

b7c

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NY 100-7629

[REDACTED]

OHIO
b1

At Youngstown, Ohio

The "Youngstown Vindicator" of February 1, 1955, under the caption, "Lee, Krueger and Steel Union Honored," reflects that NATHAN LEE was President of the NAACP in that city. The article indicated that LEE had received the Chase award as an outstanding Negro. ~~XXu~~

[REDACTED]

b1

OKLAHOMA

At Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

No evidence of Communist infiltration of the NAACP in Oklahoma has been reported. ~~XXu~~

OREGON

At Portland, Oregon

No information of Communist infiltration of the NAACP in Oregon has been reported. ~~XXu~~

PENNSYLVANIA

At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

[REDACTED]

b1

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NY 100-7629

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[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b7D

At Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

[REDACTED] that during the latter part of 1954 several individuals had become active in the affairs of the Pittsburgh Branch of the NAACP and because of their aggressiveness their sudden interest in the organization caused suspicion as to their motives.

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D
b7C

A pamphlet entitled, "Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 83rd Congress, First Session on Subversive Influence in the United Electrical, Radio and Television Workers of America, Pittsburgh and Erie Pennsylvania, November 9, 10 and 12, 1953", set forth on page 61 testimony of MATHEW CVETIC that ALEX STABER was a member of the CP. *ku*

[REDACTED]

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ku

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NY 100-7629

[REDACTED] b2
b7D
b7C

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b2, b7D, b7C

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] b2
b7D
Pittsburgh Branch of the NAACP has made every effort to combat Communist infiltration of that Branch but that the activities of the above individuals had led him to believe that the CP was making a concerted effort to control NAACP policies in Pittsburgh. This informant stated, however, that none of the above individuals are officials of the Pittsburgh Branch and therefore have not been able to influence the Branch's policies. Ru

RHODE ISLAND

At Boston, Massachusetts

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the CP in Rhode Island. Ru

SOUTH CAROLINA

At Savannah, Georgia

No information has been received that would indicate that the NAACP in South Carolina is dominated or controlled by the CP. Ru

NY 100-7629

SOUTH DAKOTA

At Minneapolis, Minnesota

No information has been received to indicate any Communist infiltration of the NAACP in South Dakota. Xu

TENNESSEE

At Memphis, Tennessee

X [REDACTED] b1

X [REDACTED] b1

X [REDACTED] b1

X [REDACTED] b2
b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

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NY 100-7629

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

At Nashville, Tennessee

[REDACTED] ^{Lee} still continue to be active in the Nashville Branch of the NAACP. The informant stated that because of LORCH'S refusal to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Dayton, Ohio concerning his past activities in the CP, the majority of the members of the NAACP in the Nashville Branch suspect him of being Communistic and because of his association with [REDACTED] they also suspect [REDACTED] of being Communistic. The informant stated, however, that the Nashville Branch of the NAACP is actually run by a very small clique of members and officers headed by [REDACTED]. The informant stated that these people are able to control the activities of the Branch and have been able to see to it that neither LORCH nor [REDACTED] has been able to carry out any proposed program which might be inimical to the best interests of the Nashville Branch or to the National NAACP.

b2, b7D
b7c

b7c
N

At Knoxville, Tennessee

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

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61-2176-923, 69, 70

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NY 100-7629

Dallas Branch

[REDACTED]

b1

c

At El Paso, Texas

No evidence of Communist infiltration into the NAACP in the El Paso Division has been reported ~~pcu~~

At Houston, Texas

Houston Branch

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

1
b2
b7D
b7C

~~pcu~~

X

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

b7D
b7C

b7

McNair Branch

the NAACP meetings were still being held on Dallas Street in McNair.

b2
b7D
b7C

At San Antonio, Texas

No information has been received to indicate any CP infiltration or domination of the NAACP in the San Antonio Division. ~~X~~u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

- 5 -

NY 100-7629

UTAH

At Salt Lake City, Utah

Salt Lake City Chapter

[REDACTED] the [REDACTED] following persons are officers of the Salt Lake City Chapter of the NAACP for the year 1955:

Mrs. E. E. ROBINSON	- President
ROBERT LEWIS	- Vice-President
HAZEL STANLEY	- Secretary
HARMON COLE	- Treasurer

VERMONT

At Albany, New York

No information has been received to indicate any CP infiltration or domination of the NAACP in Vermont.

VIRGINIA

At Richmond, Virginia

No information has been received indicating Communist domination or infiltration of the NAACP in the Richmond Division. u

NY 100-7629

At Norfolk, Virginia

No information has been received indicating Communist domination or infiltration of the NAACP in the Norfolk Division. *u*

WASHINGTON

At Seattle, Washington

CP Efforts to Infiltrate

[REDACTED]

JOHN DASCHBACH is at liberty on bond pending disposition of his appeal from conviction of violation of the Smith Act of 1940. *u*

Officers

According to the "Seattle Post Intelligencer," dated February 2, 1955, the following officers of the Seattle Branch of the NAACP were elected for the year 1955:

President - JAMES MC IVER
First Vice-President - Mrs. JANET LEVY
Second Vice-President - FRED LOCKETT
Treasurer - HAROLD MORRIS
Corresponding Secretary - Mrs. HELEN SHAW

[REDACTED]

b7C

NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Executive Board - GIL BAKER,
RUTH MARIE BROWN,
PHILIP BURTON,
OSCAR CLAIRBORNE,
THELMA DE WITTY,
ISAIAH EDWARDS,
LUM HONEYSUCKLE,
LE ETTA KING,
BENJAMIN MC ADGO,
LEN SCHROETER,
PAT SUTHERLAND, and
EDWARD WHITE
Office Manager - MARGARET WEBB

[REDACTED]

b7C

b2
b7D
b7C

[REDACTED]

b1

The 1948 Seattle City Directory listed

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

CG

NY 100-7629

b7D
b7C

b2
b7D
b7C

b7C

WEST VIRGINIA

At Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

No information has been received which would indicate that the NAACP in West Virginia has been dominated by the CP during the last year. *Ku*

WISCONSIN

At Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Connections with the CP SWP or CP Front Groups

b1

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-10-

NY 100-7629

[REDACTED]

b7D

SIGMUND G. EISENSCHER is the publicly admitted
Chairman of the CP of Wisconsin during the latter part of
1954 and during 1955 *u*

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7c

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7c

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

[REDACTED]

b7c

NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

X

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b7c
b7D

u

Madison, Wisconsin Branch

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

the Madison, Wisconsin City Chapter of the NAACP had set up a Labor Committee within the Chapter, the purpose of which was to determine why Negro people were having difficulty getting jobs in Madison, Wisconsin.

[REDACTED]

b7D
b7c

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7c

AC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

WYOMING

At Denver, Colorado

No information has been received to indicate that the NAACP in Wyoming has been infiltrated or is dominated by the Communist Party. *u*

DISTRICT OF PUERTO RICO AND
VIRGIN ISLANDS

At San Juan, Puerto Rico

No information has been reported of any active NAACP branch in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. *u*

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NY 100-7629

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE CONT'D.

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Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized in the report only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

MISCELLANEOUS

One copy of this report is being forwarded to the Albany, Baltimore, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Los Angeles, Louisville, Memphis, Milwaukee, Newark, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and Seattle Offices, in view of the indicated activity on the part of the CP to infiltrate branches of the NAACP within these respective territories. u

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will continue to follow CP infiltration of the NAACP on a national scale and report results as of October 15th and April 15th of each calendar year. u

REFERENCES

Bureau letter to New York. 2/10/54.
Report of SA [REDACTED] NY, 12/13/54.

b7C u

X

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE CONT'D

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: October 21, 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED
PEOPLE (NAACP)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C Class. & Ext. By SP-8615/mc
Bufile 61-3176 Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
Date of Review 6/11/92

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

The Director has requested that he be furnished with a general memorandum on the NAACP.

NAACP incorporated in New York City in 1911. Declared aim is to secure full citizenship for Negroes. Bureau is in receipt of reports since 1941 re Communist attempts to infiltrate NAACP. Communist Party (CP) has had measure of success in controlling isolated chapters but unable to dominate the organization on state or national level. National Convention of NAACP in 1955 reaffirmed stand taken at 1950 convention to oppose Communism. CP has constantly strived to infiltrate NAACP and redoubled their efforts since 1953. Bureau, to discharge its responsibility, instructed field in February, 1954, to follow closely CP activities in connection with infiltration into NAACP. Bureau is being advised each six months of situation in each field division. Investigation disclosed some local chapters have been penetrated by CP but organization is aware of Party's efforts.

Both CP and NAACP have taken aggressive stand in connection with alleged murder of Emmett Till, a Negro youth, in Mississippi in August, 1955.

