OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-158790) DATE: 5/3/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-46729)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM-C
(OO: NY)

Enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) reporting information indicating RUSTIN's plan totravel abroad.

Sources who furnished the information used in the characterization of RUSTIN were:

[redacted] b2

b2
b7D

This LHM is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ because it contains information from sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize the security of the sources, thereby causing irreparable damage to the defense interests of the United States.

As soon as the NYO receives the travel plans for RUSTIN, the Bureau will be notified.

The NYO recommends that stops be placed with security services abroad.

no! travel clearance not sen. agt PPF

Copy to end State/CIA
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 5-9-66
by PPF/csn

ENCLOSURE 100-158790-167

2 - Bureau (100-158790) (Encls. 8) (RM)
1 - New York (100-46729) (42)

REC 8

14 MAY 4 1966

JMK:gmd
(4)

ENCLOSURE

SUBV. CONTROL

MAY 9 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
May 3, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Bureau 100-158790

Re: Bayard Rustin
Security Matter - C

On April 21, 1966, records of the Passport Office, United States State Department, Washington, D.C., disclosed that on April 7, 1966, Bayard Rustin of 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York, was issued Passport number G 292278, through the New York Passport Office.

In completing his application, Rustin furnished the following: that he was born on March 17, 1912, in Pennsylvania; that he plans to depart New York City via air on June 1, 1966, for a four to six weeks business trip to Israel.

The following description of Rustin was derived from personal observations:

Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	March 17, 1913
Place of Birth	West Chester, Pennsylvania
Height	6 feet
Weight	175 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Black-gray
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium brown
Scars and Marks	½ inch scar middle right cheek
Marital Status	Single
Accent	Assumed English accent

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DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-28-77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES
AND RECORD OFFICES
ADMINISTRATIVE RULING
SEC (B) OF Declassification
DATE 2-28-77 GD/[illegible]

8 JUL [illegible] 1974

Re: Bayard Rustin
Security Matter - C

Employment — Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, New York City (A civil rights clearing house)

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Re: Bayard Rustin
Security Matter - C

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CPUSA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CPUSA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN REG NO 27
5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-158790)

DATE: 5/24/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-46729)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM-C
(OO: NY)

ReNY airtel and LHM, dated 5/3/66, concerning RUSTIN's plans to travel to Israel.

In an effort to ascertain more specific information as to RUSTIN's mode of travel, SA [redacted] contacted El Al Israel Airlines and Trans World Airlines on 5/16/66; however, these contacts were to no avail in regard to his plans. It was determined that these are the only airlines which fly direct to Israel, but that there are numerous other connecting airlines with service to Israel. b6 b7C

It was learned from [redacted] at El Al Israel Airlines, that RUSTIN does not have a reservation for any period during June, 1966. He explained, however, that he could be a part of a tour, which would prevent his name from appearing on a specific flight. This was found to be the case with TWA as well. b6 b7C b2 OTHER USDC Court Orc

[redacted]

The NYO is remaining alert to developments in this matter, and the Bureau will be advised immediately in the event information is received as to RUSTIN's plans.

2-Bureau (100-158790) (RM) REC 12 100-158790-168
1-NY (100-46729)
JMK;rmv
(3)

18 MAY 25 1966

SUBV CONTROL

9 JUN 1 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5/5/66

AIRTEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

W

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-73449)

SUBJECT: DOMINICAN SITUATION
IS - DR

9

ReBuairtel to New York, 4/26/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are nine copies of an LHM and nine copies of an informant evaluation memorandum captioned "BAYARD RUSTIN", which contains the documentation utilized by the New York Office concerning RUSTIN. One copy is being furnished to Legat, Santo Domingo for information.

NY T-1 referred to in the LHM is [redacted] NY T-2 is [redacted]; NY T-3 is [redacted] NY T-4 is [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect the identity of confidential informants, the disclosure o whose identity would not be in the best interests of national defense.

5 - Bureau (Encs. 22) (RM)
(1 - Legat, Santo Domingo)
(1 - 100-) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
1 - New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
1 - New York

JAB:gfb
(8)

100-158790-
NOT RECORDED
202 MAY 26 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 109-12-21-10609

ENCLOSURE

51 JUN 1 1966

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
May 5, 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin was a member of a group sent to the Dominican Republic by Norman Thomas to look into the situation in that country to determine if the political climate is conducive to free elections.

On April 21, 1966, NY T-1 advised that Bayard Rustin, a member of the "Thomas Mission" who arrived in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic on April 17, 1966, was born March 17, 1912 in New York City.

NY T-1 had no United States address for Rustin. His profession was given as architect and he had United States Passport Number G29278.

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11 - 18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND INDIVIDUALS ADVISED CONCERNING SLIP(S) OF declassification DATE 3-14-77 GD/KR

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 ON 2-23-77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automati~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

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ENCLOSURE 100-158790-

Bayard Rustin

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, Column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9 - 12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

NY T-2 advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

NY T-3 advised on February 19,20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

NY T-4 advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

Bayard Rustin

An article in the April 28, 1966, issue of the "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York City, entitled, "Rustin Seeks Observers for June Dominican Vote", indicated that Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader who was one of a group sponsored by the Commission on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, spoke at the Union Theological Seminary before 300 students. He was linked by telephone to smaller student groups to 40 college campuses. He urged Spanish speaking college students to act as independent observers during elections set for June in the Dominican Republic.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
May 5, 1966

Title Bayard Rustin

Character Internal Security - Dominican Republic

Reference is made to New York letterhead memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FD-263 (R[illegible] 5-1-59)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7-8

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	6/30/66	1/3 - 5/20/66

TITLE OF CASE

BAYARD RUSTIN

REPOR[redacted]

TYPED BY smv

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM-C

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] at New York, 1/12/66.

P*

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Subsequent to referenced report, there has been no information indicating contact between BAYARD RUSTIN and the CP, or between BAYARD RUSTIN and Communist officials. However, as in the past, RUSTIN and STANLEY DAVID LEVISON, secret member of the CP, have been in contact. Although the contacts have been fewer since last report, they do continue infrequently. They have always taken place when others were present. These contacts have always included MARTIN LUTHER KING, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC, CLARENCE JONES or HARRY WACHTEL and they have always concerned KING's affairs, not business between LEVISON and RUSTIN. The last known contact between RUSTIN and LEVISON took place on Sunday, June 12, 1966, and it concerned the Mississippi March. In addition to these two men, KING, CLARENCE JONES and WALTER FAUNTROY, the SCLC Director

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

4 - Bureau (100-158790)

3 - New York (100-46729)

1 xerox - HUD per req.
Per WTF/[illegible] 2/5/68

100-158790-169

REC-68

ST-132

JUL 1966

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	State, CIA, AAG Yeagley			
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	7/15/66	—	—	
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	RRF/[illegible]			

Notations

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

SUBV. CONTROL

69 JUL 18 1966

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D.)

in Washington, D.C., participated.

q However, the foregoing is not included in the details of this report, since the contacts were not on the business of RUSTIN or LEVISON but instead, on the business of KING. It is felt therefore, that such information should more appropriately be reported in the CIRM or KING cases.

The pretext interview which determined the employment of RUSTIN was made by SA [redacted]. It was a telephone call on June 15, 1966, to the office of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The receptionist was told that RUSTIN's services were desired in connection with the march being carried on in Mississippi to enlist Negroes to vote. b6 b7C

With regard to the information derived from the Passport Office, US State Department, it was furnished by [redacted] The NYO subsequently received the information by routing slip dated 4/28/66. b6 b7C

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	Where Information Located
NY T-1 [redacted]	NY 100-46729-1227 b6 b7C b7D
NY T-2 CG 5824-S*	Characterization of HENRY WINSTON
NY T-3 [redacted]	[redacted] b2 b7D
NY T-4 [redacted]	Characterization of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT b2 b7D
NY T-5 [redacted]	NY 100-46729-1212 b2 b7D

NY 100-46729

INFORMANTS (CONT'D.)

The following are the sources who were contacted in June, 1966, but who could furnish no information about RUSTIN:

Identity of Source	Date Contacted
[redacted]	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966
	June, 1966

b2
b7D
b6
b7C

LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report the activities of BAYARD RUSTIN.

FD-305a (Rev. 9-19-62)

NY 100-46729

1. [X] Subject's name is included in Section [X] A or [ ] B of the Reserve Index.

2. [X] The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card are current.

3. [ ] Changes on the Section A Reserve Index Card are necessary and Form FD-122a has been submitted to the Bureau.

4. [X] A suitable photograph [X] is [ ] is not available.

5. [ ] Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.

6. [X] This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because (state reason)
it contains information from the sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize the security of the sources which, in turn could be detrimental to the defense interests of the United States. These sources are NY T-3, NY T-4.

7. [X] Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
of his close association with MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., an acknowledged foe of the Bureau; and because of RUSTIN's hostility toward the Bureau. It is felt that an attempt to interview could be embarrassing to the Bureau.

8. [ ] This case no longer meets the Section A Reserve Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Section A Reserve Index card.

9. [X] This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Reserve Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
of RUSTIN's membership in the YOUNG Communist League from 1936 until 1941 as well as his contacts with Communist leaders as reported in report of SA [redacted] [redacted] at New York, 3/25/65.

b6
b7C

-D*-
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: [redacted]
Date: 6/30/66

Office: New York, New York

b6
b7C

Field Office File #: 100-46729

Bureau File #: 100-158790

Title:
BAYARD RUSTIN

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:
On 4/7/66, Passport Office, State Department, issued passport to BAYARD RUSTIN of 340 West 28th St., NYC. As of 6/15/66, RUSTIN was director of A. Philip Randolph Institute, NYC. In securing passport on 4/7/66, RUSTIN indicated he would travel to Israel on business. On 4/17/66, RUSTIN was in Santo Domingo, D.R. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CP leader on 1/22/66, said RUSTIN is not CP member, but works with Party. One BAYARD RUSTIN, Workers Defense League, subscriber to "The Worker".

- P* -

DETAILS:

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
declassification
DATE 3-14-77

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I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence

On April 21, 1966, information from the Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., reflected that BAYARD RUSTIN was issued a passport number G292278, on April 7, 1966. RUSTIN, when he submitted his application, gave his residence address as 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York.

B. Employment

On June 15, 1966, as a consequence of a pretext interview with the receptionist at the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York, it was determined that BAYARD RUSTIN is the director of the Institute. The interview also disclosed that he goes to the Institute daily and in fact, at the time of the interview, was in the office but was away from his desk.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute is a service center and clearing house for civil rights organizatins. It is named after its founder, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), and its purpose is basically educational.

C. Travel

The information from the Passport Office, State Department, which in part, has been reported under the residence section of this report, also reflected the following concerning BAYARD RUSTIN:

Born	March 17, 1912
Place	Pennsylvania
Port of departure	New York
Date of departure	June 1, 1966
Means of transportation	Air
Proposed length of stay	Four to six weeks
Country to be visited	Israel
Purpose of Visit	Business
Passport number	G292278

On April 17, 1966, BAYARD RUSTIN, a member of the "Thomas Mission", arrived in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. According to the source, upon arriving in Santo Domingo, RUSTIN said he was born on March 17, 1912 in New York, New York, and that his profession was that of an architect. He possessed passport number G29278.

NY T-1
April 21, 1966

An article in the April 28, 1966 issue of "The New York Times", entitled "Rustin Seeks Observers for June Dominican Vote", indicated that BAYARD RUSTIN, civil rights leader who was one of a group sponsored by the Commission on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, recently spoke at the Union Theological Seminary before 300 students. He was linked by telephone to smaller student groups at 40 college campuses. He urged Spanish speaking college students to act as independent observers during elections set for June, 1966, in the Dominican Republic.

11. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) AFFILIATION

On Saturday, January 22, 1966, a meeting of CP members in the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, NALC, tood place in HENRY WINSTON's apartment, 334 East 108th Street, New York, New York. The meeting was called by WINSTON for the purpose of discussing and making plans for the NALC Convention which was scheduled for May 27-29, 1966, in Baltimore, Maryland.

At a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, United States of America (USA) on August 12, and 13, 1961, HENRY WINSTON was elected a member of that Committee, the National Executive Committee, and Vice Chairman of the Party.

NY T-2
August 12, 13, 1961

It was during deliberations and discussions for the Convention, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said the Party should try to get BAYARD RUSTIN as the Convention organizer. He said even though RUSTIN is not a Party member, he works very closely with the Party. In fact, according to LIGHTFOOT, RUSTIN comes to Party people when he has problems.

NY T-3
January 24, 1966

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is Vice-Chairman and member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, and Chairman of the Illinois District, CP.

NY T-4
February 15, 1965

Subscriber to Party Publication

On March 14, 1966, one BAYARD RUSTIN, Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York, was a subscriber to "The Worker".

NY T-5
March 14, 1966

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist publication.

Miscellaneous

Sources cognizant of certain phases of CP activities in the New York area, were contacted during June, 1966, but none could furnish any information concerning BAYARD RUSTIN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
June 30, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bu 100-158790
NY 100-46729

Title Bayard Rustin

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

NY T-1 who was in a position to furnish reliable information

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

TELETYPE UNIT
MAY 27 1966
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C

3-44 PM URGENT 5-27-66 RAG

TO DIRECTOR & SAC'S NEW YORK & SAN JUAN

SAC'S, NEW YORK & SAN JUAN VIA WASHINGTON

FROM LEGAT, SANTO DOMINGO NR.01

DOMINICAN SITUATION. Bayard Rustin

NEWS MEDIA IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ON THE MORNING OF MAY TWENTYSEVEN INSTANT MADE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENTS PERTINENT TO THE DOMINICAN SITUATION:

IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE FOURTEENTH OF JUNE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MR ONE JAY FOUR) WILL WITHDRAW ITS CONGRESSIONAL AND MUNICIPAL CANDIDATES IN THE INTERIOR TOWNS OF PUERTO PLATA AND LA ROMANA BUT WILL MAINTAIN ITS CANDIDATES FOR POSITIONS IN THE NATIONAL DISTRICT (SANTO DOMINGO). PRESS ACCOUNTS INDICATED THE MR ONE JAY FOUR WILL URGE ITS MEMBERS TO VOTE FOR DOMINICAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRD) PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE JUAN BOSCH IN THE INTERIOR TOWNS MENTIONED ABOVE.

BOSCH IN A RADIO SPEECH ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST, MADE A PLEA TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO SUSPEND THE ORDER RESTRICTING DOMINICAN ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL TO THEIR BARRACKS ON MAY TWENTYNINE NEXT SO THAT ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL CAN SPEND THIS DAY, WHICH IS DOMINICAN MOTHERS DAY, WITH THEIR MOTHERS.

END PAGE ONE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

3 JUN 1966

100-158790-
NOT RECORDED
46 JUN 1966

Copy to BALT
by routing slip for
☑ Info ☐ action
date 6-6-66
by WCP/llb

FOR DIRECTOR

RELAYED TO FTB, NY

Filed cc
100-425266
Tom Kahn
100-158790-Bayard Rustin

56 JUN 22 1966
286

BOSCH ALSO ANNOUNCED DISCOVERY OF A "PLAN" WHEREBY SHOTS WOULD BE FIRED INTO THE AIR IN INTERIOR COMMUNITIES AND A RUMOR WOULD BE SPREAD THAT A WAR HAD BEEN STARTED IN SANTO DOMINGO BETWEEN PRD SUPPORTERS AND SUPPORTERS OF REFORMIST PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE JOAQUIN BALAGUER. THE PURPOSE OF THIS "PLAN," ACCORDING TO BOSCH, WOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO REMAIN IN THEIR HOMES AND NOT GO OUT TO VOTE. BOSCH URGED HIS LISTENERS TO DISREGARD THIS ALLEGED TACTIC.

HORACIO JULIO ORNES COISCOU, LEADER OF THE DOMINICAN REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (VRD) PARTY, ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST STATED THAT HE WAS OF THE OPINION THAT GENERAL JOSE MORILLO LOPEZ, CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL POLICE, IS BEING PARTIAL TOWARDS SOME POLITICAL PARTIES AND HAS TENDENCIES TOWARD ABSOLUTISM AND AUTONOMY. ORNES ALSO DENIED THERE IS ANY TRUTH TO RECENT DECLARATIONS BY POLICE AUTHORITIES THAT A PLOT EXISTS TO ASSASSINATE JUAN BOSCH, PAPAL NUNCIO EMANUELE CLARIZIO AND OTHERS. ORNES CHARGED THAT MORILLO IS ACTING LIKE A POLITICIAN AND NOT A POLICE OFFICER.

MORILLO PROMPTLY DENIED ORNES' ACCUSATIONS AND SAID ORNES BELONGS TO A GROUP WHICH CANNOT ADAPT ITSELF TO A DECENT, HONEST AND AUTHENTIC DEMOCRACY. MORILLO SAID HIS CONDUCT IS SUBJECT TO IMPARTIAL JUDGEMENT BY THE JOINT ELECTORAL BOARD AND THE SPECIAL COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT TO INVESTIGATE ANY IRREGULARITIES OR VIOLENCE IN THE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD.

BAYARD RUSTIN, DESCRIBED AS PRESIDENT OF THE "COMMITTEE FOR FREE ELECTIONS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC" (NORMAN THOMAS MISSION),

END PAGE TWO

RETURNED TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC FROM THE UNITED STATES ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST WITH FIVE "CIVIC LEADERS" OF THE U.S. WHO WILL ACT AS ELECTIONS OBSERVERS. RUSTIN TOLD PRESS REPRESENTATIVES THAT HIS GROUP WILL NUMBER BETWEEN SEVENTYFIVE AND ONE HUNDRED TWENTYFIVE PERSONS BY ELECTION DAY. HE SAID HIS GROUP WILL SUPPORT A DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF THE INTER'AMERICAN PEACE FORCE (IAPF) AS SOON AS THE DOMINICANS FORMALLY REQUEST IAPF WITHDRAWAL.

PERSONS WHO ARRIVED WITH RUSTIN ON MAY TWENTY SIX LAST WERE NAMED AS (1) ANTONIO WETTY, FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONFEDERATION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES IN COLOMBIA; (2) TOM KAHN, DIRECTOR OF THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY; (3) ENRIQUE PARAGUA, SECRETARY OF THE NICARAGUAN PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE; (4) REVEREND H. EDWIN ROSSER, PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN RESTERTOWN, MARYLAND, AND (5) CHARLOTTE ROE" DESCRIBED AS A YOUTH WORKER FROM NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK.

RUSTIN ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT ONMAY TWENTYEIGHT NEXT A SPECIAL FLIGHT WILL BRING THIRTY OBSERVERS FROM PUERTO RICO AND THAT SEVERAL CUBAN EXILES WILL BE AMONG THIS GROUP.

A PRESS CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN THE OFFICES OF THE DOMINICAN "HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION," FELIX MARIANO LLUBERES STREET NUMBER EIGHTEEN, SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, WHERE IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT ANY IRREGULARITIES DISCOVERED BY COMMITTEE OBSERVERS THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC WOULD BE REPORTED BY TELEGRAM TO THIS ADDRESS. FRED GOFF, COORDINATOR OF THE COMMITTEE, AND MARTA MARTINEZ, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE "HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION," WERE PRESENT, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS.

END PAGE THREE

IT WAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE WELL-KNOWN AMERICAN SOCIALIST LEADER NORMAN THOMAS WILL ARRIVE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ON MAY THIRTY NEXT TO ASSIST THIS COMMITTEE IN ITS WORK.

THE CENTRAL ELECTORAL BOARD, ACCORDING TO A PRESS REPORT, ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST COMMENCED DELIBERATIONS ON A PROPOSITION SUBMITTED BY THE REFORMIST PARTY THAT FEMALES OF VOTING AGE BE ALLOWED TO VOTE IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS WITHOUT HAVING TO PRESENT A PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION CARD (CEDULA). NO DECISION WAS ANNOUNCED.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHT COMMISSION ANNOUNCED THAT TWO SOLDIERS OF THE DOMINICAN AIR FORCE WHO WERE RUMORED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BECAUSE OF ALLEGED POLITICAL SYMPATHIES AT THE SAN ISIDRO AIR BASE WERE FOUND TO BE ALIVE AND SAFE.

MOVEMENT OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION (MIN) PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE RAFAEL F.BONNELLY ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST DEPARTED THE CAPITAL CITY ON A CAMPAIGN TRIP TO VALVERDE PROVINCE.

BY OFFICIAL ORDER NUMBER TWO THREE ZERO, PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT HECTOR GARCIA GODOY ISSUED A LAW ABSOLUTLY PROHIBITING ANY PERSON OTHER THAN A MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES OR NATIONAL POLICE TO CARRY ANY TYPE OF FIRE ARM, EVEN THOUGH POSSESSING A VALID LICENSE, DURING THE PERIOD MAY TRIRTY NEXT THROUGH JUNE TWO NEXT. THIS LAW ALSO SPECIFIED THAT ANY VIOLATIONS WOULD BE PROSECUTED UNDER EXISTING STATUTES CONCERNIHG ILLEGAL POSSESSION AND CARRYING OF FIRE ARMS.

THE REFORMIST PARTY ANNOUNCED THAT BALAGUER WILL CLOSE HIS CAMPAIGN WITH A SPEECH AND PUBLIC ASSEMBLY TO BE HELD IN THE PLAZA NEAR THE FINE ARTS PALACE IN SANTO DOMINGO AT TWO P.M. ON MAY TWENTYEIGHT NEXT.

END PAGE FOUR

THE CENTRAL ELECTORAL BOARD ANNOUNCED THAT ALL PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE VARIOUS POLLING PLACES WILL MEET ON MAY TWENTYNINE AND THIRTY NEXT IN ORDER THAT BALLOTS AND MATERIAL CAN BE PASSED OUT FOR USE IN THE VARIOUS VOTING POLLS.

THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCD) IN A PAID ADVERTISEMENT CALLED FOR ITS MEMBERS AND FOLLOWERS TO VOTE AGAINST BALAGUER AND FOR JUAN BOSCH IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE OLIGARCHY AND THE YANKEES.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE AGRICULTURAL BANK ON MAY TWENTYSIX LAST DISCHARGED TWENTYTHREE ADDITIONAL EMPLOYEES, BRINGING THE TOTAL TO THIRTYTHREE EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE BEEN DISCHARGED PRIOR TO AND DURING THE WORK STOPPAGE AT THIS GOVERNMENT -CONTROLLED FINANCIAL INSTITUTION.

THE ABOVE IS FURNISHED FOR THE INFORMATION OF BUREAU OFFICIALS AND SUPERVISORS.

SAN JUAN AND NEW YORK OFFICES ARE BEING ADVISED FOR INFORMATION AND IN VIEW OF THEIR INTEREST IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NORMAN THOMAS MISSION.

END

MSE FOR RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc-Messrs. De Loach, Wannall + Liaison

N 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
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Miss Gandy

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h Minkoff
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nor H. Norton
bi Joachim Prinz
Reddick
ald P Slaiman
Tyler
an Woodward
rew Young

June, 1966

Dear Hon. J. Edgar Hoover

I thought you might find this reproduction of an article, that appeared in Commentary, The March, 1966 issue of interest.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/cew

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

2 ENCLOSURE

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Commentary
REPORT

THE WATTS "MANIFESTO" & THE McCONE REPORT

BAYARD RUSTIN

COMMENTARY IS THE INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF SIGNIFICANT THOUGHT
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION $8.00

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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THE WATTS "MANIFESTO" & THE McCONE REPORT

BAYARD RUSTIN

THE RIOTS IN the Watts section of Los Angeles last August continued for six days, during which 34 persons were killed, 1,032 were injured, and some 3,952 were arrested. Viewed by many of the rioters themselves as their "manifesto," the uprising of the Watts Negroes brought out in the open; as no other aspect of the Negro protest has done, the despair and hatred that continue to brew in the Northern ghettoes despite the civil-rights legislation of recent years and the advent of "the war on poverty." With national attention focused on Los Angeles, Governor Edward P. Brown created a commission of prominent local citizens, headed by John A. McCone, to investigate the causes of the riots and to prescribe remedies against any such outbreaks in the future. Just as the violent confrontation on the burning streets of Watts told us much about the underlying realities of race and class relations in America—summed up best, perhaps, by the words of Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker, "We're on top and they're on the bottom" —so does the McCone Report, published under the title *Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning?*, tell us much about the response of our political and economic institutions to the Watts "manifesto."

Like the much-discussed Moynihan Report, the McCone Report is a bold departure from the standard government paper on social problems. It goes beyond the mere recital of statistics to discuss, somewhat sympathetically, the real problems of the Watts community—problems like unemployment, inadequate schools, dilapidated housing—and it seems at first glance to be leading toward constructive programs. It never reaches them, however, for, again like the Moynihan Report, it is ambivalent about the basic reforms that are needed to solve these problems and therefore shies away from spelling them out too explicitly. Thus, while it calls for the creation of 50,000 new jobs to compensate for the "spiral of failure" that it finds among the Watts Negroes, the McCone Report does not tell us how these jobs are to be created or obtained and instead recommends existing programs which have already shown themselves to be inadequate. The Moynihan Report, similarly, by emphasizing the breakdown of the Negro family, also steers clear of confronting the thorny issues of Negro unemployment as such.

By appearing to provide new viewpoints and fresh initiatives while at the same time repeating, if in more sophisticated and compassionate terms, the standard white stereotypes and shibboleths about Negroes, the two reports have become controversial on both sides of the Negro question. On the one hand, civil-rights leaders can point to the recognition in these reports of the need for jobs and training, and for other economic and social programs to aid the Negro family, while conservatives can find confirmed in their pages the Negro penchant for violence, the excessive agitation against law and order by the civil-rights movement, or the high rates of crime and illegitimacy in the Negro community; on the other hand, both sides have criticized the reports for feeding ammunition to the opposition. Unfortunately, but inevitably, the emphasis on *Negro* behavior in both reports has stirred up an abstract debate over the interpretation of data rather than suggesting programs for dealing with the existing and very concrete situation in which American Negroes find themselves. For example, neither report is concerned about segregation and both tacitly assume that the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 are already destroying this system. In the case of the McCone Report, this leaves the writers free to discuss the problems of Negro housing, education, and unemployment in great detail without attacking the conditions of de facto segregation that underly them

THE ERRORS and misconceptions of the McCone Report are particularly revealing because it purports to deal with the realities of the Watts riots rather than with the abstractions of the Negro family. The first distortion of these realities occurs in the opening chapter—"The Crisis: An Overview"—where, after briefly discussing the looting and beatings, the writers conclude that "The rioters seem to have been caught up in an insensate rage of destruction." Such an image may

BAYARD RUSTIN, the noted civil-rights leader, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. His article, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," in the February 1965 COMMENTARY, has been widely discussed.

reflect the fear of the white community that Watts had run amok during six days in August, but it does not accurately describe the major motive and mood of the riots, as subsequent data in the report itself indicate. While it is true that Negroes in the past have often turned the violence inflicted on them by society in upon themselves—"insensate rage" would perhaps have been an appropriate phrase for the third day of the 1964 Harlem riots—the whole point of the outbreak in Watts was that it marked the first major rebellion of Negroes against their own masochism and was carried on with the express purpose of asserting that they would no longer quietly submit to the deprivation of slum life.

This message came home to me over and over again when I talked with the young people in Watts during and after the riots, as it will have come home to those who watched the various television documentaries in which the Negroes of the community were permitted to speak for themselves. At a street-corner meeting in Watts when the riots were over, an unemployed youth of about twenty said to me, "We won." I asked him: "How have you won? Homes have been destroyed, Negroes are lying dead in the streets, the stores from which you buy food and clothes are destroyed, and people are bringing you relief." His reply was significant: "We won because we made the whole world pay attention to us. The police chief never came here before; the mayor always stayed uptown. We made them come." Clearly it was no accident that the riots proceeded along an almost direct path to City Hall.

Nor was the violence along the way random and "insensate." Wherever a store-owner identified himself as a "poor working Negro trying to make a business" or as a "Blood Brother," the mob passed the store by. It even spared a few white businesses that allowed credit or time purchases, and it made a point of looting and destroying stores that were notorious for their high prices and hostile manners. The McCone Report itself observes that "the rioters concentrated on food markets, liquor stores, clothing stores, department stores, and pawn shops." The authors "note with interest that no residences were deliberately burned, that damage to schools, libraries, public buildings was minimal and that certain types of business establishments, notably service stations and automobile dealers, were for the most part unharmed." It is also worth noting that the rioters were much more inclined to destroy the stock of the liquor stores they broke into than to steal it, and that according to the McCone Report, "there is no evidence that the rioters made any attempt to steal narcotics from pharmacies . . . which were looted and burned."

This is hardly a description of a Negro community that has run amok. The largest number of arrests were for looting—not for arson or shooting. Most of the people involved were not habitual thieves; they were members of a deprived group who seized a chance to possess things that all the dinning affluence of Los Angeles had never given them. There were innumerable touching examples of this behavior. One married couple in their sixties was seen carrying a couch to their home, and when its weight became too much for them, they sat down and rested on it until they could pick it up again. Langston Hughes tells of another woman who was dragging a sofa through the streets and who stopped at each intersection and waited for the traffic light to turn green. A third woman went out with her children to get a kitchen set, and after bringing it home, she discovered they needed one more chair in order to feed the whole family together; they went back to get the chair and all of them were arrested.

If the McCone Report misses the point of the Watts riots, it shows even less understanding of their causes. To place these in perspective, the authors begin by reviewing the various outbursts in the Negro ghettoes since the summer of 1964 and quickly come up with the following explanations: "Not enough jobs to go around, and within this scarcity not enough by a wide margin of a character which the untrained Negro could fill.... Not enough schooling to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged Negro child whose environment from infancy onward places him under a serious handicap." Finally, "a resentment, even hatred, of the police as a symbol of authority."

