems, p. 14; emphasis in original)

In a Communist pamphlet entitled “The Road to Negro Liberation,” published in 1934, Harry Haywood wrote about “Party leadership in the Negro liberation movement.” (p. 62)

In 1937, the Communist Party issued a pamphlet entitled “The Road to Liberation for the Negro People,” by Abner W. Berry and others.

Ten years later, in 1947, Negro Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis published his pamphlet entitled “The Path of Negro Liberation,” in which he wrote:

Consequently the Negro people are moving in the direction of some form of statehood in the Black

Belt. This would mean an adjustment or rectification of the lines demarking 12 states through which runs the Black Belt area where the Negro people are in a majority. (p. 19, 20)

In 1948, Negro Communist leader Harry Haywood published a book entitled *Negro Liberation*.

That “Negro liberation” has priority on the Communist Party's agenda today is confirmed by the foremost Negro Communist leader in the United States. Writing in *Political Affairs*, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which lays down the Party line, Benjamin J. Davis declares:

The struggle for Negro rights—particularly in the deep South—is the single most crucial and decisive issue in the United States today . . . The massive significance of the national liberation struggles of the Negro and colonial people, here and abroad, envelops this work with additional importance. (p. 13)

### Negro Republic in the Black Belt

The Communist slogan of “Negro Liberation” is simply a watered-down version of the Party's original slogan of “A Negro Republic in the Black Belt.” The propaganda which the Communist Party conducted on the basis of the latter slogan fell flat in its appeal to Negroes and only served to show how far the Kremlin's agents are removed from the realities of the American scene.

In October, 1930, the Communist International adopted a resolution “on the Negro Question in the United States.” It was published in the United States by Workers Library Publishers, the publishing adjunct of the Communist Party, in a pamphlet entitled *The Communist Position on the Negro Question*.

On the subject of an independent Negro republic in the Black Belt, the Comintern took the position that “as long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States.” (p. 51) But, in the event of the establishment of a Soviet government in the whole United States, Communist Negroes would come out against “separation of the Negro Republic from federation with the United States,” while unconditionally giving “the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question.” (p. 50-51)

The Comintern's resolution held that there was a “prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement,” and that in such a situation the Communist Party must “stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt.” (p. 51-52)



William Z. Foster points out that the *Program of the Communist International* declares for:

The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to State separation. (*Toward Soviet America*, p. 304)

Foster then applies this principle of self-determination and State separation (or secession from the United States) to the Negro population in the Black Belt, in the following statement:

Accordingly, the right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also such white minorities as may live in the section. (*ibid.*, p. 304)

#### Confiscation

The program of the Communist Party calls for the confiscation of the property of the white people in the so-called Black Belt. According to William Z. Foster, writing in his book entitled *Toward Soviet America*:

In a Soviet system, the Negro will have the most complete equality—economically, politically, socially. . . . He will have ample land, confiscated from the great white landlords. . . . Socialism will mean the first real freedom for the Negro. He is beginning to realize this, hence his mass turning to the Communist party for leadership, and the consequent deep alarm of the capitalists and big landowners at his growing unity of white and black toilers. (p. 303)

There is no doubt about the Communist program of confiscation. But, after 40 years of Communist agitation, there is no evidence of the "mass turning" of Negroes to the Communist Party—a fact which William Z. Foster knows very well now, and which he knew very well when he wrote about it.

#### Communist Aim: Racial Amalgamation

In their franker moments, Communist leaders in the United States have stated bluntly that one of their aims is to bring about racial amalgamation. Thus, William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party in America, declared in his book entitled *Toward Soviet America*:

The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage. . . . The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo. (p. 305-306)

#### Kremlin's Guidance and Control

William Z. Foster is frank in asserting that Lenin was the source of the Communist Party's line on

agitation among Negroes. In his book, *The Negro People in American History*, published in 1954, Foster writes:

The American Communist Party got its eventual scientific understanding of the Negro question in the United States from the writings and personal counsel of Lenin. This was one of the many basic services to the American labor movement rendered by the Communist International, but it was not to be realized until 1929. (p. 454)

It has already been shown that the representative of the Communist International, John Pepper, dictated the line of the American Communists on the so-called Negro question.

#### On Penetrating Non-Communist Organizations

In addition to building their own Party-controlled organizations, the Communist Party has from the beginning pursued a policy of sending its members into non-Communist organizations. Their own word for this type of activity is "penetration." The Communist objectives in penetrating other groups are varied. In some instances, the goal of penetration is outright control. In other instances, the objective is to disseminate and gain support for the views of the Party apparatus outside the immediate circle of Communists or, in other words, to win fellow travelers on specific issues. In yet other and rarer cases, the aim of penetration is to destroy the organization which is penetrated.

At times, the Communist Party directives have frankly set forth the tactics of penetration, without the slightest attempt at secrecy and subtlety. Thus, a report to the Plenum of the Communist Party in 1935 records some successes in penetration. Excerpts from this report were published in the *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, under the title of "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations." The first excerpt gives an illuminating example of the tactics of Communist penetration. It reads as follows:

We have some excellent experiences in New York. In Queens we have been able, just on one issue, and maybe this is the secret of it, to get together over 60 various organizations of the Negro people on the question of discrimination in the hospital in Queens. We have the Alpha Benevolent Association, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Amity Baptist Church, Arrawat Democratic Club, Bayside City League, N.A.A.C.P., etc., about 70 organizations that have come together and conducted a struggle in Queens for the right of Negroes in the hospitals in the City of New York. (p. 20)

The tactic of concentrating on "one issue" in order to penetrate non-Communist Negro organizations was further illustrated in the second excerpt of the report

to the Plenum of the Communist Party. In this instance, the "one issue" was a forthcoming conference on unemployment in Washington, D. C., a conference engineered and controlled by the Communist Party. With respect to this example of successful penetration of non-Communist Negro organizations, the Plenum report said:

These experiences have shown us that it was possible to get this united front by simply taking up one section, one issue, one grievance of the Negro people and developing a struggle around it. In this case we can see that if we properly approach these organizations there is a possibility of getting into the Negro organizations for a united front. We have had in Harlem in the preparations for the unemployed conference at Washington, a conference of 29 organizations, different organizations than we have had heretofore, into a conference at Abyssinia Baptist Church, the N.A.A.C.P., church organizations, etc. Comrade [Herbert] Benjamin spoke there, and we elected delegates to the congress at Washington. We had also the followers of Father Divine, the Negro "God." (p. 20)

(Again and again, the Communist Party has successfully penetrated the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Representative Adam Clayton Powell was and is the pastor.)

Still another example of the use of the tactic of "one issue" was the united front which the Communist Party organized around the Italian war against Ethiopia. In an article entitled "The United Front on Ethiopia," published in the *Party Organizer* of July, 1935, James W. Ford wrote as follows:

This time we organized a broad united front on the issue of the struggle for the defense of the Ethiopian people, which ultimately involved at least 60 Negro organizations. (p. 16)

In this campaign of penetration, the Communist Party again had the use of Congressman Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church.

Wrote James W. Ford in the *Party Organizer*:

The first action was on May 7 (1935) in Harlem at the Abyssinian Church. There were 3,000 Negroes present, most of whom were not Communists. There the Communists spoke from the same platform as these other people. (p. 17)

In the work of penetrating non-Communist organizations, the Communists went prepared for any eventuality. According to Ford, the Communist Party on one occasion sent a number of the followers of Marcus Garvey, whose organization the Party had penetrated, to a meeting of the Party's Italian Workers' Center "where our comrades discussed the Abyssinian ques-

tion." Ford added that these Negro Garveyites "were so afraid of their reception (at the Italian Communist center) that they went there armed with knives." (p. 17) The precautionary arming was, of course, wholly unnecessary; they were received most hospitably. From this particular affair, Ford drew the following conclusion:

It is along these lines that we must work among the Negroes, patiently overcoming their suspicions and hesitations.

This experience in Harlem opens up a perspective of wider actions not only in Harlem, but throughout the country. Committees on Ethiopia should be set up on a nation-wide scale. (p. 17)

If ever two movements possessed antithetical ideologies, they were the Communist Party and Father Divine's group. Notwithstanding this sharp clash of basic views, the Communist Party successfully penetrated the ranks of Father Divine's movement. On this subject, James W. Ford made the following comment:

Another question that is bothering a number of comrades in New York is the Father Divine movement in connection with the united front . . . the comrades in Harlem have taken very seriously the question which was raised at the last plenum—of going into the church organizations, making friends with these people. Through our united front with Father Divine we have been able to effect the penetration of a mass organization of the Negro people. A very important fact to remember in connection with the Father Divine movement is the fact that the followers of Father Divine are workers, toiling people; that is why we are attempting to penetrate into this movement.

The united front with the Father Divine movement has been made on the basis of certain concrete issues. (p. 17, 18)

For more than 20 years, the Communist Party has pursued this tactic of penetration of non-Communist organizations and groups. With the current dwindling of its membership, the Party is pursuing the tactic more assiduously than ever. Recently, it has applied the tactic on a broad scale among scientists on the issue of radioactive fall-out. It hopes to reap vast gains on the issue of integration in the public schools of the South. Communists measure their gains in terms of social turbulence. Wherever they are permitted, they will penetrate non-Communist groups which favor federal intervention by force in the field of integration, hoping thereby to increase turmoil and incite to violence. The indispensable pre-conditions of Communist revolutionary sentiment are chaos and violence.

The Communist Party cared little or nothing about racial discrimination in the Queens hospital, about the fate of the Scottsboro boys or Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, about the Italian war against Ethiopia, or about the unemployed; it cares much about fishing in troubled waters. Only so can it serve its Kremlin master.

#### Negro College Presidents

The Communist-front apparatus has gained support, in one degree or another, among 60 percent of Negro college and university presidents. The following heads of Negro institutions of higher learning were affiliated with the National Negro Congress:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.  
John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.  
David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.  
R. O'Hara Lanier, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
Jacob L. Reddix, Jackson State College, Jackson, Miss.  
The following were affiliated with the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare:  
Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.  
William H. Bell, Alcorn A. & M. College, Alcorn, Miss.  
Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Pa.  
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.  
Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.  
Edgar H. Gould, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.  
Arthur Howe, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.  
Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Mordecai Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.  
David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.  
J. R. E. Lee, Florida A. & M. University, Tallahassee, Fla.  
Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.  
James E. Shepard, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.  
H. C. Trenholm, Alabama State College for Negroes, Montgomery, Ala.  
John Brown Watson, Arkansas State A. & M. and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark.  
M. F. Whittaker, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.  
The following have been affiliated with the currently functioning Southern Conference Educational Fund:  
Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.

William Augustus Bell, Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.  
Miller W. Boyd, Morristown College, Morristown, Tenn.  
James P. Brawley, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.  
Tandy W. Coggs, Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Ark.  
James A. Colston, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.  
John W. Davis, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va.  
Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.  
John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.  
M. LaFayette Harris, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.  
Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Mordecai W. Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.  
Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Richard I. McKinney, Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.  
Hollis F. Price, LeMoyné College, Memphis, Tenn.  
O. R. Reuben, Morris College School of Religion, Sumter, S. C.

Joseph J. Rhoads, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas.  
William R. Strassner, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

There is no implication in the foregoing listings that any of these heads of Negro institutions are Communists. They represent, however, a high degree of Communist penetration into the ranks of the administrators of Negro education.

Forty-five different heads of Negro institutions of higher learning have had a total of 291 separate affiliations with the Communist-front apparatus. It is apparent that the Communists have established a sizeable beachhead in Negro education.

Many of these affiliations mean that Communists or pro-Communists have made personal contact with the top administrators of Negro education. That is one of the aims of the Communist-front technique. And, of course, the Communists acquire a certain amount of prestige for their projects.

If the so-called Negro masses were as susceptible to Communist-front propaganda as the so-called Negro intellectuals, the situation would be alarming. In his condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, Arnold Rose makes the following observation:

Still the Communists have not succeeded in getting any appreciable following among Negroes in America, especially among the masses. During the depression and again since the war, a number of

leaders and intellectuals have become Communists or "fellow travelers." . . . To begin with, poor, uneducated, and socially disadvantaged groups have never been particularly susceptible to radical propaganda. It is usually the intellectuals and higher strata of the working class that have been reached first. (*The Negro in America*, p. 166)

#### National Council of Churches Penetrated

Remembering James W. Ford's statement about the Communist Party's policy "of going into the church organizations," some statistical data with respect to this question are enlightening.

The Communist Party has been strikingly successful in its efforts at infiltrating the Federal and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. during the past 20-odd years.

In view of the fact that the philosophical bases of Communism and Christianity are as antithetical as two philosophies could possibly be, the success of the Communists in penetrating the ranks of the Protestant clergy is hard for some to understand. Nevertheless, the cold statistical facts are a matter of public record. It is not necessary to rely upon anybody's opinions.

The National Council of Churches was officially constituted on November 29, 1950, in Cleveland, Ohio. It was, in fact, nothing more than a reorganization of the Federal Council of Churches.

In the formal constituting of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland, one representative from each of the participating communions signed the official book which became the Document of Record. Eleven of these 29 signers of the official book have public records of affiliation with pro-Communist enterprises. Their names and respective denominations are as follows:

Bishop S. L. Greene—*African Methodist Episcopal*  
Bishop W. J. Walls—*African Methodist Episcopal Zion*  
Dr. E. H. Pruden—*American Baptist Convention*  
Dr. Desmond W. Bittinger—*Church of the Brethren*  
Bishop Bertram W. Doyle—*Colored Methodist Episcopal*

Dr. Vere V. Loper—*Congregational Christian*  
Rev. Josef A. Barton—*Czech Moravian*  
Bishop J. Ralph Magee—*Methodist*  
Dr. W. H. Jernagin—*National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.*

Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill—*Protestant Episcopal*  
Dr. Henry A. Vruwink—*Reformed Church in America*

It will be noted that 4 of the 11 signers of the Document of Record—Greene, Walls, Doyle, and Jernagin—were representatives of all-Negro denominations. This is a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen. Whatever the reasons may be, it is a fact that Negro professional groups have been more

susceptible to Communist penetration than their white counter-parts.

There were 358 clergymen who were voting delegates to the constituting convention of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland. Of these clergymen, 123 (or 34 percent) have had affiliations with Communist projects and enterprises. That represents a high degree of penetration.