CP and NAACP have in several instances acted jointly and frequently engage in parallel activities; however, the programs of the organizations are distinct. CP seeks to foster discord and discontent in Negro race by agitating when racial incidents occur. NAACP aim is to achieve full racial integration and racial equality by lawful means; it employs racial incidents to dramatize alleged inequalities and develop support.

RECORDED - 8

Dominant figures are Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall, executive secretary and special counsel, respectively, who have been associated with CP front organizations in 1940s but now appear to be strongly anti-Communist.

INDEXED - 8

cc Mr. L. V. Boardman

cc Mr. A. H. Belmont

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

(4)

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Memorandum for Mr. L. V. Boardman

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

CONFIDENTIAL

OBSERVATIONS:

The NAACP, being a minority group, has always been susceptible to infiltration by the CP. [REDACTED] b7D

The emphasis of the program of the CP is to foster discord and discontent in the Negro race through agitation when racial incidents occur.

The declared program of the NAACP, however, is one of aggressive action to achieve integration and equality through rallies, meetings, the courts and petitioning of responsible officials for restoration of equal rights. The NAACP employs racial incidents to dramatize alleged inequalities and develop support as exemplified by the Till case.

The results of the Communist program to infiltrate the NAACP have been noted to date in the participation of CP members in NAACP sponsored activities. The effect of continued participation by Communists in such activities may in the future result in greater communist influence in the organization unless such influence is curbed from within by the NAACP.

JP

✓

✓

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum for Mr. L. V. Boardman

CONFIDENTIAL

DETAILS

In connection with a memorandum from Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson dated 10/19/55 re an attack on the NAACP by the Attorney General of Georgia, the Director noted: "Let me have general memo on NAACP."

Organization, Aims and Membership:

The NAACP was organized in February, 1909, and incorporated in the State of New York in 1911. (61-3176-7)

stated
The/aim of the organization is to secure full citizenship rights for the Negro by legal and other recognized ethical methods and frequently by vigorous protestation of alleged discrimination. (61-3176-15)

In 1950, the NAACP claimed to have 250,000 members with chapters in forty-five states. (61-3176597)

Bureau Interest in NAACP:

The Bureau has been receiving reports re Communist infiltration into the NAACP since 1941. These reports have been submitted by practically every field office in the Bureau. The reports reflect that the CP, through the years, has attempted to infiltrate, dominate and control the NAACP. The Party has been successful in controlling isolated local chapters but has been unable to control the organization on a state or national level.

Position of NAACP re Communism:

The NAACP at its 41st National Convention, held in Boston, June, 1950, went on record as opposing Communism and empowered its board of directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be Communist controlled. (61-3176597)

[REDACTED]
(61-3176-990, page 8)

b1

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum for Mr. L. V. Boardman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bureau Efforts to Combat Intensification by CP to Infiltrate NAACP:

In the November, 1953, edition of "Political Affairs," a monthly theoretical organ of the CP, an article appeared outlining the CP's new line with regard to infiltrating the NAACP.

In view of this concerted effort by the Party to infiltrate the NAACP, a letter dated 2/10/54 was sent to all field offices advising that the CP was meeting with some success in its effort to infiltrate the NAACP; however, this success was confined to local chapters, notably in the New Haven and Newark areas.

The Bureau, to discharge its responsibilities, instructed the field to be alert to any infiltration on a national or local level. The investigation was to be discreet and limited to contact with reliable sources. All offices were advised that the Bureau was not investigating the NAACP itself but the Communist infiltration into it. Instructions were issued that the Bureau and the New York Office were to be advised every six months as to the situation in each field division. (61-3176-667)

Since this Bureau letter of 2/10/54, our investigation has again established the relentlessness of the CP in efforts to infiltrate the many nationwide chapters of the NAACP. All Negro Party members have been instructed to join NAACP chapters to exert their influence in NAACP programs. Local chapters in some localities, e.g., Chicago, have been penetrated to the extent that CP members have become officers of these chapters. However, most chapters, as well as the national office, are acutely aware of the constant attempt on the part of the CP to dominate these local groups and are actively combatting the Communists in their efforts.

CP Agitation in the Emmett Till Case:

In various memoranda during September, 1955, the Attorney General was advised of the agitational activities of the CP, USA, in connection with the death of Emmett Louis Till, a fourteen-year old Negro youth from Chicago who was allegedly murdered in Mississippi in August, 1955.

The NAACP has taken a most aggressive stand in this case and has sponsored numerous rallies and meetings in protest of the death of Till and the conduct of the trial in Mississippi.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum for Mr. L. V. Boardman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] 670

The CP press has afforded the Till case continued attention, constantly urging the Department of Justice to intervene in the case and agitating for a mass march on Washington to enforce their demands.

New York State Conference of NAACP, October 15, 1955:

[REDACTED]

Dominant Personalities in NAACP:

1. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary.

A summary memorandum re Wilkins was prepared on 4/13/55. In essence, he was elected by the Board of Directors of the organization to succeed the late Walter White. He was never investigated by the Bureau although approximately 400 references to him appear in Bureau files. Review of these data indicates Wilkins in the 1930s and early 1940s tended to adhere to the CP line but since then he appears to be strongly anti-Communist and has done all possible to steer the NAACP away from Communist influence. (61-3176-914)

2. Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel.

A summary memorandum re Marshall was prepared on 12/15/50. Marshall has been Special Counsel of the NAACP since at least 1946. Marshall, according to House Committee on Un-American Activities and public source records, was associated with Communist front organizations

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum for Mr. L. V. Boardman

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in the 1940s, e.g., National Lawyers Guild and International Juridical Association. In 1947, he is reported to have said that if any office of an NAACP chapter were held by a Communist the charter of the chapter would be withdrawn. [REDACTED] b7C

man

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

NEW YORK

43723

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 1/17/56	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 11/3, 7-8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 12/1, 2, 5-9, 12-16/55; 1/3, 4, 10/56	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]
TITLE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:			
<p>Organizational Structure of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) set forth. Current membership of NAACP reported to be about 250,000. Pertinent information concerning membership and structure of NAACP set forth. (C)</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED] Salient parts of article entitled "The 46th Annual Convention of the NAACP" by FOXEY A. WILKINSON which appeared in the August issue of "Political Affairs" set forth. NAACP adopts anti-Communism resolution at National Convention.</p> <p>[REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED] Information concerning Civil Rights Mobilization for Washington early in 1956 by NAACP and cooperating organizations set forth. Information concerning attempts by the State of Georgia to outlaw the NAACP as "subversive" set forth. [REDACTED]</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED [Signature]		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE [Signature]	
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U. S. GOVERNMENT

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43724

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b2D

Efforts by the CP and SWP to infiltrate and dominate NAACP Branches throughout the United States and its territories set forth.

- P* -

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1-Los Angeles (100-5589)(Info.)(RM)
1-Memphis (100-3226)(Info.)(RM)
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NY 100-7629

43735

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page Number</u>
GLOSSARY	1a, 1f
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NAACP	2
<u>NATIONAL SECTION</u>	
Membership	3
46th Annual Convention of the NAACP	4
"Political Affairs" article on Convention	6
Anti-Communism Resolution	22
Civil Rights Mobilization	23
Georgia Attempts to outlaw NAACP	25
National Convention of Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World	27
Socialist Workers Party attempts to Infiltrate NAACP	28
<u>STATE AND LOCAL</u>	
Alabama	29
Alaska	29
Arizona	29
Arkansas	29
California	30
Colorado	32
Connecticut	33
Delaware	37
District of Columbia	37

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

~~43766~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

Page Number

STATE AND LOCAL CONT'D

Florida	37
Georgia	37
Hawaii	38
Idaho	38
Illinois	38
Indiana	42
Iowa	43
Kansas	43
Kentucky	43
Louisiana	43
Maine	44
Maryland	44
Massachusetts	45
Michigan	46
Minnesota	48
Mississippi	49
Missouri	49
Montana	49
Nebraska	50
Nevada	50
New Hampshire	50
New Jersey	51
New Mexico	53
New York	53
North Carolina	64
North Dakota	66
Ohio	66
Oklahoma	68
Oregon	69
Pennsylvania	69
Rhode Island	71
South Carolina	71

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

23787

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

Page Number

STATE AND LOCAL CONT'D

South Dakota	71
Tennessee	72
Texas	73
Utah	74
Vermont	74
Virginia	75
Washington	75
West Virginia	75
Wisconsin	75
Wyoming	77
Districts of Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands	77

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NY 100-7629

~~43703~~
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GLOSSARY

Organizations and publications mentioned in this report are characterized as follows:

COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (CRC)

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"DAILY WORKER"

An East Coast Communist newspaper.