For the members of the special commission these are the fundamental causes of the current Negro plight and protest, which are glibly summed up in the ensuing paragraph by the statement that "Many Negroes moved to the city in the last generation and are totally unprepared to meet the conditions of city life." I shall be discussing these "causes" in detail as we go along, but it should be noted here that the burden of responsibility has already been placed on these hapless migrants to the cities. There is not one word about the conditions, economic as well as social, that have pushed Negroes out of the rural areas; nor is there one word about whether the cities have been willing and able to meet the demand for jobs, adequate housing, proper schools. After all, one could as well say that it is the *cities* which have been "totally unprepared" to meet the "conditions of *Negro* life," but the moralistic bias of the McCone Report, involving as it does an emphasis on the decisions of men rather than the pressure of social forces, continually operates in the other direction.

The same failure of awareness is evident in the report's description of the Los Angeles situation (the Negro areas of Los Angeles "are not urban gems, neither are they slums," the Negro population "has exploded," etc.). The authors do concede that the Los Angeles transportation system is the "least adequate of any major city," but even here they fail to draw the full consequences of their

findings. Good, cheap transportation is essential to a segregated working-class population in a big city. In Los Angeles a domestic worker, for example, must spend about $1.50 and 1½ to 2 hours to get to a job that pays $6 or $7 a day. This both discourages efforts to find work and exacerbates the feeling of isolation.

A neighborhood such as Watts may seem beautiful when compared to much of Harlem (which, in turn, is an improvement over the Negro section of Mobile, Alabama)—but it is still a ghetto. The housing is run-down, public services are inferior, the listless penned-in atmosphere of segregation is oppressive. Absentee landlords are the rule, and most of the businesses are owned by whites: neglect and exploitation reign by day, and at night, as one Watts Negro tersely put it, "There's just the cops and us."

The McCone Report, significantly, also ignores the political atmosphere of Los Angeles. It refers, for example, to the repeal in 1964 of the Rumford Act—the California fair-housing law—in these words: "In addition, many Negroes here felt and were encouraged to feel that they had been affronted by the passage of Proposition 14." Affronted, indeed! The largest state in the Union, by a three-to-one majority, abolishes one of its own laws against discrimination and Negroes are described as regarding this as they might the failure of a friend to keep an engagement. What they did feel—and without any need of encouragement—was that while the rest of the North was passing civil-rights laws and improving opportunities for Negroes, their own state and city were rushing to reinforce the barriers against them.

The McCone Report goes on to mention two other "aggravating events in the twelve months prior to the riot." One was the failure of the poverty program to "live up to [its] press notices," combined with reports of "controversy and bickering" in Los Angeles over administering the program. The second "aggravating event" is summed up by the report in these words:

> Throughout the nation unpunished violence and disobedience to law were widely reported, and almost daily there were exhortations here and elsewhere, to take the most extreme and illegal remedies to right a wide variety of wrongs, real and supposed.

It would be hard to frame a more insidiously equivocal statement of the Negro grievance concerning law enforcement during a period that included the release of the suspects in the murder of the three civil-rights workers in Mississippi, the failure to obtain convictions against the suspected murderers of Medgar Evers and Mrs. Violet Liuzzo, the Gilligan incident in New York, the murder of Reverend James Reeb, and the police violence in Selma, Alabama—to mention only a few of the more notorious cases. And surely it would have been more to the point to mention that throughout the nation Negro demonstrations have almost invariably been non-violent, and that the major influence on the Negro community of the civil-rights movement has been the strategy of discipline and dignity. Obsessed by the few prophets of violent resistance, the McCone Commission ignores the fact that never before has an American group sent so many people to jail or been so severely punished for trying to uphold the law of the land.

It is not stretching things too far to find a connection between these matters and the treatment of the controversy concerning the role of the Los Angeles police. The report goes into this question at great length, finally giving no credence to the charge that the police may have contributed to the spread of the riots through the use of excessive force. Yet this conclusion is arrived at not from the point of view of the Watts Negroes, but from that of the city officials and the police. Thus, the report informs us, in judicial hearings that were held on 32 of the 35 deaths which occurred, 26 were ruled justifiable homicides, but the report —which includes such details as the precise time Mayor Yorty called Police Chief Parker and when exactly the National Guard was summoned—never tells us what a "justifiable homicide" is considered to be. It tells us that "of the 35 killed, one was a fireman, one was a deputy sheriff, and one was a Long Beach policeman," but it does not tell us how many Negroes were killed or injured by police or National Guardsmen. (Harry Fleischman of the American Jewish Committee reports that the fireman was killed by a falling wall; the deputy sheriff, by another sheriff's bullet; and the policeman, by another policeman's bullet.) We learn that of the 1,032 people reported injured, 90 were police officers, 36 were firemen, 10 were National Guardsman, 23 were from government agencies. To find out that about 85 per cent of the injured were Negroes, we have to do our own arithmetic. The report contains no information as to how many of these were victims of police force, but one can surmise from the general pattern of the riots that few could have been victims of Negro violence.

The report gives credence to Chief Parker's assertion that the rioters were the "criminal element in Watts" yet informs us that of the 3,438 adults arrested, 1,164 had only minor criminal records and 1,232 had never been arrested before. Moreover, such statistics are always misleading. Most Negroes, at one time or another, have been picked up and placed in jail. I myself have been arrested twice in Harlem on charges that had no basis in fact: once for trying to stop a police officer from

arresting the wrong man; the second time for asking an officer who was throwing several young men into a paddy wagon what they had done. Both times I was charged with interfering with an arrest and kept overnight in jail until the judge recognized me and dismissed the charges. Most Negroes are not fortunate enough to be recognized by judges.

Having accepted Chief Parker's view of the riots, the report goes on to absolve him of the charge of discrimination: "Chief Parker's statements to us and collateral evidence, such as his fairness to Negro officers, are inconsistent with his having such an attitude ['deep hatred of Negroes']. Despite the depth of feeling against Chief Parker expressed to us by so many witnesses, he is recognized even by many of his vocal critics as a capable Chief who directs an efficient police force and serves well this entire community."

I am not going to stress the usual argument that the police habitually mistreat Negroes. Every Negro knows this. There is scarcely any black man, woman, or child in the land who at some point or other has not been mistreated by a policeman. (A young man in Watts said, "The riots will continue because I, as a Negro, am immediately considered to be a criminal by the police and, if I have a pretty woman with me, she is a tramp even if she is my wife or mother.") Police Chief Parker, however, goes beyond the usual bounds. He does not recognize that he is prejudiced, and being both naïve and zealous about law and order, he is given to a dangerous fanaticism. His reference to the Negro rioters as "monkeys," and his "top . . . and bottom" description of the riots, speak for themselves, and they could only have further enraged and encouraged the rioters. His insistence on dealing with the outbreak in Watts as though it were the random work of a "criminal element" threatened to lead the community, as Martin Luther King remarked after the meeting he and I had with Chief Parker, "into potential holocaust." Though Dr. King and I have had considerable experience in talking with public officials who do not understand the Negro community, our discussions with Chief Parker and Mayor Samuel Yorty left us completely nonplussed. They both denied, for example, that there was any prejudice in Los Angeles. When we pointed to the very heavy vote in the city for Proposition 14, they replied, "That's no indication of prejudice. That's personal choice." When I asked Chief Parker about his choice of language, he implied that this was the only language Negroes understood.

The impression of "blind intransigence and ignorance of the social forces involved" which Dr. King carried away from our meeting with Chief Parker is borne out by other indications. The cast of his political beliefs, for example, was evidenced during his appearance last May on the Manion Forum, one of the leading platforms of the radical right, in which (according to newspaper reports) he offered his "considered opinion that America today is in reality more than half pagan" and that "we have moved our form of government to a socialist form of government." Such opinions have a good deal of currency today within the Los Angeles police department. About a month before the riots, a leaflet describing Dr. King as a liar and a Communist was posted on the bulletin board of a Los Angeles police station, and only after the concerted efforts of various Negro organizations was this scurrilous pamphlet removed.

CERTAINLY these were "aggravating factors" that the McCone Report should properly have mentioned. But what is more important to understand is that even if every policeman in every black ghetto behaved like an angel and were trained in the most progressive of police academies, the conflict would still exist. This is so because the ghetto is a place where Negroes do not want to be and are fighting to get out of. When someone with a billy club and a gun tells you to behave yourself amid these terrible circumstances, he becomes a zoo keeper, demanding of you, as one of "these monkeys" (to use Chief Parker's phrase), that you accept abhorrent conditions. He is brutalizing you by insisting that you tolerate what you cannot, and ought not, tolerate.

In its blithe ignorance of such feelings, the McCone Report offers as one of its principal suggestions that speakers be sent to Negro schools to teach the students that the police are their friends and that their interests are best served by respect for law and order. Such public-relations gimmicks, of course, are futile—it is hardly a lack of contact with the police that creates the problem. Nor, as I have suggested, is it only a matter of prejudice. The fact is that when Negroes are deprived of work, they resort to selling numbers, women, or dope to earn a living; they must gamble and work in poolrooms. And when the policeman upholds the law, he is depriving them of their livelihood. A clever criminal in the Negro ghettoes is not unlike a clever "operator" in the white business world, and so long as Negroes are denied legitimate opportunities, no exhortations to obey the rules of the society and to regard the police as friends will have any effect.

This is not to say that relations between the police and the Negroes of Watts could not be improved. Mayor Yorty and Police Chief Parker might have headed off a full-scale riot had they refrained from denouncing the Negro leaders and agreed to meet with them early on. Over and over again—to repeat the point with which we began—the rioters claimed that violence was the only way they could get these officials to listen to them. The McCone Commission, however, rejects the proposal for an independent police review board and instead recommends that the post of Inspector General be established—under the authority of the Chief of Police—to handle grievances.

THE CONDITIONS of Negro life in Watts are not, of course, ignored by the McCone Report. Their basic structure is outlined in a section entitled "Dull, Devastating Spiral of Failure." Here we find that the Negro's "homelife destroys incentive"; that he lacks "experience with words and ideas"; that he is "unready and unprepared" in school; and that, "unprepared and unready," he "*slips* into the ranks of the unemployed" (my italics).

I would say, *is shoved.* It is time that we began to understand this "dull, devastating spiral of failure" and that we stopped attributing it to this or that characteristic of Negro life. In 1940, Edward Wight Bakke described the effects of unemployment on family structure in terms of the following model: The jobless man no longer provides, credit runs out, the woman is forced to take a job; if relief then becomes necessary, the woman is regarded even more as the center of the family; the man is dependent on her, the children are bewildered, and the stability of the family is threatened and often shattered. Bakke's research dealt strictly with white families. The fact that Negro social scientists like E. Franklin Frazier and Kenneth Clark have shown that this pattern is typical among the Negro poor does not mean, then, that it stems from some inherent Negro trait or is the ineluctable product of Negro social history. If Negroes suffer more than others from the problems of family instability today, it is not because they are Negro but because they are so disproportionately unemployed, underemployed, and ill-paid.

Anyone looking for historical patterns would do well to consider the labor market for Negroes since the Emancipation. He will find that Negro men have consistently been denied the opportunity to enter the labor force in anything like proportionate numbers, have been concentrated in the unskilled and marginal labor and service occupations, and have generally required wartime emergencies to make any advances in employment, job quality, and security. Such advances are then largely wiped out when the economy slumps again.

In 1948, for example, the rates of Negro and white unemployment were roughly equal. During the next decade, however, Negro unemployment was consistently double that of whites, and among Negro teenagers it remained at the disastrously high figure which prevailed for the entire population during the Depression. It is true that the nation's improved economic performance in recent years has reduced the percentage of jobless Negroes from 12.6 per cent, which it reached in 1958 (12.5 per cent in 1961) to roughly 8.1 per cent today. Despite this progress, the rate of Negro unemployment continues to be twice as high as white (8.13 per cent as against 4.2 per cent). In other words, job discrimination remains constant. These statistics, moreover, conceal the persistence of Negro youth unemployment: in 1961, 24.7 per cent of those Negro teenagers not in school were out of work and it is estimated that in 1966 this incredible rate will only decline to 23.2 per cent. What this figure tells us is that the rise in Negro employment has largely resulted from the calling of men with previous experience back to work. This is an ominous trend, for it is estimated that in the coming year, 20 per cent of the new entrants into the labor force will be Negro (almost twice as high as the Negro percentage of the population). Approximately half of these young Negroes will not have the equivalent of a high-school education and they will be competing in an economy in which the demand for skill and training is increasing sharply.

Thus there is bound to be a further deterioration of the Negro's economic—and hence social—position, despite the important political victories being achieved by the civil-rights movement. For many young Negroes, who are learning that economic servitude can be as effective an instrument of discrimination as racist laws, the new "freedom" has already become a bitter thing indeed. No wonder that the men of Watts were incensed by reports that the poverty program was being obstructed in Los Angeles by administrative wrangling. (As I write this, the New York *Times* reports that political rivalries and ambitions have now virtually paralyzed the program in that area.)

HOW DOES THE McCone Report propose to halt this "dull, devastating spiral of failure"? First, through education—"our fundamental resource." The commission's analysis begins with a comparison of class size in white and Negro areas (the latter are referred to throughout as "disadvantaged areas" and Negro schools, as "disadvantaged schools"). It immediately notes that classes in the disadvantaged schools are slightly smaller; on the other hand, the more experienced teachers are likely to be found in the *non*-disadvantaged areas, and there is tremendous overcrowding in the disadvantaged schools because of double sessions. The buildings in the "disadvantaged areas are in better repair"; on the other hand, there are "cafeterias in the advantaged schools" but not in the disadvantaged schools, which also have no libraries. This random balance sheet of "resources" shows no sense of priorities; moreover, despite the alarming deficiencies it uncovers in the "disadvantaged schools," the McCone Report, in consistent fashion, places its emphasis on the Negro child's "deficiency in environmental experiences" and on "his homelife [which] all too often fails to give him incentive. . . ."

The two major recommendations of the commission in this area will hardly serve to correct the imbalances revealed. The first is that elementary and junior high schools in the "disadvantaged areas" which have achievement levels substantially below the city average should be designated "Emergency Schools." In each of these schools an emergency literacy program is to be established

with a maximum of 22 students in each class and an enlarged and supportive corps of teachers. The second recommendation is to establish a permanent pre-school program to help prepare three- and four-year-old children to read and write.

W. T. Bassett, executive secretary of the Los Angeles AFL-CIO, has criticized the report for its failure to deal with education and training for adolescents and adults who are no longer in school. Another glaring omission is of a specific plan to decrease school segregation. While most of us now agree that the major goal of American education must be that of quality integrated schools, we cannot, as even the report suggests, achieve the quality without at the same time moving toward integration. The stated goal of the McCone Commission, however, is to "reverse the trend of de facto segregation" by improving the quality of the Negro schools: in short, separate but equal schools that do not disturb the existing social patterns which isolate the Negro child in his "disadvantaged areas."

That the commission's explicit concern for Negro problems falls short of its implicit concern for the status quo is also evident in its proposals for housing. It calls for the liberalization of credit and FHA-insured loans in "disadvantaged areas," the implementation of rehabilitation measures and other urban-renewal programs and, as its particular innovation, the creation of a "wide area data bank." Meanwhile it refuses to discuss, much less to criticize, the effect of Proposition 14 or to recommend a new fair-housing code. To protect the Negro against discrimination, the McCone Report supports the creation of a Commission on Human Relations, but does not present any proposals that would enable it to do more than collect information and conduct public-relations campaigns.

THE MOST crucial section of the report is the one on employment and, not unexpectedly, it is also the most ignorant, unimaginative, and conservative—despite its dramatic recommendation that 50,000 new jobs be created. On the matter of youth unemployment, the report suggests that the existing federal projects initiate a series of "attitudinal training" programs to help young Negroes develop the necessary motivation to hold on to these new jobs which are to come from somewhere that the commission keeps secret. This is just another example of the commission's continued reliance on public relations, and of its preoccupation with the "dull, devastating spiral" of Negro failure. The truth of the matter is that Negro youths cannot change their attitudes until they see that they can get jobs. When what they see is unemployment and their Economic Opportunity programs being manipulated in behalf of politicians, their attitudes will remain realistically cynical.

Once again, let me try to cut through the obscurantism which has increasingly come to cloud this issue of Negro attitudes. I am on a committee which administers the Apprenticeship Training Program of the Workers Defense League. For many years the League had heard that there were not enough Negro applicants to fill the various openings for apprenticeship training and had also repeatedly been told by vocational-school counselors that Negro students could not pay attention to key subjects such as English and mathematics. The League began its own recruitment and placement program two years ago and now has more than 500 apprentice applicants on file. When, last fall, Local 28 of the Sheetmetal Workers Union—to take one example—announced that a new admission test for apprentices was to be given soon, the League contacted those applicants who had indicated an interest in sheetmetal work. The young men came to the office, filled out a 10-page application form, filed a ten-dollar fee, and returned it to the Local 28 office. Then, five nights a week for three weeks, they came to Harlem, in many cases from Brooklyn and Queens, to be tutored. Most of the young men showed up for all fifteen sessions, and scored well on the test. At their interviews they were poised and confident. Eleven of these men finally were admitted to a class of 33. The WDL doesn't attribute this success to a miraculous program; it merely knows that when young people are told that at the end of a given period of study those who perform well will obtain decent work, then their attitudes will be markedly different from those who are sent off to a work camp with vague promises.

To cut the cost of job training programs, the McCone Commission avers that compensation "should not be necessary for those trainees who are receiving welfare support." Earlier in the report the authors point out that welfare services tend to destroy family life by giving more money to a woman who lives alone; yet they have the audacity to ask that the practice of not allowing men who are on family relief to earn an additional income be maintained for young men who are working and being trained. How is a young man to be adequately motivated if he cannot feel that his work is meaningful and necessary? The McCone Report would have us say to him, "There, there, young man, we're going to keep you off the streets —just putter around doing this make-work." But the young man knows that he can collect welfare checks and also hustle on street corners to increase his earnings. A man's share of a welfare allotment is pitifully small, but more than that, he should be paid for his work; and if one is interested in his morale, he should not be treated as a charity case.

Continuing with the problem of employment, the report recommends that "there should immediately be developed in the affected area a job training and placement center through the combined efforts of Negroes, employers, labor unions and government." In the absence of actual jobs, this would mean merely setting up a new division,

albeit voluntary, of the unemployment insurance program. "Federal and state governments should seek to insure through development of new facilities and additional means of communication that advantage is taken of government and private training programs and employment opportunities in our disadvantaged communities." Perhaps the only thing the Job Corps program doesn't lack is publicity: last summer it received ten times as many applications as it could handle. Nor can new types of information centers and questionnaires provide 50,000 new jobs. They may provide positions for social workers and vocational counselors, but very few of them will be unemployed Negroes.

The report goes on: "Legislation should be enacted requiring employers with more than 250 employees and all labor unions to report annually to the state Fair Employment Practices Commission, the racial composition of the work force and membership." But an FEP Commission that merely collects information and propaganda is powerless. And even with the fullest cooperation of labor and management to promote equality of opportunity, the fact remains that there are not enough jobs in the Los Angeles area to go around, even for those who are fortunate enough to be included in the retraining programs. As long as unions cannot find work for many of their own members, there is not much they can do to help unemployed Negroes. And the McCone Report places much of its hope in private enterprise, whose response so far has been meager. The highest estimate of the number of jobs given to Los Angeles Negroes since the Watts crisis is less than 1,000.

THE NEGRO slums today are ghettoes of despair. In Watts, as elsewhere, there are the unemployable poor: the children, the aging, the permanently handicapped. No measure of employment or of economic growth will put an end to their misery, and only government programs can provide them with a decent way of life. The care of these people could be made a major area of job growth. Los Angeles officials could immediately train and put to work women and unemployed youths as school attendants, recreation counselors, practical nurses, and community workers. The federal government and the state of California could aid the people of Watts by beginning a massive public-works program to build needed housing, schools, hospitals, neighborhood centers, and transportation facilities: this, too, would create new jobs. In short, they could begin to develop the $100-billion freedom budget advocated by A. Philip Randolph.

Such proposals may seem impractical and even incredible. But what is truly impractical and incredible is that America, with its enormous wealth, has allowed Watts to become what it is and that a commission empowered to study this explosive situation should come up with answers that boil down to voluntary actions by business and labor, new public-relations campaigns for municipal agencies, and information-gathering for housing, fair-employment, and welfare departments. The Watts manifesto is a response to realities that the McCone Report is barely beginning to grasp. Like the liberal consensus which it embodies and reflects, the commission's imagination and political intelligence appear paralyzed by the hard facts of Negro deprivation it has unearthed, and it lacks the political will to demand that the vast resources of contemporary America be used to build a genuinely great society that will finally put an end to these deprivations. And what is most impractical and incredible of all is that we may very well continue to teach impoverished, segregated, and ignored Negroes that the only way they can get the ear of America is to rise up in violence.

Note: This article was written previous to the March, 1966 disturbances in Watts.

DISTRIBUTED BY: A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

100-157790-170

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DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

b6
b7C

FD-263 (Rev. 9-17-65)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	DEC 21 1966	5/21-12/13/66

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
BAYARD RUSTIN	[redacted]	mmc

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM-C

REFERENCE

Report of SA [redacted], at NY, 6/30/66.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Since referenced report, BAYARD RUSTIN and STANLEY LEVISON, secret member of the Communist Party were in contact on several occasions; however, these contacts included MARTIN LUTHER KING, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC and others, and always concerned the business of KING and the SCLC. In view of the fact that those contacts were in regard to KING and the SCLC, they are not being reported herein. But instead, they have been reported in the CIRM and KING cases.

1 - USIA Office of Security per name check request dated 11/7/68

Case has been: Pending over one year [X] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-158790-171 REC-62

DEC 22 1966

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3 - New York (100-46729)

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SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD BUS

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	State, CIA, AAG Yeagley			
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	1/10/67	—	—	
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	JJD/mm			385

Notations

REC'D
CC TO:
SURV. CONTROL

53 JAN 12 1967

The pretext interview mentioned in the report during which time RUSTIN's employment was verified, was conducted by SA [redacted] on 12/12/66. He represented himself as a school teacher who was trying to get in touch with RUSTIN for the purpose of discussing RUSTIN's ideas on how to end slum conditions in the urban areas. b6 b7C

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source		File Number Where Located
NY T-1 [redacted]		Instant report
NY T-2 [redacted]		
NY T-3 [redacted]	Used to Characterize GIL GREEN	
NY T-4 [redacted]	Used to Characterize BLYDEN JACKSON	
NY T-5 [redacted]		
NY T-6 CG 5824-S*	Used to Characterize HERBERT APTHEKER	

b2 b7D b2 b2 b7D b2 b7D b2

The following are the sources who were contacted in December, 1966, but could furnish no information concerning BAYARD RUSTIN:

Identity of Source	Date Contacted
[redacted]	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966

b2 b7D

NY 100-46729

INFORMANTS CONT'D

Identity of Source	Date Contacted
[redacted]	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966
	December, 1966

b2
b7D

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will continue to follow and report the activities of BAYARD RUSTIN.

FD-305a (Rev.-9-19-62)

NY 100-46729

1. [X] Subject's name is included in Section [X] A or [ ] B of the Reserve Index.

2. [X] The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card are current.

3. [ ] Changes on the Section A Reserve Index Card are necessary and Form FD-122a has been submitted to the Bureau.

4. [X] A suitable photograph [X] is [ ] is not available.

5. [ ] Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.

6. [X] This report is classified "Confidential" because (state reason) it contains information from sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize the security of the source which, in turn, could be detrimental to the defense interests of the US. These sources are NY T-2, NY T-3, NY T-4, NY T-5 and NY T-6.

7. [X] Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of RUSTIN's hostility toward the Bureau. This hostility was especially obvious following the Director's statement that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was a liar. Following that statement, RUSTIN made some very derogatory statements about the Director.

8. [ ] This case no longer meets the Section A Reserve Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Section A Reserve Index card.

9. [X] This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Reserve Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of RUSTIN's membership in the Young Communist League from 1936 until 1941, as well as his contacts with a Communist as reported in this report.

- D* -
COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: [redacted]/ats
Date: DEC 21 1966

Office: New York, New York

b6
b7C

Field Office File #: 100-46729

Bureau File #: 100-158790

Title: BAYARD RUSTIN

Character: SECURITY MATTER-C

Synopsis: BAYARD RUSTIN as of 12/12/66, was executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, NYC, and resided at 340 West 28th Street, NYC. On 10/11/66, GIL GREEN, Chairman, New York District of CP and BLYDEN JACKSON, were in contact during which time GREEN told JACKSON that he and HERBERT APTHEKER should attend a meeting that date, at the Philip Randolph Institute. JACKSON said he had been told by RUSTIN that his presence was not necessary.

-P*-

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Employment

On December 7, 1966, "The New York Times" reported on page 32, the proceedings of the Senate Committee hearings on urban affairs which was held in Washington, D.C., on December 6, 1966. The article, captioned "Two More Score U.S. On Help for Poor", said BAYARD RUSTIN, whom it identified as executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, testified on December 6, 1966.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
[illegible] ROUTING
[illegible] declassification
DATE 3-8-77 GD/ion

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The A. Philip Randolph Institute is a service center and clearing house for civil rights organizations. It is named after its founder, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), and its purpose is basically educational.

The headquarters of the Institute are located at 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York.

On December 12, 1966, as a consequence of a pretext interview with a female receptionist at the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SA, FBI) ascertained that BAYARD RUSTIN was at that time the executive director of the Institute.

B. Residence

As of December 12, 1966, BAYARD RUSTIN resided at 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York.

NY T-1
December 12, 1966

II. COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATION and ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST LEADERS

On October 11, 1966, GIL GREEN and BLYDEN JACKSON were in contact during which time GREEN mentioned that a meeting would take place that afternoon in the office of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. GREEN said that the meeting had been called by RANDOLPH and BAYARD RUSTIN to discuss ways to preserve the New York City Police Review Board. In addition, to RUSTIN and RANDOLPH, civil rights leaders from the Bedford-Stuyvesant area would attend, GREEN stated. GREEN told BLYDEN JACKSON that he and HERBERT APTHEKER should attend the meeting.

JACKSON said he had already spoken to RUSTIN and RUSTIN had indicated that it was not necessary for them to attend. GREEN said he did not think that that was good politics, but went along with JACKSON's decision not to go.

NY T-2
October 11, 1966

GIL GREEN is Chairman of the New York District Communist Party (CP) and a member of the District Board and Committee.

NY T-3
July 13, 1966

BLYDEN JACKSON was in attendance at the first session of the New York District CP Convention held at Central Plaza, New York City, on June 10, 1966.

NY T-4
June 13, 1966

HERB APTHEKER was listed as a delegate to the 18th New York District CP Convention, held June, 1966, as a representative of the Forum Club, King County CP.

NY T-5
June 30, 1966

APTHEKER, at the 18th National Convention, Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA) in June, 1966, was elected a member of the CP National Committee.

NY T-6
June 26, 1966

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Sources cognizant of certain phases of Communist Party activities in the New York area, were contacted during December, 1966, but none furnished any information concerning the subject.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.
Bu 100-158790
NY 100-46729

DEC 21 1966

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-21-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Title Bayard Rustin

Character Security Matter-C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York, New York. b6 b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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FBI

Date: 12/19/66

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446080)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153751) (RUC)

SUBJECT: STOKELY CARMICHAEL
IS - SNCC

[redacted] b6 b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM pertaining to a debate held at Hunter College on 12/14/66, between STOKELY CARMICHAEL and BAYA[redacted] RUSTIN.

[redacted] b2 b6 b7C b7D

First Source is [redacted], who furnished inform[redacted] to SA [redacted].

Second Source is [redacted], who furnished information to SA [redacted]

b6 b7C

Third Source is [redacted].

Fourth Source is [redacted].

Fifth Source is [redacted].

[redacted] b2 b2 b7D

ENCLOSURE

3- Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
2- Atlanta (100-6812) (Encls. 2) (RM)
5- New York
(1- 100-147963) (SNCC)
(1- [redacted]
(1- [redacted]
(1- 100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN)

JCS:jmr
(11)

file cc/airtel memo 100-158790 (Rustin)

100-158790-
NOT RECORDED
93 JAN 9 1967

100-446080-
4 DEC 20 1966

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER.; [redacted] ORD, RAO
DATE FORM: 12/27/66
NEW YORK: RIS
PTB/CC

ENCLOSURE
C. C. Wick

INT. (ACS)

ICC: AT + 1XC + LHM 9229+5

Approved: 7385 JAN 1967 Sent _____ M Per _____
53 Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-446080-102

Dissemination is being made locally to 108th INTC, ONI, OSI and Secret Service

The LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from confidential sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which will reveal their identity.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
December 19, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Stokely Carmichael

The confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on December 15, 1966, that Stokely Carmichael and Bayard Rustin debated on December 14, 1966, at Hunter College, New York. The topic of debate was on the future of the Negro Movement For Civil Rights.

Carmichael and Rustin both agreed that if the Negro did not get what he thinks he is entitled to, there will be more riots and insurrections.

Carmichael said there are two types of "blocks" against the Negro, mainly the individual block where an individual takes up his own means of obstructing the Negro's advances for civil rights. Second is the institutional block as exemplified by discrimination against the Negroes in schools,

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ON 2-23-77

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AND [illegible]
[illegible]
STEP(S) OF declassification
DATE 3-14-77 GD/[illegible]

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ENCLOSURE

100-158790-
ENCLOSURE

discrimination in housing by landlords and the power regime which hinders the Negro cause.

Carmichael's estimate of the progress of integration was that of merely a "filtering off" of the Negroes which are "accepted" into the white society such as "college guys or professional men" - these are the ones who manage to leave the ghettos and enter the white society.

