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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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- ☒ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) Department of State, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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FBI Headquarters File 100-12304-180

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SAC, New York

December 6, 1949

RECORDED - 9

Director, FBI

100-12304-181

PAUL ROBESON, was  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Bu File 100-12304

X-70

For your information there is attached a copy of a letter dated November 4, 1949, from the Los Angeles office captioned [REDACTED] was, Security Matter - C," in which information is set out concerning Paul Robeson.

b7c

As you may note, one Rena Marie Vale has furnished an affidavit to the effect that in 1935 Paul Robeson identified himself to her as a Communist Party member.

Attachment

MET:jmf

jmf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 12/9/50

SP-5 RSC/cim

Rf

11/27/50

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- Tolson
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- Nease
- Gandy

MAILED 4  
DEC 6 1949  
COMM. - FBI

DEC 20 1949

TRANSMITTED

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 4, 1949

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES

SUBJECT:

SECURITY MATTER - C  
Bureau File No. 100-263371

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rebulet October 25th last referring to the report of SA [redacted] dated September 22, 1949 at Los Angeles, California. b7c

The information attributed to T-2 originated with [redacted] and not [redacted] as stated in the referenced report. This source on [redacted] advised SA [redacted] that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee planned a dinner in honor of PAUL ROBESON, at Los Angeles, on February 4, 1945. This meeting was to be held at the Ambassador Hotel at Los Angeles, and the source revealed that the plans for the dinner had struck a snag in that the Ambassador Hotel had rejected their application for a reservation on the grounds that their organization was Communist. MILDRED ROBINSON, according to this source, told JOHN HOWARD LAMSON, who was then considered as the head of the Northwest Section of the Los Angeles County Communist Political Association, that a telegraph campaign was being planned. b7c b1

In this regard, however, it is noted in Los Angeles File 65-1546-17, page 3, that KIM MARIE VALL, who in November, 1942 resided at 1247 1/2 Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, California, made a sworn affidavit before the Assembly Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California-AA-277. She made this affidavit on November 9, 1942. She related that she studied various books and articles on Communism and finally in 1935 began to favor Communism in the United States. She stated "That in the latter part of 1935, I was working on the motion picture 'Show Boat' (Universal Studios) and in that work met the Negro Singer, PAUL ROBESON and his wife ESSIE ROBESON; that PAUL ROBESON identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and urged me to affiliate with the Communist Party." b7c

The report of SA [redacted] is being corrected and the corrected pages are being submitted herewith. It appears that the improper informant designation in this case was a typographical error. b7c

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gad:emd

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12/9/50  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSG/KM  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

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176

100-12304-181

DEC 14 1949

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW HAVEN, CONN.**

NH FILE NO. 100-8032 DB

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW HAVEN, CONN.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/28/49</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11/29, 30/49</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
TITLE <b>ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON, aka Mrs. Paul Leo Robeson, Essie Robeson</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SECURITY MATTER - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject, the wife of **PAUL ROBESON**, noted concert singer, maintains residence at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Conn. She was unsuccessful Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State of Connecticut, 1948 election. Activities of subject, who is Vice Chairman of Peoples Party of Connecticut, set out. Subject presently on trip to Moscow and Peiping as delegate of Congress of American Women to Annual Council Meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

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- C -

**REFERENCE:**

Bufile 100-12304.  
Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 7/10/47 at New Haven, Conn. b7c

**DETAILS:**

This case has been reopened in order to consolidate information regarding the subject which has been obtained since the submission of the last report.

Residence and Employment

The subject, the wife of **PAUL ROBESON**, concert singer, resides at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Conn. The "Hartford Courant", a daily paper published at Hartford, Conn., dated November 10, 1949, advised that the subject and Mrs. **MURIEL WRAPER** departed the United States on November 9, 1949 for Amsterdam enroute to Moscow, Russia, as delegates of the Congress of American Women to the annual council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation. According to this article, the

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COPIES OF THIS REPORT		RECORDED - 23	
5 - Bureau	CLASS. & EXT. BY <b>SP-5 R. J. [REDACTED]</b>	INDEXED - 23	
1 - New York (info)	REASON-FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2		
3 - New Haven	DATE OF REVIEW <b>12/1/90</b>	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>	

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EX-87

100-8032

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meeting will be held in Moscow from November 15 - 20, 1949. Mrs. ROBESON indicated that she will go from Moscow to Peiping, China to attend the First Conference of Asian Women scheduled for the first week in December, 1949.

#### Peoples Party Candidate

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the subject was present at the Third Party State Convention held at Bushnell Memorial Hall at Hartford, Conn. on June 26, 1948, at which time she was nominated as a candidate for Secretary of State for the State of Connecticut on the Peoples Party ticket. This information was confirmed by an article appearing in the "Hartford Courant" dated June 27, 1948.

The New Britain, Connecticut "Daily Herald" dated October 27, 1948, in a full page political advertisement headed "Now Your Vote Can Count for Peace", and "Wallace's New Party Program Will Be Carried Out in Connecticut", listed the subject as a Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State for Connecticut. b7D

#### Peoples Party Activities

It is to be noted that the Peoples Party of Connecticut, formerly a local chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America, according to information furnished by Confidential Informants [REDACTED], [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] all of known reliability, was dominated and controlled by members of the CP in Connecticut.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of unknown reliability, of [REDACTED] advised that a social was held on [REDACTED] at [REDACTED]. The informant, who was present at this social, advised that PAUL ROBESON was the featured speaker at this affair. The subject was also present and spoke briefly, stating that her husband would probably be put in jail at any time (reason not given by the subject). The subject further stated that the "United States is a free country and people should be allowed to do as they please".

According to the informant, the purpose of this social was to raise funds for the campaign of Henry A. Wallace for President.

On July 14, 1948 the "Torrington Register", a daily paper published at Torrington, Conn., listed the subject as a scheduled speaker

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at a meeting of the Torrington Chapter of the Peoples Party of Connecticut which was to be held July 15, 1948 at the Alhambra Building, Torrington, Conn.

On July 17, 1948 the subject was listed by the "Waterbury Republican", a daily paper published at Waterbury, Conn., as a speaker at the Peoples Party Fifth Congressional District Convention which was scheduled to be held at the Central YMCA, Waterbury, Conn. on July 18, 1948.

The "Bridgeport Post", a daily paper published at Bridgeport, Conn., on July 22, 1948 advised that the subject was appointed as a delegate of the Peoples Party of Connecticut to attend the Third Party National Convention scheduled to be held in Philadelphia, Pa. on July 23, 1948.

On July 30, 1948 the "Stamford Advocate", a daily paper published at Stamford, Conn., advised that the subject was a guest speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Greenwich Wallace Group which was held at the home of Mrs. OPHELIA SMITH, Hamilton Avenue, Greenwich, Conn., on July 29, 1948. At this meeting the subject stated: "The major problems facing the American people today are high prices, housing, and civil liberties, and no amount of Communist-baiting is going to change that."

In speaking of the problems of minority groups, the subject charged that President Truman's equality order concerning the armed forces "does not abolish Jim Crow--all it does is set up another committee". The subject further stated: "I am not a Communist. I tell you this because you do not ask me. It's really not important anyway. If we lynched all the Communists in this country or sent them to Moscow, that would not solve the major problem of inflation or the housing shortage. The only way to solve them is to build for peace and not for war."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the subject was the principal speaker at a political rally of the Peoples Party held at the Labor Temple, Goffe Street, New Haven, Conn. on October 19, 1948, at which time she discussed "Red Baiting". The subject also discussed her trip to Italy. When asked a question regarding civil rights in Russia, the subject replies that during her stay in Russia she was treated "with open arms", and that being a Negro made no difference in Russia. b7D

The "New Haven Register", a daily paper published at New Haven, Conn., on November 3, 1948 advised that the subject, as a Peoples Party Candidate for Secretary of State of Connecticut, received 1462 votes in the New Haven area.

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Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, on [redacted] furnished a letterhead of the Peoples Party of Connecticut, which was dated August, 1949. This letterhead listed the subject as a Vice Chairman of instant organization. b7D

Communist Party Associates

On October 19, 1948 Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] observed the subject at Union Station, New Haven, Conn., at which time she was met by PAUL BLOOM, PAUL KELLY, EDDIE NELSON, and MIKE SPENCER. This delegation was believed to be a representative group from the New Haven Chapter of the Peoples Party of Connecticut. According to [redacted] and [redacted] both of known reliability, all four members of this Peoples Party delegation are members of the CP in the New Haven area. [redacted] reported that the subject was present in New Haven to address a Peoples Party rally held at the Labor Temple in New Haven on that date. b7C

The subject advised Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, in [redacted] that Dr. EMILY PIERSON of Cromwell, Conn. invited her to visit her while ANNA LOUISE STRONG, noted Russian propagandist, who was recently expelled from Russia, was a guest at the Pierson home in Cromwell, Conn. According to the informant, the subject did visit Dr. EMILY PIERSON and ANNA LOUISE STRONG at the Pierson home on March 10 and 11, 1949. b7D

Again in [redacted] the subject conferred with Confidential Informant [redacted] at which time the subject attempted to explain the reason for ANNA LOUISE STRONG's expulsion from Russia. According to the informant, the subject pointed out that "all of us" and "all of them" know that there is nothing wrong with her (Anna Louise Strong), and indicated that the reason Strong was expelled from Russia was the fact that she, Strong, desired to go into an area (China) on which they (Russia) wanted no attention focussed. b7D

The subject further advised the informant that she believed that Europe is a diversion and that they (Russia) really think that their hope in their future is some place quite different.