DANIELS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE (LYL)

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL (NNLC)

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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GLOSSARY

"POLITICAL AFFAIRS"

Is the official monthly theoretical organ of the CP, USA, according to the testimony of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, self-admitted member of the National Committee, CP, USA, on October 20, 1952, in connection with the trial of United States vs. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, ET AL.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"THE WORKER"

Is the Sunday edition of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper.

UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

Has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will henceforth be referred to as the NAACP.

All informants utilized in this report have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NAACP

ORIGIN

From a pamphlet publicly distributed by the NAACP entitled "How the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Began," a history was obtained. The NAACP started when MARY WHITE OVINGTON, its first member, met with WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, a columnist, during the first week of January in 1909, in a small room of a New York apartment.

The first conference was held on the evening of May 30, 1909, at Cooper Union, New York City. Over 1,000 guests were invited and the initial conference was considered a success.

It was not until the second conference, held in May, 1910, that the group organized a permanent body to be known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its first officers were listed as follows:

MOORFIELD STOREY, National President

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING Chairman of the Executive Committee

JOHN E. MILHOLLAND Treasurer

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Disbursing Treasurer

FRANCES BLASCOER, Executive Secretary

Dr. W.E.B. DU BOIS, Director of Publicity and Research

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In November of 1910, the first edition of the NAACP official organ, "The Crisis", was printed with Dr. DU BOIS as its editor.

STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

A review of the Certificate of Incorporation at the Hall of Records, New York County Clerk's Office, on May 11, 1954, revealed that the NAACP filed its certificate for incorporation under the New York State Membership Corporation Laws on June 19, 1911. The principal objects for which the corporation was formed are:

To promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States.

To advance the interest of colored citizens.

To secure for them impartial suffrage.

To increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law.

To ascertain and publish all facts bearing upon these subjects and to take any lawful action thereon; together with any and all things which may lawfully be done by a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for the further advancement of these objects.

To take, receive, hold, convey, mortgage or assign all such real estate and personal property as may be necessary for the purposes of this corporation.

The territory in which the operations of the corporation are principally to be conducted, shall be the United States of America.

The principal office of the corporation and the center of its operations shall be in the City, County and State of New York but the directors may establish branch or auxiliary offices elsewhere in the United States for the purpose of carrying on the work of the corporation, each to be managed by its local organization under such powers as lawfully may be prescribed in the by-laws of the corporation.

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PURPOSES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

From a pamphlet received by the writer in October, 1954, the purposes and achievements of the NAACP are as follows:

PURPOSES

To bring about complete integration of colored people into all phases of American life.

To break down segregation and the resultant inequalities in public education.

To secure enactment of federal, state and local civil rights legislation, including fair employment practices acts with full enforcement powers.

To insure justice without respect to race, creed or color in the courts.

To end police brutality and mob violence.

To guarantee the right to a "free and unfettered" ballot for colored Americans.

To end all segregation in transportation and places of public accommodation.

To secure the right of all men and women to serve their country in the armed forces without regard to race or color.

To abolish all barriers in housing, public and private, which would prevent any American from living in the place of his choice.

To support the United Nations and to combat imperialism, totalitarianism, colonial exploitation and racial discrimination throughout the world.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Admission of qualified Negro students to tax-supported graduate and professional schools in southern states.

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A full-scale attack against segregation in the public elementary and high school levels.

Investigation and successful action against unfair treatment of Negroes in the armed services and a campaign for their whole integration into all branches of the services.

Removed barriers depriving Negroes of the ballot and expansion of the Negro vote.

Outlawed enforcement of restricted housing covenants and won a series of cases which have established the rights of a Negro to occupy any property he owns or leases without interference by any governmental agency.

Defense of countless victims of racial prejudice in the courts.

A nation-wide campaign against lynching which has resulted in drastic reduction of this crime.

Precedent-shattering decisions outlawing segregation in interstate transportation.

Helped to secure passage of fair employment laws in 10 states, and an executive order against employment bias by government agencies and defense contractors.

30 victories out of 33 cases carried to the United States Supreme Court re-affirming the rights guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution.

LEADERSHIP

From an official letterhead of the NAACP received by the writer on January 6, 1956, the leadership of the NAACP is as follows:

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NY 100-7629

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OF COLORED PEOPLE

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GLOSTER B. CURRENT	Director, Branches
EDWARD R. DUDLEY	Special Assistant
ROBERT L. CARTER	Assistant Special Counsel
LUCILLE BLACK	Membership Secretary
HERBERT HILL	Labor Secretary
RUEY HURLEY	Southeastern Regional Secretary
DONALD JONES	Regional Secretary
MADISON S. JONES	Special Assistant for Housing
FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS	West Coast Regional Sec'y- Counsel
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CHARLES PRICE	
ROBERT W. SAUNDERS	
E. C. WASHINGTON, JR.	
HERBERT L. WRIGHT	Youth Secretary
CLARENCE MITCHELL	Director, Washington Bureau
JAMES W. IVY	Editor, "The Crisis"

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SCOPE

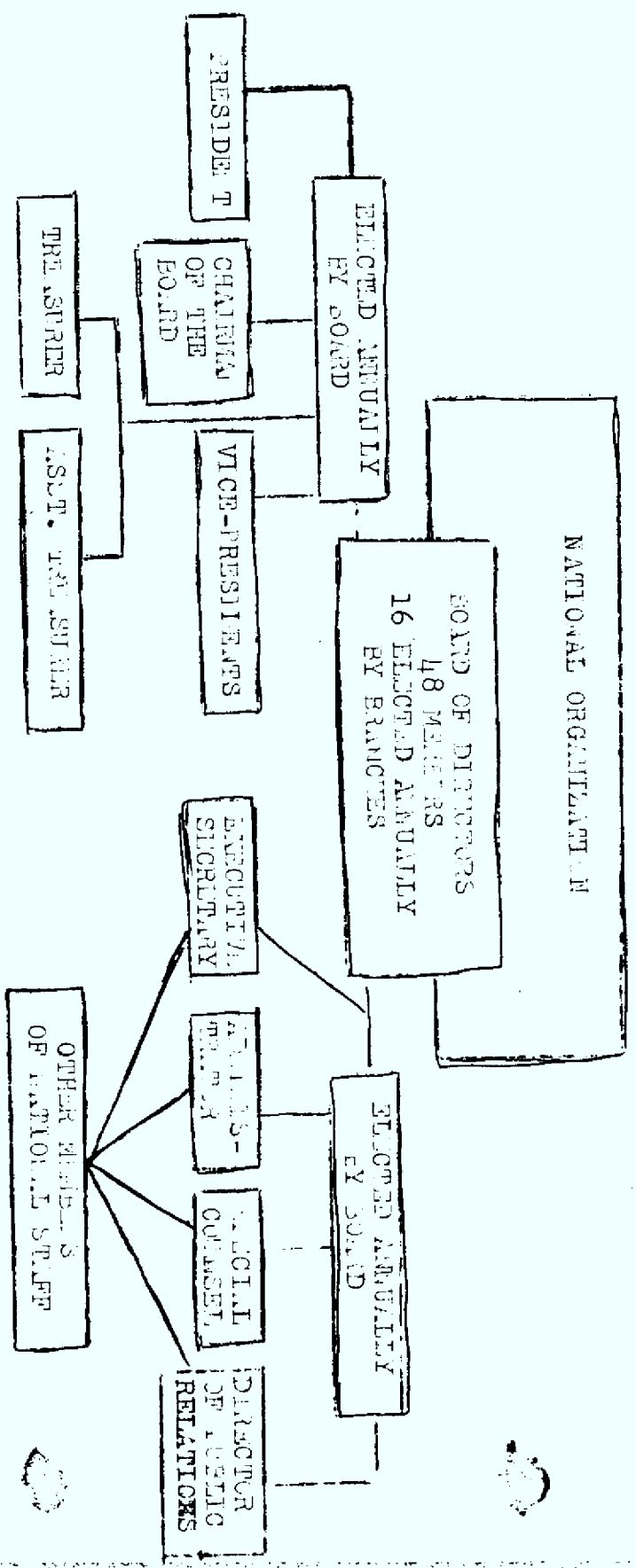
From a leaflet distributed by the NAACP and received by the writer on January 6, 1956, the NAACP is described as an organization of a quarter-million strong in 45 states, the District of Columbia and the Territory of Alaska. The NAACP members, of all races and religions, are organized into more than 1,000 branches, which in turn form 30 State Conferences and several Regional Conferences. The national office staff covers the country, too. With headquarters in New York City at 20 West 40th Street, the NAACP maintains a Washington Bureau, in which most of the legislative activity is centered, and three regional offices: in Birmingham, Dallas and San Francisco. Local and state offices are maintained by constituent NAACP units. Field workers of the NAACP are sent wherever they are needed.