Carmichael then defended "black power" as a means for the Negro to gain self-esteem and prestige through economic means or through whatever means necessary that is available. According to Carmichael, insurrection was also a means to gain civil rights.

Bayard Rustin, during the debate, was more conservative in his approach to civil rights. Rustin explained the Negro must align himself to the power regime and by this way secure his rights through aligning himself with the majority. According to Rustin, the Negro must work with the "white power" structure for mutual gain.

Rustin further stated that unemployment in the ghettos is going up by leaps and bounds caused by automation and union discrimination. Unemployment, states Rustin, is what breeds insurrection and not the direct contact between the white and the Negro. Unemployment and the "ghetto situation" states Rustin, are what breeds insurrection, it's the feeling of depression.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 16, 1966, that a debate between Stokely Carmichael and Bayard Rustin on the topic of "black power" versus the "Freedom Budget" was held at Hunter College on February 14, 1966, at New York City. Robert X Perkins ~~of the Brookline Congress of Racial Equality~~ was the Moderator.

Stokely Carmichael

Carmichael, when introduced on the stage, began counting the microphones in order to "see which one belonged to the CIA". He then proceeded to tell the audience that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and his concept of "black power", is "to control the community by the inhabitants, control - politically, economically and socially". He said no one can support a racist country that "enjoys the sweat that comes from our brothers in South Africa, Latin America and Vietnam". This very same Government, states Carmichael, promotes injustice by supporting apartheid, South Africa. Carmichael said the "Freedom Budget" is not a step forward for it "automatically supports the war in Vietnam."

Carmichael accused President (Lyndon B.) Johnson of being hypocritical when he said that Negroes could help themselves by joining their local democratic parties and yet said Carmichael, "that man did not repudiate the racists of his own party, giving as an example Senator Eastman and Ross Barnett".

Bayard Rustin called upon the people, both black and white to unite around his "Freedom Budget". He said as Negroes "we cannot succeed alone for we are only 10 per cent of the population". Rustin further stated "we must not keep the whites guessing or wondering whether they will be welcome into our program". He said the only way it could work is if we act together both Negro and white. He then challenged Carmichael to show him in "A, B, and C" his program for lifting the Negro. Carmichael answered by saying it was his organization, SNCC, that founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Carmichael then challenged Rustin on why he and A. Philip Randolph (of the Railroad Porters ~~Union~~) supported President Johnson in the 1964 election. USA

Stokely Carmichael

Rustin replied by saying he supported "President Johnson because he was the lesser of two evils", and though he took a position on President Johnson in 1964, today "it is somewhat modified". Carmichael replied by saying that it is about time for this country to say we do not vote for evil men, that "this is a racist society and the country is racist from the top to the bottom, from left to right".

Later on in his speech, Carmichael said that the political system in this country is outdated and that we need new forms. He stated "if you can't control the politics, you can't control the economy". He further stated that President Johnson must stop the Civil Rights Movement because it is a threat to his great society.

Stokely Carmichael publicly withdrew his name as a supporter of the "Freedom Budget".

The "New York Times", dated December 15, 1966, Page 34, contained an article captioned "Carmichael Says U.S. Cities May Be in Constant Revolt". This article reads as follows:

"Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said last night, 'Lyndon Baines Johnson had better wake up or all our cities will be in a constant state of insurrection.'

"Mr. Carmichael also said, 'It is still a sad day when a Negro with a Ph.D from M.I.T. cannot earn as much as Lynda Bird.'

"His remarks came in a panel discussion at Hunter College, New York City.

Stokely Carmichael

"Another speaker, Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and architect of the 1963 March on Washington, agreed.

"He said, 'If Negro youngsters riot in the streets tomorrow it is not our responsibility as Negro parents, but the society's responsibility. If there is disorder, Johnson himself is to blame because he has cut away the little carrot we had.'"

Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael is Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The April, May, June, 1966 issue of "Rights", a self-described publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), states that at the annual meeting of the National Council of the ECLC, which was held in New York City on April 23, 1966, "Stokely Carmichael, organization executive, Atlanta," was elected a member of the National Council of the ECLC.

A characterization of the ECLC is attached hereto.

Bayard Rustin

In "The Saturday Evening Post" magazine, issue of July 11-18, 1964, Page 76, contained an article captioned "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." This article in part states that Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL) and as such had a job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the

article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, states the article.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 11, 1957, Page I, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA - held in New York City on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication which ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that "Rustin calls me constantly - openly".

A fourth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19 - 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

Stokely Carmichael

A fifth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

The "New York Times", newspaper, dated August 24, 1964, Page 27, Column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, Communist Party, USA, died in New York City on August 22, 1964.

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

"1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists. * * *'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9; 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-21-2009

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

~~SECRET~~ FBI

Date: 10/13/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)

RE: CIRM

Bayard Rustin

Re Atlanta teletypes to Bureau 10/6, 11, 12/66 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7 copies and for New York 6 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]

(U) Source utilized to characterize [redacted]

[redacted]. Source utilized to characterize LEVISON is NY 694-S*

Sources utilized to characterize RUSTIN are [redacted] and [redacted]. Source utilized to characterize DAVIS is [redacted] Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are [redacted] and Anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted] 7/19/50 at WFO re [redacted]"

ICCATS LHM92 4940

100-158790-

NOT RECORDED
172 OCT 18 1966

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
6 - New York (Enc. 6) (RM)
(1 - 100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
9 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6670)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-5586) (M. L. KING, JR.)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 157-973) (JUNIUS GRIFFIN)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 157-257) (RALPH ABERNATHY)
(1 - 157-895) (HOSEA WILLIAMS)
(1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)

AGS:cmp
(18)

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-

OCT 14 1966

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE PROCESS
DATE: 3/13/91 9803 RD/DRT
82-1652 CN 87,063

b2
b6
b7C
b7D
OTHER Court Order

b6
b7C

b2
b7D

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Declassified by 273 QUEL/DWS
Declassify on: OADR 9/12/89
Group 1 (b)(1)(b)(7)
82-1652

ORIGINAL FILED IN

AGENCY: ACSI, ORL, OSI
DATE: 10/14/66

~~SECRET~~

54 OCT 26 1966

Special Agents making observations referred to in the enclosed LHM are SAS [redacted], CHARLES S. HARDING, and [redacted]. b6 b7C

The news broadcast referred to was monitored by SA HARDING.

Interview of RUSTIN at the Atlanta Airport was observed from a most discreet distance. RUSTIN was approached by personnel of station WSB within moments of alighting from his flight. He appeared to display no objection to this interview which was conducted in public view. JONES, LEVISON, WACHTEL, and the Negro male who met them stood nearby during this interview. News media personnel appeared to display no interest whatsoever in JONES, LEVISON or WACHTEL.

This interview negates possible counterintelligence consideration referred to in my tel 10/11/66.

In connection with the meeting 10/13, 14/66 referred to in the enclosed LHM, the following is of interest.

[redacted] b2 b7D

The foregoing has not been included in the enclosed LHM in view of informant's security [redacted] b7D

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted] AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THIS SOURCE TO UNAUTHORIZED INDIVIDUALS COULD REASONABLY RESULT IN JEOPARDIZING HIS SECURITY. b2 b7D

(U) The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information furnished by NY 694-S [redacted] and [redacted]. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature. (S) b2

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
October 13, 1966 ~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVIED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-22-2009

Classified by 275 WEW/DMS
Declassify on: OADR 9/12/89 Levison 82-1659 ~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Ga.

On October 5, 1966, a confidential source advised that during the forepart of October, 1966, Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), informed ANDREW J. YOUNG, Executive Director, SCLC, that he had scheduled a "special program" meeting to be held October 13, 14, 1966 in the executive suite of the University Plaza Apartments, Atlanta. He said this meeting would review existing programs of SCLC and discuss some future programs. If possible, consideration would be afforded methods of raising sorely needed income for SCLC.

According to Reverend KING, in addition to himself and YOUNG, the following officers of SCLC would attend the meeting to which he referred.

Negro Ga.

JUNIUS CRIFFIN, Director of Public Relations and Office Administrator, SCLC.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mrs. DOROTHY F. COTTON, Director of Citizenship, SCLC.

RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC.

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education, SCLC.

Ga.

Reverend KING said CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN and HARRY WACHTEL would also attend this meeting.

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) DATE: 3/13/91 9803 RDD/DMJ 82-1652/CK 87,063

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 ON 2-23-7

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ declassification
DATE 3-14-77 GD/192

ENCLOSURE
100-158790

~~ENCLOSURE~~

~~SECRET~~ 100-44[illegible]

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS ~~SECRET~~

On October 10, 1966, the Atlanta Constitution, a daily Atlanta newspaper, on page 9 of its morning edition, published an article captioned "King Weighs Opposing All Black Power Groups" bylined GENE ROBERTS. This article referred to an interview of Reverend KING on October 9, 1966 regarding divergence of policy among various civil rights organizations and the need for unification thereof. The article credited Reverend KING with saying he felt there was now a need for SCLC to decide " - - whether the philosophies of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the black power organizations are so diametrically opposed we can't get together." In this connection the article continued "He added that he and his top aides would try to reach a decision on this question on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, when he has scheduled a closed door meeting to discuss ways of combating a new wave of white backlash."

Special Agents of the FBI, on October 12, 1966, observed CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON, BAYARD RUSTIN, and HARRY WACHTEL arrive at the Atlanta Airport at 7:10 p.m., via Eastern Airlines flight number 103. These individuals were met by a male Negro (identity not known) driving a 1965 Ford country sedan bearing 1966 Georgia registration 1J-45510. They shortly thereafter proceeded in the aforementioned automobile to University Plaza Apartments, Inc., 635 Fair Street, S. W., Atlanta, which they entered at 7:58 p.m.

In a news broadcast commencing at 11:00 p.m., October 12, 1966, station WSB TV, Atlanta presented a brief interview of BAYARD RUSTIN conducted October 12, 1966 at the Atlanta Airport. Introductory comments to this interview stated RUSTIN was in Atlanta to attend an SCLC conference pertaining to "black power." The interview of RUSTIN was essentially limited to several comments by him in opposition to the qualifications of Georgia Gubernatorial candidate LESTER G. MADDOX of Atlanta.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Records of the Georgia State Motor Vehicle Bureau, Atlanta, on October 12, 1966, revealed 1966 Georgia registration 1J-45510 was currently issued to SCLC.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A confidential source advised on February 26, 1957, that he had identified a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of, and in a position of leadership in, the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was
(U) described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism. (S)

BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA) held in New York City on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

A confidential source advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York. OTHER Court Order

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that [redacted]

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

A confidential source advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times," August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-22-2009

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
October 13, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

FD 323

~~SECRET~~

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

REC-73
100-158790-172

January 18, 1967

[redacted]

EX-115

[redacted]

[redacted]

Your letter of January 10th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, it is contrary to my policy to furnish the type of evaluation you requested. You may wish to know that the FBI has never investigated the John Birch Society.

MAILED 6
JAN 18 1967
COMM-FBI

With respect to your request regarding Bayard Rustin, I am enclosing an excerpt from my testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations which I hope will be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure
Testimony of Director regarding Bayard Rustin before House Subcommittee
NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent. Bayard Rustin is an ex-convict who is well-known to the Bureau from his activities in civil rights matters. He led the March on Washington, has been arrested on sex charges and is a former member of the Young Communist League. In October, 1965, it was necessary to cancel the lecture of a Bureau representative at the University of Maryland because Bayard Rustin had also been invited to speak. (94-1-8001-212; 100-158790)

EFT:jah (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

77 FEB 1 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

TRUE COPY

Jan 10, 1967

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

We have a teacher in our school who is considered a radical liberal and misinformed about some of the communists movements in our country today. She teaches History and Negro History. Many parents object to her teachings.

I am not a John Birch Society member nor do I want to interfere with the teachers. But I am troubled about a remark she made on my sons paper regarding his Essay on Civil Rights. At the end of his essay he writes he does believe the Civil Rights movement was being used by the communists and that Martin Luther King's right hand man Bayard Rustin was a well known communist as well as many others in this Civil Rights movement.

She wrote a note on his papers as follows: "Bayard Rustin is one of the most respected men in the Civil Rights movement today. What is the source of the communist accusations? Dr. Martin Luther King has not planned any riots. He is committed to peaceful non-violent protest marches and demonstrations."

My boy got his information for this essay from a book by Allen Stang "Its very Simple" & "Masters of Deciet." How reliable is Allen Stang's book?

Please let me hear your comment on this and mail me some reliable literature on this man Rustin all about his background and his present activities so I can give it to her at the next P. T. A. conference. Also I would like to know how reliable is the John Birch Society literature they are distributing.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

EX-115

100-158790-172

JAN 20 1967

b6
b7C

ITC
1-16-67 nml
sep
ack 18
1-17-67
EFT sep/jeh

8-Eft

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Jan 10, 1967

Best Copy Available

Edgar J. Hoover
Federal Bureau Of Investigation
Washington D.C.

We have a teacher in our school who is considered a radical liberal and misinformed about some of the Communists movements in our country today. She teaches History and Negro History. Many parents object to her teachings.

I am not a John Birch Society member nor do I want to interfere with the teachers. But I am troubled about a remark she made on my sons paper regarding his Essay on Civil Rights. At the end of his essay he writes he does believe the Civil Rights movement was being used by the Communists and that Martin Luther King's right hand man Bayard Rustin was a well known Communist as well as many others in this Civil Rights movement.

CORRESPONDENCE

ITC 1-16-67 sep

She wrote a note on his papers as follows "Bayard Rustin is one of the most respected men in the Civil Rights movement today. What is the source of the Communist accusation Dr. Martin Luther King has not planned any"

nml

ACK 1-17-67 EFT/jab

Best Copy Available

riots. He is committed to peaceful non-violent protest marches and demonstrations."

My boy got his information for this essay from a book by "Allen Stang "Its very Simple" & masters of Deciet." How reliable is Allen Stang's book?

Please let me hear your comment on this and mail me some reliable literature on this man Rustin all about his background and his present activities so I can give it to her at the next P.T.A. conference. Also I would like to know how reliable is the John Birch Society literature they are distributing.

Sincerely Yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

REC'D-CORP & CORS
FBI
JAN 13 10 51 AM '67

79 80 NYC CI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529) DATE: 1/18/67

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47672) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

9

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and eight copies of an LHM concerning BAYARD T. RUSTIN's appearance in Downingtown, Pa., on 1/4/67. Two copies are being furnished New York for information.

The sources utilized in the attached LHM are [redacted] and [redacted].

RUSTIN, BAYARD b2

The attached LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as data reported by the above sources, if disclosed, could reasonably result in their identification and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

[redacted] b6 b7C

100-442529-2055

ORIGINAL FILED IN

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER.; ISD, CRD, RAO
DATE FORM: 1/26/67
NOT FORM: RS
BY: DMW/ci
ICC Ref & LHM 924 910

MCT-12

100-158790

NOT RECORDED
183 JAN 26 1967

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (100-442529) (Enc. 9) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - 100- (CIRM)
1 - 100- (BAYARD T. RUSTIN)
1 - Philadelphia (100-47672)

CJW/JBK
(5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-82

100-442529-2055

ST-114

4 JAN 19 1967

INT. SEC.

f476

61 FEB 1 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

Best Copy Available

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

January 18, 1967

BAYARD T. RUSTIN

On page 11, of the January 6, 1967, issue of "The Evening Bulletin," Philadelphia newspaper, Philadelphia, Pa., there appeared an article entitled "Rustin Denounces Negroes Who Refuse Help of Whites." According to this article BAYARD T. RUSTIN attended a testimonial dinner for the Reverend E. MARSHALL BEVINS at the Downingtown Motor Inn, Downingtown, Chester County, Pa. Father BEVINS, age 46, resigned last month from his post as Vicar of two small Episcopal churches in Chester County because he split with his congregation on civil rights. RUSTIN told the more than 200 persons who attended this dinner that Father BEVINS is one of those white men whom Negroes need. It is not the radical group of the right, such as the John Birch Society, that hurt the drive of Negroes for equality. It is rather the apathy of the good people who know what is the right thing to do but don't do it. RUSTIN also denounced as "idiots and fools" those Negroes who want to exclude whites from the civil rights movement. He noted the attempts of several civil rights leaders to drive whites out of the movement as reverse racism. White men who have the courage and nobility to stand up for equality for all men are needed by the Negroes and "we want them in the movement."

In the "Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] declassification
DATE 3-14-77 GD/[illegible]

100-158790

ENCLOSURE

Best Copy Available

CONFIDENTIAL

BAYARD T. RUSTIN

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CPUSA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

On September 25, 1959, PH T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that during a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA, on September 24, 1959, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, 'RUSTIN calls on constantly--openly.'

On February 19 and 20, 1964, PH T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on February 19 and 20, 1964, and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO Director, FBI (100-158790)

DATE: 3/13/67

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(6)
DATE 05-22-2009

FROM Legat, London (100-1535) (RUC)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM - C

~~Secret~~ derivative

OO: New York

ReLonlet 8/19/65.

b1
b7D

(E)

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 3)
1 - Liaison (sent direct)
1 - London
LM:vw
(5)

Classified by 6855
Exempt from GDS, Category 1
Date of Declassification Indefinite
5/18/55 DML/CRD

Copy to New York
by routing slip for
☑ info ☐ action
date 3/23/67
by ERS/mn

REC- 58

100-158790-173

EX-114

18 MAR 17 1967

SUBV. CONTROL

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

61 MAR 27 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

COPIES DESTROYED
28 JUL 30 1974

100-158290-173

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN REG NO 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE 5/4/67

FROM Mr. W. A. Branigan

SECRET

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Cassidy

SUBJECT BAYARD RUSTIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
Gandy

b1
b2
b7D

This memorandum recommends we disseminate to the White House and the Attorney General information furnished by [redacted] informant. (S)

(S) [redacted]

(S) [redacted] information in attached letterhead memorandum should be disseminated to the White House and the Attorney General. (S)

b1
b2
b3 CIA
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-970-105-162125

ACTION:

Attached for approval is a communication prepared for dissemination to the White House and the Attorney General.

Enclosures sent 5-5-67

EX-103

100-158790
1 - 157-970
1 - 105-162125

REC 54 100-158790-174

FJC:gci
(10)

CONFIDENTIAL
Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
EBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1) (Human)
DATE 05-22-2009

6 MAY 8 1967

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND LATER OFFICES ARE NOTIFIED AS SHOWN BY (S) Classification DATE 3-1-77

Classified by: SP8BTJ/RBG
Declassify on: OADR
26045
8/2/81 SP6BTJ/WA

SECRET

Per OGA ltr dtd 5/27/2009

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1 - human)
DATE 05-22-2009
Per OGA ltr dtd 5/27/2009

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr.C.D.Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SECRET

May 5, 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

BAYARD RUSTIN

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr.Cassid

Subject resides 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York, and is Executive Director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, New York City, a service center and clearinghouse for civil rights organizations. He was a member of the Young Communist League from 1936 until 1941 and has maintained contact on a continuing basis with persons who have been publicly identified as being leaders of the Communist Party, United States of America.

Classified by SCL/STL/BG
Declassify on: OADR 26045
6/3/67

(S)

b1
b3 CIA

(S)

SENT PER NOTATION ON MEMORANDUM

The August 28, 1963, March on Washington, which created national interest, was sponsored by a number of civil rights organizations for the purpose of encouraging Congress to enact civil rights legislation. Although the Communist Party did not initiate or control this event, it used the March for the purpose of promoting its own interests and a number of Communist Party members participated.

Bayard Rustin was the Deputy Director for this activity.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of our informant, it is requested that this information be closely held.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

EX-103

REC 54
100-158790
RJC:gci
(12)
1 - 157-970
1 - 105-162125

62 MAY 15 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ADD. DISSEMINATION.

BAYARD RUSTIN

SECRET

NOTE:

See memorandum Branigan to Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 5-4-67, prepared by FJC:gcr.

(S) Classified "Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination" to provide adequate protection to source [redacted] b1 b2 b7D

(S) [redacted]

The original copy disseminated to the White House with Xerox copy to the Attorney General.

(U) [redacted] by Liaison Agent [redacted] 5-1-67. (S) b1 b3 CIA

OK to give to [illegible]

(S) [redacted] (S) b1 b3 CIA

to SA S.J. Papert, 12-16-68; also per SJ Cassedy, Div. 5.

[redacted] per [redacted] 12-18-68. b6 b7C

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10 ~~SECRET~~
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-46729) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DATE: 4/17/67

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1 - human) DATE 05-22-2009 b6 b7C

FROM : SA [redacted] (34)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM-C

Per OGA ltr dtd 5/27/2009 Per DRC dtd 8/9/95

(C) Information contained herein was obtained from [redacted] on dates indicated by SAS [redacted] the Central Intelligence Agency. [redacted] is a confidential informant, contact with whom has been insufficient to establish his reliability. (C) b1 b2 b3 CIA b6 b7C

(C) There should be no dissemination of the contents of this memorandum and information [redacted] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization. b1 b2

(C) In the event [redacted] names appear in this memorandum, they are not to be further disseminated. b1

(C) The classification given any communication prepared for dissemination outside of the Bureau containing information [redacted] will depend upon the nature and content of such information, each case standing on its own merits. Under no circumstances should a classification of less than "Confidential" be utilized. b1 b2

(C) CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN HANDLING INFORMATION RECEIVED [redacted] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT. b1 b2

(C) 1-Bureau (100-168790) (RUSTIN) -158790
2-Bureau [redacted]
1-Bureau
1-New York
1-New York
1-New York (Tickler)
1-New York (100-46729)

100-158790

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 21 1967

b1 b2 b6 b7C b7D

PBT:mfw
(8)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2/3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Memo Branigan to Sullivan (encs) 7 JC:cls 5-4-67

APPROVED ... SUBJECT ... DATE 3-11-77 (GD) Classification

~~SECRET~~

67 MAY 11 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Source advised on 3/3/67 as follows:

(S) [redacted]

b1
b3 CIA

(S) [redacted]

now 1964

b3 CIA

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-46729) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DATE: 4/3/67

Rec'd by NY airtel 4/3/67 FX

FROM : SA [redacted] (#34) b6 b7C

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM-C

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1 - human)
DATE 05-22-2009

Per OGA ltr dtd 5/27/2009 Per DRC dtd 8/9/95

(C)

(C) [redacted] Information contained herein was obtained [redacted] on dates indicated by SA [redacted] and [redacted] of the Central Intelligence Agency. [redacted] is a confidential informant who is in a position to furnish reliable information but contact with whom has been insufficient to determine the reliability of his information. (C) b1 b2 b3 CIA b6 b7C

(C) There should be no dissemination of the contents of this memorandum and information [redacted] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization. b1 b2

(C) In the event [redacted] names appear in this memorandum, they are not to be further disseminated. b1

(C) The classification given any communication prepared for dissemination outside the Bureau containing information [redacted] will depend upon the nature and content of such information, each case standing on its own merits. Under no circumstances should a classification of less than "Confidential" be utilized. b1 b2

(C) CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN HANDLING INFORMATION RECEIVED [redacted] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT. b1 b2

100-158790 -

NOT RECORDED
141 APR 10 1967

1-Bureau (100-158790) (RUSTIN) b1 b2 b7D
2-Bureau [redacted]
1-New York
1-New York (Tickler)
1-New York

PBT:mjb
(6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2.3
Date of Declassification indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND INDICATIONS APPLIED BY ACTING SHIP(S) OF Classification DATE 3-11-77 GD/192

(detached from incoming airtel from NY 4/3/67)

5

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

67 MAY 11 1967

Best Copy Available

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source advised as follows on the dates indicated:

1/24/67

Source advised that one of the leaders of the Negro movement is BIARD (Ph) or BAYARD who worked with the Soviets in the past. Source did not know whether this individual had been recruited or whether it was only a "trusted relationship" with him.

Source stated, however, that the March to Washington was organized with arrangements with the Soviets. Source also advised that following an arrest of some Soviet nationals in New York in the Fall 1963 [redacted] b1

(C) [redacted]

(C)

Source thought that BAYARD was this individual's family name but he stated in any event that this individual was a well-known personality.

1/26/67

The source advised on this date that the individual he had referred to on 1/24/67, mentioned above, is BAYARD RUSTIN.

[redacted] b3 CIA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

The Attorney General

May 5, 1967

Director, FBI

BAYARD RUSTIN
SECURITY MATTER - C

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison 1 - Mr. Cassidy

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum containing information furnished by the sensitive source referred to therein.

This information has also been furnished to Mrs. Mildred Stegall at the White House.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

100-158790

1 - 157-970
1 - 105-162125

FJC:gci
(12)

NOTE: Classified "Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination" since it transmits memorandum containing information so classified.

REC- 28 100-158790-175

EX-103 3 MAY 8 1967

MAILED
APR 2 1966
COMM-FBI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP OF declassification
DATE 3-8-77 FDI

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-87
SP 8 BT 57 RBG 6/24/86
SP 3 SP 6 BJ IVA 7/31/87
260457

Colson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM
2 11 33 AM '67

62 MAY 12 1967

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

T[illegible] / NO FOREIGN DIS[illegible]N

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

May 5, 1967

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Cassidy

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D. C.

BAYARD [illegible] RUSTIN

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

Enclosed is a memorandum containing information furnished by the sensitive source referred to therein, which I thought would be of interest to the President.

This information has also been disseminated to the Attorney General.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

REC-40 100-158790-176

Enclosure

100-158790
1 - 157-970
1 - 105-162125

Delivered to Mildred Stegall on 5-5-67

15 MAY 8 1967

FJC:gci
(11)

NOTE: Classified "Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination" since it transmits memorandum containing information so classified.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

FBI
MAIL ROOM

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

5 6 MAY 12 1967

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1 - human)
DATE 05-22-2009 Per DRC dtd 8/9/95

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-158790) DATE: 6/12/67

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-46729) ~~TOP SECRET~~

Document downgraded to Secret on 6/19/2007 by AUC 60324 BAW.

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
SM - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re New York report of SA [redacted], dated 12/21/66. u

b6
b7C

The investigation of BAYARD RUSTIN was precipitated by his membership in the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1938. By his own admission, RUSTIN was an organizer for the YCL in New York. However, according to RUSTIN, he left the "Party" in 1941. u

As an observer for the War Resisters League, RUSTIN attended the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party (CP) held in NYC, February 9-12, 1957. u

It was as a consequence of RUSTIN's early subversive activities in the YCL that the Bureau's interest heightened when he became a close associate and advisor to MARTIN LUTHER KING, the President of the SCLC, and director of the March on Washington, August, 1963. At one time during that association, RUSTIN and STANLEY LEVISON were KING's most sought after advisors. u

During this period, RUSTIN, according to a highly confidential source of the NYO, contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, the National Secretary of the CP, USA, and sought his advice on how to get excused from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. Shortly thereafter, DAVIS died, thus ending that relationship. u

As far as the relationship between KING and RUSTIN is concerned, RUSTIN is rarely consulted since he is full-time director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a service center u

2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York

REC 37 100-158790-177

JMK:pam
(3)

Classified by 6655
Exempt from GDS, Category 2+3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
5/13/77

EX 106

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

3 JUN 13 1967

56 JUN 20 1967

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUBV. CONTROL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

and clearing house for civil rights organizations. KING seldom mentions RUSTIN's name, according to [redacted] a source which furnishes information about STANLEY LEVISON and his relationship with MARTIN LUTHER KING and the SCLC. In fact, the same source advised on 6/11/67, that KING described RUSTIN as a tired "radical who wants to be secure and will no longer go out on a limb". This, in NYO's opinion, accurately pictures RUSTIN's feelings about KING and the SCLC. u b2

Since re report, there has been no information received indicating contact between RUSTIN and the CP or any of its members other than LEVISON. His contacts with LEVISON always concern KING and the SCLC. LEVISON and RUSTIN do not have a fondness for each other. u

(S) In New York memoranda of SA [redacted], dated 4/3 and 7/67, copies of which were furnished to the RUSTIN file at the Bureau, information was reported [redacted] which disclosed a relationship [redacted] According to the source, RUSTIN apprised the [redacted] about actions in the Negro movement. Source was unable to state whether RUSTIN was [redacted] or had a "trusted relationship" [redacted] Subsequently, RUSTIN became under suspicion which caused the [redacted] ~~TS~~ (S) b1 b2 b6 b7C

Pursuant to instructions contained in SA [redacted] memorandum, no dissemination outside the Bureau is to be made without approval of the Bureau. Consequently, this is not being included in report form. u b6 b7C

In light of the fact that RUSTIN's relationship with KING has diminished to almost nothing and in view of a lack of reportable subversive information, no report is being submitted at this time. Furthermore, unless advised to the contrary, this case is being closed subject to being re-opened in order to prepare an annual report for submission on 12/21/67. u

The following sources were contacted in June, 1967, but furnished no information concerning RUSTIN's affiliation with the CP: u

b2
b7D

[redacted]

TOP SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

June 28, 1967

REC-21 100-138790 178

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of June 22nd and certainly appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

In response to your inquiry, I am enclosing an excerpt from my testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on February 10, 1966, which is the only information I can furnish you concerning Bayard Rustin.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with [redacted]

HRH:mlb (3)

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MAILED 30
JUN 28 1967
COMM-FBI

51 JUL 12 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

b6
b7C

TRUE COPY

[redacted]

June 22, 1967

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

To Whom it may concern,

In the June issue of the steel workers publication, "Steel Labor," an article states that Bayard Rustin, the executive director of the Phillips Randolph Institute, has been touring the country to work up support for a $100 Billion Dollars for a "Freedom buget." This is supported by U.S.W.A. President, I. W. Abel and dozens of other labor, religious and civil rights leaders.

According to the John Birch Society, Bayard Rustin is a leading communist figure in the United States. Some of my fellow workers and I do not want to pay union dues if it is helping a known Communist or communist cause.