MICHAEL A. RUSSO, State Chairman of the Communist Party in Connecticut, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, in September, 1949 suggested that arrangements should be made to have the subject address a large Negro Wallace Meeting. According to the informant, the date and place of this meeting were not indicated by Russo.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~IWO Speaker

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, furnished information which reflected that the subject was to be a guest speaker at meetings sponsored by the IWO on the "Culture of the African People". These meetings were scheduled to be held at Philadelphia, Quaker Town, and Harrisburg, Pa. on January 28, 29, and 30, 1949.

Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, advised that the International Woman's Day was celebrated on March 8, 1949, and the Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship sent greetings to the women of the Soviet Union. The subject's name appeared as one of the signers of this greeting, according to the informant. b7D

It is to be noted that both organizations listed above, the IWO, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Bill of Rights Congress

Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, on [REDACTED] furnished a copy of the "Call to a Bill of Rights Congress" which listed the subject's name as a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference.

- C L O S E D -

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## IDENTITY OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA [REDACTED] dated 12/28/49 at New Haven, Conn., entitled "ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON aka - SECURITY MATTER - C", are as follows: b7c

- T-1 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-2 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-3 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-4 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-5 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-6 is [REDACTED] (C)  
 T-7 is [REDACTED] (on [REDACTED]) b7D  
 T-8 is [REDACTED] (on [REDACTED])  
 T-9 is [REDACTED] (to SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]) b7C  
 T-10 is New York letter to the Bureau captioned "Weekly Trends", dated 3/21/49.  
 T-11 is New York [REDACTED] as set forth in report of SA [REDACTED] dated at New York 8/4/49 entitled "BILL OF RIGHTS CONFERENCE, NEW YORK CITY - INTERNAL SECURITY - C". b7C

A copy of this report is being furnished to the New York Office in view of the fact that the subject's husband is a security index subject in that office.

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100-12304-182

RECORDED - Date: January 31, 1950

EX-103

Mr. Jack D. Neal  
Associate Chief  
Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 22nd Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RJB/CJM

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ERLANDA GOODE ROBESON, with aliases  
Mrs. Paul Robeson, Fannie Robeson  
SECURITY MATTER - C

The above-captioned individual was born on December 15, 1895, at Washington, D. C., and maintains her residence at 1221 Enfield Street, Enfield, Connecticut. She is the wife of Paul Robeson, prominent Negro concert singer who has been active in Communist circles for many years.

Information has been received to the effect that on November 9, 1949, Erlanda Goode Robeson departed from the United States for Amsterdam en route to Moscow, Russia, as a delegate of the Congress of American Women to the annual council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation. This meeting was to have been held in Moscow, Russia, from November 15, 1949, until November 20, 1949. It was further reported that Mrs. Robeson had indicated she would then attend the First Conference of Asian Women scheduled for the first week in December, 1949, at Peiping, China.

The above is furnished for your confidential information and should not be disseminated outside your organization. It would be appreciated if you would furnish this Bureau any information you may receive concerning Mrs. Robeson during her stay outside the United States.

cc - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
2210 F Street, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: [REDACTED]

CJA:ICS

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 24 1949

TELETYPE

WASHINGTON 2 FROM NEW YORK 24 11-26 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MISCELLANEOUS INFO.

[REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED ON TWELVE TWENTYFOUR FORTYNINE THAT HIS OFFICE AT ABOVE ADDRESS HAD BEEN BROKEN INTO ON TWELVE TWENTYTHREE FORTYNINE BETWEEN FIVE PM AND SEVEN PM. ENTRY HAD BEEN GAINED BY CHIPPING AWAY LOCK ON DOOR. [REDACTED] WESTCHESTER GRAND JURY WHO CONDUCTED AN INQUIRY INTO PEEKSKILL INCIDENT LAST FALL INVOLVING PAUL ROBESON. HE STATED NOTHING WAS STOLEN BUT THAT HE HAD CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS IN HIS UNLOCKED DESK, PART OF WHICH PERTAINED TO [REDACTED] AND JURY INVESTIGATION AT PEEKSKILL. NONE OF THE PAPERS WERE MISSING NOR DID THEY APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN DISTURBED. HE WAS REPORTING MATTER FOR INFO OF BUREAU. [REDACTED] ADVISED TO CONTACT NYCPD. NO FURTHER INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY THIS OFFICE.

END ACK PLS

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INDEXED - 41

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100-12304-183

JAN 29 1950

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DATE 12/9/60 BY SP-5 RSB/CLM

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-25857**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>1/9/59</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>6/30; 7/14, 15, 19, 20-22; 8/1, 16; 9/6, 8, 9, 30; 10/5; 11/1; 12/13, 14, 15, 19, 28/49</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>
TITLE <b>"CHANGED"</b> <b>PAUL ROBESON, was. Paul LeRoy Robeson, John Thomas</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.

The "New York Times" 6/20/49 reported ROBESON at Welcome Home Rally attacked CP trial. Article reflected subject returned home on 6/16 from four-months' tour of Europe.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*

DATE **AUG 01 1977**

*[REDACTED]* stated ROBESON spoke on 6/28 at CRC Rally at Madison Square Garden. "New York Post and Home News" 7/14/49 reported MANNING JOHNSON testified before House Committee "that ROBESON is member of CP." "D. W." 7/18/49 reported ROBESON at Bill of Rights Conference on 7/17/49 told delegates that a Non-partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders was in formation. New York "Herald Tribune", 8/5/49, reported ROBESON, with 100 persons, had picketed the White House in Washington, D.C. "New York Sun", 8/31/49, reported ROBESON had spoken at a protest rally on 8/30/49 concerning "Peekskill Riot." *[REDACTED]* advised all Queens County CP members had been told to attend Peekskill gathering on 9/3. On *[REDACTED]* advised subject had attended dinner sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. On *[REDACTED]* advised subject had been active in campaign for re-election of Communist Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. *[REDACTED]* advised ROBESON is co-chairman of National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. JOHN J. HUBER, former member of CP testified before Senate Subcommittee "that PAUL ROBESON is a member of the Communist Party."

CLASS. & EXT. BY **SP-5 RSH/MLM**  
EASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW **12/9/60**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>Edward Schmitt</i> <b>COPY IN FILE</b>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-12304-184</b> <b>RECORDED - 114</b> <b>INDEXED - 114</b> <b>EX-87</b>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>5 - Bureau</b> <b>3 - New York</b> <b>JAN 27 1959</b>		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <b>1/20/20</b> BY <b>SP-5 VH</b>

NY 100-25857

~~SECRET~~

REFERENCE:

Bureau file 100-12304

Report of SA [REDACTED]

7/6/49 at New York b7c

DETAILS:

The name PAUL LEROY ROBESON, as reflected in the records of the New York State Board of Law Examiners at Albany, New York, has been added to the title.

The "Daily Worker", issue of June 20, 1949, reported that the National Committee of the Progressive Party had sent greetings to PAUL ROBESON, co-chairman of the Party, on June 19, 1949. The article reflected that the greetings were purported to state the Committee "proudly welcomes back to America an illustrious leader of American Progressives, a courageous standard-bearer of the Negro people and a great American."

The article further reflected that "by his action, word and deed throughout his tour of Europe that ROBESON had forged another link in the unbreakable peace chain that the American people in concert with the struggling peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East are forging to keep in check the war inciters."

The "New York Times", issue of June 20, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON "at a welcome home rally for him attacks trial of red leaders here." The article further reflected that the "Communist sympathizer" told a cheering crowd at the Rockland Palace, 155th Street and 8th Avenue, New York City, on June 19, 1949, that he "loved the Soviet people more than those of any other nation."

This article further reflected that ROBESON, on June 16th had returned from a four month tour of Europe and the Soviet Union. ROBESON is reported to have said in his speech at the rally that he "loved the Soviets because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world." ROBESON referred to the eleven Communist leaders as "brave fighters for my freedom whose struggle is our struggle." He declared "that if the defendants were not freed all Americans can say good-bye to civil liberties, and especially the Negro people can say good-bye to any attempt to secure civil liberties."

In the above article it was reported that the meeting was held under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, of which ROBESON

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NY 100-25857

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is co-chairman. The following individuals were also listed as having spoken at the meeting: BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., Representative VITO MARCANTONIO and Dr. W. E. DUBOIS.

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, b7D advised that he had attended the Welcome Home Rally for PAUL ROBESON, which was held on June 19th at the Rockland Palace. The informant stated that in his speech to the audience ROBESON had said that he was not afraid of the Communists and that he would "defend them as they have defended us, the Negro people." The informant further advised that ROBESON had told the audience in his speech that at the Paris Conference, "I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people of America and elsewhere in the world could be drawn into a war with the U.S.S.R."