These 123 voting delegates were divided as follows: 84 white and 39 Negroes. The total number of their public pro-Communist affiliations is 659, of which 359 are affiliations of the white clergymen and 300 are affiliations of the Negro clergymen. Again, these figures indicate a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen with Communist affiliations, and a higher degree of susceptibility to the appeals of Communist causes. The average number of affiliations for the Negro delegates is 7.7, while that of the whites is 4.2.

The greater Communist penetration of the higher ranks of Negro church dignitaries is evidenced by the fact that 57 percent of the total number of currently active Negro bishops of four Protestant denominations have records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations and enterprises. The following Negro bishops fall into this category:

#### African Methodist Episcopal Church—

George W. Barber, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Frank Madison Reid, Kittrell, N. C.  
Joseph Gomez, Cleveland, O.  
Frederick D. Jordan, Hollywood, Calif.  
R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Carey A. Gibbs, Birmingham, Ala.  
D. Ward Nichols, Jacksonville, Fla.  
Sherman L. Greene, Atlanta, Ga.

#### African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church—

William Jacob Walls, Chicago, Ill.  
Raymond Luther Jones, Salisbury, N. C.  
Hampton Thomas Medford, Washington, D. C.  
Herbert Bell Shaw, Wilmington, N. C.  
Stephen Gill Spottswood, Washington, D. C.  
Charles Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, Ky.  
Charles Cecil Coleman, Oklahoma City, Okla.

#### Christian Methodist Episcopal Church—

J. A. Hamlett, Kansas City, Kan.  
W. Y. Bell, South Boston, Va.  
F. L. Lewis, Shreveport, La.  
Bertram W. Doyle, Nashville, Tenn.  
A. W. Womack, Indianapolis, Ind.  
B. Julian Smith, Chicago, Ill.

#### Methodist Church—

J. W. E. Bowen, Atlanta, Ga.  
Matthew W. Clair, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.  
Edgar A. Lowe, Baltimore, Md.

Eight of the above-named, currently active, Negro bishops are officially connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. They are Bishop S. L. Greene, Bishop F. L. Lewis, Bishop Edgar A. Love, Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, Bishop Charles Ewbank Tucker, Bishop Charles Cecil Coleman, and Bishop Frank Madison Reid.

The aim of the Communist penetration of non-Communist organizations is not necessarily to recruit members of the Party, but rather to create a favorable climate of opinion for certain limited objectives of the Communist program. In this way, the stain of Communism is removed from these objectives, and thus they appear to be the objectives of men of goodwill.

#### Highlander Folk School Seminar

Over the Labor Day weekend (August 30-September 2, 1957), Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, staged its 25th anniversary seminar on "the human aspects of the integration struggle." Notorious Communists, veteran Communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the seminar (The incident of Little Rock had not yet occurred.)

Before taking up the records of the prominent integrationists who were present, it is necessary to take a look at the Highlander Folk School and its ideological orientation.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, page 193.) In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. (James) Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined."

Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist Party functionary in the South. His Communist record given to a Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance:

The major positions I held in the Communist Party were the head of the Communist Party's department for infiltration of the Armed Forces of the United States, a representative of the Communist Party of the United States to the executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow, a member of a commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all the armed forces of the world, and operate as honorary regimental commander of the Red Army, a special student at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow; I was a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker, official organ of

the Communist Party, a member of the various commissions of the central and national committee of the party, State or district organizer for Florida, for Utah, for North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, editor of the Communist magazine, The New South, the official organ for the Southern States, member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, and chairman of the control commission of the Communist Party for that area, a member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for California, for Nevada, and Hawaii, national secretary of the Anti Imperialist League, and many other minor positions.

Speaking of James Dombrowski, Mr. Crouch testified as follows: "I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee . . . at this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership, without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

In March 1954, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is the executive director. Among the witnesses who testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama.

In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James Dombrowski to him on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, page 45.) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956, Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (See New York Times, November 17, 1956.) Alton Lawrence is currently an official of the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were

made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South." Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three C.I.O. organizers took a very prominent part." (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, page 126.)

Paul Crouch testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, as follows: "The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tennessee, ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." (See Hearings, page 47.) Dombrowski was an instructor at the Highlander Folk School for a number of years.

The following colloquy took place between Senator Eastland, Committee Counsel Arens, and Mr. Crouch during the latter's testimony:

**SENATOR EASTLAND.** Mr. Crouch, did you ever visit Dr. Dombrowski's home?

**MR. CROUCH.** I visited the Highlander Folk School where he was working. I didn't visit at his home, but we spent a night at the same home together, Caroline Stevenson's and he and Leo Sheiner discussed in my presence the actual hideout of Communist leaders the night we were traveling to Winter Haven.

**MR. ARENS.** He and Sheiner discussed in your presence the hideouts for Communist leaders, top flight leaders; is that correct?

**MR. CROUCH.** That is correct, sir. (See hearings, p. 52.)

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. (See House Committee Hearings, May 6, 1949, page 191.)

At the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954, Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshal from the witness stand and the hearing room, for disorderly conduct.

James Dombrowski's record of pro-Communist activities and connections will be discussed under the section on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization which is playing a key role in the drive for integration in the South.

#### **Abner W. Berry**

The presence of a prominent Communist Party Negro leader at the Highlander Folk School seminar is of major significance. Through Abner W. Berry, the Communist Party established personal contacts with the Southern leaders of the fight for integration. The Party, in its present-day strategy, sets the highest value on

such personal contacts. It is the current strategy of penetration.

Abner W. Berry is a veteran Communist Party leader. More than 25 years ago, he was a member of the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, a Communist *sputnik* which will be discussed later. For 20 years, Berry has been a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He has also been a member of the smaller central committee of the Party (*Daily Worker*, May 23, 1938, p. 5). In 1946, he was educational director of the Communist Party of Michigan (*Daily Worker*, Jan. 21, 1946, p. 5). He was an instructor at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science for several years before the school closed in December, 1956.

Abner W. Berry is, and has been for years, a feature writer for the *Daily Worker*. In this newspaper of the Communist Party, Berry made a lengthy report on his visit to the Highlander Folk School. In his report, Berry said:

Here for four days Negro and white leaders of the South representing millions of southerners, had the precious communications established with each other that had been disconnected during the past few years. (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 10, 1957, p. 5)

Berry has been a writer for other Communist publications: *Masses & Mainstream*, *Michigan Herald*, *New Masses*, *People's Daily World*, and *Political Affairs*. He served for a number of years on the editorial board of *Political Affairs*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party.

It is apparent that Abner W. Berry is a high ranking leader of the Communist Party. It goes without saying that the Party sent him to the Highlander Folk School seminar. Such leaders receive their assignments from the highest command of the Communist Party; they do not go anywhere on their own. The cordial reception which Berry was accorded at the Highlander Folk School is convincing evidence of the school's ideological orientation.

Berry states that "two southern NAACP branch presidents" attended the Highlander Folk School seminar on integration."

#### **Pete Seeger**

Another individual who has a long record of Communist affiliations and activity was also a prominent participant in the Labor Day weekend conference at the Highlander Folk School, namely, Pete Seeger.

Pete Seeger is a nationally known folk singer who has been prominently identified with the Communist movement in this country for many years. He has been named as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony.

On August 18, 1955, Pete Seeger was a witness before the house Committee on Un-American Activities. Time and time again, Seeger defiantly refused to answer questions concerning his past or present membership in the Communist Party. He also declined to answer any questions concerning his affiliations with numerous Communist-front organizations. He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment; he simply and contemptuously refused to answer pertinent questions. He was accompanied by Paul L. Ross as counsel. Ross has also been prominent in Communist activity for many years. (See pages 2448-2460 of the Hearings, 1955.)

Among his many Communist connections, Pete Seeger has been publicly affiliated with the following Communist organizations and enterprises which are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; American Youth Congress; American Committee for Democracy; Civil Rights Congress; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Committee for the Negro in the Arts; Communist Party; Council on African Affairs; Jefferson School of Social Science; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Nature Friends of America; *New Masses*; Voice of Freedom Committee; and Win-the-Peace Conference.

Seeger entertained with his guitar and folk songs at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

#### John B. Thompson

The Rev. John B. Thompson was billed as seminar director at the Highlander Folk School Labor Day weekend affair. Thompson is dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Many clergymen have better claims to qualification as Communist fellow travelers than John B. Thompson. He has served the Communist apparatus long and faithfully in many capacities.

Thompson was national chairman of the American Peace Mobilization (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 3, 1940, p. 4) and national chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War (letterhead, Aug. 10, 1940). These were organizations set up by the Communists during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. On the very day that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the American Peace Mobilization dropped its anti-war stand and changed its name to the American People's Mobilization with John B. Thompson still at its head. Thompson's testimony before a committee set up by the Illinois State Legislature in 1949, John B. Thompson tried to say that the American Peace Mobilization was merely a reflection of the general anti-war sentiment prevailing in the United States in 1939, 1940, and 1941. Such a statement is either dishonest or incredibly stupid. The bona fide anti-war sentiment of the American people prevailed right up until the day of Pearl Harbor. The

phony anti-war stand of the APM and the Communists prevailed right up until June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. The bona fide American peace advocates were ready to go to war only when the United States was attacked; the phony APM and Communist Peace advocates were ready and eager to go to war when their beloved Soviet Union was attacked. The former were America Firsters; the latter were Russia Firsters.

Ten weeks before Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the APM, under Thompson's chairmanship, declared: "This is not a war to wipe out the evils of Hitlerism and tyranny . . . It is a war to line the pockets of corporate interests at the expense of the peoples of the World."

In one of its official statements in March, 1941, the APM said: "An English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory."

From 1940 to 1942, John B. Thompson was head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist organization which will be discussed later.

Among the many other Communist organizations with which Thompson has been affiliated, the following are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; International Labor Defense; Emergency Peace Mobilization; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; and People's Institute of Applied Religion.

#### Aubrey Williams

Aubrey Williams and the Rev. Martin Luther King were the two featured speakers at the closing session of the Highlander Folk School seminar.

As president of the highly influential Southern Conference Educational Fund, Aubrey Williams ranks among top leaders of all-out integration.

Williams was director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt. He also held other high positions in the New Deal. In 1945, however, the U. S. Senate rejected his appointment as administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record. He is at present editor and publisher of the *Southern Farm and Home*, Montgomery, Alabama, which has a circulation of 800,000.

On March 19, 1954, Williams was subpoenaed to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In the course of his examination by committee counsel Richard Arens, Williams testified that the following passage was a part of a speech which he had delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on September 11, 1947, under the auspices of the Communist-controlled Progressive Citizens of America:

What they demand is that any man who admits to being a member of the Communist Party be fired immediately on the grounds that no man can be loyal to the United States and be a Communist. It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the right of any Communist to maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the United States. To take any less position than this is to throw overboard such primary rights as the freedom to think and to hold whatever beliefs one chooses. (Hearings, p. 107; emphasis added)

Anyone holding Aubrey Williams' views on the employment of admitted Communist Party members in the U. S. Government could be expected to welcome the aid of Communist Party members in the drive for integration.

According to Abner W. Berry's account of the Highlander Folk School seminar in the *Daily Worker* (Sept. 10, 1957, p. 5) Aubrey Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the present situation in the South "is only a short step to general violence" and that the "stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted."

In the later years of its existence, Aubrey Williams was president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The name of Aubrey Williams was attached to a brief *amici curiae* on behalf of the Communist Party, at the October 1955 Term of the U. S. Supreme Court. Other red-hot integrationists whose names appear on this defense of the Communist Party include the following: John M. Coe, James A. Dombrowski, W. E. B. DuBois, James W. Ford, W. A. Hunton, and William L. Patterson.

Aubrey Williams is, and has been for many years, a member of the executive committee of the Highlander Folk School.

It would be superfluous to add further details of the many Communist affiliations of Aubrey Williams.

### **Martin Luther King**

The Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery (Ala.) Improvement Association and pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

King is the nationally acclaimed Negro leader of the integration forces in the South. He is scheduled as one of the featured speakers at the forthcoming assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., in December.

It is of great significance that King is in close touch with such Communists and pro-Communists as were assembled at the Highlander Folk School seminar. The Communists would like nothing better than to take him under their wing.

Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement. In the April, 1957, issue of *Political Affairs*, Benjamin J. Davis writes of "the national upsurge of the Negroes in the South, spearheaded by the non-violent integration movement." (p. 13) In his new book entitled *Toward Negro Freedom*, the editor of *Political Affairs*, Herbert Aptheker, writes of King's bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, as follows:

And in Montgomery, Alabama, there is the epic struggle of the entire 50,000 members of its Negro community . . . Here, with women in the lead, is the unparalleled and unbreakable splendor of an entire people speaking out to the world in tones of purity and self-sacrifice and saying: "We will live in freedom, in our own day and here in our own city." (p. 180)

Such rhetoric is calculated to ingratiate the Communists with the Rev. Martin Luther King and his large following. The art of flattery is the current tactic of Communist penetration. The tactical crudities of the Party's early years have given way to subtle refinements in penetrating Negro organizations and movements. The Communist Party, however, does not repudiate its former methods which breathed revolutionary fire and brimstone. Writing in *Political Affairs*, James E. Jackson (one of the top Negro leaders of the Communist Party) says:

It has for three decades been the honorable (sic) task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights. Recognizing the special national character of this question, we have raised our voices among the workers when others stood mute. (Resolution presented to the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA by James E. Jackson, chairman of the Subcommittee on Negro Rights; *Political Affairs*, March, 1957, p. 34)

Jackson thus fondly embraces the Communist Party's record in the African Blood Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the National Negro Congress, and other misadventures in its efforts to kindle revolutionary ardor among American Negroes.

Now, the Party looks upon Martin Luther King's work and movement as a new opportunity to incite racial animosity, and upon King's attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar as a most desirable contact.

In its present adulation of Martin Luther King and his kind of "liberation" movement, the Communist Party still bows reverently at the altar of Marxist-Leninist Theory. James E. Jackson, quoted above on



the subject of the Party's past, turns to the Communist Party's present and writes:

As the advance guard of the American working class, the Communist Party must continue to make its contributions to the fight for Negro rights, under the changed conditions of today, as effectively, as honorably, as it did in previous periods of struggle. The fight for Negro rights needs the contribution which Communists, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, are in a position to make. (p. 34)

On February 21, 1956, after the bus boycott in Montgomery had run for 11 weeks, the Negro leaders of the boycott were arrested and charged with violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. The Rev. Martin Luther King was among those arrested. On March 22, he was found guilty and fined \$500. The case is on appeal.