I would like the following questions answered:

1. Is Bayard Rustin now active as a communist?
2. Has he been a member of the Communist Party; if so, up to what date?
3. Can you disclose his Criminal career, if he has one, as stated by the John Birch Society?

Any help in clarifing the conflicting statements of the John Birch Society news and the Steel Labor news, would be appreciated.

REC-21 100-158790 178

Sincerely yours,

/s/

[redacted]

16 JUN 30 1967

ITC: 6-27-67
ack: 6-28-67
NRH:

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Ju[redacted] 22, 1967

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

To Whom it may concern,

In the June issue of the steel workers publication, "Steel Labor", an article states that Bayard Rustin, the executive director of the Phillips Randolph Institute, has been touring the country to work up support for a $100 Billion Dollars for a "Freedom buget". This is supported by U.S.W.A. President, I.W. Abel and dozens of other labor, religious and civil rights leaders.

According to the John Birch Society, Bayard Rustin is a leading Communist figure in the United States. Some of my fellow workers and I do not want to pay union dues if it is helping a known Communist or Communist cause.

I would like the following questions answered:

1. I. Bayard Rustin now active

ITC: 6-27-67
mlb
ack: 6-28-67
HRH: mlb
nml

nml
mm

CORRESPONDENCE

as a communist?

2. Ha[redacted] he been a memb[redacted] of the Communist Party; if so, up to what date?

3. Can you disclose his Criminal career, if he has one, as stated by the John Birch Society?

Any help in clarifing the conflicting statements of the John Birch Society news and the Steel Labor news, would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

b6
b7C

FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

3/8

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
NEW YORK	NEW YORK	MAR 5 1968	1/9 - 2/28/68

TITLE OF CASE

BAYARD RUSTIN

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1 - human, 6) DATE 05-22-2009

REPORT MADE BY [redacted]

TYPED b6 a b7C

CHARACTER OF CASE

SM-C [redacted]

b6 b7C

C.C. Moore

Bayard "B" Bayard

REFERENCE: Per DRC dtd 8/9/95

New York report of SA [redacted], 12/21/66.

b6 b7C

- C -

(S) ADMINISTRATIVE:

On 1/24/67, [redacted] one of the leaders of the Negro movement is BIARD (ph) or BAYARD who worked with the Soviets in the past. Source did not know whether this individual had been recruited or whether it was only a "trusted relationship" with him. (S)

b1 b2

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
ADDED DISSEMINATING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 3-11-67

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-158790-179 REC 18

EX 106

10 MAR 6 1968

COPIES MADE:

4-Bureau (100-158790) (RM)
3-New York (100-46729)

DEC 30 1968

1-USIA Office of Security per name check request dated 11/7/68 JJO/ist

~~SECRET~~

Classified by 6080
Notations
Exempt from GDS, Category 2-3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	State	CIA	AAG Yeagley
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	3-18-68		
How Fwd.			O-C
By			

51 MAR 21 1968

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

INT. SEC.

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

Source stated, however, that the March to Washington was organized with arrangements with the Soviets. Source also advised that following an arrest of some Soviet nationals in New York in the Fall, 1963, [redacted] b1 b2

(S) [redacted]

(S) On 1/26/67, [redacted] on this date that the individual he had referred to on 1/24/67, mentioned above, is BAYARD RUSTIN. b1 b2

(S) On 3/3/67, [redacted] b1 b2

(U) [redacted] b1 b6 b7C

(U) [redacted] b1 b6 b7C

(S) There should be no dissemination of any information [redacted] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization. b1 b2

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

(S) CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN HANDLING INFORMATION RECEIVED [redacted] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT. b1 b2

On 1/18/67, SA AUGUST J. MICEK caused the records of the Bureau of Special Services to be searched and except for the current residence of the subject they contained no other current pertinent information on the subject.

On 3/6/67, Supervisor RAYMOND J. RUCKEL and SA [redacted] observed the subject entering a building located at 598 Madison Avenue, NYC, at 2:30 PM. b6 b7C

No action should be predicated upon information furnished by [redacted] (NY T-13) which may compromise his security. This source [redacted] b2 b7D

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source		File Number Where Located
NY T-1 [redacted]		Instant report
NY T-2 [redacted]		[redacted]
NY T-3 [redacted]	Used to characterize BLYDEN BROWN JACKSON, Jr.	
NY T-4 [redacted]	Used to characterize BLYDEN BROWN JACKSON, Jr.	
NY T-5 [redacted]		NY 100-46729-1309 1315

b2 b7D

NY 100-46729

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	File Number Where Located	
NY T-6		
(S) [redacted]	NY 100-46729-1299	b1 b7D
NY T-7 [redacted]	[redacted]	b2 b7D
NY T-8 [redacted]	[redacted]	b2 b7D
NY T-9 [redacted]	[redacted]	b2 b7D
NY T-10 [redacted]	[redacted]	b2 b7D
NY T-11 [redacted] (conceal-request)	NY 100-46729-1285	b6 b7C b7D
NY T-12 [redacted]	NY 100-46729-1280 1293 1300	b2
NY T-13 [redacted]	NY 100-46729-1314 1318	b2 b7D

1. [X] Subject's name is included in Section [X] A or [ ] B of the Reserve Index.

2. [X] The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card are current.

3. [ ] Changes on the Section A Reserve Index Card are necessary and Form FD-122a has been submitted to the Bureau.

4. [X] A suitable photograph [X] is [ ] is not available.

5. [ ] Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.

6. [X] This report is classified "~~Secret~~" because (state reason) of the information furnished by NY T-12 which was so classified due to the fact that the informant furnishes information of a highly sensitive nature about racial matters in the US and Communist infiltration thereof.

7. [X] Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) of RUSTIN's hostility toward the Bureau. This hostility was especially obvious following the Director's statement that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was a liar. Following that statement RUSTIN made some very derogatory statements about the Director.

8. [ ] This case no longer meets the Section A Reserve Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Section A Reserve Index card.

9. [X] This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Reserve Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of RUSTIN's membership in the Young Communist League from 1936 until 1941 as well as his contacts with a Communist as shown in this report.

E*
(COVER PAGE)

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

SECRET

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-22-2009

Copy to:

Report of: [redacted] Office: New York, New York

b6
b7C

Date: 3/5/68

Field Office File #: 100-46729 Bureau File #: 100-158790

Title: BAYARD RUSTIN

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: Subject presently resides at 340 West 28th Street, NYC, and is currently employed as Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, NYC. BLYDEN JACKSON admits assisting subject in certain activities and subject's name currently appears on the mailing list for the midweek and weekend editions of "The Worker". Subject attended meeting of SCLC in NYC on 3/6/67. Subject's foreign travel and racial activity set forth.

- C -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

On January 18, 1967, the records of the Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, were checked by Special Agent (SA) AUGUST J. MICEK and they revealed that the subject is currently residing at 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 3-11-77 GD 142

SECRET

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2-3
Date of Declassification Indefinite

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

2-23-77

179

In January, 1968, NY T-1 advised that the subject is currently employed as the Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute located at 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York.

II. AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MEMBERS AND EVIDENCE OF CP SYMPATHY

On April 20, 1967, NY T- 2 advised that BLYDEN JACKSON stated on April 19, 1967 that he (JACKSON) had been "openly" in the CP for the past five or six months and that he was in the CP when he assisted the subject, but that he (JACKSON) was not allowed to go to meetings (organization not specified) although he paid dues.

On April 18, 1967, NY T-5 advised that the subject's name is on the current mailing list of the weekend edition of "The Worker". The subject's name on the list appears as follows:

Mr. BAYARD RUSTIN
Workers Defense League
112 East 19 NYC

On April 22, 1967, NY T-5 advised that the subject's name appears on the current mailing list of the midweek edition of "The Worker". The subject's name appears as follows:

BAYARD RUSTIN
Worker's Defense League
112 East 19th St NYC

In February, 1967, NY T-3 and NY T-4 advised that on February 11, 1967, at a meeting of the New York State CP Committee it was announced that BLYDEN BROWN JACKSON, Jr., would serve on the Negro Commission of the New York State CP Committee.

"The Worker" issue of May 7, 1967, page 1, column 5, identified BLYDEN JACKSON as the leader of the CP in the Harlem area of New York City.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

III. FOREIGN TRAVEL

On March 6, 1967, NY T-6, a foreign agency which conducts intelligence investigations abroad, advised that the subject arrived at London Airport from New York on February 21, 1967 and that the "Morning Star", a foreign newspaper dated February 20, 1967, contained the following notice in the "Monday Column": (S)

(U)

"London: Campaign Against Racial Discrimination. Public meeting to hear BAYARD RUSTIN, U.S. Civil Rights Leader, organizer of the march on Washington, thinker, strategist Sun., February 26, 1:30 to 4 PM Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.I. Subject stated he would be returning to New York on 3/1/67". (S)

(U)

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

On December 15, 1966, NY T-7 advised that there was a CARMICHAEL-RUSTIN debate at Hunter College on 69th Street, New York, New York, on December 14, 1966. Subject advocated a "Freedom Budget". Subject stated that Negroes cannot succeed alone as they are only 10 percent of the population. Subject stated that Negroes must not keep the whites guessing whether or not they will be welcome into the Negro program. The Negroes and whitesmust act together.

On December 19, 1966, NY T-8 advised that on December 14, 1966 the League for Industrial Democracy at Hunter College Auditorium, 69th Street and Park Avenue, New York, New York, sponsored a debate entitled "The Future of the Negro Movement". The principal speakers were subject and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Both the subject and CARMICHAEL disagreed as to the best way for Negro demands to be met; but both agreed if Negro demands are not met insurrection is inevitable.

On December 20, 1966, NY T-9 advised that on December 9, 1966 there was a group of pickets sponsored by an organization called "Conscience Against Apartheid" to protest United States bank loans to South Africa. The two banks picketed in New York City were the First National City Bank and Chase Manhattan Bank. Subject was one of the organizers of this demonstration.

On January 10, 1967, NY T-10 advised that at a meeting of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) on January 10, 1967, a rally was planned for January 15, 1967. The exact reason for the rally was not mentioned at this time although there was talk about Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL and how he lost his seat in Congress. The subject was not present for this meeting but the subject was mentioned as one of the leaders for this rally scheduled for January 15, 1967.

A characterization of the OAAU is attached to the appendix hereto.

On January 11, 1967, NY T-11 advised that the subject will be the principal speaker Tuesday, January 31, 1967, at the Third Annual Voices of Dissent Program to be held at Benton Hall, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. The subject will speak on "An Analysis of the Black Power Movement - A Critical Statement".

On January 17, 1967, NY T-12 advised that the subject was present at a meeting attended by representatives of several civil rights organizations which took place on January 16, 1967 in the office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, New York, New York. The purpose of the meeting was to arrive at some decision as to what course of action should be taken in the controversy over Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

On March 6, 1967, NY T-12 advised that a meeting of the Research Committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) would take place on this date at 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. The meeting was scheduled for 1:30 PM.

On March 6, 1967, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed the subject entering the building at 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, at 2:30 PM.

On March 6, 1967, NY T-12 advised that the subject was present at a meeting of the Research Committee SCLC on this date held at 598 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

An article in "The Cleveland Press" daily newspaper issue of June 14, 1967, stated that Cleveland has been chosen for an unprecedented summer program in behalf of Negroes by all the nation's civil rights groups.

Another article in the same paper stated that 20 civil rights leaders attended meetings which began on June 12 and ended June 13, 1967. The sessions were held at the Motel on the Mountain, located in the foothills of the Catskill Mountains. The subject was listed in this article as one of the civil rights leaders in attendance at this meeting.

On August 24, 1967, NY T-13 advised the SCLC was holding a retreat September 12-17, 1967 at the Airlie House in the vicinity of Warrenton, Virginia. During this retreat emphasis would be placed upon evaluating and revamping the policy of the SCLC relating to future activities (not specified) of this organization.

The subject was to be invited to attend this retreat.

During the latter part of September, 1967, NY T-13 advised that the subject did not attend the SCLC retreat September 12-17, 1967 in Warrenton, Virginia, and it was stated by individuals present at the retreat that recently it has been difficult for the SCLC to enlist the aid of the subject; and on one occasion the subject agreed to accept certain responsibilities for the SCLC (not specified) but the subject subsequently failed to keep his word.

The January 10, 1968 edition of the "Columbus Dispatch", Columbus, Ohio, page 6, column A reported that the subject spoke to nearly 500 delegates to the Second Biennial American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO) Conference on January 9, 1968. In his speech the subject blasted the war on poverty and black power.

The January 9, 1968 edition of the above newspaper, page 4, column A, reported that the subject was the keynote speaker for the above conference.

APPENDIX

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit' of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights", while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

2.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Harlem, New York.

On May 8, 1967, the first confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of ELLA COLLINS.

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

APPENDIX

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

This same confidential source advised on September 8, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead".

APPENDIX

1

NATION OF ISLAM, FORMERLY REFERRED TO AS THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, ALSO KNOWN AS MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD ha described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government;however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX

2

NATION OF ISLAM (CONTINUED)

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
March 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bufile 100-158790
NYfile 100-46729

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Title Bayard Rustin

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1- human)
DATE 05-22-2009

Per DRC dtd 8/9/95

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

May 5, 1967

Per OGA ltr dtd 5/27/2009

BAYARD RUSTIN

Subject resides 340 West 28th Street, New York, New York, and is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York City, a service center and clearinghouse for civil rights organizations. He was a member of the Young Communist League from 1936 until 1941 and has maintained contact on a continuing basis with persons who have been publicly identified as being leaders of the Communist Party, United States of America.

b1
b3 CIA

(S)

The August 28, 1963, March on Washington, which created national interest, was sponsored by a number of civil rights organizations for the purpose of encouraging Congress to enact civil rights legislation. Although the Communist Party did not initiate or control this event, it used the March for the purpose of promoting its own interests and a number of Communist Party members participated.

Bayard Rustin was the Deputy Director for this activity.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of our informant, it is requested that this information be closely held.

TOP SECRET / NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Document downgraded to Secret on 7/12/07 by AUC Baw 60324.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

THIS NOTE PAGE TWO

BAYARD RUSTIN

NOTE:

See memorandum Branigan to Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 5-4-67, prepared by FJC:cls.

Classified "Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination" to provide adequate protection to source. [redacted] b1 b2 b7D

(S) [redacted]

The original copy disseminated to the White House with Xerox copy to the Attorney General.

[redacted] b3 CIA b6 b7C

[redacted] by Liaison Agent [redacted] 5-1-67.

1 - Mr. C. E. Glass
1 - Mr. J. J. Dunn

5/27/68

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-46729)

From: Director, FBI (100-158790)

BAYARD RUSTIN
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK NATIONALIST

Rustin has been named to coordinate the demonstration to be held in Washington, D. C., on 6/19/68 in connection with the Poor People's Campaign (PPC). In various newspaper articles this day has been called "Solidarity Day" and the "National Day of Support." An article in the 5/22/68 issue of "The Washington Post," Washington, D. C., quoted Rustin as stating that an organization called "Mobilization in Support of the Poor People's Campaign" has set up headquarters at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

You should reopen your case on Rustin to follow his activities in connection with the PPC. In this connection, you are requested to advise by airtel as to whether you have any sources close to Rustin who might be able to furnish information regarding the PPC and particularly plans being formulated for the demonstration on 6/19/68.

REC-23 100-158790-180

Keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent data coming to your attention regarding Rustin and his PPC activities.

MAILED 12
MAY 27 1968
COMM-FBI

1 - 157-8428 (Poor People's Campaign)

19 MAY 27 1968

JJD:ebb
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Telephone
Holmes
Gandy

54 JUN 4 1968

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 253,485
DATE 5/7/86 BY Spyerw/dw

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NOTE CONTINUED:

Subject is Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City. He organized the March on Washington in 1963.

VIA TELETYPE
MAY 15 1968
ENCIPHERED

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

6:36 PM URGENT 5-15-68 LCS

TO DIRECTOR, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM ATLANTA

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN, ~~RM.~~ RACIAL MATTER

DURING THE MIDDLE OF MAY SIXTYEIGHT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT AS OF MAY ONE FOUR LAST THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) CONTEMPLATES ITS POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN (PPC) WOULD CONDUCT A DEMONSTRATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON MAY THIRTY NEXT. PRIOR TO MAY THIRTY NEXT SCLC WILL SPECIFICALLY INVITE ALL PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE NATION, WHO ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PPC TO COME TO WASHINGTON ON THAT DATE TO PARTICIPATE IN A DEMONSTRATION. IT IS ANTICIPATED BY SCLC THAT THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE WILL RESPOND TO THIS INVITATION.

SCLC INTENDS THAT THE BULK OF THE MAY THIRTY NEXT DEMONSTRATORS WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON, PARTICIPATE IN THE DEMONSTRATION, AND DEPART WASHINGTON WITHIN A ~~TWO FOUR~~ 24 HOUR PERIOD. THE PPC DEMONSTRATORS OCCUPYING "SHANTYTOWN" AND OTHER DEMONSTRATORS ALREADY IN WASHINGTON AS OF MAY THIRTY NEXT WILL REMAIN THERE AFTER THAT DATE.

100-158190-5

TELETYPED TO MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

TWO COPIES TO WFO

66 MAY 31 1968

NOT RECORDED
180 MAY 24 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8426-1653

IN CONNECTION WITH THE MAY THIRTY NEXT WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATION SCLC PLANS TO REQUEST BAYARD RUSTIN TO SERVE AS ORGANIZER AND CO-ORDINATOR OF THIS DEMONSTRATION BECAUSE IT FEELS HE IS THE ONLY INDIVIUDAL CAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EVENT OF SUCH MAGNITUDE. WHEN CONSIDERING THE DESIRABILITY OF UTILIZING RUSTIN'S SERVICES, A NUMBER OF SCLC EXECUTIVE STAFF MEMBERS WERE OPPOSED TO RUSTIN. THEIR OPPOSITION WAS BASED ON CRITICISM DURING THE RECENT PAST BY RUSTIN OF THE PPC IN GENERAL. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, PRESIDENT, SCLC, EXPLAINED THAT RUSTIN HAD RECENTLY APOLOGIZED TO HIM FOR HIS CRITICAL ATTITUDE AND ASKED WHAT HE MIGHT DO TO ASSIST THE PPC.

SCLC ADVISED, HOWEVER, THAT RUSTIN WOULD HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO MAKE ANY COMMENT TO THE NEWS MEDIA REGARDING THIS DEMONSTRATION.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST JULY ELEVEN - EIGHTEEN, SIXTYFOUR ISSUE REFLECTED RUSTIN CAME TO NEW YORK IN ONE NINE THREE EIGHT AS AN ORGANIZER FOR YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (YCL). THE YCL HAS BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

b2
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BUFILE ONE FIVE SEVEN - EIGHT FOUR TWO EIGHT; ATLANTA FILE ONE FIVE SEVEN - TWO NINE TWO FOUR. SOURCE REFERRED TO ABOVE IS [redacted] INFORMATION FROM WHOM MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

MEMO ~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 6:57 PM FJB

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

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REC- 19

100-158790-181

May 16, 1968

Honorable Charles V. Stewart
Publisher
The Mullens Advocate
Box 907
Mullens, West Virginia 24863

Dear Mr. Stewart:

I have received your letter of May 9th, with enclosures.

In response to your inquiry, I was quoted correctly in paragraph one relating to my testimony regarding Bayard Rustin. I am enclosing an excerpt from my testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on February 10, 1966, from which this quote was taken.

Regarding paragraph number four, part two of your enclosures, at a press conference on November 18, 1964, I made the statement that Martin Luther King was the most notorious liar in the country. I did so because he had grossly distorted the facts concerning our Special Agents handling civil rights investigations in the South.

With respect to Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, she furnished information to this Bureau on a confidential basis regarding subversive activities from March, 1949, until December, 1954. She testified in December, 1954, during a State prosecution of Carl Braden for sedition. In keeping with my long-standing policy, I cannot comment further regarding her.

MAILED 9
MAY 16 1968
COMM-FBI

1 - Pittsburgh - Enclosures (3)

FMG:jed (4)

Continued - Page Two

55 JUN 3 1968

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Honorable Charles V. Stewart

Concerning the other matters mentioned in your enclosures, I am unable to make any comment as information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice.

I am returning the enclosures you furnished.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (3)

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning correspondent and no record of Enlightened People on Communism. A similar inquiry on April 15, 1968, which enclosed only the first of these enclosures, was answered by letter 4-22-68, as in paragraphs 2 and 5 of instant letter.

Box 30073
AMF
MEMPHIS TENNESSEE 38130

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

THE MULLENS ADVOCATE, Newspaper NR
Box 907 — Phone 144
Mullens, West Virginia - 24863

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO Federal Bureau of Investigation
Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Washington, D. C.

May 9, 1968

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing the copy of a paper that has been circulated in our area. We own and operate a weekly newspaper, and, if the contents of the paper is authentic, I would like to publicize it.

Will you please channel it to a department for enough checking to assure us of its authenticity?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Chas. V. Stewart

Chas. V. Stewart, Publisher

EXP. PROC.
MAY 13 1968

ack/mml
5-16-68
FMG:jel

REC-19

100-158790-181

ENCLOSURE

25 MAY 27 1968

MAY 28

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCM

COMMUNISM IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE?

It might surprise you what a little newspaper reading and research can yield. Most citizens think Communism is way over there, somewhere, but is it? Wake up, Memphians!

Memphis had a visitor on February 6, 1968. Bayard Rustin came to Memphis. Who is Bayard Rustin?

1. J. Edgar Hoover said: "Bayard Rustin was convicted for sodomy, a violation of the Selective Service Act and was an admitted member of the Young Communist League". (Documentation: 1967 FBI Appropriations, pg. 34)

2. Rustin is active in the Communist-dominated American Forum for Social Education. (Documentation: The Senate Report, pg. 36, 1957 Report)

3. He went to Russia in 1958. (Doc.: Shreveport Journal, Aug. 8, 1963)

4. He attended the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party. (Doc: Allen Stang"s "It's Very Simple", pg. 112)

5. He became secretary and advisor to Martin Luther King in 1955. (Doc: New York Times, August 10, 1964)

6. He believes "it's time to broaden the fight---and to seek alliances with liberal sources of power like the labor unions". (Doc: New York times, August 10, 1964)

7. He organized the 1963 march on Washington, D. C. (Doc: National Review, September, 15, 1964)

8. Rustin, King and Shuttlesworth formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). (Doc: Stang's "It's Very Simple")

9. The SCLC has had close ties with the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), operated by two well-known Communists, Carl and Anne Braden. (Doc: The State of Louisiana Hearings on the SCEF organization)

10. Rustin addressed AFL-CIO group in Memphis on February 6, 1968. The Memphis garbage strike started five days later. (Doc: Memphis Commercial Appeal, February 7, 1968)

As garbage piles up in Memphis, one of Bayard Rustin's acquaintances appears on the scene leading demonstrations.. the Rev. James M. Lawson. The Rev. Lawson is well qualified to lead the marchers. Who is James M. Lawson?

1. He was imprisoned in 1953 for refusing to register for the draft. (Doc: Memphis Commercial Appeal, November 26, 1967)

2. He studied passive resistance in India for three years. (Doc: News and Courier of Charleston, S. C. March 15, 1960)

Original returned to enclosure

MAY 28 1968

100-159790-181

OVER

ENCLOSURE

Best Copy Available

3. He instituted the Carl Braden clemency appeal to then President John F. Kennedy. (Doc: Southern Patriot, June, 1961)

4. He traveled to North Vietnam in 1965, sponsored by Bayard Rustin's Fellowship of Reconciliation group. (Doc: YAF magazine, Oct. 2, 1965)

5. He substituted for Martin Luther King to the Latin American Revolution and Non-Violence meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay. (Doc: Memphis Press-Scimitar, May 21, 1966)

6. His name appears on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (Doc: ACLU letterhead)

7. Kicked out of Vanderbilt for inciting civil disorders. (Doc: Commercial Appeal)

8. He ran for Memphis school board in 1967. (Doc: Commercial Appeal)

9. He led several marches in the Memphis garbage strike. (Doc: Commercial Appeal)

10. He was selected to attend the All Christian Peace Conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in March and April, 1968. The trip is sponsored by the National Council of Churches and the Methodist Church. (Doc: Commercial Appeal, March 2, 1968, pg. 16)

Statements have been made that Memphis may realize "Urban Upheaval" this summer. Communism believes that out of conflict comes progress. It appears that Rustin and Lawson agree.

If it is a "long, hot" summer, then look for the boys who get instructions from Moscow, Hanoi, or even Prague. It's time we call a spade a spade. Wake up!!!

Distributed by EPCC (Enlighten People of Communism)
Box 30073
AMF
Memphis, Tennessee 38130

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COMMUNISM IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

PART II

THE "REAL" MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

King the Lawbreaker: H preaches that "bad" laws should be violated. King blames Chicago riots upon "failure of the city officials...to meet demands.. of Chicago Negroes". (Ref: U.S. News 7/25/65) Something considered "constitutionally unlawful cannot justify unlawful means for their resolution. Two wrongs don't make a right". (Ref: FBI Bulletin, Sept. 1966)

King the Anarchist: King blamed the police in Los Angeles for the rioting in Watts. (Ref: Arkansas Gazette, 8/20/65) Lawlessness and violence accompany King. Mrs. Julia Brown, a Negro who was a counterspy for the FBI, described King as an enemy to America. (Ref: Arkansas Democrat, April, 1967)

King against America: He calls for defeat of America in Viet Nam. (Ref: U.S. news, 5/8/67) He calls the United States "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world". (Ref: Chicago Tribune, 4/6/67). King, more than once, demanded the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

King the Liar: King criticized the FBI. According to J. Edgar Hoover, "King has adamantly refused to see any official of the FBI...I consider King to be the most notorious liar in the country". (Ref. U.S. New, 12/30/64)

King the Socialist: He endorsed the work and goals of Norman Thomas, America's Mr. Socialist. (Ref: New America, 12/30/64) King has contributed to LID (League for Industrial Democracy), one of the most influential socialist groups in the United States. (Ref: Congressional Record information on LID, 10/12/62) He has contributed to Liberation, a socialist, pacifist publication.

King and the Communists: George S. Schuyler, an outstanding Negro journalist, wrote that: "But directly or indirectly has Dr. King made any contribution to world (or even domestic) peace?... The Lenin prize would have been more appropriate for him since it is no mean feat for one so young to acquire 60 Communist-Front citations." (Ref: Manchester Union Leader, 11/10/64)

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, an FBI undercover agent, exposed Anne and Carl Braden of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) as members of a Communist cell. (Ref. Sunday Star, 12/12/54) King, in 1959, wanted the Bradens to become a part of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (Ref: Louisiana Committee Report on SCEF, Part 2)

Hunter Pitts O'Dell was in King's organization until 1963, although the HCUA exposed him as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party in 1961. (Ref: HCuA Report, 1962)

Bayard Rustin is identified as secretary to King in the Communists' Daily Worker, 4/12/57. According to J. Edgar Hoover, "Rustin was convicted for sodomy and was an admitted member of the Young Communist League. (Ref: FBI Appropriations, 1967, page 94)

ENCLOSURE
100-158790-181

Best Copy Available

Rev. Red L. Shuttlesworth, as secretary to King's SCLC, is President of SCEF, a pro-communist organization. (Ref: Cincinnati Enquirer, 6/9/63)

Stokely Carmichael and King appeared together at the anti-American rally at the United Nations, April 15, 1967. (Ref: New York Times)

King advocates we get on the side of the Communists and the world revolution. (Ref: Congressional Record, 5/2/67)

King says we must cease resisting Communist aggression..."we have been wrong from the beginning in Viet Nam". (Ref: Congressional Record, 5/2/67)

King is fusing the peace movement and the civil rights movement. (Ref: Winston's speech to 23rd Communist Party meeting in USSR)

King is highly praised by the Communist press.

CONCLUSION

Being a Negro does not grant King immunity from criticism, nor does it make him a special target. Race has nothing to do with the utterances and actions which expose the real Martin Luther King. His program will help create a Soviet America.

"THE ONLY THING NECESSARY FOR THE TRIUMPH OF EVIL, IS FOR GOOD MEN TO DO NOTHING" by Edmund Burke

If you are interested in doing something, contact:

EPOC (Enlighten People on Communism)
Box 30073
AMF Memphis
Memphis, Tennessee 38130

ENCLOSURE

100-158790-181

4

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

F B I

Date: 6/7/68

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-158790)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-46729) (C)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
RM - BLACK NATIONALIST

ReBuairtel to NY dated, 5/27/68.

In accordance with referenced Bureau airtel captioned case has been reopened by the NYO to follow RUSTIN'S activities in connection with the Poor Peoples Campaign (PPC).

On 6/3/68, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the address 217 West 125th St., NYC, which was mentioned by "The Washington Post" as headquarters for "Mobilization in Support of the Poor Peoples Campaign" is the location of the A. Philip Randolph Institute of which RUSTIN is Director. b2 b7D

On 6/5/68, SA [redacted] using a suitable pretext, called New York telephone number 666-9510, which is listed to A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th St., NYC. SA [redacted] talked to RUSTIN'S secretary who advised that RUSTIN was the Coordinator of the demonstration to be held June 19, 1968, in Washington, D. C., and that he was going to Washington this same day to confer with other leaders in the Poor Peoples Campaign. Mr. RUSTIN'S secretary stated that RUSTIN is coordinating march activities from his office. Pretext used was that of a Rutgers University college student requesting an interview with RUSTIN concerning march activities for a term paper. b6 b7C

REC-14 100-158790-182

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (POCAM) (157-2052)
1 - New York
1 - Washington Field (RM)
RTB:ljm
(6)

20 JUN 8 1968

RACIAL INTELSECT

C. C. Bishop

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

62 JUN 18 1968

Best Copy Available

RUSTIN'S secretary further indicated that RUSTIN'S office in NYC is not used for recruiting or support activity as this is handled in Washington, D. C.