[REDACTED] b1  
(S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised on [REDACTED] a rally on June 28th at Madison Square Garden which had been sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress. The informant said that the principal speakers had been PAUL ROBESON, EUGENE DENNIS and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. b7D

According to the informant, ROBESON'S first words in greeting the audience had been, "I am back from Europe to fight for the twelve brave

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leaders at Foley Square, whom we can free and must free." [redacted] stated that ROBESON'S speech had dealt mainly with the trial of the twelve Communist leaders and that ROBESON had emphasized the need for everyone to fight for the freeing of these leaders.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of July 14, 1949, reported that Rabbi BENJAMIN SCHULTZ of New York, Executive Director of the American League Against Communism, had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., on July 13th. Rabbi SCHULTZ, in his testimony, had stated that PAUL ROBESON "was taking part in a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities here in the United States." Rabbi SCHULTZ also had stated that the object of this was "to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for Stalinist revolution and conquest."

The "New York Post and Home News", issue of July 14, 1949, reported that MANNING JOHNSON had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., on the above date. JOHNSON, an admitted former member of the Communist Party National Committee, had testified that PAUL ROBESON "had been a member of the Communist Party for many years." JOHNSON stated that ROBESON "has illusions of grandeur and that ROBESON is desirous of becoming the black STALIN and the Communist Party is encouraging that." The article further reflected that JOHNSON had stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party up to 1940 and that "during my years of Communist membership I frequently met PAUL ROBESON in Party Headquarters, going to or coming from meetings with top Communist leaders." JOHNSON advised that these Communist Party leaders with whom ROBESON had associated were EARL BROWDER, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JACK STACHEL and J. PETERS. JOHNSON stated that ROBESON'S Party membership has been kept secret from rank and file Communists.

The "Daily Worker", issue of July 18, 1949, reported that at the Bill of Rights Conference held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City on July 17, PAUL ROBESON had told the delegates that a Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Leaders was in the process of formation. ROBESON is reported as having stated that the case of the Communist leaders "was the key to the entire struggle for civil rights in America."

The "New York Post and Home News", issue of July 18, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, whose loyalty to Soviet Russia is undisputed,

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but whose exact relationship to the Communist Party has been a matter of doubt, appeared today to have cleared up the latter point."

In this article it was reported that ROBESON, in speaking on July 17 at the closing session of the Bill of Rights Conference at the Henry Hudson Hotel, had said that "we Negro people, we Progressives, we Communists, we little people would be in the forefront of the struggle of the American people who are losing their rights." The article further reported that ROBESON had not denied using the above phrases nor had he repudiated or explained another statement reportedly made by him, namely "We have found a weapon with which to fight--a weapon which originated with a man named MARX."

The "New York Journal American", issue of July 20, 1949, reported that mass picketing had been expected when PAUL ROBESON "leftist Negro singer speaks at a rally scheduled at the Mosque Theatre, Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey."

The article further reflected that a call had been issued by GEORGE STEVENS, Essex County Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, for members of all the forty-six posts to meet in front of the theatre.

According to this article ROBESON had been billed as the principal speaker of the meeting which had been called by the Civil Rights Congress in connection with the case of six Negroes who were convicted of murder in Trenton, New Jersey.

The "Daily Worker", issue of July 24, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, on July 22 had assailed the "machine politicians" for ganging up on Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS by running EARL BROWN as a coalition candidate in the 21st Senatorial District. The article reflected that ROBESON had charged that BROWN would have the "dubious pleasure of splitting the Negro people, of undermining racial unity and of furthering the interest of his master by campaigning against New York's fighting councilman."

The "Baltimore Afro-American", issue of July 26, 1949, reported that when interviewed in Moscow during his recent trip to the Soviet Union, PAUL ROBESON had told the Russian people that "Russia is the country I love more than any other. I always have been, I am now and always will be a most loyal and sincere friend of the Soviet Union."

The New York "Herald Tribune", issue of August 5, 1947, reported that PAUL ROBESON, with more than 100 persons, had picketed the

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NY 100-25857

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White House in Washington, D. C., on this date in protest against what was called "discriminatory employment practices" at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D. C. The picket line had been sponsored by Local 30 of the United Public Workers of America and by a local citizen's committee in Washington, D. C.

It was further reported in the above article that ROBESON had picketed the White House in his role as an honorary member of the union.

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 5, 1949, reflected an advertisement of Camp Unity in which it was reported that PAUL ROBESON "would be the guest of honor at the camp for the week-end of August 12 to 14."

On August 6, 1949, Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that he had attended a street meeting on this date at the corner of 126th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The informant said that the principal speakers at the meeting had been BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JOHN WILLIAMSON, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and PAUL ROBESON. [redacted] stated that ROBESON, in his speech, had spoken in defense of the twelve Communist leaders and for the re-election of Councilman DAVIS. b7D

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 7, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, had denounced President TRUMAN'S appointment of Attorney General TOM CLARK to the Supreme Court as a "gratuitous and outrageous insult to my people." The article reports that ROBESON also had charged that "CLARK had attacked the Negro people and organizations fighting on their behalf."

It was further reflected in the above article that ROBESON had charged that "CLARK has winked at Jim Crow and white supremacy tyranny and has refused to take action against the lynchers and oppressors of the Negro people."

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 8, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON had spoken at a "Free Winston Meeting" on August 6th at 126th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. It was reflected that ROBESON, in his speech, had demanded the freedom of HENRY WINSTON who had been jailed by Judge MEDINA for Contempt in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders.

On [redacted] Confidential Informant [redacted] advised that he had visited Camp Unity on this date and that Camp Unity had dedicated that week-end to PAUL ROBESON. The informant stated that ROBESON had

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spoken about police violence in America against Negroes; the free will of the Ku Klux Klan in the South to terrorize Negroes and the trial of the twelve Communist leaders. The informant advised that ROBESON had also spoken concerning his activity in the Council on African Affairs and that ROBESON had made an appeal for contributions for that organization.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of August 29, 1949, contained an article entitled "ROBESON: He Asked for it."

The above article reported that ROBESON rose to prominence as a singer but that he is no longer primarily an artist. "He is first and foremost an apologist and propagandist for the Soviet Union and for Communism. He loves Soviet Russia above his own country."

The article further reflected that war veterans had demonstrated against ROBESON on August 27 and had clashed with ROBESON'S supporters.

It was pointed out in this article that riots are ugly things, "but ROBESON has been asking for it, the veterans had as much right to demonstrate as the Communists who daily attempt to mock Judge MEDINA'S court. More right."

The "Daily Worker", issue of August 29, 1949, reported "Lynch Mob Runs Amuck at ROBESON'S Concert." PAUL ROBESON had been scheduled to sing at Lakeland Acres on August 27, just outside Peekskill, New York. This concert had been put on by ROBESON for the benefit of the Harlem Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress and had been sponsored by People's Artists, Inc., a cultural organization.

The above article further reported that "a mob of 300 vandals, inflamed by the newspapers and official hysteria, ambushed an outdoor concert where PAUL ROBESON was to sing." In this article it was charged that the mob had burned a Klan cross and had assaulted hundreds of men, women and children.

The "New York Sun", issue of August 31, 1949, reported that on August 30 PAUL ROBESON had spoken at a protest rally held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, 140th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The rally was reported to have been sponsored by "a small group of citizens who object to the painful Fascist hoodlum attack on a great artist."

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This article further reported that in his speech at the rally ROBESON had declared that he would return to Peekskill and that "from now on we take the offensive. We'll have our meetings and our concerts all over the United States."

On [REDACTED], Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that he had attended a rally on [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] which had been sponsored by the Harlem Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress and which had been held in protest of the "Fascist attack on PAUL ROBESON by veterans at Peekskill, New York, on August 27th."

b7D

The informant stated that the principal speakers at the rally had been PAUL ROBESON, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, VITO MARCANTONIO and FERDINAND SMITH. [REDACTED] advised that ROBESON had announced that he would return to Peekskill to give a concert and that "from now on we take the offensive and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 1, 1949, reported that "Harlem shook with anger and fiery defiance Tuesday night as more than 15,000 in and outside the Golden Gate Ballroom and in a historic torch-light parade protested and demanded prosecution of the Peekskill mobsters who attempted to lynch PAUL ROBESON." In this article it was reported that speeches had been made by PAUL ROBESON, HALOIS MOORHEAD, HOWARD FAST, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, VITO MARCANTONIO, CHARLES LEVY, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, FERDINAND SMITH, RALPH POWE and PAUL ADROSS.

ROBESON is reported to have stated, "I am going back to Peekskill with my friends and they'll know where to find me. This marks the turning point. From now on we take the offensive, and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting. The surest way to get protection is to show them from now on we're going to protect ourselves."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that at a meeting of [REDACTED] Communist Party "all comrades were told they must attend the Peekskill gathering on September 3 when PAUL ROBESON would appear."

The informant stated that the Communist Party had issued orders that "1,000 strong male comrades were to be present in the area by 8 A.M. as a security and police force and that this force was to be followed by 1,000 additional strong men who must reach the area by noon time." [REDACTED] advised that the Communist Party had instructed "that everyone should bring a baseball bat and golf equipment as the area is a wonderful place to practice golf club swinging."

The informant stated that it was his impression that the Communist Party had intended to provoke the veterans and cause disturbances.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of September 4, 1949, reported that "the Grand Jury yesterday began its probe of the ROBESON riots. Supreme Court Justice BAILEY at White Plains ordered the October term Westchester County panel to conduct a John Doe inquiry into all phases of the disorders which accompanied the assemblage of a certain Communist group."