It is interesting to note that the proponents of public school integration in the South make a great to-do about the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, by claiming with unparalleled vehemence that the decision is "the law of the land." On the other hand, they ignore with complete unanimity the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of 1908 declaring the organized boycott of the Danbury Hatters to be in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the principle of which decision is reflected in Alabama's anti-boycott statute.

#### **Mrs. Rosa Parks**

It goes almost without saying that Mrs. Rosa Parks was in attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

It was Mrs. Parks who started the Montgomery bus boycott. On December 1, 1955, when she refused to sit in a seat in the rear of a bus, she was arrested and fined \$14. Shortly prior to her dramatic defiance of the segregation ordinance, Mrs. Parks had taken a course at Highlander Folk School.

Mrs. Parks promptly became a heroine to the Communists. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front, arranged meetings for her in New York City, including one at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont.

#### **Charles G. Gomillion**

Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day conference at the Highlander Folk School.

As president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Gomillion received a considerable amount of publicity in the nation's press in the summer of 1957, in connection with his leadership of a Negro boycott against the white merchants of the town of Tuskegee. This was one of the recent militant activities of Southern Negroes. On August 15, 1957, an injunction was issued against the

boycott on the ground that it was a violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. (*New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1957)

Gomillion's organized boycott began on June 26, after a mass meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association in protest against the Alabama legislature's proposed revision of Tuskegee's city limits. Gomillion did not even allege that the white merchants were in any way responsible for the initiation of the revision.

Dean Gomillion's pro-Communist connections have been significant. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, he was identified as a current member and secretary of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an outright Communist organization (see below).

In a press release dated April 21, 1947, Gomillion was listed as a signer of a manifesto of Negro leaders against the outlawing of the Communist Party. The manifesto was released from 23 West 26th Street, New York City, which is now the national headquarters of the Communist Party, and which, in 1947, was headquarters of a dozen Communist organizations including the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Co-signers of the manifesto included such Communist stalwarts as Paul Robeson, W. E. B. DuBois, Benjamin J. Davis, and Doxey A. Wilkerson. The signers called upon the President and Congress "to repudiate decisively the fascist-like proposal . . . to legalize the Communist Party," and declared: "We will resist with all our power every step taken in that direction."

*The Worker*, Communist Party Sunday newspaper, of August 29, 1948, carried a full-page advertisement of an enterprise called The First Line of Defense. It was another manifesto in defense of the Communist Party, opening with the following words addressed to the President and the Attorney General: "We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of the Negro leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities." This manifesto, too, was signed by Charles G. Gomillion. Co-signers included the following notorious Communist Party leaders of the Negro race: Louis E. Burnham, Ernest Thompson, Abner W. Berry (one of the participants in the Highlander Folk School conference), James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, W. A. Hunton, Richard B. Moore, S. C. Patterson, and Doxey Wilkerson.

Gomillion sponsored a testimonial dinner for W. E. B. DuBois whose services to the Communist cause have been enormous. The dinner was given at Essex House, New York City, on February 23, 1951. Prominent Communists who co-sponsored this DuBois testimonial dinner included the following: Herbert Aptheker, Mrs. Louise Berman, Howard Fast, Frederick V. Field, Ben

Gold, W. A. Hunton, Albert E. Kahn, William L. Paterson, Melba Phillips, Joseph Selly, Howard Selsam, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred K. Stern (who recently fled behind the Iron Curtain to escape indictments for espionage), and Gene Weltfish.

Charles G. Gomillion is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization whose ideological orientation toward Communism will be discussed later.

Gomillion and his Tuskegee Civic Association are part of an interlocking apparatus which includes the Highlander Folk School and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

In his 1956 presidential report to the Tuskegee Civic Association, Dean Gomillion stated that at one of their meetings in February, 1956, a speaker discussed "the role of the Highlander Folk School, and the search for an effective social action program." He also stated that one of the major roles of the Tuskegee Civic Association was cooperation "with the Highlander Folk School in the effort to develop effective personal and group techniques for facilitating racial desegregation."

In view of the fact that Gomillion and his TCA had been cooperating with the Highlander Folk School for at least a year and a half, it may be presumed that his illegal boycott of the white merchants of Tuskegee was one of the group techniques worked out by the two organizations. Furthermore, it may be assumed that Gomillion's close association with the Communist apparatus, as set forth above, was some kind of preparation for his adoption of the militant boycott technique.

The manager of Tuskegee's largest department store was quoted in the *New York Times*, as follows: "The Negro leaders picked the wrong target. The merchants didn't have anything to do with Senator Engelhardt's bill. I think they realize that the boycott is unfair. We've worked closely with the Negroes on charity drives and when they asked for credit we extended it without question." It is, of course, standard Communist tactics to exacerbate existing tensions and to create racial strife where none had existed.

#### Fred B. Routh

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar in the person of Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of assistant director of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council, recipient of a grant of \$245,000 from the Fund for the Republic, is one of the most influential organizations of whites and Negroes in the South. It has been penetrated by the Communist-front apparatus.

The following directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with Communist organizations:

Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College  
Brailsford R. Brazeal, professor at Morehouse College  
Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University  
J. M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University  
Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute  
Charles S. Johnson, late president of Fisk University  
R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College  
Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College  
H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State College for Negroes

All of the foregoing directors of the Southern Regional Council are Negroes and all are connected with Negro institutions of higher learning.

#### Others Present

The Rev. David H. Brooks, Protestant Episcopal high church clergyman (Negro), was a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar. He was a leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott which occurred during the last seven months of 1956.

The *Daily Worker*, July 1, 1952, carried a front-page story about a petition drawn up by the noted pro-Communist, W. E. B. DuBois, urging President Truman to adopt a policy of "withdrawal of military forces and installations by the U. S. and all other governments from all foreign territory where their presence is not authorized by agreement of all the major powers." Such a policy would, of course, be a Communist booby trap. Of the alleged 160 Negro signers of this DuBois petition, the names of only four were given in the *Daily Worker*; and one of the four was the name of the Rev. David H. Brooks.

Allen McSwain (Negro) was a speaker who represented the Clinton, Tennessee, school incident.

Bernice Robinson, also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar, discussed the Johns Island, South Carolina, integration incident.

Conrad Browne (white) came to the seminar from Koinonia Farm, an interracial colony near Americus, Georgia. This interracial community has been an incitement to prolonged violence.

Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packing House Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was also a speaker. This union has been heavily infiltrated by known Communists.

#### A Succession of Sputniks for Negroes

One of the top leaders of the Communist International, Otto Kuusinen, said in a speech before the executive committee of the C.I. that it was the first business of the Communists to launch satellite organizations and committees. In *The Communist* of May, 1931, Kuusinen was quoted on these satellites of the Communist Party, as follows:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes . . . We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership). (p. 409-423; emphasis in original)

The satellite or *sputnik* organizations which the Communist Party in the United States has launched especially for Negroes are far too numerous to name all of them. Brief sketches of the principal *sputniks* in this category will, however, serve to illuminate the aims and tactics of the American Communist Party with respect to the Negroes of the United States.

A partial list of the Communist *sputniks* for Negroes follows:

- African Blood Brotherhood
- Alabama Peoples Educational Association
- Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity
- Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor
- League of Struggle for Negro Rights
- Negro Labor Victory Committee
- Southern Negro Youth Congress
- United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
- Abolish Peonage Committee
- American Negro Labor Congress
- American Negro Labor Council
- Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon
- Committee for the Negro in the Arts
- Committee to Aid the Fighting South
- Frederick Douglass Educational Center
- Martinsville Seven Committee
- National Negro Congress
- Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
- Southern Conference for Human Welfare
- Southern Conference Educational Fund

Of these, only the Southern Conference Educational Fund is still in existence.

#### African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood was the first *sputnik* in the Communist Party's system of satellites. It was penetrated and captured, not originally launched, by the Communists.

Joseph Zack Kornfeder, then a leading member of the Communist Party, has told the following story of the penetration and capture of the African Blood Brotherhood.

. . . the Communist Party activities amongst the Negroes here in the United States started about 1921, and were prompted by a letter sent to the American Party by Nikolai Lenin . . . Well, so, of course, the

party couldn't ignore a letter from Nikolai Lenin . . . I was then the junior member of the Central Committee . . . Well, when I looked around I found that there was simply no Negro membership in the Communist Party . . . I knew from the Socialist Party that there were some Negroes in Harlem in a branch of the Socialist Party which was mostly Negroes, although there were also whites in the same branch, and I looked up one of them and he advised me to see an individual by the name of Cyril Briggs. Well, I looked up this individual, and he was the editor of a paper called *The Crusader*, which was the official organ of a Negro organization called the African Blood Brotherhood. Well, I put in quite an effort on this fellow Briggs, to see whether I could work him over ideologically, and as I got acquainted with him, I noticed that he was having his financial troubles publishing the paper. I didn't tell him that I represented the Communist Party, of course. I just posed as a liberal uncle, who had his sympathies on the Negro side, and was willing to help him. Whenever he ran into some trouble about paying the printer, well, I always obliged with a few hundred dollars. This way I became friends with this Briggs and I worked him over ideologically, and the cant of the journal changed. And, of course, in due time I got at some of his friends who were on the Board of Directors, and, well, it took only about a year before the controlling influence in that organization upon top was exerted through me, and they pretty nearly would do, although they weren't yet in the party, what I wanted them to do. Well, and later on I signed him up into the Communist Party as a member. So that was the first Negro organization that the party got hold of ideologically, at least—later on organizationally. That's how the thing started. (*Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge, La., March 6-9, 1957, p. 37)

Cyril Briggs went on to become one of the most prominent Negro leaders in the history of the Communist Party in the United States.

#### American Negro Labor Congress

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in October, 1925. It was a Communist *united front* maneuver and the successor to the African Blood Brotherhood.

In his book entitled *The Negro People in American History*, William Z. Foster writes concerning the ANLC as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in November 1925, mainly upon the initiative of the Communists . . . The leader of the movement was Lovett Fort-Whiteman, and its journal was *The Champion*. Outstanding Communist Negro

workers in it were James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, Maude White, and many others . . . Its membership was eventually confined mainly to Communists. (p. 460)

Lovett Fort-Whiteman was a student at the Lenin School in Moscow, an institution at which foreign Communists were taught the theory and tactics of propaganda, agitation, and espionage. Fort-Whiteman was also an American delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928. (*International Press Correspondence*, July 25, 1928, p. 708)

Foster says that the ANLC "was handicapped by sectarianism—by writing too 'left' a program for the masses." Foster also maintains that the ANLC encountered "strong opposition" from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

On the eve of the organization of the ANLC, Lovett Fort-Whiteman announced, with pride and obviously gross exaggeration, that—

Each day, everyone promoting the American Negro Labor Congress notes a growing uneasiness in the ruling class of this country in contemplation of the coming American Negro Labor Congress. (*Daily Worker*, October 7, 1925, p. 3)

The Communist International (a mere euphemism for the Kremlin) kept a watchful eye on the American Communist Party and all the little *sputniks* revolving around it. The American Negro Labor Congress, insignificant as it was, did not escape the attention of the Musovite bosses of the American Communists.

In a resolution of October 26, 1928, three years after the launching of the *sputnik* known as the ANLC, the Communist International said:

The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist only nominally. Every effort should be made to strengthen this organization as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership. (*The Communist Position on the Negro Question*, p. 59)

The directives of the Communist International for the American Communist Party were supervised and enforced on the scene by a personal representative of the Communist International. In 1928, one of these agents of the Comintern in the United States was John Pepper. Benjamin Gitlow identifies Pepper in the following words:

A commander of the Hungarian Red Army in 1919, he had fled to Russia after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and along with Bela Kun became an important functionary of the Comintern.

In Hungary his name had been Josef Pogany; he came to America as John Pepper. (*I Confess*, p. 136)

In a pamphlet entitled *American Negro Problems*, published by Workers Library Publishers in 1928, John Pepper wrote concerning the ANLC, as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activated. The Communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an *intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership.* (emphasis in original; p. 15)

When the sputnik named American Negro Labor Congress petered out, it was brought down and a new one was launched.

James W. Ford, twice vice-presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket, records that the frank anti-religious position of the American Negro Labor Congress was one of the reasons for its failure. In his book, *The Negro and the Democratic Front*, published in 1938, Ford wrote:

I recall particularly the strict and unyielding attitude taken by the leaders of the American Negro Labor Congress toward religion. This attitude prevented the Congress from becoming a mass influence among church people. At an A. N. L. C. meeting in Chicago, 1926, composed of a large number of religious people, a leader of the organization in the course of his remarks, said: "To hell with religion; damn the church." (p. 82)

Ford then told how the Communist Party changed its tactics and made dupes of church organizations and religious people:

But today in the National Negro Congress church organizations and religious people work co-operatively with non-church people. Our Negro Communists are fraternizing with church people in order to organize them in the struggle for Negro liberation. (*ibid*, p. 82-83)

Ford's meaning is crystal clear: the Communists adopted a policy of tactical silence with respect to their basic contempt for, and hostility toward, religion and the churches—a policy which continues today.

The last convention of the American Negro Labor Congress was held in St. Louis in November, 1930, where, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. (*ibid*, p. 83)

#### League of Struggle for Negro Rights

Immediate successor to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was

the same old *sputnik* with a new name. The names of Communist *sputniks* have had a way of wearing out and, when they do, the Party thinks up new names in order to seduce new followers. Thus, the American League Against War and Fascism became the American League for Peace and Democracy when the new united-front line was adopted after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935. During World War II, the Young Communist League metamorphosed into American Youth for Democracy on October 17, 1943—same convention, same officers, same revolutionary objectives. Later on, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare became the Southern Conference Educational Fund in 1947—same officers, same address, same telephone number, same publication (*Southern Patriot*), and same Communist objectives.