As noted above, RUSTIN's New York Office for "Mobilization in Support of the Poor Peoples Campaign" at 125th Street is merely the administrative office while his field activity is located in Washington, D. C. [redacted] has furnished information pertaining to BAYARD RUSTIN'S participation in the PPC and it is expected this will continue. RUSTIN'S nominal function in the A. Philip Randolph Institute, (not a militant action organization) is merely advisory and research in nature. b2

The NYO has a number of sources who are in a position to report on any action type activity of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and/or RUSTIN, should such take place.

RUSTIN, according to the "New York Times" issue of 6/7/68, suspended his activities in the PPC. In view of this, no further action is being taken in this matter.

VIA TELETYPE
JUN 8 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 2

937 AM URGENT 6-3-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 157-8428 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 157-1395 (CODE)

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
FROM NEW YORK 157-2052 1P

POCAM, RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT DESPITE REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY, BAYARD RUSTIN IS STILL IN CHARGE OF COORDINATING PLANS OF MASSIVE PROTEST IN WDC ON JUNE NINETEENTH IN BEHALF OF POCAM AND IS CURRENTLY PREPARING PROCEDURES IN THIS REGARD.

Included in summary to White House and Attorney General. Date 6/4/68

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8428-1970

ADMINISTRATIVE

b6
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CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS [redacted] (PROTECT IDENTITY), WHO RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM [redacted] WHO HAD PERSONAL CONTACT WITH RUSTIN ON JUNE FIRST.

END

EXR

FBI WASH DC

FTB FBI WASH DC

100-158790

JUN 5 1968

NOT RECORDED
180 JUN 6 1968

TWO COPIES TO WHITE HOUSE

66 JUN 12 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

BAYARD RUSTIN

Summary
Sex Offender

Rustin, a self-proclaimed pacifist and civil rights activist, was born March 17, 1912, in Westchester, Pennsylvania. In early 1968 he resided at 340 West 28th Street, New York City, and was employed as Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

Rustin has admitted he joined the Young Communist League (the youth arm of the Communist Party, USA) in 1936 and claims he broke with the organization in June, 1941, (at age 28) because he differed with its aims (not ideology). (Sources: Congressional Record, August 13, 1963; New York Herald Tribune, August 14, 1963).

Rustin claims to have served a 28-month prison term during World War II as a conscientious objector. Actually, he was sentenced to three years for failure to report for a physical examination and for (noncombatant) work of national importance. (Source: Congressional Record, August 13, 1963).

Rustin was arrested on October 25, 1946, in Harlem, New York City, for commission of a lewd act. (Source: New York City Police Records).

Rustin was arrested in Pasadena, California, on January 21, 1953, on a charge of sex perversion. He pleaded guilty to propositioning two males to engage in sodomy and admitted he had previously been arrested on the same charge in New York City. He was sentenced to 60 days. (Source: Congressional Record, August 13, 1963).

SEP 24 1968

Rustin, according to the communist press, was one of eight "noncommunist observers" who attended the (closed door) Communist Party National Convention in New York City in 1957. (Source: Daily Worker, February 25, 1957).

Rustin, in 1964, the day after he directed a boycott of the New York City Public Schools, attended as an invited guest a (closed door) cocktail party, honoring a Soviet "peace committee," at the Soviet United Nations Missions in New York City. On the same day he had cancelled his previously scheduled appearance at a civil rights seminar at Syracuse University, stating he was "too tired." (Source: New York Times, February 5 and 6, 1965). (100-158790)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

GDC:clo
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100-158790 - 183

NOTE: Prepared per instructions of Assistant Director Callahan.

Based on memo N. P. Callahan to Mr. Mohr, 9-19-68, NPC:jlk

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

VIA TELETYPE
JUN 10 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA -----9-----

FBI NEW YORK

9:27 PM URGENT 6-10-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-392452 (CODE)

FROM NEW YORK 100-111180

STANLEY LEVISON. IS-C. OO: NY.

FOLLOWING INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM [redacted] b2 ON JUNE NINE NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT (CLASSIFY "~~SECRET~~"). VIC (BELIEVED TO BE VICTOR LUDWIG CONTACTED STANELY LEVISON FOR THE PURPOSE OF TELLING HIM THAT A GOOD FRIEND AND HIS WIFE, [redacted] WERE LEAVING TOWN (LOS ANGELES) AND GOING TO NEW YORK. VIC SAID HE WAS GIVING [redacted] LEVISON'S NAME. HE DESCRIBED [redacted] AS HAVING A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH A HALF DOZEN SENATORS AND AS BEING ~~VERY CLOSE~~ TO (WAYNE) MORSE AND (ERNEST) GRUENING, BUT AS HAVING NO MASS BASE. HE SAID FURTHER THAT [redacted] WAS WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE DOVE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. VIC DESCRIBED [redacted] WIFE AS A TERRIFIC ORGANIZER AND AS GOOD AT WRITING FUND RAISING LETTERS. LEVISON SAID HE WANTS TO MEET [redacted]. LEVISON MENTIONED THAT THERE ARE A LOT OF DIFFICULTIES WITH THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN (PPC). HE COMMENTED ON BAYARD RUSTIN, STATING THAT IT WAS AN ERROR TO HAVE USED HIM

b6
b7C

16 JUN 17 1968

100-158790

PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED
180 JUN 18 1968

Included in summary to White House and Attorney General. Date 6/11/68

70 JUN 26 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-392452

AND THAT IN TRYING TO STOP HIM THE WHOLE THING BLEW UP.

ALLUDING TO HOW RUSTIN WAS CHANGED, LEVISON SAID IT WAS A PROCESS THAT EXTENDED OVER A COUPLE OF YEARS. HE SAID THE SITUATION CHANGED AND RUSTIN MOVED IN AND BECAME THE REPRESENTATIVE FOR ALL THE TRADE UNION HIERARCHY, THE JEWISH ORGANIZATION LEADERS AND PERSONS WHO WERE LOOKING FOR A NEGRO LIKE RUSTIN.

LEVISON EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT, WITH KING'S DEATH, RUSTIN THOUGHT HE COULD EMERGE AS THE TOP MAN AND TAKING OVER AS THE COORDINATOR OF THE PPC SOLIDARITY DAY, JUNE NINETEEN NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, WAS A BID FOR IT. HE SAID IT WAS TURNED BACK BUT WAS INJURIOUS TO THE CAMPAIGN WHICH WAS FALTERING ANYWAY BECAUSE OF THE WAKNESSES OF RALPH ABERNATHY. LEVISON AND VIC DISCUSSED THE POLITICAL SITUATION NATIONALLY WITH LEVISON NOTING THAT THE ONLY THINGS OUTSIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ARE SO ISOLATED THAT THEY ARE NOT A PRINCIPAL POLITICAL FORCE. VIC MENTIOED THAT THE MONORITY COMMUNITY IS TOTALLY DISAFFECTED FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT AND STATED THAT TWELVE OF THE BROWN BERETS, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS MEXICAN AMERICANS WHO ARE STARTING TO DEVELOP A MILITANT WING, HAD BEEN ARRESTED CHARGED WITH A MISDEMEANOR. HE SAID THESE

END PAGE TWO

PEOPLE WOULD NOT WORK WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AS SUCH.

LEVISON NOTED THAT SUCH ELEMENTS ARE HARD TO WORK WITH AND

THAT THE ONLY THING OF THAT DESCRIPTION IN NEW YORK IS THE

FREEDOM AND PEACE PARTY WHERE ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS

WAS THE CAMPAIGN MANAGER FOR (HERBERT) APTHEKER. VIC INDICATED THAT HE AND HIS WIFE WOULD BE IN MEXICO FROM JUNE SEVENTEEN

TO JULY ONE, NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT.

END

WA....RM FBI WASH DC

VIA TELETYPE
JUN 5 1968
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 8

331 PM URGENT 6-5-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-438794 (CODE)

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-149194 2P

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4JRMIL
ON 8-25-80
54688 80514
73516

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
~~SCLC~~ - RACIAL MATTERS. (OO - ATLANT)

b2 b6 b7C

[redacted] (CLASSIFY "~~SECRET~~") OBTAINED FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON JUNE FIVE NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

[redacted]

STANLEY LEVISON, ON JUNE FIVE TOLD HIS WIFE OF AN SCLC MEETING HELD WASHINGTON, DC ON NIGHT OF JUNE FOUR. HE DESCRIBED MEETING AS GOOD IN ONE SENSE AND NOT GOOD IN ANOTHER. HE STATED THAT RALPH ABERNATHY IS HOPELESS AND WAS ASLEEP DURING ENTIRE MEETING. HE INDICATED THAT CORETTA KING TOOK HIS ADVICE BUT INSISTED ON GIVING PRIORITY TO THE LIBRARY (NOT SPECIFIED). HE SAID SHE TOOK A GOOD POSITION ON MONEY AND ASSURED HIM SHE IS GOING AHEAD WITH THE BOOK (ABOUT HER LIFE WITH KING). LEVISON SAID ABERNATHY TOOK HIM ASIDE AND TOLD HIM THE ONLY TWO PEOPLE IN HIS LIFE HE TRUSTED WERE MARTIN LUTHER KING AND LEVISON. ALSO THAT ABERNATHY SAID

END PAGE ONE

100-158790

NOT RECORDED
180 JUN 18 1968

15 JUN 17 1968

Bayard Rustin

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classification
DATE 8/15/78 SEB/MRH

70 JUN 26 1968

ORIGINAL FILED

100-438794 2194

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification Indefinite

THAT KING HAS LEFT HIM AND PLEADED THAT LEVISON NOT DO THE SAME.

LEVISON INDICATED THAT ABERNATHY SENT PEOPLE TO WORK ON HIM TO GET HIM TO STAY WITH THE SCLC. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO TELL THEM THAT KING NEVER FLATTERED HIM. LEVISON STATED THAT THE PRESS APPARENTLY HAS NOT LEARNED THE FACT THAT ABERNATHY TOLD A REPORTER IN MIAMI THAT HE NEVER READ BAYARD RUSTIN'S STATEMENT GIVING THE DEMANDS OF THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN. HE NOTED THAT BAYARD RUSTIN IS NOT IN WASHINGTON THAT RUSTIN HAD BEEN ACTED AGAINST. LEVISON SAID HE PROPOSED THAT THE SCLC

~~MUST LLXXX LOOKOK AXXX LOK~~

MUST ~~LOKXXX~~ LOOK AT THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE TO GO INTO REAL ACTION. "THE NEW YORK TIMES", JUNE FIVE, PAGE FOUR, CONTAINS AN ACCOUNT DATED WASHINGTON, DC, JUNE FOUR NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, CONCERNING THE MEETING BETWEEN ATTORNEY GENERAL RAMSEY CLARK AND PEOPLE FROM THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN. IT STATED THAT HOSEA WILLIAMS OF THE SCLC EXECUTIVE STAFF SAID RUSTIN WAS "OUT OF ORDER" IN MAKING POLICY STATEMENTS.

END

RM FBI WASH DC

SLH FTB#8/RM

MR. TELMOR
ROOM 836 98D

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-22-2009

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 6/5/68

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

GLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 5P.4 (RM) 2
REASON FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-5-88
8-25-80
8-10-84
Classified by 8972 TDK/CH
Declassify on: OADR
6 Years/SCLC
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) DATE: JAN 8 1986
ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-438794

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

SUBJECT: SCLC - RACIAL MATTERS
(OO:AT)

There are enclosed for the Bureau 11 copies of an LHM containing information furnished by [redacted] on 6/3,4/68, reflecting STANLEY LEVISON's reaction to the appointment of BAYARD RUSTIN to the post of national coordinator of the Solidarity Day march, of the Poor People's Campaign, 6/19/68. (U) b2

The source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON and [redacted] is NY 694-S. (U) b6 b7C

(U) The sources used to characterize HARRY WACHTEL are [redacted] and the anonymous source of WFO. WFO report of SA [redacted] dated 7/19/59, at WFO re: [redacted] (U)

ENCLOSURE

4-Bureau (100-438794) (Encls. 11) (RM)
(1-157-8428) (PPC)
3-Atlanta (100-5718) (Encls. 3) (RM)
(1-157-) (PPC)
(1-100-) (CORETTA KING)
2-Washington Field (100-) (Encls. 2) (RM)
(1-157-)
1-New York ([redacted]) (45)
1-New York (100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL) (41)
1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (41)
1-New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (41)
1-New York (157-2052) (PPC) (43)
1-New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (41)
1-New York (100-163186) (CORETTA KING) (41)
1-New York (100-149194)

JFO:far
(18)

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI; SEC. SER:
DEPT: ISD, ORD, RAO IDTU
DATE FORW: 6/6/68
HOW FORW:
BY:

b2 b6 b7C

RECORDED 180 JUN 12 1968

OTHER Court Order

b6 b7C

JUN 6 1968

CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite 11/22/77

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

59 JUN 18 1968

APPROPRIATE OFFICES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF 6/13/68 DATE

AIRTEL

NY 100-149194

~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

The NYO indices contain no information concerning a [redacted] or a [redacted], who are apparently union officials and who are mentioned in this report. (u) b6 b7C

This LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from [redacted], a source engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the US and Communist influence therein. It also is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains a concentration of information from [NY 694-S*] in the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON. (S) b2

(U)

CONFIDENTIAL ~~SECRET~~

SECRET

SECRET

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-04-2009

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
June 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
Bufile (100-438794)

SECRET
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SECRET
Classified by 8972TDK/KSH
Declassify on: OADR
8-10-84
Cartow/SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Racial Matters

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: JAN 8 1986 1628 RFP

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned on June 3, 1968, that on that date, Stanley Levison and [redacted] discussed Bayard Rustin's statement crystalizing the demands on Congress and the Administration of the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) issued by Rustin on June 2, 1968, as a "Call to Americans of Good Will", which is a call for support of the Solidarity Day march of the campaign, June 19, 1968. Levison was critical of Rustin's program describing it as less than what the President's Commission on Civil Disorders recommended. Levison, according to the source, claimed that Rustin has eliminated civil disobedience and a guaranteed income from the program originally presented and that it could be said that Rustin has swept away Martin Luther King's program. He said Rustin has brushed aside Ralph Abernathy, SCLC President, with Abernathy's consent.

b6
b7C

[redacted] stated that he is going to take a firmer position, may have to tell Abernathy he cannot support him and may resign from the SCLC Board. Levison said he is going to tell Abernathy that he is changing his relationship to a more distant one.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 1/13/78 DPA/EAP
DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 ON 2-23-77
SECRET
Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite 11/30/77
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
SECRET
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100-158790
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JRMTK
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-5-88
23 SIR. 90 FIV 90 LEG
ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 1/13/78 DPA/EAP

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The source advised that later on the same date, Levison expressed to Abernathy his displeasure of the change of program of the PPC announced by Rustin in his statement of demands that appeared in "The New York Times" of June 3, 1968. Abernathy claimed that he had not read this statement, that this must be what Rustin had sent him a telegram on, in which he said he had to go to press. Abernathy added that he thought Rustin was supposed to clear this with Andrew Young, Executive Vice President of the SCLC.

The source pointed out that Levison castigated Abernathy, stating that this is no way to run an organization and that the demands presented by Rustin are less than President Johnson's commission requested. Levison said he does not know why someone had not raised the question, if Abernathy could not organize the June 19 march himself, why have it at all. He stated it was not necessary and asked why Abernathy had to call on Rustin, who has his own axe to grind, to do something that is unnecessary. He said that what is necessary is for the people who came to Washington, D.C. for the PPC to start acting and moving.

Abernathy maintained that the program is not going to be changed and that they may have to have an open clash.

Levison stated that if there is an open clash and the original demands are adhered to, Abernathy cannot hold anything on June 19. He reiterated that the 19th was not vital, and said that it is what the people in Washington for the PPC were going to do, not what the white middle class going to Washington for the 19th might do, that is important.

Abernathy mentioned that the SCLC is going to have action and blamed set-backs it has suffered, where organization has been concerned, for lack of action. He added that he is upset over the demands presented by Rustin in his statement which he claimed to know nothing about.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Levison stated that Rustin deleted the part about opposition to the war and watered down the demand on jobs. He felt that it is a question of integrity. He advised Abernathy that people are questioning why, if Rustin was brought in to conduct the June 19 march, he is now head of everything and is issuing the program. He claimed that this has thrown things into confusion and said that no one asked his opinion which should have been done. He noted that he had worked closely with Rustin before, was involved in the PPC, but was never asked to a meeting. He stated that it is incredible to him that Rustin was brought in. (b)

Abernathy blaimed Andrew Young for Rustin having been brought in to lead the June 19 mass march to Washington and claimed that Young did it in his absence. He agreed that Levison should have been consulted from the beginning and said it was understood that he, Abernathy, would make all policy statements. He asked what Levison would recommend, and said that he knows that things are in a mess and hoped Levison would not abandon it. He asked Levison for counsel. (b)

Levison felt he should not recommend anything at this point because he has no confidence that saying anything means anything. He said he did not feel he could give Abernathy counsel under the circumstances that exist. He added that there is no organization and that he cannot operate under these conditions because where there is no organization nothing can be done. He suggested that Abernathy call in other SCLC officials such as Joe Lowery and Ben Hooks to see what can be done. (b)

Abernathy noted that a meeting of the Administrative Committee had been called for Friday, June 7, 1968, and wanted Levison to attend. Levison stated he would have to consider it because he does not want to take responsibility for something he feels cannot be done or to suggest solutions when he does not know what happened or what went wrong. (b)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Subsequently, the source ascertained that Levison advised Harry Wachtel that he had spoken to Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, and told her that the SCLC has forgotten what the people who went to Washington for the PPC went for. He said he told her that she does not have the capacity to solve the problems, that he does not believe she should go into the leadership but if she does he will not go with her. Levison mentioned that there is a complete lack of integrity, that if they are not shaken up now nothing but evil will happen. He noted that Andrew Young does not want leadership preferring to be in the second level of leadership but that Coretta King wants the top leadership. He added that both Abernathy and Coretta King are inadequate.

The source also advised that Levison and Wachtel discussed an SCLC meeting to be held in Washington, D.C. and they agreed to meet at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., on the evening of June 4, 1968.

The source learned on June 4, 1968, that on that date, Levison and Andrew Young discussed the SCLC meeting to be held in Washington, D.C. Levison mentioned that the meeting time had been changed because Coretta King was going to a union convention in Miami. He was critical of Coretta accepting this invitation because he had advised against it.

According to Young, a [redacted], who is unknown to the source, told him that six or seven international presidents were going to Washington for the meeting the night of June 4, 1968, and wanted to talk to Abernathy about organizing; also that one [redacted], whom the source could not identify, is trying to put together a group of unions that would make a commitment which would produce between a quarter of a million and a half million dollars annually for the SCLC.

b6
b7C

Levison felt that if this is true then everybody should attend the meeting and not be concerned with Miami.

b6
b7C

SECRET

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Young explained that he felt Abernathy should attend but was not anxious to have Coretta King in on the negotiations with the international presidents. He said that he had suggested Wednesday, June 5, as a better day for the meeting. Young also mentioned that [redacted] said that with respect to the SCLC going into a membership campaign that they want to try to guarantee that a good percentrage of their membership would become SCLC members and that they are willing to push a membership drive but want Abernathy to be present.

Levison said he saw no objection for not going along with the meeting or going along with [redacted] SCLC membership proposal.

Young brought up the matter of Bayard Rustin's statement and said that Rustin wanted him to approve it. Young stated that he would not approve it wouthout a group analyzing it. He said he did not know why Rustin issued it.

Levison attacked Rustin's statement stating he has never seen anything as insulting. He said that the PPC effort in Washington is being sabotaged by the SCLC people in Washington, including Young, by actions such as bringing Rustin in to run the June 19 march. He told Young the SCLC was playing house with Resurrection City, that it had been said at the outset that not much of a city would be needed because once the action began and people went to jail they would be fed there. He said there has not been any campaign and for Rustin to come in as he has, compounds all the confusion about leadership.

Levison brought up the fact that Coretta King wants to be on the SCLC Administrative Committee. He said he told her that the problems are too deep for her to think she can solve them, that she had underestimated the gravity of the problems and overestimated herself. He noted that Coretta is not sure whether she can work on the book she had planned for July because she felt she had to be in Resurrection City and that she has been told she has a duty to the movement. He said he told her that the book represents financial security and warned her against people trying to use her. Levison added that he

SECRET

believes that Coretta's conceit is such that she could not be afraid of doing the book. He said she resents the fact that they have set up a situation in which she can be financially independent but has to put out effort for it. He said she resents the money coming into the SCLC and thinks the movement owes her a living. (U)

Levison and Young agreed to meet at the Pitt Motel in Washington, D.C. on the afternoon of June 4, 1968. (U)

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA), in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism. (S)

(U)

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information in December, 1949, that [redacted]

OTHER Court Order

On March 5, 1944, another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which revealed that the name Harry Wachtel was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party (CP) at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding Harry Wachtel's wife, Lenora, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

b6
b7C

On October 28, 1958, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that, according to Jean Smith, Secretary at CP Headquarters, New York City, [redacted] had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL) before coming into prominence as an entertainer. (S)

(U)

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

SECRET

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA, held in New York City, on February 9-11, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

SECRET

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : MR. MOHR

DATE: September 19, 1968

FROM : N. P. Callahan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST

Congressman John J. Rooney of New York, Chairman of our House Appropriations Subcommittee, when being contacted on another matter on 9-18-68 indicated he would appreciate being furnished a summary of public source information, if available, on the captioned individual for his information. He also stated he would like for his confidential information a copy of the arrest record on Rustin pointing out he recalled during the Director's testimony in connection with our fiscal year 1967 appropriation request, that the Director had placed on the record some information concerning the morals arrest of Rustin in California.

Attached is a copy of that portion of the printed testimony which contains the reference to Rustin which occurred in a colloquy between Chairman Rooney and the Director during his appearance in behalf of our 1967 appropriation. Also attached is a blind memorandum setting forth public source data regarding Rustin as well as a copy of the criminal record as contained in the Identification Division files on Rustin.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that approval be granted to furnish Rooney the attached public source information concerning Rustin as well as the copy of his criminal record, the latter to be furnished on a strictly confidential basis.

EX 110 REC 82 100-158790183

Enclosures
NPC:jlk
(2)

12 SEP 23 1968

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-34044-24

XEROX
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29

25 OCT 2 1968

Mr. LIPSCOMB. It is also a Communist objective, is it not, to downgrade, criticize, and try to split up our intelligence process?

Mr. HOOVER. That has been the case, as I cited in my testimony. The KGB, which has a very substantial number of men in New York attached to its residency office there, the head of which is a member of the United Nations Soviet mission, is engaged at all times in trying to discredit by use of forged documents or any other method they can use to discredit U.S. intelligence agencies, principally the CIA and the FBI. Every now and then they go after somebody else, but we are the two main targets as we have caused them the most trouble as far as their activities are concerned. We have been able to keep abreast of their activities.

The unfortunate thing is that some people in this country, perhaps well-meaning, not necessarily dupes, are willing to accept the idea that we can live in peaceful coexistence. I don't believe you can live in peaceful coexistence with a country that every year has intensified its intelligence and espionage operations against this country.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. The media—newspaper, radio and TV—should be very aware that deep research should be made into the material that they start picking up.

Mr. HOOVER. I think that is true. Many of the newspapers have done an excellent job. Some of the newspaper chains such as the Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Newhouse and the Copley Press and various other chains of that type, have done an excellent job. Some columnists have done a very effective job.

I do not believe that everybody who is opposed to the foreign policy in Vietnam is necessarily a Communist. That, of course, would be ridiculous as a charge, but there are many gullible people who are against the policy in Vietnam as a result of the propaganda put out by some college professors who are naive and some students lacking in maturity and objectivity are constantly agitating and carrying on demonstrations in some of our largest universities.

BAYARD RUSTIN

At the University of Maryland last year, at a law enforcement institute held for police officers of Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., the university invited Bayard Rustin to be one of the speakers. Bayard Rustin was convicted for sodomy, a violation of the Selective Service Act and was an admitted member of the Young Communist League. Such a selection was not to the credit of the university.

Mr. ROONEY. I intended to ask you about him. Was he convicted on his own plea of guilty to the crime of sodomy?

Mr. HOOVER. He was. He admitted sodomy. He was apprehended in Pasadena, Calif.

If they wanted a man to speak on civil rights they could have invited Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who is a reputable man, or some other responsible racial leader. But to pick out a man who has such a bad background was wrong.

(Discussion off the record).

SOVIET TRADE ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Director, there seems to be an increase in the contact that American businessmen are having with Soviet trade missions.

100—158190-183

XEROX SEP 24 1968

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 12-12-68

FROM : A. Rosen

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Malley
1 - Mr. Scatterday
1 - Mr. Bailey
1 - Mr. Gale

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
NAME CHECK MATTER

PURPOSE: To advise that a name check request has been received from the Civil Service Commission (CSC) regarding Rustin, who is being considered as a consultant for the Division of Research and Publication, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities (NFAH) and to recommend reports containing background information regarding Rustin be disseminated to CSC.

BACKGROUND: The CSC has submitted to the Bureau a name check request for Bayard Rustin, who is being considered for employment as a consultant in the Research and Publication Division of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. The name check request indicates Rustin would be paid at a rate of $50 per day. The name check request indicates Rustin currently resides at 340 West 28th Street, New York City, and that he was born March 17, 1910. He is currently employed as Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; organizer of 1963 March on Washington; former Special Assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and was the First Field-Secretary for Congress of Racial Equality.

Considerable investigation has been conducted concerning Rustin and our files indicate that Rustin has admitted he joined the Young Communist League in 1936 and claims he broke with this organization in June, 1941. Rustin has been convicted for sodomy and violation of the Selective Service Act.

Reports of our investigation regarding Rustin have been disseminated to the State Department, CIA, USIA, Secret Service, as well as the Department.

CSC will be furnished with reports containing the results of our investigation and background data regarding Rustin.

ACTION: None. This is for information.

REC-21 100-358990-184

WLB:jlh

51 DEC 30 1968

EX 106

DEC 17 1968

NAME CHECK

LOCALITY	PAGE
USA	3
EUROPE	9

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY

(See Correlation Summaries dated 4/25/62, 4/13/65, and 4/18/66 filed as 100-158790-46, 100-158790-134, and 100-158790-166, respectively.)

Main File No: 100-158790
See Also: 14-2771
25-203164

Date: 5/13/69

mnd Subject: Bayard Rustin

Date Searched: 10/23/68

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Bayard Rustin
Bayard Resten
Fayette Ruskin
Bayard Ruskin
Byard Ruskin
Bayard Rustan
Bayard Rusten
One Rustin
B. Rustin
Baird Rustin

Baylard Rustin
Bayard T. Rustin
Beyard Rustin
Boyard Rustin
Byard Rustin
One Rusting
One Ruston
Bayard Ruston
Byard Ruston

9

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

mnd

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

b6
b7C

Analyst [redacted]

Coordinator [redacted]

Approved [redacted]

BEG:sds beg

amh/Mc

PH REC 100-158790-185

15 MAY 13 1969

ENCLOSURE
Encl. Behind file S/S only

ENC. BEHIND FILE

54 MAY 21 1969

CONSOLIDATION

ABBREVIATIONS

NAACP.....National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

SCLC.....Southern Christian Leadership Conference

WDC.....Washington, D.C.

*****

[redacted] advised that on 8/6/64, [redacted] the noted folk singer, conferred with Bayard Rustin (place not given). [redacted] told Rustin that she and another individual would like to do something about the situation in Vietnam and were thinking of some type of a demonstration. b2 b6 b7C

100-443490-6 p.4,5
(14)

This reference pertains to a report of the investigation of the SISS. Information regarding civil rights activities of Bayard Rustin were set out as obtained from public source information from September, 1964 to April, 1965 in NYC.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-138315-1796 encl.p.176,218,222	(15)

[redacted], advised that his son, [redacted], had exhibited to him a petition "Declaration of Conscience Against the War in Viet Nam" which he had received during the late spring of 1965 as a student at DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana. The name Bayard Rustin appeared as one of the signers of the declaration. b6 b7C

Copy of declaration enclosed
14-2935-113 encl.p.2
(2)

[redacted], made available 3 volumes that contained names, addresses, identifying data, and photographs of various individuals who had been arrested or were active during the demonstrations at Selma and Montgomery, Ala., in 1965. One of the names listed was Bayard Rustin. b6 b7C

Volumes enclosed
157-7782-165 encl.p.107
(19)

On 8/25/65, [redacted] advised that it had been agreed by Martin Luther King and Stanley Levison that a consultation was needed with King's advisors, specifically Bayard Rustin, Stanley Levison, Clarence Jones [redacted], and Andrew Young. (Place not given.) b2 b6 b7C

According to [redacted] this conference was to be held in Atlanta, Ga., during the period of 8/26-28/65 for the purpose of discussing future work by the SCLC in the civil rights field. Levison assured King that he would contact both Rustin and Jones to determine if they could attend the conference. b2

On 8/30/65, SA's observed King, Rustin, Levison and [redacted] enter the building at 575 Madison Ave., NYC, where the law office of Harry Wachtel was located. b6 b7C

Former [redacted] advised that on 9/13/65, King held a conference with his advisors. Included among those advisors were Levison, Jones, Wachtel and Rustin. According to informant, this conference also concerned King's position on Viet Nam. (Place conference held not given.) b2

(continued)

(continued)

This reference indicated that King was the President of SCLC; Young was the Executive Assistant to King; and that Levison was a secret member of the CP.