Additional information concerning membership of the NAACP is contained under the National Section of instant report.

The National Organization of the NAACP by diagram is as follows:

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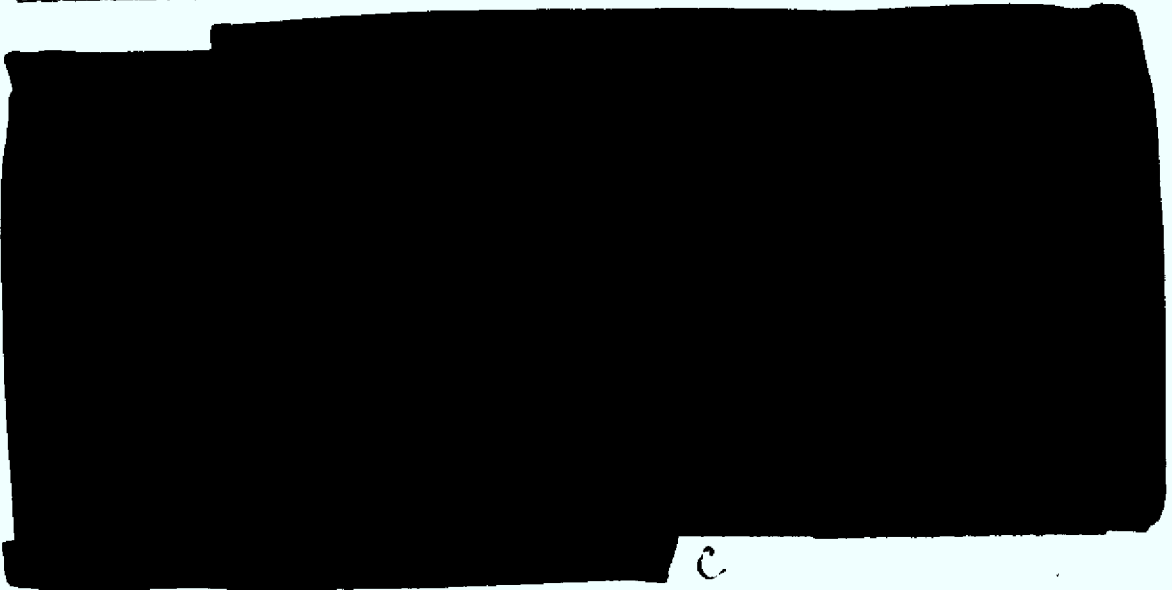
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NY 100-7629

NATIONAL SECTION

MEMBERSHIP



✓ The "Long Island Sunday Press" of June 26, 1955, page one, second news section, contained an article paying tribute to ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary of the NAACP. This article reflected that the NAACP was an organization of approximately 260,000 persons.

The "Daily Worker," issue of May 17, 1955, page eight, column one, contained an article entitled

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NY 100-7629

"Labor's Roll Stressed in NAACP Membership Drive." This article states that an intensive membership campaign for 20,000 new members will highlight the celebration by the New York chapters of the NAACP on the first anniversary of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. The article reflected that the campaign, whose goal was to triple the NAACP membership locally, was to run until June 17, 1955.

The Manhattan Chapter of the NAACP was sponsoring a mass rally to celebrate the desegregation victories and to promote a borough-wide drive for 10,000 new members. The article also stated that the NAACP supporters point to the fact that, of some 250,000 members nationally, the NAACP has reported fewer than 10,000 in the New York area. The article states that this is apparently one of the smallest NAACP organizations in proportion to local population.

46TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE NAACP

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UNITED STATES, THE NAACP, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF
CIVIL RIGHTS

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The August, 1955, issue of "Political Affairs" contained an article entitled "The 46th Annual Convention of the NAACP" by DOXEY A. WILKERSON. Pertinent excerpts from the article are as follows:

"The recent 46th Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demonstrated, once again, that this organization constitutes the vital center of the Negro people's movement today. Its democratic program for Negro rights and on other social and economic questions is probably more advanced than that of any other mass organization in which

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NY 100-7629

"the Left plays so modest a role. Its policy of independent political action coincides with the requirements for breaking through the G.O.P.-Dixiecrat road-block to progressive foreign and domestic policy. Its serious quest for allies, especially in the labor movement, will help to consolidate the democratic people's coalition for 1956. And its militant, fighting spirit reflects the mood of its quarter-million members and the Negro people as a whole.

"Approximately 800 people attended the N.A.A.C.P. Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 21 to 26. On the fourth day the Credentials Committee reported 479 voting delegates and 286 alternates, observers and fraternal delegates; others arrived toward the end of the week.

"There were 138 voting delegates and 136 others from the Middle Atlantic and New England states; the Mid-Western Regions sent 134 representatives; the Far West Region sent 52; and the Southern Regions sent 295, or 39% of the total. Approximately one-half of the 235 community branches, youth councils and college chapters represented at the Convention are located in Southern regions.

"This relatively high representation from the Southern states reflects the Association's widespread organization in the South. Some 458 (61%) of N.A.A.C.P.'s 780 community branches, 121 of its 241 youth councils, and 28 of its 64 college chapters are in the South....

"It was a serious convention. Although practically devoid of the dramatic or 'exciting' moments, it was notable for the dead-in-earnest concern of most delegates, especially those from the South, to grapple with the concrete problems they face back home. And out of it all there emerged a formulation of policy and program which underscores the key importance of N.A.A.C.P. in the fight for civil rights, civil liberties, economic

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NY 100-7629

"security and peace, and which re-emphasizes the Association's great potential for helping to consolidate the Negro-Labor Alliance in a program of independent political action.....

"To the end of implementing the 'Free by '63' slogan, the Convention defined nine specific civil rights objectives to be fought for in the period ahead. They include: (1) 'equality of job opportunity' through passage and enforcement of federal and state F.E.P. laws; (2) abolition of the poll tax and protection of the right to register for voting; (3) a stronger Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice; (4) an end to discrimination and segregation in public and private housing; (5) 'Speedy and diligent implementation of the recent Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation in public schools, and integration of teachers on the basis of qualifications'; (6) 'legislation to guarantee complete access to public accommodations, transportation and recreational facilities on an unsegregated basis'; (7) unsegregated hospital and health service; (8) 'protection of the safety and security of all persons without discrimination'; and (9) 'initiation of a program of education in race relations by federal, state and local government agencies.'

"The civil rights issue which dominated the Convention from beginning to end was, of course, the problem of implementing the Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools. Next in importance were the fight for the vote in the South and the struggle against Jim Crow housing.....

"....Marshall outlined the Association's program for implementing the Supreme Court ruling. Each local branch in a segregated school area is to file a petition with the school board immediately requesting that it act to implement the Court decision, with periodic

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NY 100-7629

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"follow-up to determine what steps are being taken. The branch is also to conduct an educational campaign in the community and to solicit the support of parents, churches, trade unions, civic groups and prominent individuals. 'Good faith compliance' by school officials is to be judged by whether they (1) recognize the principle of desegregation now, (2) plan now some implementing steps to begin this fall, (3) take some concrete steps toward integration this fall, and (4) complete the process of desegregation by September, 1956. As stated in the Directive to Branches adopted at the Regional Emergency Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on June 4, 'If no plans are announced or no steps toward desegregation taken by the time school begins this fall, 1955, the time for a law suit has arrived,' and the issue will be turned over to the legal department for proceedings in the court.....

"It was clear at the Convention--and has been further emphasized by National Office and local branch activities since--that the N.A.A.C.P. is determined to maintain a vigorous offensive on this segregated schools question. It was clear then--and is even more evident now--that the job of coping with the die-hard segregationist resistance is, indeed, 'going to be tough.'.....

"The fight for the right to vote in the South loomed large in the discussion of several workshops. Here, again, there was impressive participation by Southern delegates. They cited a wide range of concrete problems-- refusal to accept poll tax payments from Negroes, arbitrary 'disqualification' of Negro citizens by registrars, threats and violence directed against Negro voters--as in the recent murder of Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Mississippi--obstacles to voting in the (now illegal) 'white primary,' and many others. They also reported significant achievements-- in breaking through many barriers and increasing the number of Negro voters, in winning important footholds in the Democratic Party organization, and in the election of

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NY 100-7629

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"Negroes to state and local public office. It was clear from the discussion that the right-to-vote movement is one of the most powerful civil rights struggles under way in the South and that local branches of N.A.A.C.P. are actively involved in its development.