There was no attempt to conceal the Communist Party's control of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Among the national council members of the organization were such high functionaries of the Communist Party as William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, James W. Ford, Robert Minor, Benjamin J. Davis, Harry Haywood, Cyril Briggs, Clarence Hathaway, Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock, Israel Amter, Claude Lightfoot, and Abner W. Berry (of the Highlander Folk School seminar). (*Equality, Land, and Freedom: A Program for Negro Liberation*, published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, New York, 1933, p. 44-46)

Langston Hughes was president of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

In its *Program for Negro Liberation*, the LSNR restated the doctrine of Negro nationhood:

We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes are a nation—a nation striving toward manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American imperialism. The program here presented outlines the only course of action which guarantees the development of the American Negroes to full nationhood, which will elevate them to that rightful place of equality before all and subservience before none. (*ibid.*, p. 7-8)

The program of the LSNR also reiterated the Communist demands for confiscation of the property of the Southern whites:

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers. (*ibid.*, p. 10)

In his Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, Earl Browder said:

A more broad and all-inclusive organizational form for the Negro liberation struggles is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This should embrace in its activities all of the basic economic organizations of Negro and white workers standing on the program of Negro liberation, and further unite with them all other sections of the Negro population drawn towards this struggle, especially those large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, who can and must be won to the national liberation cause. The L. S. N. R. must, in the first place, be an active federation of existing mass organizations; and secondly, it must directly organize its own membership branches composed of its most active forces and all supporters otherwise unorganized. The present beginnings of the L. S. N. R. and its paper, *The Liberator*, which with only a little attention have already shown mass vitality, must be energetically taken up, and spread throughout the country. (*Communism in the United States*, 1935, p. .9)

Browder's grandiose conception of the LSNR was a piece of typical Communist wishful thinking. The LSNR gave way to the National Negro Congress in 1936.

#### National Negro Congress

The fact that the Communist Party was preparing to launch one of its *sputniks*, the National Negro Congress, was noisily proclaimed long before it was sent revolving around the Party.

The very suggestion that the National Negro Congress be launched was made by the Negro Communist leader, James W. Ford. In his book, *The Negro People in American History*, William Z. Foster writes:

This broad movement (the National Negro Congress), which operated in the tradition of the historic Negro people's conventions, had been suggested two years before by James W. Ford, in a debate with Oscar de Priest and Frank Crosswaith. (p. 488)

The *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, let it be known that the Communist Party was laying careful plans to launch the National Negro Congress. This was almost one year before its plans came to fruition. *The Party Organizer*, in publishing excerpts from a report to one of the plenums of the Communist Party, said:

In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question—if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations (the churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc.) there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N. Y. District (of the Communist Party) in which we discussed the Negro

question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in (non-Communist) Negro organizations. (p. 21)

It is obvious that the Communist Party had even selected the name of the new *sputnik* a year in advance of its launching.

In a condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, Arnold Rose says that "the National Negro Congress grew out of a conference in the spring of 1935 held at Howard University under the joint auspices of its Division of Social Sciences and of the Joint Committee on National Recovery." (*The Negro in America*, p. 262) This joint conference at Howard University was held in May. The *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, quoted above, is a documentary refutation of the parentage of the National Negro Congress as given in Arnold Rose's condensation of *An American Dilemma*.

In a confidential memorandum of the Department of Justice, issued for the guidance of the departmental heads of the federal government, the Attorney General of the United States made the following observation concerning the National Negro Congress:

The National Negro Congress, throughout its existence, has closely followed the Communist Party lines, espousing causes and adopting issues sponsored by the Party . . . In the field of American foreign policy it called for united action on the part of the Democracies (including the Soviet Union) against fascism prior to the Russo-German pact of non-aggression, but after the signing of the pact assailed the "imperialist conflict" as having "nothing to do with saving and extending democracy." When the Nazis attacked Russia, however, the leaders of the (National Negro) Congress advocated all-out aid to the Soviet Union and urged immediate entrance of the United States into the war on the side of Britain and the Allies.

Supporting the foregoing view of the Attorney General, the Third National Negro Congress meeting in Washington, D. C., in April, 1940, adopted the following resolution.

The National Negro Congress declares that the Negro people have everything to lose and nothing to gain by American involvement in the imperialist war and sharply condemns the Administration for the steps it has taken towards involvement and the partiality it has shown.

On October 16, 1940, speaking under the auspices of the Church League for Industrial Democracy in Kansas City, Missouri, Max Yergen (president of the National Negro Congress) toed the Communist Party line on the subject of the war, in the following words:

We do not believe we have any business allying ourselves with either of the belligerent sides now responsible for the war . . . It becomes clear that the similarities between fascist and imperialist rule are numerous and strong. (*Democracy and the Negro People Today*, p. 9 and 12)

Max Yergen has since made a clean break with the Communist apparatus.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), was the first president of the National Negro Congress. He was, in fact, already designated as president of the NNC when the new organization was first convened in Chicago on February 14, 1936. The Communist Party had, of course, selected Randolph for the position. The Party had left nothing to chance or the delegates to the Congress.

On account of illness, Randolph was not present at the 1936 sessions of the National Negro Congress. His presidential address, prepared before the Congress met, was read by Charles Wesley Burton, a Negro lawyer from Chicago.

Randolph's address was the kind which might well have been prepared at Communist Party headquarters. With typical soapbox flourishes, Randolph said:

. . . the Negro people face a hard, deceptive and brutal capitalist order, despite its preachments of Christian love and brotherhood.

What has brought us to this insistent question? The answer in brief lies in the (First) World War, the sharpening and deepening of capitalist exploitation of the workers of hand and brain, the acceleration of a technological revolution creating a standing army of unemployed, the ripening and maturing of monopoly capitalism thru trustification, rationalization and the rapid march of financial imperialism, and the intensification of racial and religious hatreds, together with increasingly blatant and provocative nationalism.

But the war itself was the effect of a deeper cause and that cause was the profit system which provides and permits the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many . . . (The Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936, p. 8, 9)

Randolph paid his respects to the Communist Party's International Labor Defense. He said:

Those organizations that are serving on the civil rights front effectively for the Negro are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the International Labor Defense. (ibid p. 10)

In fairness to A. Philip Randolph, and to complete the record, it must be pointed out that eventually he became disgusted with the Communist domination of the National Negro Congress and resigned from its presidency. After the meeting of the Third Congress, Randolph wrote:

... I consider the Communists a definite menace and a danger to the Negro people and labor, because of their rule or ruin and disruptive tactics in the interest of the Soviet Union . . . The Congress was deliberately packed with Communists and C. I. O. members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists . . .

I quit the congress because I was opposed to it, or its officials, expressing sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is the death prison where democracy and liberty have walked their "last mile" and where shocking blood purges wipe out any and all persons who express any dissenting opinions from dictator Stalin.

I quit the congress because I saw that the Communists were firmly in the saddle . . . Their minds were already made up when they came there by Communists' manipulations, caucuses, and propaganda . . . I quit the congress because it was not truly a Negro Congress. (Congressional Record, May 14, 1940, p. 2944-5)

The Communist domination of the National Negro Congress was, of course, evident from the beginning to anyone sufficiently interested in the evidence.

Despite the plain truth about the Communists and the NNC, it received a boost from Norman Thomas, Philip Murray, and Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P.—all of whom appeared as speakers at the Second National Negro Congress in October, 1937.

The Second National Negro Congress was convened in Philadelphia. The NNC officials made arrangements for a special train from New York to Philadelphia, through World Tourists, a Soviet travel and espionage agency.

In addition to Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., the National Negro Congress was able to attract, as speakers or sponsors, many other Negro leaders among whom were the following: Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College; John M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University; David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University; and Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College.

The National Negro Congress also enlisted as stooges the following bishops of Negro churches: Bishop James A. Bray, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop R. A. Carter, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. J. Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion; Bishop R. R. Wright, African Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. A. Fountain, African Methodist Episcopal; and Reverdy C. Ransom, African Methodist Episcopal.

The affiliations of these Negro college presidents and Negro bishops indicate that the Communist Party has

had a large measure of success in penetrating the ranks of Negro educators and clergymen.

During the period extending from 1936 to the end of World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party dropped such slogans as "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt" and "The Liberation of the Oppressed Negro Nation." This was in keeping with the Communist Party's new tactical orientation of the People's Front. After World War II, the Communists reverted to their basic disloyalty to the United States. Communists in the armed forces of the United States fought with great zeal in the war against the Axis Powers, not out of any loyalty to their own country but because their adopted "fatherland," the Soviet Union, was a co-belligerent.

Following World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party showed their true colors. On June 6, 1946, the NNC addressed a petition to the United Nations, requesting that foreign agency to conduct an investigation into the oppression of the Negro people.

Communist tactics are always subject to drastic alteration without notice, but the basic aim of violent revolution is never abandoned.

The National Negro Congress was liquidated in 1947. It had served the purposes of the Communist conspiracy admirably for almost a decade, but during its later years it had become so indelibly stamped as a Soviet *sputnik* that its influence outside the immediate circle of Communists was rapidly approaching the vanishing point.

Never discouraged, and always ready to start all over again, the Party went on to the launching of new *sputniks*.

#### Southern Negro Youth Congress

The Southern Negro Youth Congress originated as the youth section of the National Negro Congress. Its first conference was held in Richmond, Virginia, February 13-14, 1937, at the Fifth Street Baptist Church.

The late Edward E. Strong, Communist Party Negro leader, was chairman of the youth section of the NNC and of the SNYC.

The SNYC was formed during the era of the People's Front, and its behavior was guided accordingly. At its first session, the pastor of the Baptist Church pronounced an invocation. There was nothing of the damn-the-church attitude which had characterized the period of the American Negro Labor Congress, although the Communists were in complete control.

Speakers at the first conference of the SNYC included E. Franklin Frazier, professor at Howard University, Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, and Angelo Herndon.

During the conference, a seminar was devoted to the subject, "The Role of the Negro Church in Solving the

Social and Economic Problems of Negro Youth." The leader of the seminar was Herbert M. Smith, dean of the School of Religion, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. Participants in the seminar discussion were Harold Roland, School of Religion, Howard University, and James A. Cox, School of Religion, Virginia Union University. The Rev. C. E. Queen, pastor of the Leigh Street Methodist Church, also pronounced an invocation.

At one session of the Richmond conference, W. F. Richardson, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, presided. The NAACP national headquarters had a full-page advertisement in the souvenir program.

The SNYC had a Communist affiliate known as the Association of Young Writers and Artists. The association was dedicated to "stimulating and encouraging individual and group expression in the fields of art by Negro youth, increasing the means whereby the finest cultural contributions of Negro youth may be made available to the general public . . ." Toward this end, the association conducted an essay contest on the subject, "What is your interpretation of the novel 'Freedom Road' by Howard Fast?"

The secretary of the Association of Young Writers and Artists was Louis E. Burnham, Communist Party Negro leader who numbered among his later Communist activities an instructorship in the Jefferson School of Social Science and membership on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The honorary members of the Association of Young Writers and Artists read like a roster of distinguished fellow travelers. Among the honorary members were the following: Louis Adamic, Countee Cullen, W. E. B. DuBois, Oscar Hammerstein, W. C. Handy, Langston Hughes, Canada Lee, Rayford W. Logan, Carey McWilliams, Dorothy Parker, Pearl Primus, and Kenneth Spencer. (*People's Daily World*, Oct. 2, 1944, p. 5)

James W. Ford rushed back to report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the Richmond conference of the SNYC. (*The Negro and the Democratic Front*, p. 113-119) His enthusiasm was unbounded. The Communist Party had made a new and deeper penetration into the South.

William Z. Foster has recently made the following glowing appraisal of the work and influence of the Southern Negro Youth Congress:

Most important was the united front Southern Negro Youth Congress . . . Leaders in this organization were Edward Strong, James W. Ford, James Jackson, Henry Winston, Louis Burnham, and Esther Cooper . . . In 1946, when it held its seventh convention in the out-of-the-way Southern city of Columbia, South Carolina, 1,000 delegates were present . . . The S.N.Y.C. was the most important movement ever conducted by Negro youth. It pioneered many of

the constructive developments now taking place in the South . . . (*The Negro People in American History*, p. 486)

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was liquidated in 1948. The days of the People's Front were over, at least for the time being.

#### Southern Conference for Human Welfare

The first big penetration of the Communist Party into the South came with the launching of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in November 1938. The launching took place in Birmingham, Alabama, with the blessings of the White House. Eleanor Roosevelt was the principal speaker.

On November 22, 1938, Mrs. Roosevelt, addressing the conference said: "The eyes of the world are upon us . . . The future of democracy rests with the nation's youth. Face the question with open minds and above all make sure a thing is true before accepting it as true. On this alone can we stake our hopes for democracy." (*Report of Proceedings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare*, p. 29)

Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a letter to the Birmingham conference, in which he said: ". . . if you steer a true course and keep everlastingly at it, the South will long be thankful for this day." (*ibid*, p. 2)

Paul Crouch, John Donovan, James Jackson, Robert F. Hall, and Don West—all Communist Party members—manipulated the conference from behind the scenes. William Z. Foster writes with unusual modesty: "Communist influence was strong in the S.C.H.W. from the start and this was reflected in the advanced program it adopted." (*The Negro People in American History*, p. 487)

The first president of the SCHW was Frank P. Graham, then president of the University of North Carolina. Later presidents were John B. Thompson (of the Highlander Folk School seminar) and Clark Foreman (now director of the Communist-controlled Emergency Civil Liberties Committee). Throughout most of its existence, which extended down to 1948, James A. Domrowski was administrator of the SCHW.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities had something to do with the liquidation of the SCHW, but the decisive factor in its demise was the switch from the wartime honeymoon of the Washington-Moscow axis to the Cold War.

Under date of March 29, 1944, the Dies Committee dubbed the SCHW a Communist front, and in a special report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated June 12, 1947, the following indictment of the SCHW was made:

Careful examination of its official publication and its activities will disclose that the conference is being



used in devious ways to further basic Soviet and Communist policy. Decisive and key posts are in most instances controlled by persons whose record is faithful to the line of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. (p. 1)

In a 1954 report, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reached the following unanimous conclusion: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States." (p. v)

#### **Southern Conference Educational Fund**

Attention has already been called to the fact that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare metamorphosed into the Southern Conference Educational Fund in the middle of 1948. In the shift from one name to the other, the organization maintained the same headquarters, the same telephone number, the same publication, and the same executive director.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported in 1954 that "an objective study of the entire record compels the conclusion that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as a predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." By "the same leadership and purposes," the Senate Committee meant that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was "a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern states."