100-407018-93 p.3,5-7
(6)

Letter dated 10/15 65, from [redacted] - [redacted]., to the Director, stated that the Klan was being investigated. She asked whether or not it was time that the CP gave a detailed list of their members, also the NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality, and other leftist and extremist organizations. She stated that it was the general consensus that Martin Luther King (not further identified) was a high ranking communist, and most certainly Bayard Rustin was worse. b6 b7C

By letter dated 10/20/65, [redacted] letter was acknowledged and she was advised of the confidential nature of the FBI files. b6 b7C

100-106670-1973
changed to
62-110891-X1
(3,4)

On 10/19/65, [redacted] furnished a copy of a press release which had the return address of Denver Citizen's Council, Post Office Box 2206, Denver, Colorado, 80201 (157-3974). This release stated that children were exposed to the insidious propaganda of the left wingers through the news media. The release stated that recently Bayard Rustin appeared on TV Channel 6 in Denver in a question and answer program. The fact that Rustin was once jailed for draft evasion and sex perversion apparently had no effect on the program directors, yet those people solicit funds from the public for so-called educational TV. The release also made reference to the "Denver Post" of 9/15/65, in which Rustin was mentioned as being head of the A. Philip Randolph institution, which was fundamentally concerned with the eradication of economic barriers to the Negro. Details set out. b2 b7D

Copy of release enclosed
157-3974-5 encl.p.5
(19)

The 10/28/65 issue of "The Daily Cardinal," student campus organ at the University of Wisconsin (UW), reported that the Madison committee of the newly-formed student group, Americans For Reappraisal of Far Eastern Policy (ARFEP) (105-146629), met in the UW Memorial Union on 10/24/65. During the meeting the ARFEP made plans to sponsor lectures by nationally known critics of US policy in the Far East. Bayard Rustin was one of the suggested speakers for that semester.

105-146629-10 encl.p.5
(16)

A letter from [redacted] to the Director, dated 11/1/65, included 4 questions, one of which asked if it was true that Bayard Rustin was convicted as a draft dodger and as a sex deviate. b6 b7C

By letter dated 11/5/65, [redacted] letter was acknowledged and he was advised of the confidential nature of the F.B.I. files.

94-5-59309
(4)

By letter dated 11/30/65, Legat, Bern, furnished a copy of the November, 1965, Number 12 issue of "Bulletin of the World Council of Peace" (100-361031). On page 1 of this issue appeared an article captioned "100,000 demonstrate in 100 U.S. cities." Bayard Rustin was listed as one of the sponsors of an Anti-Vietnam march on Washington on 11/27/65.

100-361031-966 p.5
(6)
SI 100-444664-40 encl.p.12
(14)

The following references set out information pertaining to an invitation to Bayard Rustin by Dr. Donald Deppe of the University of Maryland to be guest speaker, along with a representative of the Bureau, at the 16th Annual Law Enforcement Institute to be held at the University 10/12,13/65. The University failed to consult the law enforcement advisors, including Bureau representative, regarding the invitation to Rustin, and the Director refused to permit a Bureau representative to participate.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
94-1-8001-207	(Not indexed)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
94-1-8001-208 -211	(3) (3)
94-1-152-9844	(3)

[redacted] advised that on 1/22/66, members of the CP caucus of the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) met at the apartment of Henry Winston, 334 East 108th St., NYC. During the meeting Winston stated that the NALC should have an organizer or promoter for the coming convention. Claude Lightfoot suggested they try to get Bayard Rustin as the convention organizer. Lightfoot added that even though Rustin was a non-Party member, he worked very closely with them. Lightfoot also stated that one of Rustin's stipulations in taking the aforementioned job was that he would have a free hand to obtain assistance from anyone and anywhere he wanted.

b2
b7D

The subject of this file is Cominfil NALA.

100-432067-665 p.20,21
(6)

Bureau memorandum dated 2/25/66, made reference to an article captioned "Crisis In Law Enforcement" which appeared in the March, 1966 issue of the "Playboy Magazine" (94-48955). This article concerned a panel discussion on alleged infringement of constitutional rights of individuals. One of the individuals taking part was Bayard Rustin. (No locality given.)

"Playboy Magazine,"
March, 1966 enclosed
94-48955-31 encl.47-48,52-54,58
(4)
Article enclosed
SI 94-48955-34 encl.p.47,48,52-54,58
(4)

[redacted] Memphis State University (MSU) student, Memphis, Tenn., made available a special issue of the "Tiger Rag," official MSU newspaper, dated 5/4/66. This issue identifies Bayard Rustin, a supporter of the Students for Democratic Society, as having been identified by "The New York Times," issue of 2/4/64, as Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League. He was also referred to in the same article as a former member of the Young Communist League. b6 b7C

100-445470-8 encl.p.71
(14)

On 6/4/66, [redacted] furnished the June issue of "Four Lights," a publication of the US Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which contained an article captioned "50th Nets 33 New Sponsors." The article stated that many of the distinguished men and women who sponsored WILPF's 50th Anniversary celebration had agreed to become permanent sponsors of the organization. Included among the additional names that appeared on the letterhead was Bayard Rustin. b2 b7D

The subject of this file is Cominfil WILPF.

61-1538-711 p.48,232,233
(3)

[redacted] and former [redacted] advised that the "Liberation Magazine" (LM) (105-55030) sponsored a debate held on 10/1/59 at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St., NYC, on the subject "Should Negroes Meet Violence With Violence?" Robert Williams and Conrad Lynn debated on the side of "violence for self-defense," against Bayard Rustin and Dave Dellinger, who debated for non-violence. b2 b7D

[redacted] New York Office (protect identity), advised that a comment appeared in the May-June, 1966 issue of LM which stated that Rustin had resigned as an Associate Editor of "Liberation." Rustin stated that his involvement in the civil rights movement did not give him time to struggle for his point of view on a number of matters that differed with the other editors. The editors expressed their gratitude for having had the advantage of association with Rustin. b2 b6 b7C b7D

(continued)

(continued)

This reference indicated that Lynn was a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Dellinger was the Publisher and Editor of the LM; and that [redacted] b6 b7C

105-55030-34 p.9-11,18
(15)

The following references in the file captioned "DOMSIT" set out information pertaining to members, including Bayard Rustin, of the so-called "Thomas Mission" who went to Santo Domingo on 4/17/66 for a 5 day visit. The purpose of the mission was to determine whether it was possible to hold free elections in the scheduled elections for 6/1/66 in the Dominican Republic. Arrangements for the tour had been made at the Dominican Consulate in New York by a representative of Norman Thomas, perennial Socialist Party candidate for President of the U.S. While in the Dominican Republic, Rustin toured the countryside and was in contact with various officials of that Government. Rustin returned to the US in the latter part of April, 1966. Rustin returned to Santo Domingo in late May, 1966 to observe the 6/1/66 elections.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
109-12-211-10207	(16)
-10258	(16)
-10260	(16)
-10261	(16)
-10292	(32)
-10295	(16)
-10349	(16)
-10358 p.5	(16)
-10409	(16)
-10583 encl.p.8,9	(16)
-10642	(16)
-10710	(17)
-10806	(17)
-10874 p.5	(17)
-10924 p.6	(17)
-11015	(17)

The 6/10/66 issue of "New York Times" contained an article captioned "New Group to Spur China Discussion," written by Edward C. Burks. The article stated that an independent national committee, including experts on Asia as members, was formed on 6/9/66 in NYC, to sponsor widespread public discussion of United States policy toward Communist China. The organization was to be known as the National Committee on United States - China Relations with offices in San Francisco and NYC. Included among the prominent members was Bayard Rustin.

105-166880-X
(16)

[redacted] advised that on 9/6/66, Harry Wachtel, 29 North Drive, Great Neck, Long Island, New York (100-437828), was in conference with Martin Luther King, Jr., Stanley Levison, Laurence Reddick, Clarence Jones, Bayard Rustin and others. b2

On 10/12/66, SA's observed Jones, Levison, Wachtel and Rustin at the Atlanta, Ga., airport.

The 10/13/66 issue of "Atlanta Journal," page 25, published an article entitled "King, Aides Confer, Discuss Black Power." The article revealed that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., had called a meeting in Atlanta of "top SCLC leaders" to discuss future programs of the SCLC. According to the article, the meeting commenced on 10/12/66, and was to end on 10/13/66. Included among those who attended was Rustin.

This reference indicated that King was President of SCLC; Jones and Levison were NYC attorneys, and that Reddick was alleged to have been a CP member and an instructor at the George Washington Carver School, NYC.

100-437828-21 p.1-5
(7)

[redacted] advised that on 10/14/66, Henry Winston (100-1473), contacted [redacted] (not further described) at his home in NYC. They discussed the statement by (Bayard) Rustin and others on civil rights. [redacted] commented that the statement did not reflect the true feeling of the Negro people concerning Vietnam. [redacted] stated he could not understand how a great big "super pacifist like Rustin" could sign his name to a statement that upheld the Negroes participating in the war. b2 b6 b7C

100-1473-1984
(4)

The following references in the file captioned "Voice of Dissent, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 1/30 - 2/1/67," set out information concerning the appearance of Bayard Rustin as one of the speakers at the Miami University, Oxford, on 1/31/67. Rustin spoke regarding his views on the "Black Power" movement.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
94-1-2114-36 encl.p.4-6	(3)
-38 encl.p.2	(3)

On 2/6/67, the Department of Justice furnished a copy of a clipping from the "New York Post" dated 1/5/67, captioned "Row Over Union Tests For Negroes," alleging discriminatory treatment of applicants for apprenticeship in the Sheetmetal Workers Union Local #28, NYC, (173-4354).

The Department requested the FBI to interview Bayard Rustin, Director of A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, and others, who were quoted in the article as indicating that the applicants were given extensive preparation for the tests and alleged that rejection of the test was discriminatory. According to the article, Rustin denied that any irregular means were used in the tutoring program.

Copy of clipping enclosed
173-4354-1
(24)

[redacted] and [redacted] advised that at a meeting of the Ship Club, CP of Maryland, held in Baltimore on 2/22/67, [redacted] gave [redacted] ten copies of A. Phillip Randolph's "Freedom Budget." This pamphlet was put out by the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). They discussed the NALC and the possibility of getting additional copies of the "Freedom Budget" to be put on sale at the New Era (CP) Book Shop. [redacted] stated that Bayard Rustin would be in Baltimore in the near future for the purpose of discussing the "Freedom Budget." b2 b6 b7C b7D

The subject of this file is Cominfil NALC.

100-432067-693 p.3,4
(7)

The following references in the file captioned "VIDEM" contain information pertaining to the activities of Bayard Rustin in connection with the above demonstrations from August, 1964 to April, 1967 in WDC and NYC. Rustin spoke at rallies and was one of the sponsors of the March on Washington held 11/27/65 in WDC.

REFERENCE		SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-138315-1792	encl.p.4	(15)
-2021	encl.p.4	(15)
-3274	p.311,359,363,364, 482,534,535,1078,1079	(15)
-4026	p.A40,A62,152,394,395	(15)
-5823		(15)
-8692	p.125,281,282	(15)

The NY Office advised that a leaflet issued by the War Resister's League (97-3) was made available on 4/27/67. The leaflet listed names of individuals who were members of the Executive Committee of that organization. The name Bayard Rustin appeared on the list.

105-16345-38
changed to
97-3-172X
(14)

[redacted] advised that a leaflet was distributed at the Black Unity and Leadership Conference held at the Southcrest Recreation Center, San Diego, Calif., 4/14-16/67. The leaflet announced the holding of a California Black Conference 5/26-28/67, at Jefferson High School, Los Angeles, Calif. (62-111534), on "Survival of the Black People." The leaflet indicated that Bayard Rustin would be one of the speakers. b2 b7D

Leaflet enclosed
62-111534-1X
(3)

The following references in the file captioned "Cominfil Radio-Television Industry" set out information that Bayard Rustin, who was alleged to have taken part in CP or related activities, was scheduled to appear on radio and/or television programs in the NYC area from 5/29/65 to 11/3/67.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-340922-501 p.3-5,12,20,21	(6)
-503 p.20-22,25	(6)
-505 p.7,8,12,22,24,25	(6)
-507 p.11,12,16,23,24	(6)
-509 p.10,11,14	(6)

The following references in the file captioned "CIRM" contain information pertaining to the activities of Bayard Rustin in connection with racial and civil rights matters from July, 1965 to December, 1967 in Mississippi, Pennsylvania, NYC, Illinois, Alabama and Georgia. Rustin was formerly a member of the Young Communist League and the CP, a lecturer, a fellow traveller of the Socialist Workers Party, and a leader in the civil rights movement. Rustin was active in SCLC affairs, and was one of the advisors to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the SCLC. Rustin was in contact with numerous officials of peace organizations. He spoke at numerous meetings relating to racial and civil rights activities.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-442529-1480	(10)
-1482 encl.p.1,2,4,5	(10)
-1489	(10)
-1507 p.62,63,71,72,77,80,93,67,68,75	(10)
-1595 p.1,6-8,10,11,13-15,17,25,26	(11)
-1601	(11)
-1609	(11)
-1610 p.3-5,7	(11)
-1625	(11)
-1638 p.1,3,4	(11)
-1652 p.1A,42,60,61	(11)
-1684 p.1,6-8,10,23,24	(11)
-1738	(11)
-1786 encl.p.1,2,5,6	(12)
-1795 p.1A,42,44,53,55,64,65,36,45	(12)
-1824 p.1,8-10,16-18,41,42	(12)
-1836 encl.p.1,3	(12)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE		SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-442529-1863	encl.p.3,7,8	(12)
-1866	encl.p.1-4	(12)
-1868	encl.p.2-4	(12)
-1870		(12)
-1905	p.1,3-5	(12)
-1940	p.1,9,10,20	(12)
-1944	p.2,46,47,56-59,69,70	(12)
-1970		(13)
-1986	encl.p.2,7	(13)
-2026	p.1b,27,33,35,37-39,52,53	(13)
-2041	p.1,4,5,7,8,19,20	(13)
-2057	encl.p.1-3,5,6	(13)
-2059	encl.p.1-4	(13)
-2116	p.1A,8,32,34,35,37,38,73,74	(13)
-2129		(13)
-2241	encl.p.1-3	(13)
-2243	p.1A,40-44,52,63,64	(13)
-2348	encl.p.6	(14)
-2354	p.7,10,15,16	(14)
-2493	p.1,8,9	(14)
-2503	p.5,6,18,19	(14)

Bureau memorandum dated 12/6/67, made reference to a letter dated 11/29/67, from [redacted] enclosed an article from "The Quincy Herald-Whig" of 11/26/67, in which it was noted that a series of articles were to be written by prominent Americans expressing their views on "The Condition of American Spirit." Among the contributors were FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Bayard Rustin. [redacted] stated that it did not seem appropriate to have an article of the Director's categorized with such an individual as Rustin.

b6
b7C

It was recommended that [redacted] letter not be acknowledged.

94-8-972-18
(4)

b6
b7C

On 12/13/67, [redacted] a United Press International news reporter, Jackson, Miss., advised that the Southern Regional Council (SRC) (100-273340) was sponsoring a workshop at Jackson on 12/14-15/67. The purpose was to orient Negroes who had been elected to political office in Mississippi. He stated that individuals who would be attending the workshop included Bayard Rustin.

b2
b7D

[redacted] advised that the SRC held a voter education project under the title "Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials" at the Downtowner Motor Hotel, Jackson, on 12/14-15/67. Informant provided the agenda for the two-day workshop which indicated that Rustin was one of the speakers on 12/14/67.

100-273340-88 encl.p.1,3
(5)

The 2/16/68 issue of "The New York Times," page 18C, contained an article entitled "M'Carthy Critics Will Stay In A.D.A.," by Roy Reed, and datelined Washington, Feb. 15. The article stated that on 2/15/68, Bayard Rustin, Director of the A. Philip Randolph Foundation, was one of 19 members of the Americans for Democratic Action (100-348196) who opposed the backing of the antiwar candidacy of Senator Eugene McCarthy.

100-348196-A "The New York Times," 2/16/68
(6)

b2
b7D

[redacted] furnished a copy of the February-March, 1968, Issue 4, Volume 1, of a newsletter captioned "The Patriot," self described as Patriotic Party (100-449934) official news. The newsletter was postmarked Livonia, Michigan. Under the caption "Ohio Area News" appeared an article written by Vivienne Suarez (not further identified) in which she stated that John J. Gilligan of Cincinnati, pseudo-liberal Democrat for US Senate, had the support of pro-communist and pacifist organizations. Suarez continued that Gilligan had participated in programs featuring Bayard Rustin (Mr. March on Washington, homosexual).

Copy of newsletter enclosed
100-449934-2X3 encl.p.10
(14)

A source who furnished reliable information in the past, (not further identified) advised that at a strike* strategy meeting held at the Clayborn Temple, Memphis, on 3/11/68, it was announced that efforts would be made to bring civil rights spokesman Bayard Rustin to Memphis, Tenn.

On 3/12/68 SA's and the Memphis PD observed approximately 200 Negro adults march from the Clayborn Temple to the City Hall and seat themselves in the City Council Chambers. Council refused to hear any resolutions. All spectators, led by Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., Rev. S. B. Kyles, and Maxine Smith, Executive Secretary, NAACP, walked out of the Council into the lobby of City Hall. Rev. Lawson spoke to the audience in which he stated that he would bring national leaders in the civil rights movement, including Rustin, to Memphis to aid in the struggle.

157-9146-X37
(23)

*Refers to the Sanitation Workers Strike (157-9146).

The following references on Bayard Rustin appear in the main file of Martin Luther King, Jr., who was President of SCLC up to the time of his assassination on 4/4/68. The references set out the close association and activities engaged in by these two men in the affairs of the SCLC and civil rights matters from November, 1964 to April, 1968 in New York and Atlanta. Rustin was one of King's close advisors.

REFERENCE		SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-106670-1952	encl.p.1-3	(4)
-1967		(4)
-2220	p.D,3-5,7-9,12,13, 15-22,24,26-28,30, 31,38,39	(4)
-2227		(4)
-2259		(5)
-2284		(5)
-2306		(5)
-2462		(5)
-2659		(5)
-2686		(5)
-2742		(5)
-3286	encl.p.1,2,4,5	(5)
-3289		(5)
-3299		(5)

[redacted] Memphis PD, advised that on 4/6/68, preliminary conferences between supporters of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Committee on the Move for Equality (COME), a group of Memphis Negro ministers supporting the sanitation workers strike, had made rather finalized plans for a mass march for 4/8/68. The march was scheduled to be a memorial march for the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. [redacted] stated that Rev. H. Ralph Jackson, Director of the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church, one of the COME leaders, had stated that Bayard Rustin had arrived in Memphis and was a technical assistant to Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, who was the titular organizer of the Memphis March.

b6
b7C

This reference indicated that King was President of SCLC.

157-9146-13 encl.p.3
(23)

The following references in the file captioned "POCAM" set out information which indicated that in May, 1968 Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, President of SCLC, had appointed Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, NYC, to serve as organizer and coordinator for the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) to be held in WDC on 6/19/68. Several officials of SCLC were critical of Rustin, due to statements he had made regarding the goals of the PPC and the demonstration scheduled for 6/19/68. As a result, Rustin resigned from his position as organizer and coordinator in the fore part of June, 1968. In January and February, 1968, Rustin was in contact with numerous SCLC officials in NYC and Miami in connection with the civil rights movement. Florida

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-8428-109 encl.p.1,2,4,5	(19)
-294 encl.p.1,2	(20)
-1720 p.6	(20)
-1838 encl.p.2	(20)
-1940 encl.p.9	(20)
-1981 encl.p.3	(20)
-2016	(20)
-2029	(20)
-2035	(20)
-2067	(20)
-2084	(20)
-2119	(32)
-2190 p.5	(20)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-8428-2196	(21)
-2284	(21)
-2384 encl.p.3	(21)
-2409	(21)
-2843 encl.p.3	(21)
-A "Washington Post Times Herald," 5/15/68	(21)
-A The "Evening Star" 5/20/68 *	(21)
-A "Evening Star" (Wash.) 6/1/68 *	(22)
-A "Evening Star" 6/3/68 *	(22)
-A "Evening Star" 6/3/68 *	(21)
-A "Washington Daily News," 6/4/68	(21)
-A "Washington Post Times Herald" 6/4/68	(22)
-A "Evening Star" 6/4/68 *	(22)
-A "Washington Post Times Herald" 6/4/68	(22)
-A "Washington Post Times Herald" 6/4/68	(22)
-A "Evening Star" 6/5/68*	(22)
-A Washington Capital News Service 6/7/68	(23)
-A "Evening Star" (Wash.)* 6/7/68	(22)
-A Washington Capital News Service 6/7/68	(22)
-A Washington Capital News Service 6/7/68	(21)
-A "Los Angeles Times Mirror," 7/2/68	(23)
-A Washington Capital News Service 6/7/68	**(23)**

*WDC

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" contain information pertaining to the activities of Bayard Rustin from February, 1966 to June, 1968 in connection with the civil rights movement in New York, Georgia, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

(continued)

(continued)

Rustin was considered one of the leaders in the integration movement. He addressed various civil rights groups, participated in demonstrations, and was in contact with other leaders of the civil rights movement.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-6-831	(17)
157-6-2-2063 encl.p.1	(17)
-2072 encl.p.1	(17)
157-6-3-1836 encl.p.1-3	(17)
-1855 encl.p.1,2	(17)
157-6-6-584	(17)
157-6-9-2892 encl.p.4,5,7,8	(18)
157-6-10-1096 encl.p.5	(18)
-1241 encl.p.4	(18)
157-6-11-784	(18)
157-6-26-1146 encl.p.15	(18)
157-6-28-1439	(18)
-1443 encl.p.2	(18)
-1472 encl.p.2	(18)
157-6-31-1025	(18)
157-6-34-1767 encl.p.3,4	(18)
-2626	(18)
157-6-37-1859 encl.p.11,12	(19)
-1900	(19)
-2316 encl.p.6	(19)
157-6-46-347	(19)
157-6-47-936	(19)
157-6-54-1457	(19)
-1467	(19)

On 6/5/68 [redacted] advised that Bayard Rustin, then serving as coordinator of the SCLC Poor People's Campaign in WDC, called a conference of all Black Militants in the US to be held in Atlanta, Ga., 6/28-30/68. While Rustin did not specify the location of this conference, informant believed it would be held at Morehouse College, Atlanta. b2 b7D

157-8415-2-15
(19)

The Postal Inspector In Charge, General Post Office, NYC, referred a letter to the New York Office from [redacted] A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th St., NYC, in which she had enclosed a letter addressed to Bayard Rustin. It was felt by the Institute staff that the letter, dated 6/10/68, at Detroit, Mich., constituted a possible threat to Rustin. b6 b7C

This matter was discussed with assistant US Attorney John E. Sprizzo, Southern District of New York on 6/27/68, and prosecution was declined.

9-0-14544
(2)

[redacted], advised that members of Klavern #14, National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, picketed the home of [redacted] on 6/18/68, in protest of the presence of Bayard Rustin. Rustin was speaking at a function of the Americans for Democratic Action. b6 b7C

157-9661-12
(23)
SI 157-9661-15 p.1,5
(24)

The 7/2/68 issue of "San Francisco Chronicle" contained an article captioned "A Separate Black State-Necessary or Foolhardy?", written by Dale Champion. The article stated that at the annual meeting of the National Community Relations Advisory Council held at the Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, 7/1/68, a leading advocate of black nationalism argued for creation of a Negro "homeland" in America because complete racial integration was unattainable and undesirable. The separatist position of Robert S. Browne, assistant professor of economics at New Jersey's Fairleigh Dickinson University, was challenged by Bayard Rustin, the noted New York civil rights leader.

157-9153-21 encl.p.1
(23)

On 7/15/68, [redacted] advised that the A. Philip Randolph Foundation, headed by Bayard Rustin, NYC, had agreed to financial support of the Mississippi coalition group in the amount of $30,000. However, since dispute had erupted by the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) members of supporters within the Mississippi coalition group, Rustin had held up the financial support until the issue was resolved. b2 b7D

[redacted] stated that the Mississippi coalition group was preparing a challenge to the Mississippi Democratic Party regular delegates at the National Democratic Convention (157-8589) to be held in Chicago, Ill., in August, 1968. b2 b7D

157-8589-269 encl.p.4
(23)

The following references in the file captioned "Cominfil Southern Christian Leadership Conference" (SCLC) contain information pertaining to the activities of Bayard Rustin, officer in this organization. Rustin participated in numerous activities of the SCLC from May, 1965 to August, 1968, in Georgia, Alabama, Illinois, Mississippi, and New York.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-438794-738	(7)
-740	(7)
-789 encl.p.9	(2)
-794 p.1,4,6,7-9,11-13,16,18, 23-25,28,29,32,33,35,38	(7)

(continued)

(continued)

REFERENCE		SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-438794-816	encl.p.4,9	(7)
-857		(7)
-931		(7)
-940		(7)
-1077		(7)
-1166		(8)
-1256	p.27,29-31,38,46,54,81, 85,105	(8)
-1271	encl.p.1,2,4,5	(8)
-1290		(8)
-1331		(8)
-1346	encl.p.4,5,10	(8,25)
-1353	p.1,4,6,7,11,24,25,34,35	(8)
-1460	p.33,33A,37	(8)
-1520	encl.p.1,4,5	(8)
-1525	encl.p.1,5	(8)
-1551	encl.p.1-3	(9)
-1553	encl.p.7	(9)
-1564	encl.p.1	(9)
-1611	p.1,24-26,31-33,51,52	(9)
-1614	p.1,2,4,5,8,17,19,20, 29,30,32-34	(9)
-1675		(9)
-1703	p.36,37,39	(9)
-1794		(9)
-1795		(9)
-1796	encl.p.4,5	(9)
-1838	p.1,3-5,8,9,11,12,35, 37,38,43,46	(10)
-1871		(10)
-2242	p.2-6,8	(10)
-2335	p.1,24,28,38,39	(10)
-2345	p.1,3,8,20,24,34,35	(10)
-A	"Clarion Ledger," 8/8/66 Jackson, Miss.	(10)

[redacted] advised that Bayard Rustin was a civil rights activist who had directed the civil rights march on WDC on 8/28/63. b2 b7D

(continued)

(continued)

[redacted] advised that Rustin was one of the speakers at the national convention of the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi (LDM) held on 8/11/68 at Jackson, Mississippi. Rustin arrived in Jackson on 8/10/68. He had been an active fund raiser for the LDM. He spoke on the topic of "Better Race Relations Through the Democratic Process." b2 b7D

157-8589-414 encl.p.6,7
(23)

The following references on Bayard Rustin located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were reviewed and found to be identical with the subject of this summary; however, the information contained therein has not been included:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-106670-2092	(4)
100-442529-1603	(11)
-1604	(11)
105-67845-21538	(15)

*****

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
BUREAU OF PERSONNEL INVESTIGATIONS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20415

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

DATE: 5-8-69

FILE: INO:DHF:rc

NAME	DATE OF BIRTH
O RUSTIN, Bayard	3-17-12

POSITION, ORGANIZATION, AND LOCATION
Consultant, Division of Research and Publication
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities
Washington, D. C.

The disposition made of this case in which your Bureau conducted investigation is indicated below:

A. [x] APPLICANT [ ] EMPLOYEE

100-158790

B. FINAL ACTION:

[x] By Agency [ ] By CSC

[x] Favorable determination

[ ] Removed or not appointed as a result of security determination under:

[ ] E. O. 10450 [ ] CSC procedures

[ ] Removed or not appointed as a result of suitability determination.

[ ] Resigned before determination was completed:

[ ] After charges were preferred or after being advised that charges were to be preferred.

[ ] Other

[ ] Separated (other than by resignation) or dropped from consideration before determination was completed.

C. AUTHORITY FOR INVESTIGATION

[ ] E. O. 10450 [ ] P. L. 920

[ ] E. O. 9835 [ ] E. O. 10422 or 10459

[ ] P. L. 298 [x] Other Applicant type reports

100-158790

NOT RECORDED
12 MAY 9 1969

Director, Bureau of Personnel Investigations

56 JUN 2 1969

IN 374
APRIL 1964

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVIED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-22-2009

FBI

Date: 3/14/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-NEW) (P)

MEMORIAL MARCH COMMEMORATING
DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
TO BE HELD MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE,
APRIL 4, 1969
RACIAL MATTERS

(OO: Memphis)

Classified by 367 XRT/JSP
Declassify on: OADR 3/4/83

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter.

Copies of this letterhead memorandum are also designated for other listed offices.

Local authorities have been advised regarding proposed memorial march and copies of the enclosed LHM are being furnished to U. S. Attorneys at Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee; to U. S. Secret Service, Memphis; to 111th MI Group, Third Army, Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee; to NISO, Charleston, North Carolina, and Memphis, Tennessee; to OSI, 8th District, Maxwell AFB, Alabama; to OSI, 9th District, Barksdale AFB, Louisiana; and to G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia.

00-158790-

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 25 1969

ENCLOSURE

22 MAR 17 1969

3 - Bureau (Encs.11)(RM)
3 - Atlanta (Encs.3)(RM)
2 - Jackson (Encs.2)(RM)
2 - Little Rock (Encs.2)(RM)
2 - WFO (Encs.2)(RM)
14 - Memphis (2 - 157-NEW); 1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence); 1 - 157-1168,(Racial Situation); 157-166 (SCLC); 1-157-1022 (Black Nationalist Movement); 1 - 157-1516 (AFSCME); 1 - [redacted]); 1 - [redacted]; 1 - [redacted]; 1-157-1538 (RALPH D.ABERNATHY); 1 - 157-1308 (COME); 1 - [redacted]; 1 - 66-1687 Sub A (Dissemination)

HSL:gmh
(26)

ENCLOSURE

51 APR 4 1969

Approved: R. Jensen
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ M Per RACIAL INT. SECT.