The article further reflected that the twenty-two jurors had heard the preliminary outline of the case from District Attorney FENELLI, who had advised them that "the crimes which might be established could include assault-rioting, inciting to riot, violation of the Sullivan Law, disorderly conduct and malicious mischief. District Attorney FENELLI also had told the jurors that they would be asked to determine "if the so-called security guard with which ROBESON's followers encircled the concert grounds near Peekskill on this date, September 4, constituted a private militia", which formation, FENELLI said, is a crime.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 4, 1949, reported that the PAUL ROBESON concert at Peekskill, New York, on September 3, "was wrecked by mobs of hoodlums backed by state and local officials."

The article further reflected that ROBESON had charged, "that the cue for violence against Negroes and all progressives had been given when the House Un-American Committee had investigated him for alleged disloyalty and when progressive organizations had been placed on Attorney General TOM CLARK'S subversive list.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 5, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, Negro singer and people's leader, will appear in the

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"American Continental Congress for Peace" which opens in Mexico City on this date.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 6, 1949, reported that "an emergency committee of prominent progressive and labor leaders yesterday demanded the arrest and trial of all individuals and officials guilty of fomenting or aiding the Peekskill outrages." The following individuals were reported to have participated in the formation of the above committee: PAUL ROBESON, HOWARD FAST, C. B. ~~BALDWIN~~, LEON ~~STRAUSS~~ and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

The above article further reflected that the committee had "called upon citizens to urge President TRUMAN and Attorney General HOWARD McGRATH, Governor DEWEY and State Attorney General NATHANIEL F. GOLDSTEIN to:

1. Suspend and bring to trial all officials bearing responsibility in the affair.
2. Arrest the 'so-called veteran leaders.' The committee identified a number of them and was prepared to name more.
3. Take action against the KKK in Westchester County and elsewhere.
4. Guarantee protection for the peace loving citizens of Westchester County who are still being threatened by the Fascist goons.
5. Compensate all victims of the attack."

The New York "Daily News", issue of September 6, 1949, reported that, "ROBESON, Vet Chiefs Trade Riot Charges." The September 4th musicale of PAUL ROBESON was followed by five hours of rioting near Peekskill and ROBESON and spokesmen for the veterans who paraded against the concert have blamed each other for the disorders in which twenty persons were arrested and more than 150 were injured.

The article further reflected that "left wing sources" professed to see a conspiracy between police and rock throwers while the veterans' leaders blamed the concert sponsor for having "incited the violence."

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It was further reported in the above article that the Civil Rights Congress "lambasted Governor DEWEY for the disorders." The Civil Rights Congress has charged that Governor DEWEY "has made Jim Crow and anti-Negro violence a policy of the Government of the State of New York."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that the [REDACTED] Communist Party had [REDACTED] made plans for Party members and Communist Party sympathizers to act as guards at the ROBESON concert to be held on September 4 at Peekskill, New York. The informant stated that guards had been selected by the Communist Party [REDACTED]

The informant stated he had learned [REDACTED] that women had carried weapons for some of the men who had been afraid to use them when they saw police guards in such large numbers at the concert.

[REDACTED] advised that he had learned from some of the Communist Party members that ROBESON'S participation in the recent Peekskill concerts had been partly for the purpose of getting favorable publicity for ROBESON in the event he would be called as a witness in the trial of the Communist leaders. The informant also advised that it had been the intended purpose to utilize the Peekskill incidents so as to stress the acts of police brutality and acts of discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups in the Communist trial and for the re-election campaign of Councilman BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] of known reliability, advised that PAUL ROBESON, as a member of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders had sent to various individuals the following telegram: "Yesterday's New York daily 'Compass' exposed open prejudice of one of the jurors, Mr. JANNEY, in the trial of twelve Communists. Defense motion to declare mistrial under consideration. Urgent we get wires to Judge MEDINA, Foley Square, New York, immediately asking that defense motion be granted."

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The New York edition of the "Pittsburgh Courier", issue of September 10, 1949, reported that the Civil Rights Congress has protested against alleged police participation in the Peekskill riot and that the Civil Rights Congress has announced that a delegation "would march on Albany to demand an audience with Governor DEWEY."

This article further reflected that PAUL ROBESON has demanded a complete investigation and the prosecution of the Ku-Klux Klan, both in Westchester County and in the entire State of New York.

The records of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, reflected that on September 20, 1949, PAUL ROBESON had appeared as a defense witness in the case entitled, "U. S. vs. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, et al."

The records further reflected that ROBESON in his testimony had briefly related his personal history and had stated that he knew all the defendants. However, when the defense was asked if ROBESON was a character witness, the defense had advised that he was not. The record reflected that the defense, after objections had been sustained to their questioning of ROBESON, had stated that it was impossible to obtain from ROBESON the testimony that he had been called to give and therefore that they wished to withdraw him as a witness. This had been consented to by Judge MEDINA and ROBESON had been excused as a witness.

The "Daily Worker", issue of September 22, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs "will leave September 23rd for a country tour of Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, D. C., and Philadelphia."

The article further reflected that ROBESON had been scheduled to speak and sing in the above cities and "will give his views on the Negro people's fight for economic security, civil rights and full equality." The tour was arranged and sponsored by the Council on African Affairs.

The "Daily Worker", issue of October 5, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON "blasted the gag rule by Judge HAROLD R. MEDINA against the appearance of BENJAMIN DAVIS as his own attorney in the trial of the National Communist leaders at Foley Square." The article further reported that ROBESON had charged "that they know they cannot answer for the discrimination and persecution of the Negro people so they will not let anyone bring it into court." It is further reflected in this issue of the "Daily Worker" that PAUL ROBESON had returned from a tour of major cities in the United States and that he had been well received in Los Angeles and Chicago.

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The article further reflected that ROBESON at a press conference had declared that "the re-election of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS would be the complete answer to Peekskill. The Negro people in the United States, Africa, and the West Indies are becoming so aroused over the denial of even basic freedom that the rule of the white Bourbon capitalists will be short lived."

The "New York Post and Home News," issue of October 14, 1949, reported that "PAUL ROBESON, the left-wing baritone, will campaign actively for Rep. MARCANTONIO, the ALP candidate for Mayor."

The "New York Times", issue of October 15, 1949, reported that PAUL ROBESON had told an audience in Philadelphia on this date that he would seek the impeachment of Federal Judge HAROLD R. MEDINA who had presided over the trial of the eleven top-ranking Communists convicted in New York.

On [redacted] Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, advised that he had attended a rally at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 24, which had been sponsored by the American Labor Party. The informant said the principal speakers had been: DAVID LIVINGSTON, RAYLEV, ADA JACKSON, EWART GUINIER, PAUL L. ROSS, JULIO PINTO SANDIA, PAUL ROBESON, CHARLES COLLINS, HENRY A. WALLACE and VITO MARCANTONIO. 67

According to the informant ROBESON, in his speech, charged that "we have Fascism right here now. Big steel and Foley Square are the examples of it but in Peekskill 25,000 Americans stood up in defense of American democracy. The twelve CP leaders are courageous leaders of the American people."

On [redacted] Confidential Informant [redacted] advised [redacted] a dinner sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship in honor of the establishment of the Soviet State thirty-two years ago. The informant stated the dinner had been held November 10th at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

[redacted] stated that ANDREY VISHINSKY had been the guest of honor and that PAUL ROBESON had also been a guest at the dinner. The informant stated that ROBESON had delivered a welcome address to VISHINSKY which he had delivered in the Russian language and later in English, and that in his speech ROBESON had spoken of the "Peekskill riots, the Communist trial and the lynching of Negroes in America." ←

The "New York Sun", issue of December 3, 1949, reported that as a result of the rioting that "followed the PAUL ROBESON concert on September 4 near Peekskill, 135 persons have filed notices in the State Court of

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Claims, Albany, New York, of intention to sue the State for damages."

On [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that ROBESON had been very active in the re-election campaign of Communist Councilman BENJAMIN DAVIS. The informant stated that ROBESON had appeared at many street meetings in Harlem during the month of October and the first week in November and that ROBESON'S speeches in general had dealt with the Peekskill riots, discrimination against Negroes and the trial of the twelve Communist leaders.

During [REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED], of known reliability, has furnished copies of letters and press releases sent out by the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders. These letters and press releases are seeking to obtain the quashing of the indictments of the twelve top Communist leaders. PAUL ROBESON is listed on the letterheads as being co-chairman of this committee. b7D

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that the Communist Party has been attempting to secure quashing of the indictments against the Communist Party leaders and that the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist Party Leaders is following the Communist Party's lead in this attempt.

The New York "Daily Mirror", issue of December 18, 1949, reported that JOHN J. HUBER of New York, admittedly a former member of the Communist Party, testified before a Senate sub-committee investigating aliens.

In this article it is reflected that HUBER, in his sworn statement, had declared that "there is no doubt in my mind that in a war involving the United States and any foreign Communistically controlled country the Communist members in the armed forces in this country would actively become foreign agents utilizing every unscrupulous means available to sabotage defense of the United States."

It was further reflected in the above article that HUBER also "named hundreds of persons who he said either were Communist Party members or participated in Communist front activities."