Much has already been said about Aubrey Williams, president, and James A. Dombrowski, executive director, of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It may be added that the names of both Williams and Dombrowski were attached to the brief *amici curiae* which was submitted to the United States Supreme Court, October, 1955, Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Their support of this brief *amici curiae*, written with a typical Communist flair, sufficiently reveals the ideological position of these two principal officials of the SCEF.

As has already been indicated, the Southern Conference Educational Fund exerts a commanding influence in the South today, and is in the vanguard of the pro-Communist integration forces. The principal function of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is to serve as a bridge between the Communist Party on the one hand and misguided Southern Liberals on the other hand. In this function, it has been remarkably successful.

#### **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

A special word concerning the NAACP is necessary. This organization is *not* a Communist front.

The NAACP has published a pamphlet by its Assistant Field Secretary, Herbert Hill, entitled "The Communist Party—Enemy of Negro Equality." This pamphlet is a devastating indictment of Communist views and tactics on the Negro question.

In a foreword to the pamphlet by Herbert Hill, Roy Wilkins correctly appraises the Communist interest in the Negro question, as follows: "Far from being sincere about doing something for Negro rights, the Communists use the Negro merely as a pawn in the Soviet campaign against the United States and the western world."

On the other hand, it must be observed that the NAACP has been a prime objective of Communist penetration and, in numerous instances, prominent individuals connected with the NAACP have succumbed to the appeals of the Communist-front apparatus. Proof that the NAACP has been troubled with the problem of Communist penetration is to be found in a resolution adopted at the 1956 annual NAACP convention, which reads as follows: "As in the past, the Association will employ every reasonable measure in keeping with democratic organizational principles to prevent the endorsers, the supporters and defenders of the Communist conspiracy from joining or participating in any way in the work of the NAACP."

On November 11, 1957, the *New York Times* reported that the NAACP had rejected the membership application of Benjamin J. Davis, New York state chairman of the Communist Party, and had declined a gift of \$50 offered by Davis.

The foregoing statements and actions of the leaders of the NAACP appear to be clear and decisive, but they tell only half of the story. The other half of the story is that many of the leaders of the NAACP have been unusually susceptible to joining, supporting, and defending the front organizations of the Communist conspiracy.

The indisputable truth of the matter is that the leaders of the NAACP, taken as a whole, have been extraordinarily soft toward the Communist conspiracy.

In the so-called anti-Communist resolution adopted at the San Francisco convention in 1956, there would appear to be a big loophole in the phrase, "every reasonable measure in keeping with democratic organizational principles." Obviously, "democratic organizational principles" do not prevent a person from holding high position in the NAACP and high position in a Communist organization at one and the same time.

Two examples of NAACP officials who are currently prominent in the affairs of Communist organizations will illustrate the interlocking of the NAACP and the Communist apparatus.

Andrew D. Weinberger, a national vice-president of the NAACP, is listed as treasurer on the 1957 letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, one of the

most active Communist organizations in the United States at the present time.

John Wesley Dobbs, a national vice-president of the NAACP, is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the most influential Communist organization currently operating in the South. Mr. Dobbs was a guest of honor at a 1957 meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He was also a signer of the brief *amici curiae* submitted to the U. S. Supreme Court on behalf of the Communist Party in the fall of 1955.

It may be enlightening to give some totals which indicate the extent to which the top leadership of the NAACP has given aid and comfort to the Communist-front apparatus. Listed on the current letterheads of the NAACP are the names of 236 different national officers. One hundred forty-five (or more than 61 percent) of these individuals have been involved, in one way or another, with Communist enterprises, for a grand total of 2,200 affiliations of public record. Forty-six of these NAACP national officers have had one or two Communist affiliations; 99 have had 3 or more such affiliations; 52 have had 10 or more; and 46 have had 15 or more.

At this point, I present a tabulation of the names of the NAACP national officers whose Communist affiliations number 15 or more, together with the number of such affiliations for each individual.

Edward L. Parsons (Protestant Episcopal bishop)	108
Robert W. Kenny (California attorney)	101
Guy Emery Shipler (Protestant Episcopal clergyman)	76
Earl B. Dickerson (Chicago attorney)	65
Roger N. Baldwin (American Civil Liberties Union)	64
John Howland Lathrop (Unitarian clergyman)	62
Algernon D. Black (Society for Ethical Culture leader)	60
Van Wyck Brooks (author)	59
Freda Kirchwey (editor of <i>The Nation</i> )	59
Eleanor Roosevelt	56
Bartley Crum (San Francisco attorney)	56
George L. Paine (Protestant Episcopal clergyman)	50
Henry Hitt Crane (Methodist clergyman)	46
Max Lerner (newspaper columnist and professor)	43
Channing H. Tobias (Methodist clergyman)	43
James H. Wolfe (chief justice of Utah Supreme Court)	43
Osmond K. Fraenkel (New York attorney)	41
Archibald MacLeish (poet and university professor)	38
A. Philip Randolph (labor union president)	38
Frank P. Graham (university president, ex-U. S. senator)	37
G. Bromley Oxnam (Methodist bishop)	36
John Haynes Holmes (Unitarian clergyman)	35
W. J. Walls (Methodist bishop)	34

Reinhold Niebuhr (clergyman and theological professor)	34
Roscoe Dunjee (Oklahoma newspaper editor)	33
Benjamin E. Mays (college president and clergyman)	31
Edwin McNeill Poteat (Baptist clergyman)	30
George S. Counts (university professor)	29
William Lloyd Imes (Presbyterian clergyman)	29
Rufus E. Clement (university president and clergyman)	27
Lewis S. Gannett (newspaper columnist)	26
Oscar Hammerstein II (theatrical lyrics writer)	25
John Hammond (businessman)	23
S. Ralph Harlow (college professor and clergyman)	23
Henry W. Hobson (Protestant Episcopal bishop)	23
Albert Sprague Coolidge (university professor)	22
Edward L. Young (physician)	22
Hubert T. Delany (New York attorney)	20
Horace M. Kallen (educator)	20
Albert C. Dieffenbach (Unitarian clergyman)	19
Frank Kingdon (Methodist clergyman)	19
Loren Miller (Los Angeles attorney)	19
Norman Thomas (socialist leader)	19
Albert E. Barnett (theological professor, clergyman)	16
H. Claude Hudson (Los Angeles educator)	15
Henry Smith Leiper (Presbyterian clergyman)	15

Below are given the names of a number of Communist organizations (selected at random) and under each organization the names of the NAACP national officers who have been affiliated with it:

#### African Aid Committee

Earl B. Dickerson	Benjamin E. Mays
George L. Paine	Harry T. Penn
Stephen Gill Spottswood	W. J. Walls

#### American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Roger N. Baldwin	Viola W. Bernard
Algernon Black	Jane M. Bolin
Van Wyck Brooks	Rufus E. Clement
George S. Counts	Henry Hitt Crane
Earl B. Dickerson	Osmond K. Fraenkel
Frank P. Graham	S. Ralph Harlow
Henry W. Hobson	John Haynes Holmes
William Lloyd Imes	Robert W. Kenny
John Howland Lathrop	W. Appleton Lawrence
Max Lerner	Archibald MacLeish
Arthur J. Mandell	Benjamin E. Mays
Reinhold Niebuhr	George L. Paine
Edward L. Parsons	Eleanor Roosevelt
Guy Emery Shipler	Channing H. Tobias
W. J. Walls	James H. Wolfe

#### American Crusade to End Lynching

Bartley Crum	W. J. Walls
Oscar Hammerstein, II	Lloyd Garrison
Benjamin E. Mays	Robert W. Kenny
	G. Bromley Oxnam

### American League for Peace and Democracy

Roger N. Baldwin  
Morris L. Ernst  
Lewis S. Gannett  
William Lloyd Imes  
Max Lerner  
A. Philip Randolph  
Guy Emery Shipler  
Roy Wilkins

Van Wyck Brooks  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Frank P. Graham  
Robert W. Kenny  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
Eleanor Roosevelt  
Channing H. Tobias  
L. Bradford Young

### American Youth Congress

Roger N. Baldwin  
Mrs. Samuel McCrae Cavert  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Max Lerner  
A. Philip Randolph  
Guy Emery Shipler

Norman Thomas  
Algernon D. Black  
George S. Counts  
John Howland Lathrop  
Archibald MacLeish  
Eleanor Roosevelt

George N. Shuster

### Citizens Emergency Conference for interracial Unity

Algernon D. Black  
Harry Bragg  
Hubert T. Delany  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
John A. Morsell  
C. B. Powell  
Guy Emery Shipler

Channing H. Tobias  
Jane M. Bolin  
Maurice A. Dawkins  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Max Lerner  
Myles A. Paige  
Jawn Sandifer

George N. Shuster

### Civil Rights Congress

Jane M. Bolin  
Earl B. Dickerson  
James Hinton  
Robert W. Kenny  
Benjamin E. Mays  
Edwin McNeill Poteat

Rufus E. Clement  
Roscoe Dunjee  
H. Claude Hudson  
Arthur J. Mandell  
Edward L. Parsons  
James H. Wolfe

### Communist Party Schools

Bartley Crum  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Loren Miller

Hubert T. Delany  
Albert C. Dieffenbach  
Robert W. Kenny  
Edward L. Parsons

### Council on African Affairs

Algernon D. Black  
Hubert T. Delany  
Roscoe Dunjee  
William Lloyd Imes  
Channing H. Tobias

Jane M. Bolin  
Earl B. Dickerson  
John Hammond  
Arthur B. Spingarn  
Robert C. Weaver

### Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Henry Hitt Crane  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Robert W. Kenny  
Louis L. Redding

Andrew D. Weinberger  
Hubert T. Delany  
John Wesley Dobbs  
Edwin McNeill Poteat

Guy Emery Shipler

### End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee

Algernon D. Black  
John Howland Lathrop  
Eleanor Roosevelt

Oscar Hammerstein, II  
C. B. Powell  
Channing H. Tobias

### International Labor Defense

Roger N. Baldwin  
Roscoe Dunjee  
Frank P. Graham  
William Lloyd Imes  
John Howland Lathrop  
Arthur J. Mandell  
George L. Paine  
A. Philip Randolph  
Channing H. Tobias

Earl B. Dickerson  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Oscar Hammerstein, II  
Robert W. Kenny  
Archibald MacLeish  
Benjamin E. Mays  
C. B. Powell  
Lillian Smith  
Ruth Weyand

### National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax

Rufus E. Clement  
Frank P. Graham  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
G. Bromley Oxnam  
A. Philip Randolph

Channing H. Tobias  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Henry W. Hobson  
Robert W. Kenny  
Edward L. Parsons

Eleanor Roosevelt

### National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Algernon D. Black  
Rufus E. Clement  
Henry Hitt Crane  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Frank P. Graham  
S. Ralph Harlow  
Henry W. Hobson  
Carl B. Johnson  
Freda Kirchwey  
Max Lerner  
Arthur J. Mandell  
James J. McClendon  
G. Bromley Oxnam  
Edward L. Parsons  
Sidney R. Redmond  
Arthur B. Spingarn  
Willard S. Townsend

Van Wyck Brooks  
Albert Sprague Coolidge  
Bartley Crum  
Lloyd Garrison  
Harry J. Greene  
Harrison Hires  
William Lloyd Imes  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
John Howland Lathrop  
Alfred Baker Lewis  
Benjamin E. Mays  
Karl A. Menninger  
George L. Paine  
Edwin McNeill Poteat  
Guy Emery Shipler  
Channing H. Tobias  
James H. Wolfe

### National Negro Congress

Mrs. Ernest Alexander  
Ralph J. Bunche  
H. Claude Hudson  
Robert W. Kenny  
Loren Miller  
Henry Lee Moon  
Tarea H. Pittman  
Louis L. Redding  
Norman Thomas  
W. J. Walls

Jane M. Bolin  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Sidney A. Jones, Jr.  
Alfred Baker Lewis  
L. Pearl Mitchell  
T. G. Nutter  
A. Philip Randolph  
Eleanor Roosevelt  
J. M. Tinsley  
Robert C. Weaver

### **Southern Conference Educational Fund**

Albert E. Barnett  
Rufus E. Clement  
John Wesley Dobbs  
Roland B. Gittelsohn  
John Hammond  
Westley W. Law  
C. Herbert Marshall  
James M. Nabrit, Jr.  
T. G. Nutter  
Louis L. Redding  
Eleanor Roosevelt

C. Austin Whittier  
Daisy Bates  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Roscoe Dunjee  
Amos T. Hall  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
Arthur J. Mandell  
Benjamin E. Mays  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
Harry T. Penn  
Frederick E. Reissig

W. J. Walls

### **Southern Conference for Human Welfare**

Rufus E. Clement  
Roscoe Dunjee  
James Hinton  
Freda Kirchwey  
A. Philip Randolph  
Eleanor Roosevelt  
Stephen Gill Spottswood

John Wesley Dobbs  
Frank P. Graham  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
Benjamin E. Mays  
Frederick E. Reissig  
Lillian Smith  
Channing H. Tobias

### **Southern Negro Youth Congress**

Rufus E. Clement  
Oscar Hammerstein, II  
A. Philip Randolph  
Arthur D. Shores

Roscoe Dunjee  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
Eleanor Roosevelt  
J. M. Tinsley

### **Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith**

Hubert T. Delany  
Freda Kirchwey  
Channing H. Tobias

Robert C. Weaver  
Roscoe Dunjee  
Myles A. Paige  
Willard S. Townsend

### **United Negro and Allied Veterans of America**

Roscoe Dunjee

Benjamin E. Mays  
Robert W. Kenny

### **W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee**

Van Wyck Brooks  
Henry Hat Crane  
Roscoe Dunjee  
Benjamin E. Mays  
Frederick E. Reissig

James H. Wolfe  
W. Montague Cobb  
Earl B. Dickerson  
Mordecai W. Johnson  
George L. Paine  
W. J. Walls

Published by  
GEORGIA COMMISSION ON EDUCATION  
220 AGRICULTURE BUILDING  
19 HUNTER STREET, S. W.  
ATLANTA 3, GA.