"This question was dealt with formally in a resolution which pledges the Association 'to use all legal means to destroy restrictions and practices which adversely affect the right to register and vote.' The resolution also declares 'We believe that we can and must have three million colored voters in the South by 1956.'.....

"The Convention resolution on housing 'reiterates our policy that members of all minority groups should be able to live in the place and location of their choice and economic status'; condemns discriminatory practices of 'real-estate brokers, home builders, banks and other lending institutions'; raises a number of concrete demands, directed to federal housing agencies. It is evident that here is a major civil rights issue around which N.A.A.C.P. branches are conducting widespread struggles.....

"During recent years N.A.A.C.P. conventions have been the occasion for leaders of the Association to laud the current President of the United States.....

"But a radical change was registered at Atlantic City. There the main spokesmen of the Association very deliberately hurled sharp criticisms at President Eisenhower because of his expressed opposition to the N.A.A.C.P.-sponsored anti-discrimination amendment which Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. had had incorporated in the National Reserves Bill then pending in the House, and to similar amendments proposed for pending federal-aid-to education bills.....

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NY 100-7629

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"As noted in the concluding address by Roy Wilkins, sharp criticism at this Convention was directed, not only at Eisenhower and the G.O.P., but likewise at the Democrats. The very significant address by Clarence Mitchell, for example, began with the statement that 'Republicans and Democrats have united in a bi-partisan program of smothering civil rights legislation in the Eighty-Fourth Congress.' He challenged the effort of Democrats 'to hide behind the South when explaining their failures on civil rights,' pointing out that New York's Representative Celler, West Virginia's Senator Kilgore and Washington's Senator Magnuson all head committees which are sitting on civil rights bills--and that 'northern and western Representatives and Senators outnumber southern members on the Senate and House Labor Committees where FEPC is bottled up.'....

"This was the setting in which the Convention adopted its very fine resolution on Political Action. Criticizing the President and Congress for 'betraying' the fight for civil rights--'neither of the major political parties has kept a single platform pledge on civil rights legislation'--the resolution endorses the lobbying apparatus proposed by Clarence Mitchell and calls 'upon the National Office and Board of Directors to use the most dramatic and effective methods with the second session of the 84th Congress to bring civil rights legislation before the Congress for passage and before the conventions of the major political parties for consideration in the 1956 platforms.'

"In short, the Convention, very forcefully, declared the N.A.A.C.P.'s political independence from the Eisenhower Administration--a big advance over previous years; and it called for concerted pressure now on both major political parties for progressive

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NY 100-7629

"legislation--which is precisely the best policy it could adopt in preparation for the national elections of next year.....

"N.A.A.C.P. is probably more highly conscious than any other Negro mass organization of the decisive importance of trade-union support in the fight for Negro rights; and this fact was demonstrated anew at its 46th Annual Convention.....

"This recognition of the need for labor support was reflected in Labor Secretary Hill's pre-Convention letter to many trade unions, inviting them to send fraternal delegates to participate in the workshop on Organizing Labor and the N.A.A.C.P. It was spelled out even more clearly in his prepared speech on 'The Role of Organized Labor in Effecting School Integration.' Hill characterized the unions as 'a significant power group' to aid in the fight for desegregation, stressing their importance in 'helping to resolve conflicts and tensions within the general community.' He urged trade unions to issue public declarations in support of school integration, especially in the South, and 'to invoke disciplinary action against members who take part in public demonstrations against desegregation.'

"The Convention resolution on Labor and Industry is even more fully expressive of N.A.A.C.P.'s very positive orientation toward the labor movement; and it reflects a high degree of maturity on this question. The opening section 'reaffirms' the Association's 'support of democratic trade unionism and the principle of collective bargaining,' pointing out that 'hundreds of thousands of Negro workers (more accurately, nearly two million) belong to labor unions in every part of the country.'.... Then follows this

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NY 100-7629

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"truly advanced call for the necessary two-way approach to building the Negro-labor alliance:

"We urge our branches and state conferences wherever possible to seek the support of responsible trade unions for measures that we favor, and in turn give our support to such measures supported by organized labor as are consistent with our policy and program.

"The second section of the Labor and Industry resolution is on the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. merger. It 'endorses the historic merger agreement'; asserts that 'a strong and united labor movement represents a powerful weapon in the struggle to end racial discrimination in the training and employment of Negro workers'; and calls 'on the new Federation to launch an intensive drive to organize the unorganized in the South especially.'....

"The third section of the resolution headed 'Non-Cooperation with Communist-Controlled Unions,' reaffirms the Association's 'official policy that no branch or state conference of the N.A.A.C.P. will endorse, participate in, or cooperate with Communist-controlled unions or with unions dominated by underworld racketeering elements.' It makes clear that reference is 'particularly ... to those international unions expelled from organized labor for being under Communist control or under racketeering control and still under that control'; and asserts that support given to or accepted from such unions 'will not help but rather will hinder our efforts to win adoption of our program.' Several delegates expressed vigorous opposition to this statement of policy; but it was adopted by an overwhelming majority--and without any really substantial debate.

"* Emphasis here added.

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NY 100-7629

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"As reported out by the Resolutions Committee, the wording of this ban on cooperation with the independent unions expelled from C.I.O. is identical with that of the 1954 Convention resolution--with two significant exceptions. First, this year's resolution, by adding the qualification '...and still under that (i.e., Communist) control,' seemingly opens the door to N.A.A.C.P. cooperation with formerly banned unions which have effected mergers with other, politically more acceptable, internationals. Second, the 1954 Convention resolution stated that 'the prohibition against working with Communist-controlled unions shall also include the National Negro Labor Council, because it is completely Communist-dominated...'; but this item was left out of the Resolution Committee's report at the 1955 Convention. Upon being queried about this omission, the Chairman of the Committee explained that it was deliberate, based on 'advice of counsel'; and when pressed for further explanation, he stated that the provision might be construed by the courts as 'libelous.' On motion from the floor, and again with only inconsequential protest, the prohibition against cooperation with N.N.L.C. was incorporated in the resolution.

"Thus, N.A.A.C.P. again embraced as its own the C.I.O. policy of opposition to the expelled independent unions. In so doing, it once more endorsed the Big Lie now incorporated in the Brownell-Butler provisions of the Communist Control Act, about which even the anti-Communist sections of the labor movement are becoming increasingly concerned.

"It is doubtful that a score of the voting delegates at the convention could name the unions proscribed by this resolution, or that they had any real interest in the trade-union policy struggle which lies at the root of this question. They voted for the resolution because it was proposed by leaders in whom

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NY 100-7629

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"they have confidence, and because they had no special reason for opposing it--especially in the anti-Communist political climate of this period. The leaders of the Association were probably motivated chiefly by a desire to hold firm their close relations with C.I.O.--even at the expense of a truly independent policy for N.A.A.C.P. But it seems to this observer that a dispute which arises within the ranks of labor and which does not involve issues of Negro rights should be fought out in the labor movement, not in the organizations of the Negro people. The N.A.A.C.P. would be well advised to end its intervention in this intra-labor conflict, because such intervention represents only a drag on the whole Negro freedom movement.....

"There was very little discussion at Atlantic City of the Cold War erosion of the Bill of Rights or of the struggle for peace; but the Convention did adopt, with little or no debate, a series of significant resolutions on these questions. The policies asserted are, for the most part, progressive; but there are also important limitations--and they operate to weaken the Association's advanced position in the fight for Negro democratic rights.

"There are several notably progressive policy statements in the civil liberties field. The resolution on Academic Freedom, for example, opposes 'any and all efforts to suppress freedom of thought and objective learning,' and particularly condemns 'the discharge of teachers on the basis of charges by 'nameless informers.'" The resolution on the Federal Security-Loyalty Program demands 'that all persons accused of being a security risk shall have the right to know the nature of the charges against them, the source of the charges and the right to be confronted by the accuser and to cross-examine the witnesses against them,' and condemns as 'odious' the Federal Government's use of 'paid professional informers.'

"The resolution on Congressional Investigations asserts that 'many innocent persons have been charged with

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"treasonable or subversive conduct and given no opportunity to know the evidence against them or to defend themselves or their reputation with the consequent loss of their employment,' and calls 'on the Congress and the legislatures of the several states to enact rules of 'fair play' for the conduct of such investigations. The resolution on the McCarran-Walter Anti-Immigration Act calls 'for revision...to eliminate the national origins quota system and other racist-based provisions, and to liberalize its procedures in accordance with fair and equal treatment for all immigrants and prospective immigrants.'