AGENCY: CRD, ~~FBI~~, IIU, ~~FBI~~, CD, ACSI, OSI
HOW FORW:
DATE FORW: MAR 18 1969
BY:

Room 836
9 & D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-12709-7

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The first confidential source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [redacted]. b2 b7D

The second confidential source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [redacted] (protected by request). b6 b7C b7D

LEADS:

ALL OFFICES RECEIVING COPIES OF THIS AIRTEL are requested to contact logical racial informants and sources of information and ascertain plans of local SCLC groups or other organizations regarding their plans to take part in captioned memorial march. Sources should also be contacted regarding information concerning the "Poor Peoples March" on Washington, D. C., scheduled to begin 4/4/69, also at Memphis, Tennessee.

JACKSON AND LITTLE ROCK DIVISIONS

Will maintain contact with local transportation companies for any information re leasing or renting of buses to transport persons to Memphis, Tennessee, for local memorial march or to transport persons to Washington, D. C., for the proposed "Poor Peoples" march on Washington.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

Will maintain contact with logical sources and furnish all information available re proposed marches.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 14, 1969

Re: MEMORIAL MARCH COMMEMORATING
DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
TO BE HELD MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE,
APRIL 4, 1969
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 13, 1969, Jesse Epps, International Representative of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), and the Reverend James Lawson, Pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, held a press conference at Memphis, Tennessee, at which press conference Jesse Epps announced that a memorial march will be held through downtown Memphis, Tennessee, April 4, 1969, the first anniversary of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Epps stated that the Memphis march will begin at the same time as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)-sponsored "Poor People's March" to Washington, D. C., which was announced in Miami, Florida, on March 12, 1969, by the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, President of the SCLC.

Epps stated that Coretta King, widow of Dr. King, and the Reverend Abernathy are among those invited to attend the beginning of this march at Memphis, Tennessee. Mr. Epps stated that when the marchers arrive at the Lorraine Motel, where Dr. King was killed, they will place a wreath at a large picture of Dr. King, and observe a minute of silence.

Page one of the April 14, 1968, issue of the "Commercial Appeal," a local daily newspaper at Memphis, Tennessee, reflected the following article entitled, "Good Friday March to Honor King":

100-158798 ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/4/83 BY

ENCLOSURE

MEMORIAL MARCH COMMEMORATING
DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
TO BE HELD MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE,
APRIL 4, 1969

"A memorial march will be held through downtown Memphis on April 4, first anniversary of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. On the same day, another 'Poor Peoples' march to Washington will originate here.

"They are not related, said Jesse Epps, international representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), when he announced the local march yesterday.

"The Washington march had been announced Wednesday night in a Miami speech by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, successor to Dr. King as leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"The announcements were made separately, but Memphis planners were looking for harmony. 'We will not try to stand in conflict,' said the Rev. James Lawson, pastor of Centenary Methodist Church and a civil rights leader. 'It will be one single happening.'

"Mr. Epps and the Rev. Mr. Lawson were close-mouthed about details of the Memphis march, but in Washington, Jerry Wurf, president of the AFSCME, said it would begin at Clayborn Temple, go by the Lorraine Motel, where Dr. King was killed, and proceed to City Hall.

"At City Hall, political, union, and church leaders are expected to speak. Mr. Epps said Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr King, and the Rev. Mr. Abernathy are among those invited.

"When the marchers arrive at the motel, they will place a wreath at a large picture of Dr. King and observe a minute of silence.

"The Rev. Mr. Lawson said the march is not connected with the conviction Monday of James Earl Ray, who pleaded guilty to killing Dr. King and has started serving a 99-year sentence. 'This is just to bring about changes that Memphis and the nation must have.'

MEMORIAL MARCH COMMEMORATING
DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
TO BE HELD MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE,
APRIL 4, 1969

"Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, director of the Minimum Salary Department of the AME Church and vice chairman of Community on the Move for Equality (COME), conducted the Washington press conference with Mr. Wurf and said caravans from other cities, particularly those in which employees are organized, will move into Memphis for the march. Dr. Jackson added that COME will furnish 24 buses to bring marchers from Marks, Miss.; Fayette County, Tenn.; and areas in Arkansas.

"He will meet Monday, he said, with Frank Holloman, fire and police director, to secure the necessary permits.

"Bayard Rustin, who co-ordinated the Washington march in 1963, agreed last week to direct the Memphis march.

"Mr. Wurf said he did not feel there would be a problem getting time off for city-employed union members, calling attention to April 4 being Good Friday which many consider a holiday. 'Let me assure you there will be no shutdown of critical public services,' he added.

"Announcing the national march, the Rev. Mr. Abernathy said he will personally lead it, calling it the second chapter of the 'Poor Peoples Campaign.' Without elaborating, he said the march will include a 'Black Easter' celebration enroute to Washington.

"'I do not anticipate the building of a Resurrection City as such,' the Rev. Mr. Abernathy told the Miami audience, 'but we do intend to use our First Amendment rights of orderly and peacefully petitioning the President as well as the Congress for redress of our grievances.'"

On March 13, 1969, a confidential source familiar with SCLC activities at Memphis, Tennessee, advised that no plans have been formulated by the local SCLC organization regarding either the memorial march commemorating the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to be held at Memphis, Tennessee, April 4, 1969, or the "Poor Peoples March" on Washington, D. C., which has been announced as beginning at Memphis, Tennessee, also on April 4, 1969.

A second confidential source advised on March 13, 1969, that no arrangements have been made at Memphis, Tennessee, to obtain buses to transport persons to Washington, D. C., on or about April 4, 1969.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-[illegible]2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 14, 1969

Title: MEMORIAL MARCH COMMEMORATING DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., TO BE HELD MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, APRIL 4, 1969

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8415) DATE: 3/4/69

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (157-2871)(P)

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
RM (ANTI-SEMITISM)

BAYARD RUSTIN

Re Bureau airtel, 2/13/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of a blind memorandum dated and captioned as above.

157-8415-29-11

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-458790

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 18 1969

1 + 1 encl 806 Cf, 4 encl destroyed 157-8415-29-11

REC-50

ENCLOSURE

(2) - Bureau (Enc. 6)(RM)
1 - Miami
JCM/bab
(3)

17 MAR 6 1969

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RACH. INT. SECT.

MAR 21 1969 MD

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

March 4, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
RACIAL MATTERS (ANTI-SEMITISM)

The February 7, 1969, edition of the "Miami Times", a Miami, Florida weekly newspaper published mainly for Miami Negro communities, contained an editorial by Bayard Rustin captioned, "On Blacks and Jews".

The February 21, 1969, edition of the "Miami Times" contained an editorial by Leon J. Ell captioned, "Facts Not Fiction" in which Ell expounded on the theories set forth in Rustin's article.

The following are Xerox copies of these articles:

100-158790

~~157-8415-24~~

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-27-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Bayard Rustin Speaks

On Blacks And Jews

Two years ago, in response to a growing trend of hostility between Negroes and Jews, I wrote that "it would be one of the great tragedies of Negro and Jewish experiences in a hostile civilization if the time should come when either group begins using against each other the same weapon (of prejudice) which the white majorities of the West have used for centuries to crush and deny both of them their sense of humanity." Events have made these words even more relevant today. Jewish leaders have spoken to the Jewish conscience about these developments, and it is with a sense of urgency that Negro leaders must now address their own communities.

I am sure I need not explain to Negroes why anti-semitism, as a form of prejudice, is morally wrong. Certainly Negroes have seen as clearly as any people in history how prejudice can brutalize and oppress. They have seen how bigots can stereotype a race and deny the dignity of a people because they have neither the courage to recognize that dignity nor the wisdom to understand it. And certainly Negroes must know that if an atmosphere of vilification and condemnation is permitted to develop, that they themselves will be its chief victims. It is in this sense that the anti-semitism of some Negroes is not only morally wrong but strategically suicidal.

I have written before that anti-semitism is an outgrowth of frustration, that because Negroes have been obstructed in their fight for full equality, there have been some who in their despair have attacked those very people who have been the closest allies of the Negro struggle--namely, the Jews. To understand this, however, is not to condone it. Nor is it to ignore the politically disastrous effect that anti-semitism will have on Negroes, for if it is permitted to gain a foothold, it will be the first step in the disintegration of the liberal Catholic-Jewish-Protestant coalition on which Negroes have had to depend for the passage of civil rights legislation and other measures for social and economic justice.

Up to now the distinguishing -- and most distinguished -- feature of the Negro struggle for social equally has been its moral authority. On the basis of this authority we have been able to appeal in our struggle to the great American documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as the moral and legal foundation of our demands. The emergence of anti-semitism not only undermines the basis of this appeal, but it makes a travestry of a movement that has been the conscience of this nation.

I appeal to the Jewish community not to permit the anti-semitism of a small, unrepresentative minority in the black community to drive them out of the struggle for social justice and democracy. And I emphasize that this is in their interest, for if the overall struggle for democracy breaks down, then Jews -- a minority themselves, like Negroes--will inevitably suffer. The central problem, as some Jewish leaders have pointed out, is that racism is unavoidable when there is no democratically viable alternative for dealing with social and economic injustice.

And I appeal to the Negro community, that just as we call on Jews to continue their dedication to democracy and social equity, that we pledge not to ignore or excuse any manifestation of anti-semitism in the black community and to combat it vigorously wherever it appears. I urge this not for the sake of Jews or Negroes, but for the sake of the preservation of the democratic values which Jews and Negroes must share -- values we must all share in the ultimate hope of a liberated mankind.

Facts Not Fiction

By LEON J. ELL

The writer had intended to begin this article bemoaning the lack of understanding between the blacks and Jews, but having read the very excellent and pertinent column by Mr. Bayard Rustin, that appeared in the Miami Times, February 7th issue, entitled "On Blacks and Jews," I will omit that part of my intended article, so eloquently and factually covered by Mr. Rustin, and attempt to show the black people the warmth and concern that the American Jews felt and have shown towards the Negroes in the United States during their period of slavery and thereafter.

The dissertation of facts that follow are in no sense intended to claim any special compensation for the help the Jews have given to the Negro people. I cite them for the purpose of showing that the Jews have, all through the ages, sought justice for all oppressed people, black and white. The Jews more than any other group of people have felt the injustice of collective responsibilities.

Heinrich Heine, the great German-Jewish poet, admonished "Do not judge a people by its peddlers on the street, judge them by their apostolic succession of greatment."

It is unjust to charge the Jewish people with exploitation as landlords or merchants. They should be judged by their action whether they are Jews, white Gentiles, or Negros and not as a people.

Themselves age-old victims of discrimination, Jews have always been acutely sensitive to the plight of other oppressed minorities. In America, as far back as the early part of the 19th century, they have shown a marked interest in the welfare of all other minority groups and a desire to help eliminate injustices against these countrymen. Indicative of this attitude has been the contribution of American Jews to the well-being of the Negro.

This report is an attempt to cite several outstanding and recorded contributions to the civic, economic, educational, and social welfare of the black people. It does not evaluate these benefactions, nor does it lay claim to completeness. It is based almost entirely upon the information culled from bibliography.

The earliest recorded instance of Jewish effort in behalf of Negroes date back to the opening decades of the 19th century. Judah Touro, a prominent Jewish resident of New Orleans, the nerve center of early slave traffic, was opposed to the scenes of enslavement which he saw about him. Emancipating his own personal servant, he not only trained him for business, but furnished him with money and valuable advice in business affairs. He also made possible the freeing of the slaves owned by a friend with whom he made his home, training them and furnishing them too with money to establish themselves. In all his benefactions -- hospitals, orphanages, etc. -- the underlying condition always was that no discrimination be made on account of race or creed.

Also violently anti-slavery were the German Jewish immigrants of 1848 who had but a short time back witnessed the inhumanity of oppression in their native land. They were very active in the "underground railway" and gave many champions to the abolitionist cause. Among them were:

(a) Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, and Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal and Liebman Adler, of Chicago, who preached against slavery;

(b) Rabbi David Einhorn, of Baltimore, who was compelled to give up his ministry because of his anti-slavery sentiments;

(c) Michael Heilprin, a writer, who converted many leaders to abolition by is brilliant articles in the New York Tribune;

(d) Leopold Blumenberg, of Baltimore, only seven years in the United States, who left a good business to organize the 5th Maryland Regiment of which he became major. He goaded neighboring secessionists by his anti-slavery activities and one night barely escaped being lynched by them.

Jews also aided materially in founding and supporting the anti-slavery Republican Party. Several were delegates to the convention which nominated Lincoln.

In modern times, the record of Jewish benefactions is more extensive and much more impressive. Many Jews have devoted much time and energy to the alleviation of Negro suffering and the elimination of injustice. In the defense of Negro rights, for instance, the extent of Jewish participation has been so great as to call forth the praise of Negro groups and the resentment of un-democratic groups in the South.

Following the race riots in 1908, a Kentuckian white, William English Walling, called for a body of citizens to come forward and defend the citizenship rights of American Negroes. Fifty distinguished Americans of all faiths and creeds affixed their signatures to the call. Among these were several prominent Jews: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, Dr. Henry Moskowitz of New York, and Lillian D. Wald, pioneer settlement worker. This was the beginning of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- an organization which still functions at the present time.

Since 1908, many Jews have been actively engaged in the important civic-protective work of the NAACP. Most noteworthy among them have been the Spingarn brothers, Arthur and Joel Elias. A professor at Columbia University, Joel E. Spingarn was president of the organization for almost ten years -- from 1930 to July 1939. At various times, he also held the positions of treasurer and chairman of the National Board of Directors. Upon his death in 1939, he was succeeded by his brother, Arthur Spingarn, who still retains that post. Author of The Negro and the War and Introduction to the African Saga, the incumbent president, who has been practicing law in New York City since 1900, formerly held the positions of chairman of the National Legal Committee and vice-president of the organization. When, in 1910, it became popular in the Southern communities to attempt to prescribe by law the places where black people might and might not live, he carried the fight against this action to the highest court in the land, the U. S. Supreme Court contesting its constitutionality. He won his case. In this particular phase of the organization's work, he was aided by another Jewish member of the Board of Directors and outstanding communal leader, Louis Marshall. Marshall appeared at Washington on various occasions to argue before the Supreme Court cases regarding the civil rights of Negroes, to whom he frequently gave counsel. He represented the NAACP before the Supreme Court in the famous Texas "white primary" case. The case arose out of passage by the Texas legislature of a law specifically excluding Negro citizens from democratic primaries in that state. In March, 1927, he won his case when the court handed down a unimous decision declaring the law unconstitutional. Marshall also supervised the legal action in the Virginia "white primary" case, which the NAACP carried before the High Court in 1929 and won. His efforts in behalf of black people were recognized and appreciated when he was incited as guest speaker to the annual convention of the National Association in 1927. After his death the following tribute was paid to him in the forward to the 20th annual report of the organization:

"The deaths during 1929 of the Association's two greatest legal champions, Moorfield Storey (non-Jew) and Louis Marshall, were staggering blows and the unique positions they occupied cannot be filled."

A tabelt bearing the following inscription was also erected in the Temple Emanu-El in New York City by the Association:
In Memory of
LOUIS MARSHALL
who, believing that justice should know no color line, fought valiantly for the rights of the Negro. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People thus records its gratitude.

The writer believes that knowledge of the facts is a prerequisite to understanding and, to that end, cited facts, hoping that my fellow black American will read same, thus helping to bring about a closer relation for their mutual benefit.

Next installment will cover further information. Meanwhile, I would like to get a reaction from the readers of the Miami Times to the above column, favorable or otherwise.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8415)

DATE: FEB 25 1969

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161569)

9

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SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES
RM
(OO: NEW YORK)

There are enclosed for the Bureau 11 copies of a blind memorandum containing the comments of BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Director, A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH Institute, on the hostility that exists between blacks and Jews in NYC.

157-8415-34-39

100-158790

NOT RECORDED
183 MAR 4 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

REC- 76

157-8415-34-39

12 FEB 26 1969

11- 181 encl 806D

2-Bureau (157-8415) (RM) (Encls. 11)
1-New York (100-161569) (43)

JFOC:dmd
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RACIAL INT. SECT.

269

53 MAR 11 1969 ENCLOSURE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-103

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Black Nationalist Movement in the United States

Bayard Rustin, well-known Negro civil rights activist and Executive Director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, writing in the February 8, 1969 issue of the "Amsterdam News", a Negro newspaper published in New York City (NYC), warns against the continuance of hostility between Negro and Jew and quotes a previous statement he made on the subject in which he said it would be a great tragedy if either group used prejudice against the other.

Rustin notes that anti-Semitism is an outgrowth of frustration and that some Negroes, obstructed in their fight for equality, have attacked the Jews who have been their allies. He states that this cannot be condoned because anti-Semitism can be politcally disastrous for Negroes if permitted to gain a foothold. He warns that anti-Semitism by Negroes is morally wrong and that Negroes will be the ones hurt if an atmosphere of villification is allowed to develop.

Rustin further warns that anti-Semitism will undermine the most distinquishing feature of the Negro struggles, its moral authority. He appeals to the Jewish community to not allow any anti-Semitism on the part of a small minority of the Negro community to drive them out of the Negro struggle. He also calls upon Negroes not to excuse any incident of anti-Semitism by Negroes and to combat it whenever it appears.

100-158790

ENCLOSURE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

EX-116

REC 43 100-158716-186

November 17, 1969

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

In response to the inquiry in your letter which I received on November 12th, I am enclosing an excerpt from my testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on February 10, 1966, which contains information about Bayard Rustin. I trust this will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 7
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COMM-FBI

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

FMG:elh (3)

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

TRUE COPY

[redacted]

November 5, 1969

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

Dear Sir:

I would like to if Bayard Rustin, a Negro, who was recently named to the Board of Trustees of Notre Dame University is known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a member of any subversive organization.

I would appreciate any information you can provide on this matter.

Sincerely yours

[redacted]

EX-116

REC 43 100-158790-186

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

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[redacted]

November 5, 1969

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

Dear Sir:

I would like to if Bayard Rustin, a Negro, who was recently named to the Board of Trustees of Notre Dame University, is known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a member of any subversive organization.

I would appreciate any information you can provide on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

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None fmg: mrm

CORRESPONDENCE

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DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

BAYARD RUSTIN

0-19 (Rev. 11-3-69)

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Around the Nation

Black Solidarity Day

NEW YORK—Black Solidarity Day, a demonstration on behalf of full rights for Negroes, drastically cut school attendance and caused some absenteeism at places of business.

Most schools in Negro districts reported attendance ranging from only 10 per cent of normal to 30 per cent. At least two schools in Manhattan were closed.

Negro policemen drove with their lights on as did many Negroes throughout the city. A number of stores in Harlem were closed and displayed signs calling for black solidarity.

City offices and the Transit Authority reported no appreciable absenteeism although Mayor John V. Lindsay told black workers they were free to take the day off and have it charged against annual leave or overtime.

Kopechne Inquest

EDGARTOWN, Mass.—Lawyers for prospective witnesses at the Mary Jo Kopechne inquest have been called to a private conference Thursday with Judge James A. Boyle in District Court.

The inquest centers on the legal cause of Miss Kopechne's death. The 28-year-old secretary was found dead July 19 in a car owned by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, which had plunged off a bridge and into a pond on Chappaquiddick Island.

The State Supreme Court has ordered the inquest closed to the press and public. The court allowed witnesses to bring their own attorneys into the session but refused to give attorneys the privilege of cross-examination.

Rustin Named

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—The University of Notre Dame named civil rights leader Bayard Rustin as the first Negro member of its board of trustees. He will be one of 33 lay trustees who have controlled the Catholic university since 1967. He is not a Catholic.

Rustin, a pacifist who was imprisoned during World War II as a conscientious objector, was a leader in the infant civil rights movement of the 1940s. He helped draw up plans for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and served as special assistant to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for many years.

Foundation Appeal

The National Foundation appealed to the Supreme Court for the right to walk door-to-door collecting money for the March of Dimes.

The foundation said a ban imposed by Fort Worth, Tex., restrained the foundation's constitutional rights to speech and expression. A ruling for the fund could upset bans imposed elsewhere on charitable foundations.

The March of Dimes was halted in Fort Worth on a finding that expenses exceeded 20 per cent of the collections. The foundation quarreled with this estimate, but maintained that in any event under Supreme Court decisions the First Amendment guarantees the right to make door-to-door solicitations.

From staff reports and news dispatches

also convicted for sodomy - 9-

Bayard Rustin

The Washington Post Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date NOV 4 1969

100-158 790-187

REC-95

DEC 4 1969

ST-101

135

DEC 10 1969

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

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Holmes

TO : MR. MOHR

DATE: November 21, 1969

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN

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Jay Howe, Clerk of our House Appropriation Subcommittee, telephonically contacted the writer this afternoon and stated that Chairman Rooney had just learned of Rustin's being appointed to the Board of Trustees at Notre Dame University and was most concerned at this development. Howe stated the Chairman had requested that he call the Bureau to see if it would be possible to get any details concerning the arrest of Rustin on a sodomy charge which the Director had mentioned at a previous hearing during his appropriations testimony. Howe indicated he felt the Chairman wanted to take this matter up with some clergy friends of his to see what if possible could be done about removing Rustin from his recently appointed post.

Attached is a copy of a reprint from the Director's 1967 appropriation testimony dealing with Bayard Rustin which was given on the record. In addition, there is attached a thumbnail sketch of Rustin which was brought up to date on 11-5-69, by the Domestic Intelligence Division which sets forth the specifics with regard to Rustin's conviction in California in 1953 on a charge of sex perversion (sodomy). Also attached for information is a copy of the FBI criminal record of Rustin.

The thumbnail sketch indicates that on the occasion of Rustin's arrest in California on the sex charge he admitted a previous arrest on the same charge in New York City in 1946. Attempts were made to verify Rustin's arrest in New York City in 1946 without success.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached copy of the excepts from the Director's 1967 appropriation testimony and the thumbnail sketch on plain bond unwatermarked paper be furnished to Rooney and that he be given the identification arrest record.

NPC:jlk (3)
Enclosures

REC-134

100-158790-188

10 DEC 8 1969

EX 110

DEC 5 1969

ENCLOSURE

51 DEC 15 1969

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

November 21, 1969

BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin was born March 17, 1912, in Westchester, Pennsylvania. He was educated at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, and the City College of New York.

Rustin is an ardent pacifist and is considered to be a foremost Negro exponent on the doctrine of passive resistance. An orator of some prominence, Rustin has delivered lectures at various universities and pacifist meetings throughout the United States as well as abroad. He has been active in numerous picketing activities and demonstrations as well as other agitational activities against military conscription and racial segregation.

He has admitted joining the Young Communist League (the youth arm of the Communist Party, USA) in 1936 and claims he severed relations with the organization in June, 1941. He has also admitted membership in the American Student Union during the period 1939-40. This organization has been cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

INTERNAL SECURITY see XXX

Rustin served as secretary to the late Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, from 1956 to 1960. In 1962, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and subsequently served as Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, "March on Washington." In this latter capacity he was an extremely active organizer.

Rustin was convicted in February, 1944, for a violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 for which he received a sentence of three years. He was conditionally released from jail on June 11, 1946. On October 25, 1946, he was reportedly arrested by the New York City Police Department for a violation of Section 722 of the Penal Code (offering to commit a lewd or indecent act). He was arrested in Pasadena, California, on January 21, 1953, on a charge of sex perversion. He pleaded guilty to propositioning two males to engage in an act of sodomy and admitted a previous arrest on the same charge in New York City. He received a sentence of sixty days on this charge.

In addition to the above, Rustin has also been arrested on a number of occasions in connection with his activities of an agitational nature concerned with civil rights and pacifist programs.

NPC:jlk
(3)

100-158790-188

Based on memorandum N.P. Callahan to Mr. Mohr, 11-21-69, NPC:jlk

DEC 5 1969

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

11-21-69 357 BAC

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 3 808 121, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Federal Detention Headquarters New York New York	Bayard Rustin #41488	January 12, 1944	Selective Service failed to report for work national importance	January 13, 1944 bail February 17, 1944 sentence to 3 years at place designated by Attorney General of the United States
United States Marshal New York New York	Bayard Rustin #C-37-447	January 12, 1944	Selective Service	
Federal Detention Headquarters New York New York	Bayard Rustin #42069	February 28, 1944	Selective Service physical examination for CPA Camp	3 years March 7, 1944 released to Federal Correction Institution Ashland
Federal Correction Institution Ashland Kentucky	Bayard Rustin #2905-AK	March 9, 1944	Selective Service	3 years
United States Penitentiary Lewisburg Pennsylvania	Bayard Rustin #15050	August 3, 1945 in transfer from Ashland	Selective Service Act fail to report for physical examination	3 years June 11, 1946 discharge conditional release with Camp good time

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70582-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

11-21-69 357 BAC

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

2. The following FBI record, NUMBER 3 808 121, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Workhouse Rikers Island New York City New York	Bayard Rustin #318576	September 15, 1948	disorderly conduct	15 days
Bureau of Identification Prison Division State Highway and Public Works Commission Highway Building Raleigh North Carolina #234130	Baynard Rustin Camp #508 Roxboro North Carolina	March 22, 1949	violating bus [illegible]	30 days April 13, 1949 expiration
Police Department Washington District of Columbia	Baynard Rustin #118388	October 4, 1949	picketing embassy	
Police Department Pasadena California	Baynard Rustin #33914	January 21, 1953	investigation Penal Code 288 A sex perversion	January 22, 1953 60 days county jail
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	Bayard Rustin #B-254754	January 22, 1953	vagrancy lewd	

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16—70582-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 11-21-69 357 BAC
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C., 20537

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 3 808 121, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

All descriptive factors (if any) furnished by you match those in our identification file unless herein quoted.

DESCRIPTION AND RELATED DATA:

Race: Negro

Sex: Male

Height: 6'

Weight: 175

Hair: Black

Eyes: Brown

Date and Place of Birth: 3-17-13 West Chester Pa

Scars & Marks: small ½" scar rt check affects a "Harvard" accent

Address: 947 St Nicholas Ave in 1944 (as on prt rec from FBI NY NY 1-29-44)

Occupation: Lecturer

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 11-19-69

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

SUBJECT: REQUEST OF CONGRESSMAN DONALD E. LUKENS FOR INFORMATION REGARDING BAYARD RUSTIN, GEORGE E. AGREE AND DATA REGARDING PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE AND COMMITTEE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

This is to recommend handling of a request from Congressman Lukens (R-Ohio). Our files reveal limited but cordial relations with him. Congressman Lukens, by letter 11-15-69, has requested any information regarding Bayard Rustin, Director, Philip Randolph Institute and George E. Agree, Director, Committee for the Democratic Process, and specifically the purpose of the two organizations including their board of directors and any other data of a political or criminal nature including citations by Congressional Committees for any subversive activity.

Our files disclose that George E. Agree has not been investigated by Bureau. In 1954, one George E. Agree was listed as Executive Secretary, National Committee for an Effective Congress, (to elect qualified liberals to office). We have no record in our files of the Committee for the Democratic Process. Bayard Rustin, a self-proclaimed pacifist and civil rights activist, is well known to Bureau and indicated as Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute at 217 West 125th Street, New York City. By memorandum 9-19-68, Mr. Callahan to Mr. Mohr captioned "Bayard Rustin, Civil Rights Activist," it was approved that, pursuant to his request to be furnished public source information about Rustin, that Congressman John J. Rooney of New York be furnished a blind memorandum setting forth public source data about Rustin as well as Rustin's criminal record. Also, a copy of that portion of the printed testimony which contains the reference to Rustin which occured in a colloquy between Chairman Rooney and the Director during his appearance in behalf of our 1967 appropriation was furnished.

3 - ENCLOSURE

EX-117 REC 45 100-158790-189

It will not be possible to furnish Congressman Lukens information from our files due to the confidential nature. However, it is felt that since the above described information regarding Rustin has previously been furnished to a Congressional member in the past, that this data could be furnished Lukens in this instance. Copies of these documents have been duplicated and are attached.

10 DEC 1969

Enclosures
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
1 - Mr. A. Jones
1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
FMG:mrm (5)

DEC 5 1969

CONTINUED - OVER

INDEXED COPY FILED IN 100-558616
94-62613-

Memorandum to Mr. Bishop
Re: Request of Congressman Donald E. Lukens' for Information Regarding Bayard Rustin, George E. Agree and Data Regarding Philip Randolph Institute and Committee for the Democratic Process

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That approval be granted to furnish Congressman Lukens the attached public source information concerning Rustin as well as a copy of his criminal record, the latter to be furnished on a strictly confidential basis.

(2) That a representative from your (Mr. Bishop's) office contact the Congressman or his Administrative Assistant, acknowledging receipt of his letter and advise him of the confidential nature of our files. At that time, the attached public source information concerning Rustin as well as a copy of his criminal record be furnished. He will be advised we have no public source data regarding George E. Agree and that we have conducted no investigation of him.

Handled 11-21-69 with John Schrote, Adm. Asst. to Cong. Lukens. DWB

OK

WBS

DONALD E. "BUZ" LUKENS
24TH DISTRICT, OHIO

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1338 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
AREA CODE 202: 225-6205

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT:
JOHN E. SCHROTE

COMMITTEES:
SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES:
311 RENTSCHLER BUILDING
HAMILTON, OHIO 45011
AREA CODE 513: 893-9369

202 PICKWICK BUILDING
MIDDLETOWN, OHIO 45042
AREA CODE 513: 423-4641

DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE:
JOSEPH H. DETWILER

COUNTIES:
WARREN, BUTLER, CLINTON,
HAMILTON (PART),
MONTGOMERY (PART)

November 15, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate any information you can supply me concerning Bayard Rustin, Director, Philip Randolph Institute; and George E. Agree, Director, Committee for the Democratic Process.