Under "Officials, Sponsors and Supporters of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who are Members of the Communist Party" HUBER listed PAUL ROBESON.

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LEAD

THE NEW YORK OFFICE

At New York City, will follow and report pertinent excerpts from subject's speeches in behalf of Communist Party.

Will follow and report general Communist Party activities of the subject.

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CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

b7c [REDACTED] The confidential informants mentioned in the report of SA [REDACTED], dated January 9, 1950, at New York, are identified as follows:

T-1 [REDACTED]

T-2 [REDACTED]

T-3 [REDACTED]

b1 T-4 [REDACTED]

T-5 [REDACTED] 1c

T-6 [REDACTED]

T-7 [REDACTED]

T-8 [REDACTED]

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- 16 -

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 31, 1950

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Bufile 100-12304

*See card UTD  
2-23-50 RH*

*R*

- It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above captioned individual.
- X The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (Specify change only)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ALIASES \_\_\_\_\_

RACE \_\_\_\_\_ SEX \_\_\_\_\_ NATIVE BORN \_\_\_\_\_ NATURALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ ALIEN \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNIST \_\_\_\_\_ SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY \_\_\_\_\_ INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE \_\_\_\_\_

MISCELLANEOUS (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

TAB FOR DETCOM \_\_\_\_\_ TAB FOR COMSAB \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_ PLACE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_

RESIDENCE ADDRESS 3 Harold McGee

22 E 89th Street, New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS ADDRESS (Show name of employing concern and address) \_\_\_\_\_

NATURE OF INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS (Specify from Strategic and Vital Industry List)

MAT:mat  
100-25857

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EX-103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/ML

*102*  
*100-12304-185*  
*FEB 2 1950*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 11 1950

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
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WASHINGTON 48 FROM NEW YORK 6 9-57 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, ISC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REQUESTING PAUL ROBESON TO APPEAR AT DAILY WORKER RALLY IN  
LONDON, ON FEB. TWELVE, FIFTY. [REDACTED] IF ROBESON HAD NO  
OTHER ENGAGEMENT THEY DESIRED HIS APPEARANCE INASMUCH AS FIFTEEN THOU  
SAND TICKETS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SOLD AND THAT THE DAILY WORKER IN LONDON  
WILL PAY ALL EXPENSES. [REDACTED] WOULD CHECK  
WITH THE NY DAILY WORKER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TO HIS KNOWLEDGE ROBESON HAD NO OTHER ENGAGEMENT BUT THAT  
CLEARANCE WOULD HAVE TO BE SECURED FROM THE CP, USA. WILL ADVISE BUREAU  
OF ANY ADDL INFO.

SCHEIDT

LAST LINE LAST WD "INFO"

HOLD

52 FEB 15 1950

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INDEXED - 128

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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/96

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

G.I.R. 4

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100-12304-186

FEB 7 1950

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Fletcher

DATE: March 7, 1950

TO: Director, FBI  
FROM: SAC, New York  
SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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23315

There is herewith enclosed a book entitled, "PAUL ROBESON Citizen of the World" written by SHIRLEY GRAHAM.

This book was purchased by Confidential Informant [redacted] at the Worker's Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street, New York City on [redacted] and is being furnished for the Bureau's information.

Enc. (1)

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

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100-12304-187  
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DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

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SAC, NEW YORK

March 17, 1950

DIRECTOR, FBI

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MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Rebulet 2/17/50.

(u)

The following information was received from [redacted]  
Should this material be used in a report, the source should be properly protected.

b7D

"The following extract is taken from a [redacted]

(u)

(c)

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(c)

In connection with this extract we would be grateful for any information available concerning [redacted] and [redacted] activities at the State Department.

b7c  
Cupc

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(c)

b7c

We would be very grateful if you would let us know whether information happens to be available to show that [redacted] did in fact see Paul Robeson during the course of his recent visit to America."

(u)

cc: Washington Field Office

cc: Paul Robeson

Internal Security - C Exempt from GDS, Category

COM: [redacted] Date of Declassification Indefinite

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CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RSG/CHW  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/12/00

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Any information which has come to the attention of the New York and Washington Field Office relative to the activities of the subject while he was in the United States should be submitted to the Bureau immediately. In addition, the Bureau desires any information which may be in your possession indicating contact between the subject and Paul Robeson. (u)

For the information of the Washington Field Office, the New York Office advised that the subject left the United States on January 22, 1950. (u)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE AUG 01 1977 Am

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: March 16, 1950

FROM : SAC, St. Louis

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: <sup>①</sup>ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON wa.  
Mrs. Paul Robeson, Sr.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Re letters to Bureau and New York dated 3-3-50 and 3-6-50 entitled "Council on African Affairs - Internal Security - C".

On [redacted] of known reliability, submitted a report to SA [redacted] dealing with Informant's attendance at a meeting held at [redacted] Centennial Christian Church, Aubert at Fountain Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri, at 8PM on 3-13-50 which was addressed by ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON under the auspices The Division of World Work of the Centennial Christian Church.

The subject of her talk was a report on the Women's International Democratic Federation Council in Moscow and Peking.

According to information furnished by [redacted] of known reliability, this meeting was afforded considerable publicity by the Communist dominated Progressive Party of Missouri, the St. Louis Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, and the St. Louis Chapter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Informant reported that the meeting was attended by approximately 150 to 200 persons, including both negroes and whites, and that a large number of CP members were observed in this number.

According to the program which informant obtained at this meeting, the chairman was ONEDIA HEMPHILL with Dr. A. M. BROOKS "presiding".

Mrs. ROBESON stated that she represented the Women's International Democratic Federation Council, the African Council in the United States, and the Progressive Party. She stated at the beginning of her speech that she was not a Communist and understood very little about Communism.

Mrs. ROBESON told of her visit to Moscow, Russia to attend a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation Council, and she stated that there were four other delegates from the United States which number included MURIEL DRAPER, the negro whose name was LAWS and a negro named JACKSON. She stated that in Moscow the people told her that they thought that PAUL ROBESON was married to a negro, and she assured them that she had been married to him for twenty-nine years. It was noted that in this connection informant pointed out that Mrs. ROBESON is very light skinned and appears to be almost white. She stated the people in Moscow didn't know what a negro was and why she was traveling about when she should be home protecting her husband. She assured the

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cc: New York

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REASON-FCIM IP, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

people that while some hoodlums tried to kill her husband in Peekskill, she felt certain that thousands of loyal progressive Americans would take good care of him. She assured the people that the mob in Peekskill really didn't wish to kill her husband but rather wanted to silence him, and that she pointed out that the only way this would be accomplished would be to kill him. Informant reported that applause led by ROBERT ZANEWITZ, a Communist Party functionary of District 21, CP-USA, who testified at the New York trial of the eleven members of the National CP Board, followed this remark.

Mrs. ROBESON also spoke of her recent visit to China, and she stated that she and the other delegates who accompanied her wondered how they would be received in China after American bombs had been dropped from American planes killing thousands of Chinese. She pointed out that she and the other delegates were cheered wherever they went. She stated that she was unable to understand this apparent inconsistency and made inquiries on the matter and found that the answer from the Chinese people was that many people had come to China to exploit the people there while this delegation came as friends. She stated that the people's government in China had won the war and that the United States appeared rather foolish by not extending recognition to the new Chinese government. She added the prediction that this would come to pass within the next month.

She stated that the Chinese women had done a great deal for the new government and consequently they were now treated like women and not like cattle. She stated that schools were appearing throughout China and all China was learning to read. She declared that some delegates on Africa attended the conference in China. She spoke at some length on the African situation. She pointed out that delegates from both Africa and India reported that colonialism was dead and buried as the people were tired of being exploited. She stated that in India the people were being exploited by their own people just as the situation had existed in China thusly, she said, the people in India would have to liberate themselves just as the people of China are liberating themselves.

On several occasions she stated that the negro was not a citizen in the United States and therefore he cannot be called a disloyal citizen if he is not in fact a citizen. She also referred to the "Iron Curtain" on several occasions insinuating that this phrase was a piece of fiction built up in the United States.

Subject pointed out that the delegates from the United States were impressed in all the countries where they had traveled by the fact that the people were all working toward peace. She stated that in Russia they talked peace, and when there they asked them if they are not preparing for war and she stated that they were very surprised.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

She stated that everyone everywhere was interested in the negro question in the United States and she further stated that the delegates from India were most interested. She stated that she had to tell them, of course, that the negro was not a citizen and she stated that the delegates replied "Oh, your Constitution and the Bill of Rights is a wonderful thing". She stated that she admitted this but that she did not tell them that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were in mothballs in Washington most of the time and were only taken out for airings at times for such occasions as the Freedom Train.

During the open forum period, one individual inquired if it was not true that slave labor camps existed in Russia. Subject pointed out that she had a brother who is a Soviet citizen and who has lived in Russia for thirteen years, that he travels with a circus and is married to a Russian girl. She stated that he has told her that he has never seen a slave camp and has never met anyone who knew anyone who went to such a camp. She stated she was, therefore, inclined to doubt these stories appearing in the American newspapers concerning such camps in Russia.

Reverend PRINCE A. GREY, JR., Minister of the Centennial Christian Church, inquired about the status of religion in the USSR, and subject pointed out that freedom existed for all denominations in Russia, including Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. She stated that people were free to attend church or not to attend, and declared that Russia just separated the church from the business of the state.