61-7511-233

October 2, 1958

61 - 17511 - 233

REC-14

EX - 132

4-2  
5-2

b7c  
b7c

[Redacted]

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter postmarked September 26, 1958, with its enclosures, has been received and the motive which prompted your communication is appreciated.

In the event you secure any additional data which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Memphis Office located at 1104 Sterick Building, Memphis 3, Tennessee.

MAILED 11  
OCT 2 - 1958  
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Memphis (Enclosure)

NOTE TO SAC, MEMPHIS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTG/CA  
2453 JGK

Enclosed is a copy of correspondent's communication. Bufiles reflect that correspondent wrote to the Bureau on 3-21-52 in a vague and nonspecific manner advising he would write again to the Bureau. The receipt of his letter was acknowledged and he was requested to contact your office if he had any information within the Bureau's jurisdiction. Copies of this correspondence were furnished your office.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7c 325 (NOTE TO SAC CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

(4) (SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2)

MAIL ROOM

OCT 9 1958

*[Handwritten signatures]*

bc

NOTE TO SAC, MEMPHIS CONTINUED:

Correspondent enclosed with his letter a copy of the pamphlet "Communism and the NAACP" which contains testimony presented by Dr. J. B. Mathews at a public hearing of the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee at Tallahassee, Florida, on 2-10-58. The pamphlet bears a notation that it is published by the Georgia Commission on Education, 220 Agriculture Building, 19 Hunter Street, Southwest, Atlanta 3, Georgia. The pamphlet deals primarily with CP programs regarding the "Negro question," CP program to infiltrate noncommunist organizations and various CP satellite organizations "launched by the Communist Party especially for Negroes." It further indicates that while the NAACP "is not a communist front" the leaders of the NAACP "taken as a whole, have been extraordinarily soft towards the communist conspiracy." (105-52615)

Correspondent also enclosed a four-page folder printed by the Georgia Commission on Education which related to the Labor Day, 1957, meeting held at the Highlander Folk School (HFS), Monteagle, Tennessee.

The above material has been afforded extremely wide circulation particularly throughout the South and has previously been brought to the attention of the Bureau as well as to your office. The HFS due to its interracial character has been the subject of numerous past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in eastern Tennessee. These allegations, however, have never been substantiated.

(61-7511-210)

This data is furnished for your information.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent advised there has been a lot of talk about the HFS and that it is a communist school. He states he knows nothing about it but the Bureau "can tell more when you read this paper."

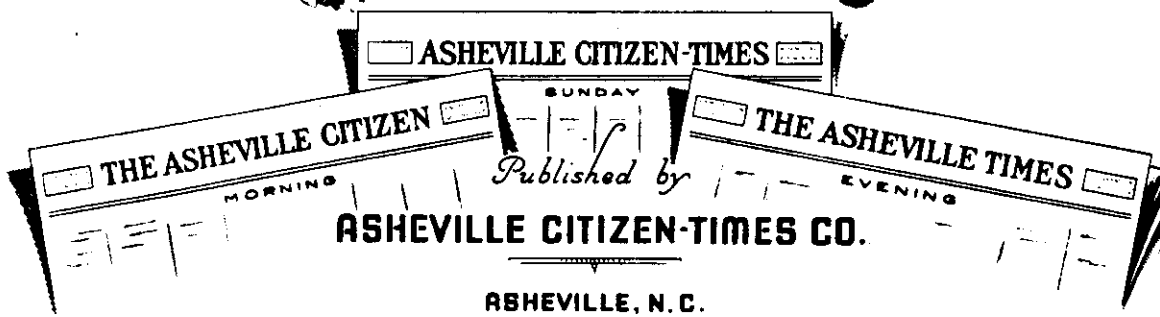
61-7511-234, 235  
**CHANGED TO**  
62-110058-X, XI

APR 7 1965

MK / PKW

2





- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Nease
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Trotter
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

December 23, 1958

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

A publication entitled "Highlander Folk School" has reached my desk. It was sent out by the Georgia Commission on Education, Atlanta, and discusses what it calls the Communist training school at Monteagle, Tenn.

If there is such a communist undertaking there, it is a matter of public concern. I join in that concern.

This is to inquire if you have any specific information on the school. I'd appreciate hearing from you.

With thanks and the good wishes of the season,  
I am

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/2/84 BY JPF/BTQ/cu  
245532

Sincerely yours,



REC-28

61-7311-236

JAN 8 1959

EX-102  
DEC 23 1958

True copy made

2/29/58

1M7

True copy made

2-10-58

**CONFIDENTIAL**

REC-28 61-7511-236

December 31, 1958

102

b7c  
b7d

[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8BTG/CA  
245538

I have received your letter of December 23, 1958, and appreciate the interest which prompted you to write me. I am instructing one of my representatives in your area to contact you in the near future relative to your inquiry.

It was thoughtful of you to extend your Season's Greetings, and you have my very best wishes for every possible success during the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

✓

25  
DEC 31 1959  
FBI

enclosures (2)

DEC 31 5 34 PM '58  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
b7c

[REDACTED]

Classified by SP8BTG/CA  
Declassify on: OADR 3/6/84  
245538

Highlander Folk School is supported primarily by donative labor unions, offers courses of instruction in labor economics and the general field of education. It has had a long history and has followed the practice of securing communist membership and has offered courses of instruction in communism nor has it been in the hands of communists. Due to its long history it has been the subject of many past allegations, some of which have been substantiated, that it represents the headquarters for the Communist Party in Tennessee. (NOTE CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

6 1959

NOTE CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE:

*b7c*

**Files reflect Highlander Folk School has been brought to the attention of the Bureau on numerous occasions. Bullet results of contact to reach Bureau by 1/12/59 marked Attention: Research (Crime Records)**

*Follow-up made for 1/13/59  
Keiser per inc. [unclear]  
Charlotte 1/19/59  
W*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b7c with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
61-7511-237

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

[REDACTED]

Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Trotter...  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
Room...  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

etc

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/2/84 BY JPEBTA/Ch  
245533

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have just finished reading your great book, Masters of Deceit, and feel that my congratulations to you on your wonderful work are long overdue. You and your organization are our greatest asset in our fight on communism. I am greatly disturbed by events taking place all over our country and particularly in Alabama.

The northern liberals have made the situation in Montgomery a cause celebre and Martin Luther King another Ghandi. The people there have been extremely tolerant of his activities and the restraint that most of them have shown is to be admired. The situation here in the South is fast becoming intolerable and the ones of us who have always considered ourselves moderates and have tried to help the negro progress (in the framework of his own society) are becoming alarmed.

[REDACTED]

last year I received a copy of a set of pictures made by a photographer from Georgia who went to the Labor Day weekend workshop at the notorious Highlander Folk School at Monteagle. I am sure you have a copy of the same report which was sent to me by the Attorney General of Alabama. All of the negroes, or most of them, who have been leaders in the racial troubles here, were there, Rosa Parks of the Montgomery bus boycott, M.L. King, Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute, and KING was sitting next to Abner Berry. People are bound to take on the color of their associates and in this case it is decidedly red!

REC-45

61-7511-238

There are very few people in the United States who have any idea what the Highlander Folk School is or what it is doing. The northern liberals in their rabid desire for the negro vote have evidently overlooked the red influence in the negro movement or have chosen to ignore it.

EX

JAN 15 1959

ack 1-25-59 JWB

Boyle

[REDACTED]

br

I have been told by a reliable county official at Tuskegee that out of the known communists in Alabama, about two-thirds of them are at the Institute. I am sure that you know the correct figures but it is distressing to know that communist doctrine is being taught to the colored youth of <sup>the</sup> state. The Institute is the darling of the liberals as well as the NAACP, and they and the northern press attack the South for our stand on integration on one hand while they cover up their own racial faults with the other.

My frustration knows no bounds when I see communism creeping so cleverly into every facet of our lives and people so indifferent ~~to it or so ignorant~~ to it or so ignorant. Again, my congratulations to you for your excellent work in trying to educate our people to the dangers of subversion.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

br

CONFIDENTIAL

January 9, 1959

REC-45

CONFIDENTIAL  
61-7511-228

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

24552

Classified by SP8 BTJ/CL

Declassify on: OADR 3/2/84

24552

[REDACTED]

bc

b7c

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter was received on January 5, 1959, and I certainly appreciate your kind comments about "Masters of Deceit" and our efforts in combating communism. Thank you very much for giving me the benefit of your views pertaining to racial matters in your area.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
JAN 9 3 24 PM '59

b7c

COMM-FBI  
MAILED 20

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record on [REDACTED] The Highlander Folk School, mentioned in her letter, is supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions and offers courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education. It has had CP members on its staff and has followed the practice of securing communists as students. It has never offered courses of instruction in communism nor has the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of this school. Due to its international character, it has been the subject of many past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee. These allegations have never been substantiated. (61-7511-210)

57 JAN 20 1959

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

CONFIDENTIAL

- Boardman
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL  
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7511)

DATE: 1/23/59

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (61-12)

SUBJECT: HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL  
IS - C

The Knoxville Office received through the mail the enclosed literature which is described as follows:

Letter dated January 1959 <sup>TENN</sup> addressed to "Dear Friend" and signed MYLES HORTON, with a 3 X 5 card for soliciting of funds for the Highlander Folk School

A Highlander report dated 10/1/57 to 9/30/58

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/2/84 BY SP8 BTG/oa  
245682

- ② - BUREAU (ENCLS. - 2)
- 1 - KNOXVILLE

SSB

(3) *brc*

*Handwritten signature*  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
JAN 28 1959  
FBI - KNOXVILLE

REC-8

EX-102

61-7511-239

13 JAN 26 1959

*Handwritten signature*  
*brc*

1144



# HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE ANNIVERSARY TENNESSEE

January, 1959

Dear Friend:

Mrs. Mary Davis has been calling every day about a Literacy and Citizenship School for her people. On three of the Sea Islands other Highlander students are giving guidance to their neighbors in reading so they can qualify for voting in South Carolina. Similar appeals repeatedly come from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

The people who turn to Highlander after doing what they can to help themselves, would turn directly to you if you were known to them. We have gone as far as we can, gladly foregoing salaries when necessary, and must pass these requests on to you.

We are calling on you to do a very special job which only you can do. One of the foundations which has made generous grants for the past six years has about exhausted its resources and we are faced with the immediate and urgent need of making up this loss or curtailing a program that should be expanded.

One supporter has asked fifty personal friends to contribute. He signed and sent out in his own envelope a letter we mimeographed, a piece of Highlander literature, and a business reply envelope addressed to Highlander. On most of the letters he added a personal note affirming his own support and expressing the hope that they would join him. Contributions from his friends came directly to the School and were acknowledged by us. Others learning of this plan asked for letters and enclosures, and their friends are also responding.

If you will do likewise, our loss can be replaced with individual contributions. Every dollar received can be used directly for education, since thanks to you there will be practically no fund raising costs.

This we know is not an ordinary request but these are not ordinary times here in the South, and after all your friends might welcome an invitation to share in your and our efforts. Let us know on the enclosed card how many letters you can use. We must tell Mrs. Davis something soon.

Sincerely yours,

*Myles Horton*  
Myles Horton

61-12  
SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 21 1959

1932

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL  
Monteagle, Tennessee

1959

I can use \_\_\_\_\_ letters and enclosures to be sent to  
friends.

I am enclosing \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
pledging \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
for the work of Highlander.

I am enclosing \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to cover cost of mailing  
announcements and reports.  
(Contributions are tax exempt.)

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Send Highlander Annual Report to: (use other side)

# Highlander Reports

October 1, 1957 - September 30, 1958

## 26th ANNUAL REPORT

Highlander Folk School — Monteagle, Tennessee

### "A Young Man Came to Our Mountain . . ."

May Justus, Trustee of Highlander Folk School, author of 38 children's books of life and legends in the Smoky Mountains, the latest of which is LET'S PLAY AND SING, published by Broadway Press, Nashville, is also a teacher and honored civic leader. Miss Justus lives in the community of Summerfield in which the Highlander Folk School is located. Last Spring, the children and teachers of Summerfield School dedicated their annual to May Justus, "who is loved and cherished by all who know her."

In introducing Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to people who had gathered at Highlander from many southern states to hear the former first lady in June, 1958, Miss Justus said:

"We welcome to our mountain top today a person who comes to us not as a stranger but as a friend . . . This friendship goes back to the time of the great depression when Mrs. Roosevelt and her husband were in the White House and when the New Deal was help and hope to us . . . We happened to be one of the poorest counties in Tennessee in a material way, and we, who are older, remember those days and the blessings that came to us through Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal . . . I am not sure how many years ago or just at what point in the history of Highlander that Mrs. Roosevelt met Myles Horton, but I know that it was in the early days of its struggle. It was while Mr. Roosevelt was getting the New Deal underway that a young man came to our mountain who had dedicated his life to the proposition that all men should be free and equal in opportunity regardless of race or color or creed. He dedicated this school to this purpose . . ."



TENNESSEE'S OWN MAY JUSTUS

Myles Horton, Highlander's founder and director, photographed during Workshop Session,



asks question . . . listens . . . and responds to a story of increasing brotherhood in the South.

## What Do They Mean When They Talk About Segregation?"

A "MARK TWAIN" AT HIGHLANDER

Harry Golden, humorist, Editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, and author of *ONLY IN AMERICA* of current best-seller fame, described to Highlander's June Workshop participants his *GOLDEN RULES* for ending segregation including his "vertical plan," his "white-baby plan" and his "out-of-order plan." Amidst laughter and applause for his wit and satire, he delivered this serious message:

"What do they mean when they talk about racial segregation? Do you think they mean a Negro child going or not going to a white school? Nonsense. . . . It means, my friends, death. D-E-A-T-H. That is what it means. Nine Negro women die in childbirth in the South to every one white woman who dies in childbirth. That is what segregation means. . . . It means death. These are the authentic figures: tuberculosis which is 11th as a cause of death among the whites is second as a cause of death among the Negroes. That is what it means. Racial segregation! Do you know what an evil that is? It involves death; it involves people who die when they shouldn't be dying. That is what racial segregation is. Don't let them kid you about the social classes. The Negro is not intruding when he moves into a better neighborhood. He is escaping; he is escaping from death."