217 West 125 St New York, N.Y.

What I need is information as to the purpose of the two organizations, including their Board of Directors and officers (past and present), political activity, any publicized criminal activity, all known memberships in political action groups or similar organizations, geographic location, any citations by a Congressional Committee for membership in a communist or communist-front group.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Buz

Donald E. Lukens

DEL:jks

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN
100-55616
90-1-2613

EXP. PROC.
NOV 17 1969

DEC 5 1969
DEC 11 1969
REC 45
100-158790-190
12-8
NOV 17 1969
CORRESPONDENCE

58 DEC 18 1969

Malmfeldt to Bishop memo
11-19-69 fmg: nrm

blind memorandum 11-20-69
nml fmg: nrm

4-22 (Rev. 6-22-60) Committee

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

_____, 19____

- [ ] Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
- [ ] Service Unit - Room 6524
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [ ] Attention _____
- [ ] Return to _____

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- [ ] Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- [x] All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive
- [ ] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Nonsubversive References Only
- [x] Main Summer References Only

Seen from 1969

JAN 8 1970

Type of Search Requested:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of _____
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

Subject Rustin, Bayard
Birthdate & Place
Address

Localities
R 62-22 Date 1/8 Searcher Initials 326
Prod.

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	14-2771	
	25-203164	
	100-158790	
	62-5-9037 ep 15	Sum 8-4-61
	100-3-5926	Sum 2-13-57
	100-158790-22	Sum 6-19-5[illegible]
	100-158790-37	Sum 4-11-60
	100-158790-44	Sum 3-5-62
	100-158790-46	Sum 10-16-61
	100-158790-68	Sum 9-24-63
	100-158790-134	Sum 4-13-65
	100-158790-146	Sum 9-9-63
	100-158790-166	Sum 4-18-66
	100-158790-183	Sum 9-19-68
	100-158790-185	Sum 5-13-69
	100-340922-516 p. 6	
	100-426761-1744 ep 4	
	100-442529-29486. 12	
NP	100-448006-893	

Sp. files 1315 ib

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59) (2)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ruston, Bayard

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 169 Date 1/8 Searcher Initial 326

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
105-75879-61	15
157-6-34-2990	
157-11959-1	
157-12092-2	p.14
Bayard J. (AKA)	
SI	
Baird (Van)	
SI	
One (AKA)	
71-420 MP	
Bayard (AKA)	
SI	
Beyard (AKA)	
SI	
Boyard (AKA)	
SI	
Byard (AKA)	
SI	
Ruston, Bayard (AKA)	
SI	
Ruston, Bayard (AKA)	
SI	
Ruskin, Bayard (AKA)	
SI	

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

(3)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Rustin, Bayard

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 109 Date 1/8 Searcher Initial 326

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Rustin, Fayette (AKA)	
5 7	
Rustin, Bayard (AKA	
5 7	

b6
b7C

~~SECRET~~

January 15, 1970

BY LIAISON

Honorable Egil Krogh, Jr.
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

Dear Mr. Krogh:

Reference is made to your name check request concerning [redacted] and some other individuals.

The central files of the FBI contain no pertinent information identifiable with [redacted]

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with the above individuals based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Attached are separate memoranda concerning the following individuals:

[redacted]
Gardner Cowles
Henry Ford II
[redacted]

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

[redacted]
Mary E. Rockefeller
Bayard Rustin

This letter of transmittal may be declassified when it is removed from the enclosures bearing a classification.

Sincerely yours,

EX-117 REC-72

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) - Enclosures
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct) - Enclosures

Enclosures (18)

JCF:paa (7)

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-158790-191

NOT RECORDED
46 JAN 19 1970

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

64 JAN 28 1970

MAIN ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Delivered by Liaison 1/16/70 BCR

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-5-35414

Photo
CC TO: USSS
REQ. REC'D 11-4-77
NOV 8 1977
ANS.
BY: EMK ABA
Re. B. Rustin

Photo
CC TO: NACC NIS
REQ. REC'D 5-24-71
JUN 7 1971
ANS.
BY: OMK

Photo
CC TO: S
REQ. REC'D 7/7/72
JUL 14 1972
ANS.
BY: EO

Photo Encl
CC TO: USIA
REQ. REC'D 6/19/73
JUL 9 1973
ANS.
BY: Cd/ulm

Photo
CC TO: Sp. Pros.
REQ. REC'D 9-27-73
OCT 1 1973
ANS.
BY: DTP RJB
Re: RUSTIN

C C RETURNED & DESTROYED 12-1-75

Photo
CC TO: I. Cap.
REQ. REC'D 2-9-82
FEB 12 1982
ANS.
BY: [illegible]
Re: Bavard Rustin

b6
b7C

Photo Encl C
CC TO: NACC-ARM1
REQ. REC'D 3-20-74
APR 11 1974
ANS. Specific request
BY: CS/ulm

Photo
CC TO: White House
REQ. REC'D 10-30
NOV 2 1978
ANS.
BY: PJL OMJ

Photo
CC TO: State
REQ. REC'D 6-9-80
JUN 18 1980
ANS.
BY: JAK/OR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

January 14, 1970

BAYARD RUSTIN

— Summary

Bayard Rustin was born on March 17, 1912, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, and was educated at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, and the City College of New York.

Rustin is an ardent pacifist who has been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations, and is considered to be a foremost Negro exponent on the doctrine of passive resistance. An orator of some prominence, Rustin has delivered lectures at various universities and pacifist meetings throughout the United States as well as abroad. He has been active in numerous picketing activities and demonstrations as well as other agitational activities against military conscription and racial segregation. In 1952, he was the Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League, an international pacifist organization.

On February 2, 1949, the American Consul General, Bombay, India, reported to the Department of State concerning unfavorable impressions made by Rustin during a six-week lecture tour during December, 1948, and January, 1949. It was noted that Rustin spoke very unfavorably and in an inflammatory manner regarding racial conditions in the United States, with his public appearances and statements being highlighted and given an anti-American slanting in the Indian press.

He has admitted joining the Young Communist League (the youth arm of the Communist Party, USA) in 1936 and claims he severed relations with the organization in June, 1941. He has also

NOTE: Per request of Egil Krogh, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs. Classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" in order to protect informants of continuing value to the Bureau

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 2-23-77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification~~

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

JCF

~~SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.~~

JCF:mch (7)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

100-158790-191

admitted membership in the American Student Union during the period 1939-40. This organization has been cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Internal Security. Rustin has stated that he withdrew from this organization in 1940 to embrace the Quaker religion.

Rustin was investigated by this Bureau for Selective Service violation in 1943 and 1944, when he refused to comply with the provisions of the Act on grounds of alleged conscientious objection. During the course of this investigation, Agents of the New York Office observed Rustin acting as Chairman of a pacifist-type meeting in New York City on February 12, 1943, during the course of which he urged men in the audience to come out on the stage and burn their draft cards. Rustin pleaded guilty on February 17, 1944, to an indictment charging violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on that date. He was conditionally released from prison on June 11, 1946.

He reportedly accompanied four American pacifists to Africa in late 1959 to protest against hydrogen bomb tests by French authorities. He had in April, 1958, accompanied a small group of American pacifists to England to protest production of nuclear weapons. While this group was in England they participated in public demonstrations and attempted interviews with high-ranking government officials.

Bayard Rustin, described as Chairman of the War Resisters League, spoke before a public meeting of the Monroe Defense Committee held in New York City on October 5, 1961, in which he advocated militant aggressive action by the Negro people if there are no other means to procure equality. Rustin stated that there had been a breakdown in law enforcement on a national, state, county and local level in the South and that it was not only the right but the duty of Negro people to furnish the law enforcement protection themselves. Rustin stated that the Negro people should furnish this protection by armed force if necessary and by forming their own police force. He said that this police force would not be recognized as such by state authorities but would be a moral police force with the right to bear arms, to stop, to question and to detain persons

Best Copy Available

even though it was recognized that the State would call this kidnaping. These statements were made as Rustin believed that his former passive resistance had not been sufficient.

A confidential source of this Bureau reported attending a meeting held in Portland, Oregon, on October 6, 1950, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at which Rustin spoke. In response to a direct question from the audience Rustin stated that he formerly was a member of the Communist Party but was no longer so affiliated. Rustin, among others, was listed as an "impartial observer" at the Communist Party, USA, National Convention in 1957.

Rustin served as secretary to the late Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, from 1956 to 1960. In 1962, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and subsequently served as Deputy Director of the August 28, 1963, "March on Washington." In this latter capacity he was an extremely active organizer.

On October 25, 1946, he was reportedly arrested by the New York City Police Department for a violation of Section 722 of the Penal Code (offering to commit a lewd or indecent act). He was arrested in Pasadena, California, on January 21, 1953, on a charge of sex perversion. He pleaded guilty to propositioning two males to engage in an act of sodomy and admitted a previous arrest on the same charge in New York City. He received a sentence of sixty days on this charge.

In addition to the above, Rustin has also been arrested on a number of occasions in connection with his activities of an agitational nature concerned with civil rights and pacifist programs. (100-158790)

In July, 1969, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Stanley Levison, described as a secret member of the Communist Party as of July, 1963, had indicated to Mrs. Coretta King, the widow of Martin Luther King, Jr., that the "Research Committee" of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), consisted of Levison and three other individuals, including Bayard Rustin. (100-442529-2948)

Best Copy Available

b6
b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

Bayard Rustin

On January 3, 1969, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Dr. Courtney Smith, President, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, had recently received a list of demands from [redacted] a Negro senior student at this College who claimed to be the leader of other Negro students. These demands included a more liberal policy on the admission of black students to this College and the dismissal of the Dean of Admissions. Subsequently, on January 16, 1969, the "Evening Star," Washington, D. C., in an article entitled "Swarthmore Head Dies In His Office," reported that Dr. Smith had died of a heart attack on that date in his office as black students continued their occupation of the Admissions Office for the eighth day.

Bayard Rustin sent telegrams to several of the college administrators in support of [redacted]

Attached is a copy of an arrest record which may pertain to captioned individual.

Enclosure

[redacted]

b6
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

May 20, 1970

REC-40 100-158790-192

X-109

[redacted]

Mary Immaculate Hospital
152-11 89th Avenue
Jamaica, New York 11432

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of May 12th and want to thank you for your best wishes on my Anniversary as Director. Also, your kind sentiments are very much appreciated.

In response to your inquiry, I am enclosing an excerpt from my testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations on February 10, 1966, which contains information about Bayard Rustin. I trust this will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure
NOTE: [redacted] is on the Special Correspondents List.

FMG:bkr (3)

100-158790-

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Walters

MAILED 10
MAY 21 1970
COMM-FBI

XEROX
JUN 22 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6
b7C

212-AX-1-3300, Ext. 445

[redacted]

MARY IMMACULATE HOSPITAL
152-11 89TH AVENUE
JAMAICA, N. Y. 11432

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

May 12, 1970

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
United States Department of Justice,
9th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to you at this time in quest of information about the political philosophy of a Mr. Bayard Rustin. It is my recollection that the aforementioned Mr. Rustin (in a matter of public record) has had leanings to if not outright affiliation with the American Communist party.

Recently, Mr. Rustin, I believe, has become a member of the board of trustees of the University of Notre Dame, at South Bend, Indiana. If it is true that he is inclined towards a Communist philosophy, then such an appointment to the governing board of a Catholic university is rather incredible.

Hence, I would be greatly ~~[illegible]~~ indebted to you if you could furnish me with any source testimony on this matter or advise me of any documentation on this subject. I assure you that it is only for my own certitude that I seek this information.

In conclusion I wish to pass along my congratulations to you on passing another anniversary milestone as director of the F.B.I., which I believe took place earlier this month. May the good Lord grant you continued good health and strength to remain at your post for many years to come!

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

JUN 18 1970

94-65039-

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

EXP. PROC.
MAY 15 1970
12-6-18-70

Ack
FMG:
5-20-70

XEROX
22 1970

[redacted]

4-22 (Rev. 1-22-60)

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED _____, 19____
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

- [ ] Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
- [ ] Service Unit - Room 6524
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [x] Attention [redacted] b6 b7C
- [x] Return to [redacted] 806

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- [ ] Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- [ ] All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [x] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Nonsubversive References Only
- [x] Main + summ. References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of _____
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

Subject Bayard Rustin
Birthdate & Place
Address

Localities Ind.

R # _____ Date 6/15 Searcher Initials ptg

Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	14-2771	
	25-203164	
	100-158790 called 6/15	
	62-5-9037 ep. 15 Sum. 8/14/61	
	100-3-5926 Sum. 2/13/57	
	100-158790-22 Sum. 6/17/52	
	100-158790-37 Sum. 4/11/60	
	100-158790-44 Sum. 3/5/62	
	100-158790-46 Sum. 10/16/61	
	100-158790-68 Sum. 9/24/63	
	100-158790-134 Sum. 4/13/65	
	100-158790-146 Sum. 9/9/65	
	100-158790-166 Sum. 4/18/66	
	100-158790-183 Sum. 9/19/68	
	100-158790-185 Sum. 5/13/69	
	100-158790-191 Sum. 1/15/70	
	Approx. 25 serial	

B. EVERETT JORDAN N.C., CHAIRMAN
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.
JAMES B. ALLEN, ALA.
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
HUGH SCOTT, PA.
STROM THURMOND, S.C.

GORDON F. HARRISON, STAFF DIRECTOR
HUGH Q. ALEXANDER, CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

July 16, 1970

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

EXP. PROC.
JUL 17 1970

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It will be appreciated if you will provide me with the information requested in the enclosed correspondence concerning Bayard Rustin.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jim Allen

James B. Allen
D-Alabama

JBA/map

Enclosure

1- ENCLOSURE

100-158790-193

Ack by let
7-21-70
CAH:jds

REC- 36

JUL 17 1970

ONE

b6
b7C

JAMES B. ALLEN
ATTORNEY AT LAW

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1970
UNITED STATES SEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

July 14, 1970

Honorable James B. Allen
United States Senator
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator:

I've been trying for some time to get the F.B.I. record on one Bayard Rustin, black male, age unknown, I thought that it would be a simple matter, and tried to get it through the Police Department of the city of Prichard. However, the Chief there tells me that the local F.B.I. people informed him that all that they have is a list of information sent in by informers, which of course I have not the slightest interest in. Incidentally, the Police Chief there in Prichard tells me that the local F.B.I. stated to him that the present whereabouts of Rustin is unknown. I was under the impression that he was employed by the Federal Government in some capacity, for what reason, or in what capacity I don't have the slightest idea.

I am of the definite impression that Rustin was convicted of sodomy or child molestation in Pennsylvania some few years ago, and this surely must show on his record. I do know that he was tied up with Martin Luther King in the Montgomery affair, and also I think was one of those who helped co-ordinate the "march on Washington". I'm not interested in the latter matters, but I do want to know whether or not he has a criminal record, and wonder if you can call or somehow find out whether the record of this particular individual is unavailable to the public, or just what goes. I realize that the present Administration probably

100-158790-193

ENCLOSURE

thinks that he can get some black votes for them. Actually, I don't think that anybody can, and especially Rustin. But again, I'm not interested in what this Administration thinks. I simply want to find out if I can get a copy of the F.B.I. record of Bayard Rustin.

Since your good help in getting the G.S.A. number for Forrest Athletic Company, we have done quite a bit of spade work, and are just now getting ready to contact all of the various military bases all over the world. Actually, we have not received any orders, but had hardly expected to since the only notice that the various agencies have is the inclusion of the item in the G.S.A. catalog. Anyhow, we do greatly appreciate your help, and maybe someday we can get out from under this burden. Please give my best regards to Maryon, and keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

b6
b7C

212-AX-1-3300, EXT. 445

[redacted]

MARY IMMACULATE HOSPITAL
152-11 89TH AVENUE
JAMAICA, N.Y. 11432

May 24, 1970

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have received your communication of May 20th, with the enclosure I requested concerning Bayard Rustin. I am very grateful to you for this information, for it certainly substantiates the fact that he unfit to be on the board of trustees of an institution of higher learning. It would appear that many of our college presidents would do much better if they catered less to the 'left' side and directed their attention and energies toward truth and patriotism!

Thank you again, and may the good Lord watch over you.

Sincere[redacted]

100-158790-
NOT RECORDED
126 JUN 11 1970

[redacted]

15 JUN 5 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-65039-8

F449

66 JUN 17 1970

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

ST-110

July 21, 1970

[redacted] REC 36 100-158790-193

Honorable James B. Allen
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I have your letter of July 16, 1970, enclosing a copy of a letter you received from [redacted] requesting the FBI identification record of Bayard Rustin.

I must advise that such records are confidential and available only for official purposes to duly constituted law enforcement and other governmental agencies at the Federal, state or local level. Consequently, we are unable to be of assistance to [redacted]

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 5
JUL 21 1970
COMM-FBI

1 - Mobile (Enclosures - 2) copy of incoming & its enclosure
NOTE: Please note comments attributed to your office.

NOTE: Bayard Rustin undoubtedly is the well-known, self-proclaimed pacifist and civil rights activist. Bufile 100-158790. He has FBI number 3 808 121, showing arrests for selective service, disorderly conduct, picketing, sex perversion and "vagrancy lewd." Rustin is an orator of some prominence and he has delivered lectures at various universities. [redacted]

r. Tolson
r. Sullivan
r. Mohr
r. Bishop
r. Brennan, C.D.
r. Callahan
r. Casper
r. Conrad
r. Felt
r. Gale
r. Rosen
r. Tavel
r. Walters
r. Soyars
ele. Room
iss Holmes
iss Gandy

CAH:jds
(5)

F-14

63 JUL 27 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI
REC.D-MOHR

LMW

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

FBI

Date: 11/25/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION - PRIVACY ACT UNIT)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (66-8161-B)

SUBJECT: BAYARD RUSTIN
340 WEST 28th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001
PRIVACY ACCESS REQUEST

Enclosed for FBIHQ are one xerox copy of requester's letter of 11/20/75, which mentions the Freedom of Information Act, and of New York Office acknowledgement of instant date to requester.

NYO Indices reflect numerous references to requester. He is the subject of New York file 100-46729, Bufile 100-158790, as well as the subject of former New York file 25-17189, which was destroyed 2/27/61.

Inasmuch as requester's letter of 11/20/75, was addressed to both the Washington D.C. and New York Offices of the FBI, the Privacy Act Unit, FBIHQ may wish to further acknowledge this letter. The NYO's letter acknowledgement to requester has advised him that he must resubmit his letter request, to FBIHQ, furnishing information necessary under 28 CFR 16.41 to establish his identity.

ENCLOSURE

REC-83 100-158790-194

EX-104

Close no notarized signature or add into rec'd as requested in NYO ltr

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (66-8161-B)
1 - New York (100-46729)

JHH:paq
(4)

5 NOV 28 1975

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

55 MAY 17 1976

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1971—413—135

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

201 East 69th Street
New York, New York 10021
November 25, 1975

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York 10001

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is in reply to your letter of November 20, 1975, which makes request for records identifiable with you under the Freedom of Information Act. Your letter was addressed to both the Washington D.C. and New York Offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

In the event you are not aware, the Privacy Act of 1974, Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a, became effective on September 27, 1975. Pursuant to a ruling by the United States Department of Justice, the Privacy Act is now the primary method by which the Federal Bureau of Investigation is processing requests from individuals, seeking access to United States Government records identifiable with the requester. I believe this statute would apply to your request.

On Wednesday, August 27, 1975, regulations under the Privacy Act applying to requests for access to the Federal Bureau of Investigation Central Records System were published in the Federal Register, at page 38769. For your information, I am quoting these regulations, as follows:

"Record Access Procedures: A request for access to a record from the system shall be made in writing with the envelope and the letter clearly marked 'Privacy Access Request'. Include in the request your full name, complete address, date of birth, place of birth, notarized signature, and other identifying data you may wish to furnish to assist in making a proper search of our records. Also include the general subject matter of the document or its file number. The requester will also provide a return address for transmitting the information. Access requests will be directed to the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C. 20535."

1 - Addressee
1 - FBIHQ
1 - Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
Attention; [redacted]
1 - New York (66-8161-B)
1 - New York (100-46729)

b6
b7C

JHH:paq
(5)

ENCLOSURE
100-158[illegible]-194

Based on the above quoted regulations, I regret that the Federal Bureau of Investigation will be unable to begin processing your request until it is resubmitted in complete form. If you desire to resubmit your letter request, please prepare a new letter addressed to the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C. 20535. Please designate your letter as a "Privacy Access Request" and include in your letter your date of birth, place of birth, and a notarized signature. This necessary information to establish your identity was not included in your letter of November 20, 1975.

At the present time, I will advise Federal Bureau of Investigation Headquarters, Washington D.C. of your letter of November 20, 1975, and of this reply.

Very truly yours,

J. Wallace La Prade
Assistant Director in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

BAYARD RUSTIN
340 WEST 28TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

November 20, 1975

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
201 East 69 Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

It has come to my attention that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has maintained an extensive dossier on my political and private life during the past thirty years.

I request, under the freedom of information act, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation make available to me all records maintained by your agency with respect to me.

This request is made upon you pursuant to Title 5 United States Code, S.552 et seq.

Thank you for your prompt attention herein.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

ENCLOSURE
100-158790 — MLH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

MAILED
NOV 08 1977
NAME CHECK

November 7, 1977

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

Captioned individual, who you advised was born March 17, 1912, and holds Social Security Number 107-14-3381, was the subject of or named in various investigations conducted by this Bureau. A copy of the FBI memorandum dated January 14, 1970, concerning Rustin, born at West Chester, Pennsylvania, is attached herewith. (100-158790-191)

A copy of FBI Identification Arrest Record Number 3 808 121, concerning one Bayard Rustin, which may be identical with the captioned individual, is enclosed. SUMMARY

The central files of the FBI contain no additional pertinent information concerning the captioned individual based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Per request of USSS. Above telephoned to SA [redacted] USSS Duty Desk at 9:28 a.m., 11-1-77.

b6
b7C

REC-71

Original and 1 - USSS

EJK:amo (IX)
(4)

DE-1 100-158790-195

SI-115

V-32

NOV 11 1977

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Serv.
Crim. Inv.
Fin. & Pers.
Ident.
Intell.
Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Insp.
Sec. Mgnt.
Tec. Inv.
Servs.
Off.
Rm.
Secy.

NOV 23 1977

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI/DOJ

4-22 (Rev. 12-22-76)

b6
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Records Branch

_____, 19 ____

- [ ] Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.
- [ ] Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [ ] Attention
- [x] Return to [redacted] Supervisor 522X Room Ext.

Type of Search Requested:

- [ ] Restricted Search **Not** Applied
- [x] All Reference (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [ ] Subversive Search
- [ ] Nonsubversive Search
- [ ] Main _____ References Only

Special Instructions:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of _____
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

Subject Rustin, Bayard
Birthdate & Place 3/17/12 PA
Address CT, Mi, Ki, Ghana, Oh, Europe, OR, NC, TN, Cal, LA, RI, India, Ala, MT
Localities PA, NY, MA, DC, MDUA, ILMO,

R# _____ Date 11/2 Searcher Initials 211

Prod. _____

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
UTD	100-158790 per [redacted]	1/14/70
	100-158790 I	
	25-203164	
	62-5-9037 encl pt 15	Sum 8/15/64
	100-158790-37 Sum 4/11/60	
	-44 Sum 3/5/62 I	
	100-158790-46 Sum 10/16/61 I	
	-68 Sum 9/24/63 I	
	100-158790-134 Sum 4/13/65 I	
	-146 Sum 9/9/65 I	
	100-158790-166 Sum 4/18/66 I	
	100-158790-183 Sum 9/19/68 I	
	-185 Sum 5/13/69 I	
★	100-158790-191 Sum 1/15/70 I	
	100-3-5926 Sum 2/13/57 I	
	One (AKA)	
	SI	
	B.	
	SI	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

FBI/DOJ

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Rosten, Bayard

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 11/2 Searcher Initial ZII

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Baird (USR) SI	
Bayard T. (Bu) SI	
Baylard (USR) SI	
Beyard (USR) SI	
Boyard (USR) SI	
Byard (USR) SI	
Rosten, Bayard (USR) SI	

FBI/DOJ

MAILED

NOV 2 1978

NAME CHECK

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

BAYARD RUSTIN — Summary

B

Captioned individual, who you advised was born March 17, 1910, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and holds Social Security Number 107-14-3381, was the subject of a White House name check request in 1970. Summary memorandum dated January 14, 1970, with the results is attached for your review.

(100-158790)

Enclosed is a copy of FBI Identification Division Record Number 3 808 121 for Bayard Rustin, which record may be identifiable with the captioned individual.

The central files of the FBI contain no additional pertinent information concerning the captioned individual based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Enclosures (2)

Photo

SC TO: I. C. A.
REQ. REC'D 2/9/82
FEB 12 1982
AN:
BY
Re: Bayard Rustin

PJL:lps
(4)

NOTE: Per request of [redacted], for Mr. Robert J. Lipshutz, Counsel to the President.

b6
b7C

EX-115

DTP

REC-47 100-158790-196

DE-5

JCM

NOV 6 1978

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Servs.
Crim. Inv.
Ident.
Intell.
Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Insp.
Rec. Mgnt.
Tech. Servs.
Training
Public Affs. Off.
Telephone Rm.
Director's Sec'y

61

MAIL ROOM

DELIVERED BY LIAISON
DATE 11/2/78

NOV 2 1978

FBI/DOJ

4-22 (Rev. 12-22-76)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Records Branch

October 30, 19 78

- [ ] Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.
- [ ] Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
- [ ] Forward to File Review
- [x] Attention
- [ ] Return to [redacted] 5224 4892
  Supervisor Room Ext.

b6
b7C

Type of Search Requested:

- [x] Restricted Search **Not** Applied
- [x] All Reference (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- [ ] Subversive Search
- [ ] Nonsubversive Search
- [ ] Main _____ References Only

Special Instructions:

- [ ] Restricted to Locality of PRES. APP.
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations

(1) 1'

Subject RUSTIN, BAYARD
Birthdate & Place 3-17-10, Westchester,
Address Pa. RES: 340 W. 28th. St.
New York City, NY.
Localities SOC# 107 14 3381

R# 46 Date 10-30 Searcher Initials 327
Prod. 17

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
	GTD 100-158790	Sums 11-8-77
	25-203164 I	
	100-158790 I	Sec 2 on
	190-10667 I	
	62-5-9037 Encl P# 15	sum 8-14-61
	100-3-5926	sum 2-13-57
	100-158790-22	sum 6-52
	100-158790-37	sum 4-11-60
	-44	sum 3-5-62
	-46	sum 10-16-61
	-68	sum 9-24-63
	-134	sum 4-13-65
	146	sum 9-9-65
	-166	sum 4-18-66
	-183	sum 9-19-68
	-185	sum 5-13-69
	-191	sum 1-15-70
	100-158790-195	sum 11-7-77
	190-16020-1	

OCT 30 1978

12482

FBI/DOJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

2

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Rustin, Bayard

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R # 482 Date 10-30 Searcher Initial 327

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
100-3-104-34-502	
	-562
	-570
	-575
	-576
	-579
	-584
	-590
	-599
	-602
	-608
	-626
	-630
	-632
	-648
	682 PH 10
	-731
100-3-104-3891	
	-3945
	-4489
	-4514

Bayard J. (Bu)

482 ST

OCT 30 1978

FBI/DOJ

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

3

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Rustin, Bayard

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R # _____ Date 10-30 Searcher Initial 327

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
B.	Var
ST	
Baird	Var
ST	
One	Var
71-420	MF
Baylard	Var.
ST	
Beyard	Var
ST	
Bayard	Var
SI	
Byard	Var
SI	

OCT 30 1978

FBI/DOJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-22-2009 BY 60322 UC LP/PLJ/LCW

February 26, 1982

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN
Born: March 17, 1910
West Chester, Pennsylvania

In response to your name check request, there is attached one copy each of two FBI memoranda regarding Bayard Rustin, born March 17, 1910, or March 17, 1912, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, which may relate to the subject of your request.

The Young Communist League (YCL) reportedly was organized and maintained under strict Communist Party (CP) control and had direct connections with the CP. The YCL was dissolved in 1943 and succeeded by the American Youth for Democracy in 1944. The central files of this Bureau contain no information indicating that Rustin was ever affiliated with the American Youth for Democracy.

The American Student Union (ASU) was founded in 1935 as the result of a merger of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. The purpose of the ASU was to unite students, regardless of political parties or religious faith, in defense of their lives and liberties. It was formed to offer an instrument through which they may, together, achieve a better, more secure and fruitful life. The ASU became defunct in the 1940's. Reportedly, this organization received support from the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was founded in March, 1957, by the late Martin Luther King, Jr., who was its President until his death in April, 1968. The SCLC is a non-profit organization incorporated in Georgia in 1959, with its national office located in Atlanta, Georgia. The SCLC is a nonsectarian organization engaged in civic, religious, economic, political, and cultural matters. Its basic aim is to achieve full citizenship, equality, and integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life through direct nonviolent action.

DE-72
V-64

100-158790-197

Exec AD Adm.
Exec AD Inv.
Exec AD LES
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Servs.
Crim. Inv.
Ident.
Intell.
Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Insp.
Rec. Mgnt.
Tech. Servs.
Training
Off. of Cong. & Public Affs.
Telephone Rm.
Director's Sec'y

1 - Mr. Moore, Attn: [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
Original & 1 - I.C.A.
Request Received 2/9/82
ULK:elo/mkm
(5)

sent by hand 2/25/82

b6
b7C

FEB 26 1982

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

MAIL ROOM

Bayard Rustin

Attached, also, is a characterization of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and an FBI summary of the War Resisters League (WRL).

The YCL, ASU, SCLC, and WRL are not currently being investigated because their activities, as known to this Bureau, no longer meet the Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security Investigations.

Enclosures (4)

NOTE: Matter has been pending since 2/9/82 due to obtain file.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 5
Page 78 ~
Court Order
Page 90 ~ b1, b6, b7C
Page 133 ~ Referral/Direct
Page 169 ~
Court Order
Page 259 ~ Referral/Direct