An individual inquired if she considered colonialism and the present Russian so-called satellite states the same thing. She stated she did not because colonialism meant controlling and exploiting while a satellite was just influenced. She stated that the Eastern states of Europe were influenced by the USSR while the Western states were influenced by the United States, so she urged that all be fair about the matter and that if we discuss satellite states then all satellite states should be considered.

SAM MANEWITZ, who according to [redacted] has been a long time CP member and the father of ROBERT MANEWITZ, supra, stated that the American press conveys the idea that the USSR was persecuting the Jewish people, and he stated that he desired to know if there is any truth to this assertion. She stated that she did not know but pointed out that since the fundamental principle of socialism was non-discrimination, she doubted very much that any citizen was persecuted in the USSR because of race, color or creed. She added that many Jews hold high positions in the USSR. b1

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Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In discussing the Cardinal MINDSZENTY case, she stated that it was her first impression that it was of religious persecution and she had originally felt badly about it but pointed out that after she learned that Cardinal MINDSZENTY had owned hundreds of acres of land and had practically slave labor on his land, she knew that her first impression had been wrong. She stated that she made inquiries of some Italians about the MINDSZENTY case and they told her that they were too busy protecting their own bishops from the Communists to have much time for this case.

An individual inquired as to the great obstacle to peace and she replied "War and all this talk of war". Another individual inquired if she thought there was any chance of the United States and the USSR getting together, and she stated that she thought there was inasmuch as all have to live in the same world. Many inquiries were made concerning the A-bomb, and she stated she knew nothing about this.

Near the end of this discussion, she stated that any name calling, such as "yellow dog", "dirty Jew", "nigger" in the USSR was punishable by a fine and jail term.

[REDACTED] has also furnished a leaflet containing a biographical sketch of subject which was distributed at instant meeting which is being retained in the files of this office along with the program mentioned above. This biographical sketch is as follows:

\* ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

Author, Traveler, Anthropologist, Lecturer

"Born in Washington, D.C. Her father, who died when she was very young, was one of the first Negroes to graduate from Northwestern University.

"Her grandfather, Francis Lewis Cardozo, founded Avery University, the first school for Negroes in South Carolina. He was Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of South Carolina in the Reconstruction period.

"Eslanda Goode attended public schools first in Washington, then in Harlem. She took her degree in chemistry at Teachers College, Columbia University. Later she did graduate work in anthropology. She has also studied in universities in Europe and Africa.

"Miss Goode met and married Paul Robeson, law graduate, Phi Beta Kappa, and one of America's great football players and athletes. They have one son, Paul, Jr.

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Director, FBI

March 16, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Mrs. Robeson is the author of articles, pamphlets and books. Her first book, "African Journey," written in connection with her studies in anthropology, was published in 1937. She also wrote a pamphlet at that time, "What Do the People of Africa Want." She is the author of "Paul Robeson, Negro," and co-author with Pearl Buck of "American Argument," published in 1948. She has written one novel, yet unpublished, and is writing another.

"Mrs. Robeson was an observer for the Congress of Women at the Asian's Women's Conference at Peking, China, recently. She took the opportunity to travel around China and find out what is happening, and why.

"Pearl Buck says of Mrs. Robeson: "Were she a lesser person, she might be smugly content, she might let sleeping dogs lie, she might say to herself that since all is well for herself and hers, she would let be.

"'But Eslanda will not let herself be merely an individual. She sees in herself every Negro in the United States, every poor white in a poll-tax Southern state, every black man, woman and child in Africa, every untouchable in India, every colonial in Indonesia and Indo-China, every woman anywhere who longs for equality'.

"Mrs. Robeson is on a cross-country speaking tour which has already taken her to Youngstown, Ohio, Chicago, Ill., and Detroit, Michigan.

"A citizens' committee, aided by the Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, is planning a very intensive 10-day schedule of meetings for Mrs. Robeson in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In Oakland, Calif., her meeting is being sponsored by the California State Association of Colored Women. She will speak also in Portland, Ore., Seattle, Washington, and Madison and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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3/13/50

The foregoing is offered for the information of the Bureau and the New York Division.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~14-00000~~

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Date: March 17, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

To: Mr. Jack L. Neal  
Associate Chief  
Division of Security  
Department of State  
515 22nd Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*  
DATE *6-30-71*

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

*b7C* Subject: *[Redacted]*  
DISCIPLINARY - INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference is made to your previous correspondence regarding the above subject.

The following additional information has been received from *[Redacted]*

*b7D* *[Large redacted block of text]*

cc: Paul Robeson  
Internal Security - C

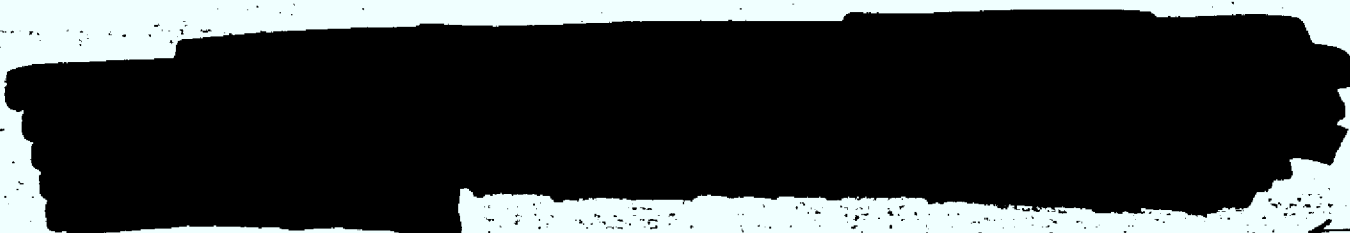

68 APR 19 1950

DECLASSIFIED BY *6080 YAG*  
MAY 16 1971

100-12804-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RAG/elm

105-9319-18

 b7D  
In view of the above information, we would like to have any pertinent material available to you relative to the activities of the subject while in the United States. We would also like to know the nature of the acquaintances of the subject with and the identity of  b7C

We are conducting inquiries concerning the activities of the subject while in the United States and you will be advised of the pertinent results.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Dear Sir:

If you  
know how to send  
this to Mr Robeson  
will you please put  
the address on it.  
I left it open so  
you can ~~insert~~ if  
you think best.

100-12304-189

RECEIVED  
APR 19 1950  
FBI - 5 RSG/IM

51 APR 19 1950

I put in a couple of  
the leaflets like this  
I sent you and I feel  
sure he is being  
used by communists to  
influence his race. I  
wish I could get this  
leaflet to every young  
person and every  
intelligent negro in  
the U.S. If there is  
any way to spread  
this information let  
me help. Mrs Roosevelt  
is certainly red. Wish  
she had some leaflets.  
Would I dare send  
a bunch to Trygve  
Lie & have him

RECEIVED  
APR 12 1950  
SI-5 RSC/IM

51 APR 13 1950

distribute them? I  
might send to his  
wife if he has one.  
I will not do it if  
you object, J. Walker  
Sincerely

Mar 16 2 56 PM '50  
Mar 14  
St Petersburg  
Florida

b7c

RECEIVED  
APR 12 1950  
ST-5 RSC/IM

51 APR 19 1950

March 20, 1950

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RECORDED - 33

100-12304-189

Saint Petersburg, Florida

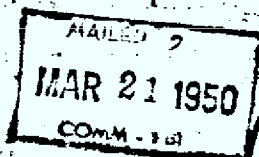
Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated March 14, 1950, with enclosure, has been received.

I appreciate very much the thoughts which prompted you to communicate with me but a policy of long standing precludes my forwarding the letter you enclosed. Likewise I am unable to offer you advice as to what distribution you should make of the leaflets you mention.

I do want to thank you for writing me and I am returning your enclosure at this time.

Sincerely yours,



John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: The enclosure being returned consists of a letter to Paul Robeson which correspondent desired to have addressed and forwarded. The letter calls on Robeson to reject Communism and encloses two copies of a leaflet consisting of a comparison of the advantages of American and Russian citizenship. It is entitled "Do you know" and appears to be an excerpt from Forbes Magazine.

FRY:mms

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/HML

58 APR 11 1950

Federal Bureau of  
Investigation,  
Washington, D.C.

March 16th., 1950.

Gentlemen:

May I offer a suggestion for curbing Reds in  
this country, namely-Television-

The enclosed clipping will, no doubt, bring to  
mind the cancellation of Eleanor's TV program by N.B.C.  
Broadcasting co. due to the many protests against her  
having as her special guest, Paul Robeson.

The Reds realize the great medium of Television,  
and I think it is the patriotic duty of the Broadcasting  
Stations to refuse time to anyone with Red connections.

The cries of "Free Speech" will go up of course,  
but "Free Speech" to destroy American ideals should not  
be permitted.

If only the F.B.I. could have a free hand, this  
country would again gain the respect of the world.

Very truly yours,

Los Angeles, 5, Calif.

ENCL.  
26

ack 3-22-50  
FRY

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100-12304 - 190  
MAR 29 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RSB/CM

## Reds in State Dept. 'Nonsense' Says Mrs. FDR

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 15.—

(AP)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt called charges of Communism in the State Department "utter and complete nonsense" in an interview here today.