"I, TOO, WILL SAY THAT THIS WAS A GREAT EXPERIENCE TO BE AT HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL—SOMETHING I WILL ALWAYS CHERISH AND HOLD DEAR. IT IS A VERY GREAT PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE," said Harry Golden, shown speaking to a Highlander audience which he held in rapt attention for an hour and 25 minutes. MRS. SEPTIMA CLARK, Highlander's Director of Education, pictured seated, introduced Editor Golden.



Left to right: Fulbright Scholar Francis Manis, Chairman of the Panel Discussion; Mr. Alexander Bannerman, Ghana; Miss Violaine Junod, Union of South Africa; Miss Sunthone Bilavarn, Laos; Miss Nina Mangravite, India.

### "So Many Interesting People in One Place"

The United States Department of State sent foreign visitors to Highlander in May to learn of the American way-of-life. Highlander presented in panel discussion: Mr. Alexander Bannerman, Supervisor of Presbyterian Schools, Ghana; Miss Sunthone Bilavarn, Assistant Welfare Director, Laos; and, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Miss Violaine Junod, Union of South Africa. Later, a visiting professor from India spoke to workshop participants.

Highlander was happy to entertain at various times visitors from England and from Holland who were studying educational methods employed in America, the function of health and welfare agencies, and the work of community organizations, including 4-H Clubs. From the Netherlands came a staff member of Volkshogenschol "Allardsoog" founded the same year as Highlander Folk School, each

founded independently of the other, but both schools growing out of the needs of the people. In the Netherlands, people sometimes refer to "Allardsoog" as the "Highlander of Holland" or to Highlander as the "Allardsoog" of America.

Writing later through her interpreter, one foreign visitor said, "We both enjoyed our visit so much, and neither of us can remember when we've seen so many interesting people in one place!"

#### Other Visitors

Amongst the steady flow of visitors to Highlander came the Putney Graduate School students as they studied the South. Problems of integration, rural electrification, conservation of natural and human resources are concerns of these students, on which Highlander helps to shed light.

#### National Leaders Commend Highlander . . .

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Meqr. John O'Grady, Lloyd K. Garrison, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt issued a statement on December 18, 1957, condemning the attempts of Georgia's Governor Griffin, "to draw from the serious and fruitful deliberations of Highlander's 25th Anniversary Celebration sustenance for the efforts of the Southern racists to equate desegregation with communism," and called on Americans, "to join with us in subscribing to the principles of democracy set forth in Highlander's official statement of policy."

The Reverend William J. Faulkner, Minister of The Congregational Church of Park Manor, Chicago, Ill., welcomed Myles Horton and Mrs. Septima Clark to his pulpit in July where they spoke on "Christianity in Action." In thanking the Church's Social Action Council for arranging the program, the Church bulletin said, "These two dedicated, wise and courageous spirits are in themselves proponents of Christianity in Action in our Southland, where it often costs one's job, and sometimes his life to be Christian in race-relations."

## A Demonstration of Democracy

### 'Conspicuously Integrated'



"The shade of dozens of tall trees contributed to the beauty of the scene. . . Mrs. Roosevelt made a simple, friendly address. . . the audience listened in perfect silence, even children seemed never to move or utter a word. . . — Zella Armstrong, Hamilton County Historian, as quoted from the *Charleston News-Free Press*. The headline above picture is quoted from the same newspaper.

A SERIES OF WORKSHOPS ON CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION, conferences, and special programs were highlighted the visit in June of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to, speaking to a gathering of some 300 people from almost every southern state, appealed Americans to prove to the world that Democracy is a way of life which benefits all people, and praised Highlander for making this Demonstration of Democracy.

In November, the THANKSGIVING WORKSHOP brought together 73 parents and students from newly integrated southern schools.

THE MINISTERS WORKSHOP, in December, heard Dr. Everett Tilson, Vanderbilt Divinity School, give a lecture based on his book, *Segregation and The Bible*. Ministers of a group of theological students, preparing for the ministry in the South, came to grips with this vital ethical problem dominating the southern scene today: segregation.

Southern leaders and the Highlander Executive Council planned, in January, the series of WORKSHOPS ON CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION which followed in the spring and summer.

In March, social workers met with Alice Webb, Director of Sociology and Rural Work, Bennett College, and with Highlander Staff to plan a program for people working with social agencies and in community organizations in the South.

Also in March, the fifth annual COLLEGE WEEK-END WORKSHOP discussed "Building Community Leadership for Integration."

COMMUNITY SERVICE AND SEGREGATION was discussed in the May Workshop. Professor Francis Manis, Fulbright Scholar, and Mrs. Septima Clark, Highlander's Director of Education, were co-chairmen of this meeting.

The June Workshop, with emphasis on REGISTERING AND VOTING brought together 60 resident participants from seven southern states.

The July WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT drew people from Charleston and from the sea islands off the coasts of South Carolina, and from Tennessee seeking and offering ways of working together to build a community to meet the needs of its people.

Adult summer school students from Tuskegee Institute met in week-end session at Highlander August under the leadership of Mr. C. G. Omillion.

"You are doing a pioneer work here. I know of no other school just like this one. It is very important at this time that this demonstration of democracy be made. We have to prove we believe in a non-Communist world that is really a democracy, with freedom of opportunity."

—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt speaking at Highlander, June 17, 1958

### Percolator or Drip?

• In September, Dr. Lewis Jones of Tuskegee, chairing a meeting on HUMAN ASPECTS OF POPULATION SHIFTS, suggested that the emphasis be placed not on migrants as problems but on the problems of migrants.

Many thousands of persons both Negro and white are pulling up stakes and moving to vast urban centers without preparation. What northern journalists call "clannishness" grows out of a need for personal acceptance and companionship. Reporting on this meeting to the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Myles Horton said:

"We should not seek to impose our unfamiliar institutional ways but instead should encourage people to find their own ways of doing things. . . . To develop lay leadership close to the people will make it possible for people themselves to assume responsibility in solving their own problems. To borrow an example from our morning coffee pot, the percolator, rather than the drip method, will encourage ideas to circulate from bottom to top and top to bottom instead of coming from the top down."

★ ★ ★

Of the 657 people who participated in the 1958 workshops and conferences, 259 were Negro and 398 white. A majority of the Workshop participants were Negro community leaders. All but 28 persons (approximately 5%) were residents of the South.

★ ★ ★

### Extension Program

• A WORKSHOP ON REGISTERING AND VOTING for Charleston County, S. C., was planned and carried out in September by former Highlander workshop participants from that area with the assistance of Mrs. Clark, Highlander's Director of Education. From an East Tennessee rural community came visitors whom the South Carolinian workshop organizers had met when both groups participated in Highlander's July Workshop on Community Development.

• JOHN'S ISLAND LITERACY SCHOOL completed its term in February with a ceremony awarding certificates to students some of whom, even over the age of 60, had learned to read and write, conduct their own business affairs, and qualify to vote under the instruction of Highlander Staff Member, Miss Bernice Robinson of Charleston. Pictured below is the Johns Island School in session. Requests for additional literacy schools from nearby islands have been received by Highlander.



### Fun and Friendship



Dr. Van Kennedy, University of California Professor, and Mrs. Kennedy, teacher in child-parent relationships, directed three weeks of happy, healthy, interracial, outdoor camping for youngsters, age 9 through 13. Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Chapin, experienced in the direction of American Friends Service Work-Camps in Mexico, directed the work-counselor training program, for young men and women dedicated to making a contribution to the South in this time of great need.

"I do want to emphasize," wrote one parent of campers, "what an exceptional job we feel all of you folks do at Highlander. . . . The significance of race instinctively changes from THE FACT OF THE MATTER to A MATTER OF FACT in your beautiful atmosphere where ideals are a living norm. . . ."



HARRY LASKER MEMORIAL LIBRARY CELEBRATION in September culminated a summer's work of cataloguing by Miss Jenelle Elder, who will return to Highlander next summer after a winter of graduate work at Atlanta University's School of Library Service. Miss Elder worked under the guidance of Mr. Richard Griffin, Knoxville College Librarian.

Also among Highlander's personnel were Miss Clara Brown, graduate of Allen University in Columbia, S. C., Miss Felicia Harris, who obtained her degree from Knoxville College and Miss Judith Gregory, who, after a year and a half of graduate work in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia, joined the staff of the Putney Graduate School prior to coming to Highlander.

Mikii Fowlkes Marlowe, pictured right in the library scene above, a native of Arkansas, became the School Manager. Mikii and J. D. Marlowe with their year old son, Joey, have settled on an adjoining farm.

## Highlander Committees At Work

Loyal friend, and Chairman of the Highlander Philadelphia Committee, Mrs. Alice K. Liveright died in March. In her memory, Mr. A. I. Liveright, her husband, and other members of her family and friends are sending contributions to Highlander.

Instead of the annual Spring Meeting, the New York Highlander Committee held a series of parties in homes. Mrs. Septima P. Clark, Highlander's Director of Education, told about the work of the School. In December, Dr. John B. Thompson spoke at a meeting arranged by the New York Committee, on behalf of the Guarantors-for-Highlander Plan.

In California, there are two Highlander Committees in the Bay Area. One in Palo Alto is headed by Mrs. Josephine Duveneck; the other, in Berkeley, is headed by Mrs. Beth Kennedy.

In a leaflet put out by the Berkeley Committee, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, one of America's great educators, said,

"Many years ago one of my wisest friends, a teacher in ethics, described a prevailing tendency in American behavior in the words: 'We wave our principles in public and then waive them in private.' I admire Highlander because it is trying to point the way toward the correcting of that moral delinquency of ours as we face or evade difficulties at home and abroad."

The Chicago Highlander Committee held parties and meetings throughout the year to expand Highlander's circle of friends and contributors and to enlist new Guarantors for Highlander. Dean B. R. Brazel, Chairman of the Highlander Executive Council, spoke at a meeting at which a report was made to the Chicago contributors and Guarantors.

## Indians Yearn for Education



Myles Horton introduces Chief Horace Ridgely of the Choctaw Nation to Mrs. FDR, with whom they discuss educational needs of Mississippi Indians.

Highlander's own Indian Markings on the natural stone porch of the main building, thought to be pre-Cherokee by University of Pennsylvania archeologists, were photographed recently by a Smithsonian Institute researcher.

## Financial Statement Summary

"Highlander Folk School ended the fiscal year September 30, 1958, with an operating deficit of \$2066.34. Total Revenues for the year were \$114,279.86 and expenses for the year were \$77,397.43. (signed) Harry V. Herrell  
Certified Public Accountant  
Tennessee Certificate #1157."

Part of this year's income was used to make up last year's deficit. A complete financial statement will be mailed upon request.

## Lilian W. Johnson Memorial

Highlander gratefully accepts the Lilian W. Johnson Memorial Cabin purchased by funds contributed by friends of Dr. Johnson and money left to the School in her will. One of the South's great women pioneers in educational fields, a founder of one college and president of another, Dr. Johnson in 1932 turned over to Myles Horton her mountain-top home which today serves as the main building of Highlander Folk School. At the age of 90, Dr. Johnson wrote from Bradenton, Florida, saying, "What Highlander did for me was to accustom me to association with people of a class and a race I had not known before, except as they served me. The industrial worker, and the Negro became personalities in their own right. I saw beneath externalities, and came to have a better understanding of their problems. This new attitude has been a great help to me in the work here of organizing our interracial work for a recreational program for Negro youth . . . It is my inspiration and my courage to go forward with this Negro work which I have received from Highlander . . ."

In turn, people who study at Highlander continue to gain inspiration and courage from the life and works of Dr. Lilian Wycoff Johnson, who died in 1956 at the age of 92.

## Community Program

Aerial view, pictured below, of Highlander Folk School shows the 3 acre lake where people of the community and students find enjoyment and fellowship while fishing, swimming, and boating.



## Tax Exemption Restored

We are glad to announce that on December 18, 1957, the Internal Revenue Service confirmed its previous ruling that the Highlander Folk School is entitled to exemption from Federal income tax and that contributions made to Highlander are deductible for income tax purposes.

## Wanted: 100 New Guarantors

The Guarantors Committee which grew out of last year's 25th Anniversary Celebration has secured 160 Guarantors for Highlander. The Committee was formed to provide Highlander with a minimum monthly operating budget of \$2,000 by enlisting 200 people who would pledge at least \$10 a month. The Committee members are:

Dr. John B. Thompson, Chairman, Mrs. William Waldman, Treasurer, 335 Central Avenue, Wilmette, Illinois. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Berger, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyie, Charlottesville, Virginia. Dean B. R. Brazel, Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Josephine Duveneck, Los Altos, California. Dr. George M. Guest, Cincinnati, Ohio. Dr. John Hope II, Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Esau Jenkins, Charleston, South Carolina. Miss May Justus, Tracy, California. Mrs. Bruce Maymet, Golden, Colorado. Mr. Stewart Mescham, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Meiklejohn, Berkeley, California. Dr. Walter C. Mueller, Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Wendell A. Parris, Washington, D. C. Mr. Cortez M. Puryear, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Mr. Walcott Ross, Miami, Florida. Mr. William Stix, St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. and Mrs. David Stoloff, Knoxville, Tennessee. Mr. Ralph Teffteller, New York, New York.



FOLK SINGING, established as a symbol of Highlander by the late Zilphia Horton and always a source of inspiration, was led by Shelby Flint and Guy Carawan. Shelby Flint was invited by workshop participants to lead singing in Charleston, S. C., and at a Methodist Area Conference in Orangeburg, S. C., in late summer. Pictured above is Guy Carawan with the 5 string banjo, an instrument which had its origin in the Tennessee mountains.

## Bigotry Backfires

While Mrs. Roosevelt was telling a Highlander audience that "people who are trying to do something new are very apt to be attacked. Some people hate and fear anything new . . ." Governor Marvin Griffin's slick-paper smear of Highlander Folk School was backfiring on T. V. Williams, Jr., its originator. The following is an excerpt from an August 4, 1958, TIME MAGAZINE article:

Something euphemistically called the Georgia Commission on Education was only a one-stenographer state agency charged with inventing anti-integration laws until Redneck Governor Marvin Griffin decided that it was meant for bigger things. To the unexploited office of commission executive secretary, he appointed an ambitious, possum-shaped Atlanta lawyer named T. V. (for Truman Versal) Williams Jr. 36. Williams soon multiplied the commission staff by ten, moved into prominent quarters across the street from the state capitol. He talked the legislature into giving him the power of subpoena, plenty of money for a dreamy assortment of private-ere equipment—long-lens camera, wiretap recorder, pocket mikes, etc.—to sleuth on any citizen suspected of disagreeing with white-supremacy dogma. Finding Georgia too small for his ambition, he got authority to spend taxpayer money publicizing racial conditions all over the U. S.