"The Convention was silent, however, on the civil liberties violations entailed by the Smith Act, the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. Moreover, in formal endorsement of the Big Lie which operates as the premise for precisely those violations of civil liberties which the Association condemns, the Convention again adopted, without discussion, its resolution reaffirming 'our rejection of Communism as an anti-democratic way of life,' and calling on all branches 'to be constantly alert against attempts of Communists and their sympathizers...to infiltrate and gain control of any units of our organization.'

"The Convention also shied away from certain key issues on which, with little danger of appearing 'too progressive,' it might well have advanced its position on the question of civil liberties. For example, the Supreme Court declaration that the right to travel abroad is a 'natural right' was handed down during the early days of the Convention, and has subsequently been used by several Negro newspapers as the basis for editorial demands that Paul Robeson be granted a passport. Also, shortly before the Convention, Federal Judge William H. Hastie, a member of N.A.A.C.P.'s National Board of Directors, wrote an historic dissenting opinion which exposes the fraud inherent in the imprisonment of Communists for alleged violation of the Smith Act. But the Convention ignored both of these questions; and at the same time it gave comfort to the main

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NY 100-7622

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"enemies of civil liberties--always the most rabid racists-- by reaffirming its policies of 'Anti-Communism' and 'Non-Cooperation with Communist-Controlled Unions.'

"Even so, it is important to note that the proceedings of this Convention were markedly free of red-baiting, either from the platform or from the floor. In sharp contrast to the 1954 Dallas Convention--which featured virulent anti-Communism from the keynote address of Channing Tobias to the concluding speeches of Ralph Bunche and Walter White--not one national leader of the Association made a red-baiting speech at Atlantic City; and there was extremely little of it from the delegates. This fact, coupled with the Resolution Committee's deliberate omission of a recommendation for non-cooperation with the National Negro Labor Council, suggests that the N.A.A.C.P. leadership may be taking a second look at the contradiction between its generally advanced position on civil liberties and its endorsement of the Big Lie of anti-Communism.....

"As with certain key questions in the civil liberties field, the Convention did not discuss or take any action on such concrete issues in the fight for peace as the situation around Formosa, the seating of China in the United Nations, the unification of Germany or the banning of nuclear weapons.

"One gets the impression that the N.A.A.C.P. is following a 'cautious' and rather opportunist policy in these fields. Whereas the Association asserts a bold and independent position in the fight for civil rights--which it properly regards as its main business--it acts with seeming deference to the Eisenhower Administration on questions of civil liberty and foreign policy, especially the latter. Where special 'Negro interests' are directly involved, N.A.A.C.P. tends to assert advanced policies, even critical of the Administration. But on many other 'hot' issues it tends to remain silent, or to make general gestures of obeisance to the powers that be--largely 'for the record.'

"The 46th Annual Convention of N.A.A.C.P. met in the context of political developments on the world and

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"domestic scenes which profoundly affect the welfare of our country as a whole and of the Negro people in particular. In what ways were these developments reflected in the Atlantic City Convention? How shall we appraise the N.A.A.C.P. as a force in the important political struggles which lie immediately ahead? What tasks are entailed for the labor-progressive movement as a whole?

"In the first place, it is clear that N.A.A.C.P. is determined to press the fight for Negro democratic rights in a big way, especially around the schools question, jobs, housing, and the right to vote in the South. Moreover, while continuing to rely heavily upon its talented lawyers and the courts, the Association is giving important new emphasis to organized legislative action focused on Congress and to mass people's struggles in the local communities. The further development of its program along these lines will surely enhance the effectiveness of N.A.A.C.P. as, without question, the foremost civil rights organization of the Negro people.

"Second, the growth of N.A.A.C.P. membership seems to lag considerably behind its potentialities and needs, especially when one considers the dynamic program, the mounting prestige and the difficult tasks reflected at this Convention. The current membership of around 250,000 is very substantial; but it is little more than half the total of a decade ago, and the decline is only partially explained by the increase of the membership fee.

"It would seem to be quite possible to build an N.A.A.C.P. of 1,000,000 or more members under the objective conditions of this period; but to do so will require a more thoroughly democratic policy in the conduct of the Association's affairs than was reflected at the Convention. The rules of procedure, for example, seriously limited participation from the floor, with but little of that full and rounded discussion and debate essential for maximum understanding of the Association's program and enthusiasm for building the organization. This Convention, like its predecessors, was tightly controlled from the top.

"In this connection, there were many evidences at the Convention that the development of youth work is being

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"seriously neglected--if not actively discouraged--by leaders of the Association. Yet, considering the increasing ferment among young people on a wide range of social questions, there is no doubt that N.A.A.C.P., with little effort, could build a vital and extensive network of youth councils and college chapters, and thus greatly stimulate the growth of the Association and enhance its effectiveness generally.

"N.A.A.C.P. can be built into a much larger and far more powerful civil rights organization; and the tasks it now faces urgently require that this be done. The main thing needed, in the opinion of this observer, is for leaders of the Association to unleash the initiative of its many members and supporters below, and to rally them in truly mass struggles for the achievement of its goals.

"Third, the Convention registered a radical and very important shift of the Association away from support of the Eisenhower Administration and toward a more independent course in domestic affairs.

"Certainly, the Atlantic City Convention revealed a definite stiffening of the Association's attitude toward the President and the G.O.P.; and it was accompanied by sharp criticism of the compromising northern Democrats in Congress. There was no clear indication of the present orientation of N.A.A.C.P. leaders toward the coming national elections; but if they implement the Convention's call for vigorous independent political action during the next fifteen months, they will surely contribute much to the electoral strength of the democratic forces in 1956.

"Fourth, the Convention reaffirmed and in some respects strengthened the Association's already progressive policy on civil liberties--especially around the security-loyalty question and the Government's use of paid informers; and it made some slight steps forward on the question of foreign policy--notably in relation to the Asian-African Conference and the Geneva meeting of the 'Big Four.'

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"The continuing serious limitations of the Association's policy in these fields must be understood chiefly as a reflection of the present relations of forces in our country. On the question of 'anti-Communism,' for example, it would have been unrealistic to suppose that any explicit change of position could be registered at Atlantic City. Although the Negro people, because of their own oppression, do tend to be more sensitive than the general population to all kinds of undemocratic measures, still, given today's political climate, we could hardly expect the N.A.A.C.P. now to undertake a task which even the labor movement thus far eschews.

"Fifth, the Atlantic City Convention re-emphasized the fact that N.A.A.C.P. is the key to building the Negro-labor alliance. Not only did the Convention call for labor's help in the fight for Negro rights; it also endorsed practically all of labor's current economic demands and defended labor's right to engage in independent political action. When one considers, further, that C.I.O.'s Walter Reuther is a member of the Association's National Board of Directors, that there is an increasingly active Labor Department in the National Office, that the two-years-old Labor and Industry Committees are beginning to play a vital role in the local branches, and that scores of unions consider it important to send fraternal delegates to the Annual Convention, it is probable that no people's organization in America, Negro or white, has so conscious and organized a relationship with the labor movement as does the N.A.A.C.P. Here, surely, is the most advanced expression of the Negro-labor alliance on the current scene.

"It is clear that the Association is eager further to develop its relations with labor--as, indeed, it must. The fond reformist conceit that integration can be achieved through the good graces of the ruling class has been dealt some shattering blows in the recent period; and the leaders of N.A.A.C.P.--as is beginning to be true of other Negro people's organizations--are forced to look more and more to the working class for support. In this quest for allies in the labor movement, they will also find it necessary, in time, to reappraise their relations with the Left as a part of the working class.

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"Sixth, the Convention highlighted the big opportunity now before the labor-progressive movement to cement its ties with the whole Negro people through closer cooperation with the key and influential N.A.A.C.P. There are many concrete ways in which white and Negro progressives, especially those in the trade unions, can contribute to this end.

"They can help to build the membership of the Association in the ranks of the unions. It is reported, for example, that one Negro trade unionist in the New York area recruited more than 300 new N.A.A.C.P. members during the recent membership campaign of his branch. His role could well be emulated by hundreds of trade unionists throughout the country.

"They can help to develop the N.A.A.C.P. Labor and Industry Committees into even more vital and influential units, and thereby to involve the Association increasingly in direct cooperative relations with the trade unions.

"They can encourage their unions to make financial contributions to the Association's Freedom Fund, and to take out Life Memberships for union officials.

"They can influence their unions to give active support to the legislative demands of the Association, and especially to cooperate with local branches in the fight for school integration, for non-discrimination in housing, and for the right to vote in the South.