Mrs. Roosevelt also was asked to comment on cancellation of her television show on which Singer Paul Robeson was to have appeared.

"I don't handle the show," she replied. "My son, Elliott, and another man do. I think probably the people who protested Mr. Robeson's appearance didn't realize that he wouldn't have had unlimited time to express his point of view."

"It was to have been a general discussion on 'the position of the Negro in American political life.'"

"The idea back of it was that any party with a large group of voters, such as Mr. Robeson's Progressive Party, should have a say."

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RSC/CH

ENCLOSURE

100-12309-190

March 22, 1950

18  
RECORDED - 26

100-12904-190

[REDACTED]  
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated March 16, 1950, with enclosure, has been received and I appreciate your letting me have your views on the subject you mentioned.

I want to thank you also for the confidence in the FBI which you expressed.

It occurred to me that you might like to read the material which I enclose.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure  
How To Fight Communism

FRY:pg

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAR 23 10 15 AM '50

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAR 22 4 56 PM '50

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 23 1950  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSC/clm

APR 25 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, Detroit  
SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: April 11, 1950

[REDACTED] personally appeared at the Detroit office April 5, 1950 and made available mimeographed copies of material entitled, "Inquiry on Racial Incitations Practiced by Communists" and "Inquiry Concerning Quasi-Military Forces Organized by the Communists".

[REDACTED] advised that he was employed [REDACTED] to compile this material. [REDACTED] stated that the State of New York and the Westchester Grand Jury compensated him \$200.00 per week for this material which took him six weeks to complete.

Copies of this material are also being made available to American Legion Posts in the United States through the National Americanism Commission and [REDACTED] felt that such information should also be made available to the Bureau.

There is being enclosed to the Bureau one copy of a sixteen page mimeograph paper entitled, "Inquiry on Racial Incitations Practiced by Communists," and one copy of an eighteen page mimeograph paper entitled, "Inquiry Concerning Quasi-Military Forces Organized by the Communists".

publications

2. ENCL.  
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE  
EX-62  
100-15889

cc: 100-10240

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5-RSC/CLM

Let to [REDACTED] at [REDACTED]  
James M. [REDACTED]  
5-17-50  
Let to [REDACTED] cc to  
one and one  
5-17-50  
HOB: mjt

RECORDED - 58  
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EX-62  
100-12304-191  
APR 13 1950  
14

58 MAY 22 1950

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With reference to the September 4th, 1949  
Paul Robeson Demonstration at Peekskill, N.Y.

Hon. Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, in his press release  
of September 13th, 1949, directs that an inquiry be made:-

"Whether the meeting was initiated and sponsored for the  
purpose of deliberately inciting disorder and a breach of  
the peace, and whether it was part of the Communist strategy  
to foment racial and religious hatreds."

Paul Robeson, negro Communist leader who spearheads the international Communist  
drives amongst the negroes, had but a few weeks prior to the Peekskill demonstration  
made a widely publicized statement in Paris, France to the effect that, in case of  
war with Soviet Russia, the American negroes will refuse to fight for the United  
States. With this statement fresh in the minds of the public, the Communist High  
Command decided to throw their support behind this statement making Paul Robeson  
the principal figure at the Peekskill demonstration.

It must be stated to the credit of the American citizens of negro extraction,  
that all major negro organizations in the United States as well as the negro press,  
with few exceptions, had repudiated Robeson's Paris declaration of disloyalty and  
that less than a fifth of the total number of demonstrators were negroes.

On the basis of facts available in connection with the Peekskill demonstration  
of August 27 and September 4, 1949, plus my own experience with C. P. methods, the  
following appears to be the motive for this C. P. organized demonstration:

1. To start a fresh build-up of Paul Robeson as a representative of the Negro  
Race, in order to emphasize his declaration made in Paris, France, that the American  
negroes will refuse to fight for the United States in case of war with Russia.
2. To take the offensive especially amongst the negroes, for a campaign of  
disloyalty to the U. S. in case of war with Russia.
3. A hostile semi-rural neighborhood within easy reach of New York was delib-  
erately selected with a view of dramatizing alleged disloyalty of the negroes as  
expressed in the person of Paul Robeson clashing with the loyal white populace of  
the county.
4. The C. P. real organizer of the meeting, fully anticipated the antagonism  
of the patriotic elements of the county. They sought under the cover of free speech  
protection from the County authorities for their August 27 disloyal demonstration.
5. Having failed to obtain that protection at the first meeting, the C. P.,  
mobilized all communist-controlled organizations in and around New York for the  
second turnout of September 4, to force the issue of unlimited free speech and to

Further emphasize the hostility between the loyal whites and Robeson's disloyal negroes.

6. The C. P. strong arm, the so-called "Security Guard", was mobilized to intimidate, beat down and disperse the loyal whites in case the authorities fail to furnish protection for the demonstration.

7. The hostility of the police authorities protecting the meeting towards the "Security Guard" may have been anticipated by the C. P. high command, but they were willing to risk the mass display of the "Guard" to show its strength as well as to test the "Guard" itself under actual battle conditions.

It appears however that the eventuality of the hostility with the County populace overflowing after the meeting was not anticipated by the leaders of the Party.

The reason why the C. P. selects a theatrical extrovert type like Paul Robeson to lead off on its negro incitation program will be better understood when that program is fully explained. In short a theatrical program requires a theatrical personality.

It is necessary to keep in mind that the Communist Party is the agency of a foreign power and the question, as to whether the Communist Party blows hot or cold on any subject of policy, depends entirely upon the decisions of said foreign power.

[REDACTED] one of the political warfare colleges in Moscow, known as Lenin University. In these colleges, they teach the art of moral and physical disintegration of a nation, slated for attack. In this type of warfare which calls for putting class against class, race against race, and nation against nation, the American negro has been chosen for a special role, a role master-minded and designed by Joseph Stalin himself. If in this report on racial incitation I especially emphasize Communist racial incitation activities amongst the negroes, that is not the only field where such incitation takes place. I emphasize this part of their activities in this case, because, in this field, their racial incitation work stands out more flagrantly than any other.

The Moscow master-minds were pre-occupied ever since 1921 with the subject of what special use to make of the American negro but, up to 1928, could find nothing more original than exploiting and making use of the negroes' special grievances. It is in the Winter of 1928 that Stalin first designed the present master strategy for the American negro.

Stalin, [REDACTED] is a cold calculating strategist and was not at all concerned with the welfare of the negro as a racial group in America; what he was concerned with is how to use the negro as a possible incendiary element for subversion and, even more, how to use the negroes' special difficulties in the United States for propaganda to discredit the United States.

3-  
States amongst the other colored races in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

As can be seen from the speech Stalin made in 1929 on the American question, which is on file with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and, during delivery [redacted] Stalin, even then, considered the United States the chief antagonist to his designs for World conquest. In fact, the United States always was a major and difficult problem for the Moscow strategists. The problem was made difficult by our high standard of living, our unusual freedoms, the unbroken harmony of so many creeds and races living in the United States all of which, had created for the United States an unusual prestige and an attractive power amongst the masses of the world. The United States had no colonies to speak of, was not holding down other nations, had no rigid class or caste system, it was not imperialistic; all, of which made it difficult for Moscow to apply its usual disintegrative and propaganda cliches. It took the master-minds of Moscow fifteen (15) years to find special methods of operation applicable to the United States and they are still experimenting even today.

In the Winter of 1928 [redacted] Manuelsky, present Soviet delegate to the United Nations, and, at that time, Stalin's head man at Communist International Headquarters in Moscow, that a new policy was being devised in reference to the American negro. The sense of that new policy was that the American Negroes were a Nation, oppressed by American imperialism; that is, they were to be imbued with the idea that they are a colonial people oppressed by a big empire and that the Communist Party of the United States should have, as one of its principal tasks, the liberation of the negro as a nation.

This liberation was to be accomplished by the formation of an independent Negro State in the so-called Black Belt of the South with its own government, its own army, its own courts, its own diplomatic service, et cetera.

The whole idea seemed to [redacted] Communists then residing in Moscow to be impractical [redacted] had never thought of the negro as a nation within a melting-pot nation like the United States but, also, [redacted] had been reared on Lenin's theory who definitely did not consider the American negro as a nation. According to Lenin, the following were the essential characteristics of a nation:

"... is historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a community of culture."

None of these characteristics are applicable to the American Negro, whose culture, language, economic life, etc., is entirely indistinct from the rest of the country in which he lives. The only thing that differentiates him from the rest of the American population is his racial background.

Lenin, founder of the Soviet State and chief theorist and organizer of the World Communist Movement, who had died only a few years before (1923), was then yet fresh in everybody's memory. No one could dare to reverse Lenin without risking his political neck except Stalin, and even he was careful and put the idea forward through his stooges at Communist International Headquarters so that he could "duck out" of it if need be.

In subsequent months by discussion with other Russian Communist leaders, the sense of the new strategy, to be as follows:-

- 1) by spreading nationalism amongst the negroes of the United States, to induce a feeling that they are not a part of this nation as a whole, owe no loyalty to it and should secede from it,
- 2) to use every incident of discrimination, injustice, et cetera, as a sign of oppression of this allegedly submerged negro nation to discredit the United States amongst other colored nations who, in the past or now, were struggling for independence.
- 3) to use the American negro to support, sponsor and help organize Communist sponsored Negro Nationalist Movements in Africa, the West Indies and South America.