Hammering his stock line that integration of the races is a Communist plot, Williams felt free to:

- Invade neighboring Tennessee by sending a state photographer into the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, use the pictures of its integrated sessions for a slick-paper charge (200,000 copies) that it is a "Communist training center."
- Pass out 100,000 booklets aimed at proving that N.A.A.C.P. is Red-run.
- Broadcast leaflets reprinting an American Legion attack on the Southern Regional Council, respectable, old-line Atlanta interracial agency.
- Mail legalistic pamphlets in support of Arkansas' Racist Governor Orval Faubus to 20,000 Little Rock voters on the eve of their gubernatorial primary.
- Assign his photographer to sneak pictures in the Episcopal Cathedral's Hall of Bishops in Atlanta, where pastors and church ladies gathered for an integrated meeting of the Georgia Council of Churches.

T. V. Williams Jr. rode high and hard until this month, and then he swam the ragged blade of bigotry against the wrong people: Georgia politicians. Suddenly Attorney General Eugene Cook, until then an approvingly silent member of the commission board, threatened an investigation of T. V. Williams Jr. and all his works. Last week Williams collapsed . . .

1959 Workshops have already been scheduled on Campus Leadership for Integration (April 3-5); Community Services and Segregation (May 17-29), including weekend conference (May 23-4); Registration and Voting (June 21-6); Community Leadership and Integrated Housing (July 19-24); Workshop for Foreign Visitors over Labor-Day Weekend; and Human Aspects of Migration (October).

Highlander Folk School (HFS) has been the subject of a past investigation by the Bureau based upon numerous complaints received concerning communist activities at the school. HFS is supported primarily by donations; offers courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education; has had communists on its staff; but has never offered courses of instruction on communist matters nor has the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of it. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1	0/59	✓
[Mailing]		
Mr. Tolson	✓	
Mr. Belmont	✓	
Mr. DeLoach	✓	
Mr. McGuire	✓	
Mr. Mohr	✓	
Mr. Parsons	✓	
Mr. Rosen	✓	
Mr. Tamm	✓	
Mr. Trotter	✓	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓	
Tele. Room	✓	
Mr. Holloman	✓	
Miss Gandy	✓	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7511)

FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (61-12)

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL,  
Monteagle, Tennessee  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*b7c*  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

Knoxville News-Sentinel for 1/29/59, carried local news story date-lined Nashville, Tennessee, 1/29/59, under by-line of ED TOPP, News-Sentinel Nashville Correspondent, reporting that the Tennessee Legislature (Senate and House) on 1/28/59, unanimously adopted and sent to the Governor a joint resolution directing him to name a committee of five legislators to investigate reports of "subversive" activities at the Highlander Folk School, near Monteagle, Tennessee. The committee would have power to subpoena witnesses and school records, and would report back to this session of the Legislature.

The resolution is quoted, in part, as charging that Highlander Folk School, and other organizations affiliated with it, "are allegedly involved in activities subversive to and contrary to the forms of good Government". Sponsors of the resolution were listed as Rep. HARRY LEE SENTER, Bristol; and Rep. S. A. RHINEHART, Spencer, Tennessee; Senator BARTON DEMENT, of Murfreesboro, is quoted as saying "HFS is nothing but a finishing school for Communist". Rep SENTER was critical of HFS for inter-mingling of the races.

- 3 - BUREAU (Enc. 1)
- 2 - MEMPHIS (61-44)
- 1 - KNOXVILLE

ENCLOSURE

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*10 P. 11/92*

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

KX 61-12

Copy of above-mentioned news item enclosed to Bureau  
herewith.

It is suggested Memphis, at Nashville, follow proposed  
legislative investigation of HFS through press, furnishing Bureau  
and Knoxville with pertinent clippings.

G E A R T Y

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



**'Records Are Open'**

# Highlander Folk Probe Approved

By ED TOPP

News-Sentinel Nashville Correspondent

NASHVILLE, Jan. 29 — Is Highlander Folk School really a nest of Red comrades?

Tennessee legislators mean to find out. Without a dissenting vote in either the Senate or House, a joint resolution was adopted yesterday and sent to the Governor to investigate reports of "subversive" activities at the inter-racial school near Monteagle, Tenn.

Today, however, the resolution was recalled for an amendment. The sponsors said the resolution will be amended to put a \$5000 limit on the cost of the investigation.

Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk, replied to yesterday's action. He said no legislative act was necessary to carry out an investigation of the school.

### 'Had Only To Ask'

"While we have always welcomed investigation and invited visitors, of whom many have been our Government's guests from foreign countries, we prefer to have only a few observers at a time so as not to distract from the educational activities," said Horton.

"Our records—the list of contributors, faculty members, students—anything — are open to anyone anytime and always have been," Horton said. "They didn't need authorization to get them. All they had to do was ask."

He added that "there are not now and never have been any Communists officially connected with Highlander school. I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party and I will sue anyone who calls me a Communist."

### Has Subpena Power

The resolution directs the Governor to name two Senators and three Representatives to a special committee which would investigate the school and report its findings to the Legislature.

see's neighboring states have investigated Highlander Folk in the past, that the school has received attention of veterans organizations, and that it has recently attracted the attention of the Arkansas attorney general.

To remain on a tax-exempt status as an educational institution, Highlander Folk must report each year to the U. S. Internal Revenue Service that it has not taken part in any propaganda activities, said Horton. "If there were any subversive activities," he said, "the Federal Government would know about it."

### Has Tax-Exempt Status

Horton related that Highlander Folk had been challenged as to its eligibility for tax exemption last year, and that the school was removed from a tax-exempt status for a period. After the Internal Revenue Service looked into the matter, the tax-exempt status was returned, he added.

Horton, 54, is a native of Savannah, Tenn. He received his bachelor's degree from Cumberland University and his master's degree from the University of Chicago. He said he is a member of the delegate assembly of the Adult Education Association and is chairman of the Residential Adult Education Section of the AEA. He said he will head the American AEA delegation to the international conference in Germany next September.

### Cites 'Report'

Sprinkled on the desks of legislators yesterday were copies of a so-called report in 1957 by the Georgia Commission on Education. The paper referred to the school as a Communist training ground. Chief feature of the pamphlet was a photographic layout of Highlander Folk's non-segregated situation. Long lists of alleged Communist-front organizations connected

*Knoxville News-Sentinel*  
Thurs. 1-29-59  
PAGE 2

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FBI — KNOXVILLE	

*Perkins*

pena witnesses and school records. The resolution was voted twice. One amendment requires that the investigators report to the Legislature as well as to the Governor. The other added a phrase saying the investigation was made for the purpose of taking appropriate legislative action. This, it was said, was necessary to make the amendment constitutional.

#### Trained Labor Leaders

The resolution charges that Highlander, and other organizations affiliated with it, "are allegedly involved in activities subversive to and contrary to the forms of good government."

When it was founded, Highlander specialized in training labor leaders. In recent years it has added integration workshops to its schedule. The school is supported by contributions from individuals, organizations served by the school, foundations and tuitions.

#### Mrs. Roosevelt Spoke

Speakers at the school last summer included Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Golden, humorist and editor of The Carolina Israelite of Charlotte, N. C.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Negro integration leader of Montgomery, Ala., and Rosa Parks, whose action touched off the Montgomery bus boycott, are among those listed by Highlander as having attended integration workshops at the school.

Ever since Highlander Folk was established in the mountainous region about 1932, reports have sprung up from time to time that the school was a training ground for Communists.

There never has been any pretense about the policy of non-segregation at the school. That has caused resentment from time to time. A summer camp for youngsters has been run in conjunction with the school, and that, too, has disregarded color or race.

#### No Academic Courses

"Highlander Folk School is not affiliated with any organizations but makes its services available to individuals on a non-discriminatory basis provided they are open-minded," said Horton.

Academic courses are not taught at Highlander Folk. There are seminars, workshops and discussion groups. Stated policy of the school is: "Democracy to us means that membership in the school is family matters all to free. A man of thought and religion is equal rights in a livelihood, education and health, to equal opportunity to participate in the cultural life of the community and to equal access to public facilities."

With a democratic goal, said Horton, "we are in a position to fight anything that gets in the way, whether it be totalitarian Communism or Fascism."

#### 'Hour is Late'

Presenting the resolution for a vote in the House yesterday, Rep. Harry Lee Senter, Bristol Democrat, declared, "The hour is late for this investigation, but not too late to show to the world that Tennessee does revere and respect the great heritage that has been passed down to us by our matchless ancestors."

Senter said some of Tennessee's

report" was made by The Memphis Press-Scimitar last December. It was found there had been a change in the personnel and a reorganization of the Georgia Commission on Education since the "report" was published. Paul Stevenson, the present executive secretary, said the literature was not a report. "It was a pamphlet," he said, "distributed by the former secretary. It was not an official state report."

Asked whether the present commission had published any material on Highlander Folk, Stevenson replied: "We don't deal with any kind of propaganda. We accumulate facts." He added that he didn't know anything about the school.

#### 'Want Intermingling'

Senter said the school fosters integrated classes and intermingling of the races. Rep. S. A. Rhinehart, Spencer Democrat, the other sponsor, said:

"In my travels over the country people have asked me what can be done about Highlander Folk School. I told them I would try to rid the county of this disease."

Sen. Barton Dement, Murfreesboro Democrat, said Highlander is "nothing but a finishing school for Communists."

"I am sure the focal point of this investigation has received enough publicity in the past 25 years to make you understand the need for this resolution," Senter said. "These kind of men want the intermingling of the races."

"We suspect our pioneer state of Tennessee has been a breeding ground" of subversive activities at the school, he said. "Several of our neighboring states and the U. S. Department of Justice have made investigations of this questionable institution."

151-240  
ENCLOSURE

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: February 4, 1959

FROM : G. A. NEASE

SUBJECT: HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
DeLoach	✓
McGuire	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Trotter	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

*b7c*  
 [redacted] called me this morning and stated he had had inquiry from the press concerning the above school indicating the Tennessee legislature intended to look into the activities of the school and his inquiry was whether or not we had ever investigated the Highlander Folk School.

*sup*  
 After checking with the Domestic Intelligence Division, I advised [redacted] that we had made some limited inquiry concerning the school several years ago when it was alleged it was a hot bed for communists, and we forwarded a memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Bazelon dated February 21, 1947, and that we had also forwarded a memorandum to Peyton Ford dated February 26, 1951, regarding the matter. I told him, however, we were in no position to state we had ever investigated the school nor would it be to the Bureau's or the Department's advantage to indicate that we had investigated the school. I briefly described the background of the school to him and suggested I felt best not to comment on the matter. [redacted] stated he agreed and that he would get the point across there is no current activity on the part of the Department in this matter.

1 - Mr. Belmont

GAN:ejp  
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*grs*  
 [redacted]  
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FBI

Date: 2/13/59

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(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIR-TEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, KNOXVILLE (61-12)  
HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL,  
MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE  
IS - X

Re Knoxville air-tel to Bureau dated 2/12/59.

There is submitted herewith one copy of news article entitled, "Inquiry Assured for Highlander", which appeared in the 2/11/59, issue of the Chattanooga Times.

*Indices negative  
under Card #11/59  
J*

GEARTY

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ENCL ATTACHED

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*Card*

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REC-94

61-7511-242

FEB 16 1959

57 FEB 24 1959

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten notes and stamps]*  
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*ll*

## INQUIRY ASSURED FOR HIGHLANDER

### 5 Men to Conduct Probe Will Be Named After Ellington Signs

From Chattanooga Times Bureau

NASHVILLE — Prompt appointment of a legislative committee to investigate Highlander Folk School was promised Tuesday by House and Senate speakers soon after the General Assembly authorized the inquiry.

Lt. Gov. William D. Baird of Lebanon said he already has decided upon the two senators he will name to the five-man committee. But he declined to reveal the names until the resolution is signed by Gov. Ellington, possibly Wednesday.

House Speaker James L. Bomar of Shelbyville promised the three representatives for the joint Senate-House committee will be designated "within 24 hours" after the governor acts. His choice, he said, will be "non-political."

#### Sponsors Have Roles

Legislative custom dictates the sponsors of an investigation of this type be named to the committee. In that event, two of those certain of appointment are Rep. Harry Lee Senter of Bristol, who initiated the proposed inquiry, and Sen. Barton Dement of Murfreesboro, who put it through the Senate.

Final approval for the investigation came by a 22 to 9 vote of the Senate, sending the resolution to Ellington, who already had said he would sign

See Page Nine, Column Five

## INQUIRY ASSURED FOR HIGHLANDER

From Page One

it reluctantly. He doubted the hasty investigation, which must be concluded by March 10, would accomplish much.

The senators haggled over a number of technicalities before voting \$5,000 for the investigation. One senator complained about a lack of copies of the resolution, while another claimed it had not been read in full by the clerk.

The Senate recessed for 15 minutes while the Rev. Carl Kirby of Tracy City laid down a fusillade of charges at the specially integrated adult educa-

as a part-time Methodist preacher, missionary and gospel singer, asked for 45 minutes to present his case against Highlander and its director, Myles Horton.

#### Speaks Fast

When senators protested their work schedule would allow him only a third of that, he attempted to cram the full speech into the allotted time.

Talking with machine-gun speed which made his sentences sometimes unintelligible, Kirby accused Highlander of being subversive, of harboring Communist sympathizers and fomenting industrial strife. He waved affidavits and read from cards and documents which he claimed back up his allegations.

This evidence, he asserted, was available only to him and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

But he asked the Legislature call off the investigation, claiming records necessary to establish charges against the school already had been removed from Monteagle in anticipation of the inquiry.

Kirby urged instead that the Legislature proceed at once to enact a law putting Highlander out of business. He promised the Legislature he would supply a bill "with teeth in it."

Horton has said repeatedly he would welcome the investigation and that all records and data relative to the school he established in 1932 will be made available. He demanded the Legislature make a complete inquiry and either clear his school or close it.

TENN.

CHAT. TIMES

2-11-59

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