"The most important task progressives in the unions can now undertake is to win trade union support for the Atlantic City Convention's call on the coming merged labor Federation 'to launch an intensive drive to organize the unorganized in the South.' Nothing could contribute more during this period to strengthen labor's ties with the whole Negro people than for the new Federation to carry through a massive campaign to organize many millions of southern white and Negro workers. Nor is there any other single task which

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"could now contribute more toward building the national trade-union movement and strengthening the entire democratic coalition.....

"Finally, in the light of developments revealed by this analysis, one must conclude with an over-all positive estimate of the 46th Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P.

"The Convention did reveal significant weaknesses in N.A.A.C.P. policy and program, especially in its continuing 'anti-Communism' and its reluctance to tackle certain very important, concrete issues in the fight for peace and freedom. Notable also in this regard is the Association's continuing failure to develop any program on the basic land question in the South. These limitations flow in large measure, from the reformist ideology which dominates the middle-class leadership of the Association. The necessary corrective lies in developing a stronger base of active trade unionists in the organization, together with much more substantial support of its program by the labor-progressive movement.

"There can be no doubt that in the context of the changing political scene, and given much more substantial support by the labor movement--a task for which progressives in the unions have a special responsibility--the N.A.A.C.P. will continue to move forward as an increasingly powerful force in the fight for the civil rights of the Negro people, and also in the broader struggle for democracy and peace. The Atlantic City Convention made important contributions to this end."

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CIVIL RIGHTS MOBILIZATION FOR WASHINGTON

The "Daily Worker," issue of October 31, 1955, page 1, column 1, contained an article entitled "Civil Rights Mobilization Set for Washington, Reuther Says." This article states that a giant people's mobilization, timed to convene in Washington early in 1956, as efforts are made to obtain passage of civil rights legislation in Congress, is planned by the NAACP and cooperating organizations. The article states that this was disclosed by WALTER REUTHER, President of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in a call to action letter to the UAW Locals and Fair Practices Committee.

REUTHER's letter accompanied a statement of the UAW's General Executive Board which contained the union's views on the deaths of EMMETT TILL and other Negroes in Mississippi and a program of stepped-up action on the civil rights front by the union of 1,500,000 members. The UAW's statement and program in part were set out as follows:

"Our international union is working with the NAACP and a host of other organizations who are planning as a part of the total overall civil rights program a nation-wide civil rights mobilization to be convened in Washington early next year so that we and thousands of other Americans can express to Congress the overwhelming desire of the American people for the enactment of civil rights legislation."

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This article also reflects that the Executive Board authorized a donation of \$5,000 to the NAACP's "Fight for Freedom Fund" and called upon the locals of the UAW to do as follows:

"Add their local donations to the NAACP's fund to be forwarded to the NAACP's offices at 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

"Write immediately to Congressmen and Senators requesting that they work for and vote for enactment of effective civil rights at the opening of Congress, January, 1956.

"Urge Congressmen to use every influence to get pending civil rights bills in the House Judiciary Committee (there are 53 of them) reported out. They should be urged to join with others for a discharge procedure, if that procedure becomes necessary, to get the bills on the floor of Congress for debate and vote.

"Senators should be reminded that a filibuster can be broken when the majority of Senators desire to break it by wearing the filibuster out with the same determination and stamina as the type displayed by the enemies of civil rights."

This article, under a subtitle "World Issue," reflects that the issue of civil rights in America has become a matter of world concern. The article states that Congress has not adopted a single civil rights measure in the past 80 years, attributing this fact in a large part to the lack of a majority rule in Congress. The article concludes with a UAW statement which criticizes the Administration's failure to advance civil rights legislation.

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SUBVERSIVE MANIPULATIONS

The "Daily Worker," issue of October 20, 1955, page 1, column 2, contains an article entitled "Georgia Plans to Outlaw NAACP as 'Subversive.'" This article states that Georgia Attorney General EUGENE COOK accused the NAACP of becoming "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy." The article states that COOK charged the activities of the NAACP and its local fronts as posing a serious threat to the peace, tranquility, the government and way of life of the State of Georgia, and promised to put the facts before the Georgia Legislature for appropriate action.

According to the article, COOK stated that his office and the staffs of Representative JAMES C. DAVIS of Georgia and Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND (D. Miss.) conducted a thorough investigation into the NAACP. COOK stated that he would welcome the chance to present the evidence in court. COOK said: "On the basis of the evidence now in hand, no other conclusion can be drawn but that the NAACP is being used as a front and tool by subversive elements in this country."

The article continues: "Either knowingly or unwittingly, it has allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states."

The article states that COOK linked a number of the NAACP officials with Communist activity. In addition, the article states: "Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and Negro races in the South.... These activities, carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering this nation into the hands of international Communism."

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The article also sets forth that ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, denounced the accusation made by Attorney General EUGENE COOK of Georgia that the NAACP was a "subversive" organization or "part of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. Government."

WILKINS stated that COOK's speech, which was made before the Annual Convention of Georgia Peace Officers, was apparently part of a conspiracy by some Southern officials to combat the Supreme Court's order to desegregate the public schools by charging the NAACP with being subversive.

In addition, WILKINS charged that "The real subversives are those who defy the Constitution of our country and openly declare they will not obey it, or who scheme to evade it and counsel others to do likewise.

"Cook said that the Supreme Court ruling on segregation in public schools should not be obeyed. He has advised on ways and means of circumventing it. It is he, not we, who are seeking to undermine the Government of the U.S. There is nothing subversive in demanding equality under the Constitution. The Constitution prescribes equality for citizens. Those who deny that equality are subverting the Constitution."

The "Daily Worker," issue of October 25, 1955, on page 1, column 1, contains an article entitled "Eastland Threatens Witchhunt Probe of NAACP Supporters."

This article states that JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi's national weapon in the fight to retain segregation, indicated that he will attempt a witch-hunt "investigation" of the NAACP. According to the article, EASTLAND charged that the NAACP is "heavily infiltrated" with subversive persons. The statement by EASTLAND was made in Jackson, Mississippi, the day after Georgia Attorney General EUGENE COOK announced his proposal to have the NAACP placed on his state's "Subversive List."

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The article reflects that EASTLAND stated that Attorney General COOK was "on the right track" in branding the NAACP "subversive" and added that he thought it "timely" to investigate the group's source of funds.

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STATE AND LOCAL

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There follows hereafter a summary of the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to infiltrate the NAACP. This information is being submitted geographically by states and territories.

ALABAMA

At Birmingham, Alabama

No additional information has been received indicating Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the Birmingham Division for the period of this report.

At Mobile, Alabama

No additional information has been received indicating Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the Mobile Division for the period of this report.

ALASKA

At Anchorage, Alaska

No indication of Communist infiltration of the NAACP chapters located at Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska, has been reported.

ARIZONA

At Phoenix, Arizona

No additional information has been received that would indicate that the Communist Party has accomplished any infiltration of the NAACP in Arizona.

ARKANSAS

At Little Rock, Arkansas

No information has been reported which would indicate that attempts are being made by the Communist Party to infiltrate the NAACP in Arkansas.

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Labor Youth League (LYL)
Aims Concerning the NAACP

[REDACTED] C advised that the San Francisco County LYL intended to direct its main concentration in youth work toward infiltration of the Youth Chapter of the NAACP.

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COLORADO

At Denver, Colorado

Temporary Colorado
State NAACP Conference

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Attempts to Infiltrate
NAACP by the Communist Party

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Attempts to Infiltrate the
NAACP by the SWP

[REDACTED]

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At San Diego, California

No information has been developed which would indicate there is any Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the San Diego Division.

At San Francisco, California

Attempts and Aims of Communist Party
Toward Infiltration of NAACP

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ANNA BARY was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Denver, Colorado, on August 9, 1954, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act; was found guilty as charged on May 25, 1955, by a United States District Court Jury at Denver, Colorado, and was sentenced on June 23, 1955, by United States District Judge JEAN S. BREITENSTEIN to four years in the custody of the Attorney General and fined \$3,000.

Connections with the Communist Party

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BELLARMINO J. DURAN, in United States District Court, Denver, Colorado, on April 27, 1955, testified that he was a member of the Communist Party during the latter part of 1948 until April 3, 1955, on behalf of the Government.

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CONNECTICUT

At New Haven, Connecticut

Hartford Chapter

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N.A.A.C.P. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
New Britain Chapter

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N.A.A.C.P. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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New Haven Chapter

An article appearing on page 23 of the December 3, 1954, issue of the "New Haven Register" entitled "NAACP Chapter Host Tomorrow to N. E. Parley" reflects the New Haven Chapter, NAACP Youth Council would be host to more than 150 delegates to the 2nd Annual Workshop of the New England Regional Conference of the NAACP Youth Council and College Chapters. The article indicates the workshop would be opened at Winchester School, 8:00 A.M., December 4, 1954.

This article indicates that registered delegates represented NAACP Youth Chapters in Hartford, Bridgeport, Stamford, Meriden, Waterbury, Norwalk, New Britain and Plainville, Connecticut.

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This article reflects that JAMES GIBBS was listed among members of the New Haven Chapter NAACP Reception Group. *NATL. ASSOC. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE*

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An article appearing on page 23 of the January 16, 1955, issue of the "New Haven Evening Register" entitled "Levy to Address Local Chapter of NAACP Thursday" sets forth information that installation of new officers would take place at the meeting. The names of one attorney, CATHERINE MORABACK, and one SAUL FRIEDLER are listed as Executive Board members to be installed. *NATL. ASSOC. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE*

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DELAWARE

At Baltimore, Maryland

Wilmington Branch

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

At Washington, D.C.

No additional information has been received disclosing any Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the District of Columbia for the period of this report.

FLORIDA

At Miami, Florida

No additional information has been reported regarding Communist infiltration of the NAACP branches in Florida for the period of this report.

GEORGIA

At Atlanta, Georgia

No additional information has been received revealing any Communist infiltration of the branches of the NAACP in the Atlanta Division.

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At Savannah, Georgia

No additional information has been received to indicate any Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the State of Georgia covered by the Savannah Division.

HAWAII

At Honolulu, Hawaii

It has been previously reported that the NAACP is nonexistent in Hawaii.

IDAHO

At Butte, Montana

No information has been reported indicating any attempts by the Communist Party to infiltrate the chapters of the NAACP in Idaho.

ILLINOIS

At Chicago, Illinois

Evidence of Communist Infiltration
of the Chicago Branch of the NAACP

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At Springfield, Illinois

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No additional information has been received indicating Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the Springfield Division.

INDIANA

At Indianapolis, Indiana

CP Infiltration of Local Branches
of the NAACP of Indiana

Indianapolis Branch

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NATL. ASSN. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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Gary, Indiana Branch

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IOWA

At Omaha, Nebraska

No additional information has been reported to indicate any CP infiltration of the NAACP branches in the State of Iowa.

KANSAS

At Kansas City, Missouri

No information has been received reflecting any attempts on the part of the CP to infiltrate the NAACP in Kansas.

KENTUCKY

At Louisville, Kentucky

No information has been received indicating Communist infiltration of the NAACP in the State of Kentucky.

LOUISIANA

At New Orleans, Louisiana

Efforts by the CP to Infiltrate the NAACP

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NOTE: ASSOC. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF

[REDACTED]

COLORED
PEOPLE

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MAINE

At Boston, Massachusetts

No information has been received indicating
CP infiltration of the NAACP in Maine.

MARYLAND

At Baltimore, Maryland

CP Activity in the NAACP

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MINNESOTA

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At Minneapolis, Minnesota

CP Infiltration of the NAACP

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2-9-56 [REDACTED] generally there is no indi- b7D
b7C cation [REDACTED] either in the Minneapolis Branch activities or in the
Minnesota State Conference, NAACP, of any concerted effort
locally by the CP or CP front groups to infiltrate, control
or influence the activities, policies or program of the NAACP.

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MISSISSIPPI

At New Orleans, Louisiana

No information has been reported to indicate Communist Party infiltration of the NAACP in the Southern District of Mississippi.

At Memphis, Tennessee

No information has been received that would indicate any CP infiltration of the NAACP in areas of Mississippi covered by the Memphis Division.

MISSOURI

At Kansas City, Missouri

No information has been received that would indicate any CP infiltration of the NAACP branches in the Kansas City Division.

At St. Louis, Missouri.

No information has been received that would indicate any CP infiltration of the NAACP branch in St. Louis Division.

MONTANA

At Butte, Montana

No evidence of attempts by the CP to infiltrate the NAACP in Montana has been reported.

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NY 100-7629

NEBRASKA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At Omaha, Nebraska

No additional information of attempts by the CP to infiltrate the NAACP has been reported.

NEVADA

At Salt Lake City, Utah

No additional information has been received to indicate any CP infiltration or control of the NAACP chapters in Nevada.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

At Boston, Massachusetts

No information has been received indicating any CP infiltration of the NAACP in New Hampshire.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7329

NEW JERSEY

At Newark, New Jersey

46th National Convention of the NAACP
June 21-26, 1955
Atlantic City, New Jersey

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An article in the "Atlantic City Press", an Atlantic City, New Jersey, newspaper, the June 20, 1955 issue, stated that the 46th Annual Convention of the NAACP would begin on June 21, 1955 and 750 delegates were expected to attend.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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 61- 3176- 1161 p.52

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61-3176-1161 p. 54-56

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NY 100-7629

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[REDACTED]

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EMMETT LOUIS TILL Case

EMMETT LOUIS TILL was a Chicago Negro youth who was reportedly kidnapped and slain near Greenwood, Mississippi, on August 29, 1955.

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1
b7C
b7D

The "Buffalo Evening News" and "Buffalo Courier Express", local newspapers, on October 6, 1955, carried news articles relative to Reverend ~~KENNETH A. BOLEN~~, President of the Buffalo Chapter NAACP, as disavowing all knowledge of relationship with "a mimeographed letter being circulated by the CP of Erie County." In his statement to the press, Reverend BOLEN mentioned that "The NAACP has no known Communists within its ranks in the national or local level. We stand in strong opposition to anything with even a Communist tinge."

WATL. RE. 10.14.55
ADVANCEMENT OF
CIVIL RIGHTS
✓

Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

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61-3176-1161 p. 59-63

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NY 100-7629

CONFIDENTIAL

Attempts of the SWP to Infiltrate the NAACP

NORTH CAROLINA

At Charlotte, North Carolina

JUNIUS IRVING SCALTS, Chairman, CP, USA District 29, was arrested on November 13, 1954 in Memphis, Tennessee following an indictment returned by a Federal Grand Jury, Middle District of North Carolina, charging him with violation of the membership provisions of the Smith Act of 1940. SCALTS was subsequently convicted in the United States District Court, Greensboro, North Carolina, and sentenced on April 22, 1955 to six years at the Federal Penitentiary.

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61-3176-1161 p. 65

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NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

NORTH DAKOTA

At Minneapolis, Minnesota

No information has been received indicating any Communist infiltration of the HLMCP in North Dakota.

OHIO

At Cincinnati, Ohio

No information has been received indicating CP influence or infiltration of the HLMCP in the Cincinnati Division.

At Cleveland, Ohio

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61-3176-1161 p. 67

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NY 100-7629

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[REDACTED]

NATL. ASSOC. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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b7C

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1
b7D
b7C

OKLAHOMA

At Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

No evidence of Communist infiltration of the
NAACP in Oklahoma has been received.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-7629

OREGON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At Portland, Oregon

No evidence of Communist infiltration of the NAACP in Oregon has been received.

PENNSYLVANIA

At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia Branch, NAACP

[REDACTED]

b1

THOMAS MCBRIED, ROBERT MLONSKY, and JOSEPH ROBERTS, [REDACTED], were convicted of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940 on August 13, 1954, in United States District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, on June 20, 1955. These individuals received sentences ranging from two to three years. They are presently free on bail pending appeal to the Third Judicial Circuit Court.

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 61-3176-1161 p. 70

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b7D b7C

[REDACTED]

b1
b7D

At Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

No additional information has been received to indicate that the GI has infiltrated or dominated the NLGCP in the Pittsburgh Division.

RHODE ISLAND

At Boston, Massachusetts

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the NLGCP in Rhode Island.

SOUTH CAROLINA

At Savannah, Georgia

No additional information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the NLGCP in South Carolina.

SOUTH DAKOTA

At Minneapolis, Minnesota

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the NLGCP in South Dakota.

- 71 -

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-7629

TENNESSEE

At Memphis, Tennessee

Memphis Branch

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

At Knoxville, Tennessee

An item appearing in the "Knoxville News-Sentinel", Knoxville, Tennessee, on October 9, 1955, reported that at the State Convention of the NAACP, in its closing session in Knoxville, it was reported that HELEN PARSONS, Knoxville, was elected to the new office of Assistant Secretary.

MEMPHIS

MEMBER NAACP, FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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NY 100-7629

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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At El Paso, Texas

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the N.M.C. in the El Paso Division.

At Houston, Texas

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the N.M.C. in the Houston Division.

At San Antonio, Texas

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the N.M.C. in the San Antonio Division.

UTAH

At Salt Lake City, Utah

No information has been received to indicate Communist infiltration or domination of the N.M.C. in the State of Utah.

VERMONT

At Albany, New York

No information has been received indicating any Communist infiltration of the N.M.C. in Vermont.

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