At this point, I fear that the whole thing may sound fantastic to you as it did to me when I first heard it; hence, I will introduce, in the form of quotations, testimony from their sources.

HARRY HAYWOOD, the chief theoretician of the Communist Party on the negro question, who was in the Lenin School and who has written numerous articles and several books on this subject, all of which, were sponsored by the Communist Party, says the following:

....."This land on which you and your ancestors have slaved for centuries rightfully belongs to you. The bosses' government in this territory is a government of foreign slave drivers; it is our enemy as well as yours. We recognize and support your right to organize your own government, to elect your officials, to organize your own militia, and your unqualified right to separate from the United States....."

Pamphlet: Communist Position on the Negro question,

Article: The theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement.

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, June, 1931 p.40.

Further, on writing on the same subject, HARRY HAYWOOD, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, says as follows:-

".....If the right of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this State, there will of course remain a fairly significant White minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority."

Pamphlet: COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Article: The Theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement.

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, June 1931, P. 41

You, gentlemen, may know how much ado the Communists in this Country make about the negroes in the South being excluded from voting at primaries or elections by poll taxes and other methods and prevented in various ways from being elected to office. Now, let us see what they propose doing in the projected Negro Republic when they come into power:-

"It would not be right of self-determination, in our sense of the word, if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of self-determination only in the cases which concerned exclusively the Negroes and did not affect the Whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the Whites as well as Negroes. First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the White minority in the entire territory, of the administratively united Black Belt, exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority."

Pamphlet: COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

Article: The Theoretical Defenders of White Chauvinism in the Labor Movement

By: Harry Haywood

From: THE COMMUNIST, JUNE 1931, p. 49.

According to the Communist master-minds, there were in the late '20s about twenty-three (23) counties down South which had a negro majority. These counties cut across several States, but this did not disturb the Communist strategists, for here is what they say:-

"This means that the territory now known as the Black Belt, described above, be recognized as a distinct political unit, regardless of the State borders which, at present, cut across this territory. It means that the Negro Majority have governmental and administrative control and authority over this entire territory, with the right to set up its own governmental and judicial institutions, to elect its own officials, to make laws, to set taxes, to dispose of public property, to organize its own armed forces for the protection of these rights. It means the disbanding and removal of the armed forces, civil and military, of the White ruling class, exploiters in the Black Belt territory. It means a decisive struggle against the whole ruling class machinery, in and out of the Black Belt, which has held the Negro people in a vice of iron."

You have noted that in their Projected Negro Republic, they openly advocate supremacy over the whites and justify it on the grounds that negroes are a major there. In this Projected Negro Republic they even propose confiscation of the property of the whites and their exclusion from all government agencies, but if whites do the same thing, it is denounced as a "White Supremacy" barrier.

The Communists know, of course, that to carve pieces out of several States in order to form an independent Negro National Government would require a major upheaval in the United States in which there would be many victims, but considering the Negro as expendable that is precisely what they would like to use the negro for. Now, in order to show you that this was not only their policy in the past but it their present policy, I will quote from another of their major Negro leaders:

"The most fundamental and historic contribution of our Party in the recent period was the hammering out of a Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro question at the December, 1946, Plenum, under the theoretical guidance and leadership of Comrade Foster in particular. Our position that the Negro question in the United States is basically a National question, leading toward self-determination for the Negro Majority in the Black Belt of the South, is not only unique, but has for the first time in our Party's history been brought up to date, and put on an absolutely sound basis."

Source: POLITICAL AFFAIRS Article

By: Benjamin J. Davis

From: The Negro People's Liberation Movement -- Page 893

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, former New York City Councilman, is, as you may know, one of the leaders of the Peekskill demonstration. To show you also that Moscow has been and still is behind that policy of inciting Negroes to secede from the United States, I will quote from a Soviet publication printed in Moscow:-

"The Soviet commentator observes:- 'The cardinal problem raised in Haywood's book is that of the struggle of the American Negroes for National liberation and social and political rights. The general upsurge of the movement for national liberation has also affected the Negro population of the United States. Haywood also tells us that the American Negroes constitute a rising young nation, which like any other nation, must have the right independently to decide its own destiny. Criticizing the adherents of liberal half-measure reforms, the author advocates the complete abolition of that initial obstacle to the liberation of the Negroes, the plantation system in the South.'"

"Gromov adds: 'In the concluding part of his interesting book, Haywood draws the correct conclusion that the race or national question can be wholly solved only under socialism. He cites as an example the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union and the absence of any race exceptionalism among the peoples of the fraternal Soviet Republics.'"

Source: DAILY WORKER, July 14, 1949, p.

Article: Haywood's Negro Liberation Book  
Landed in USSR.

Quoting: An Article in the NEW TIMES, a  
Magazine published by the  
Soviet Government in USSR.

The Communists are, of course, also not disturbed by the fact that, if such Negro State were formed in the South out of the twenty-three (23) counties, it would be a sliver of a State into which the Negroes would be segregated and wedged in. Such a State could, of course, not be independent economically let alone bear the burden of supporting a separate army, police, courts, et cetera, without lowering the standard of living down to the impossible.

The value of propagating Negro Nationalism according to their calculations is that it fires the imagination of the Negro with the tinsel and pomp of government and serves the purpose of inciting disloyalty to the United States. It is an ideological warfare expedient in which the practicability of the thing itself plays no role whatsoever. The hypocrisy behind this whole project can best be understood in the practices of the Soviet Government on its own territory, where all the different component nations and races of Soviet Russia have been completely deprived any independence whatsoever and absorbed in the super-centralized government machine operated from Moscow. Those nationalities or racial groups, in Russia, that have displeased the Central Government, like the Germans in the Volga or the Karelians on the Finnish border and others in Northern Caucasasia, have been rounded up in the totality and deported and dispersed into the far reaches of Siberia. In these cases like in many others, the political warfare Command in Moscow goes on the basis of "Don't do as I do, do as I say."

I assume that the Communist master-minds also know that, since the late '20s the social composition of the Black Belt has changed considerably. Cotton farming has been mechanized and many Negroes moved out of the rural counties up into the North and into the growing industrial centers of the South; so that, whatever pretense may have existed in the late '20s, as a territorial base for such a Negro Republic has been disappearing; in other words, the United States, as a "melting-pot" nation, has been absorbing the Negro and integrating him into the total fabric of the nation. But that too had no effect on the master minds of this plan, for this plan is conceived on the basis of the ends it is to serve, not on the basis of facts per se.

If I dwell at length on their master plan for the fourteen million (14,000,000) Negroes of the United States; it is to give you an idea how extreme that plan is and that it takes plenty of racial incitation to attempt to realize it.

Because of this plan, the Negro Communists, like Robeson, are amongst the most

incendiary of all their leaders and amongst the most reckless of them all is Paul Robeson himself. Thus, at a mobilisation meeting at the Golden Gate Ballroom, prior to the Peekskill demonstration, Robeson declared:-

"This marks the turning point. From now on, we take the offensive, and that offensive begins tonight at this meeting..."

Commenting on the Westchester authorities lack of protection for the "Concert-goers",

Robeson declared:

"The surest way to get protection is to show them that from now on we are going to protect ourselves!"

Preceding Paul Robeson, as a speaker at this meeting, was Benjamin J. Davis.

Davis declared:-

"We want all the 'flunkies' of Wall Street, whether they wear white sheets or black robes like Judge Medina, to know that we are a peace-loving people, but we are not pacifists and we are going to stand up toe to toe and slug it out".

Source: DAILY WORKER

Date: September 1, 1949 - p. 9.

There will be several former Negro Communist leaders and others that had suffered from the Communists who will testify to the incineration of their methods including the type of literature they distributed in Harlem in preparation for the Peekskill demonstration; hence, I will confine myself to give you just the general view of their day to day methods and organization amongst the Negroes.

In the late '20s the Communists created 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights'. This organization was originally created merely to exploit Negro grievances but after Stalin's master plan came into effect in the early '30s, a new organization was created known as the 'Negro Labor Congress' into which 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights' was merged. The reason for liquidating 'The League of Struggle for Negro Rights' was that it contained elements who resisted the new Negro nationalism policy imposed by Moscow.

'The Negro Labor Congress' started right off with a Nationalist Program and was designed to appeal primarily to Negro workers. The design of the new organization also fitted in more closely into the pattern of using Negro labor for Communist Labor Union infiltration in the big industries.

In the middle '30s, a new Negro front organization was created known as the 'National Negro Congress' into which the 'Negro Labor Congress' was merged. The reason for the creation of the 'National Negro Congress' was a sharp swing of Moscow foreign policy towards appeasement of the democracies, a policy generally known as the "Popular Front" (1934-1935). During that period, Moscow sought to curry favor with the democracies as a means of exerting pressure against rising Nazi Germany. Negro Nationalism, during this period was not abandoned but merely soft-pedalled so as to make it possible to attract large numbers of non-Communist Negroes, the

### Negro middle class and the Negro intelligensia.

In the middle '40s the Communists infiltrated and captured a Negro organization known as the 'Council on African Affairs', the former president of which, a man of unusual ability, appeared before you. The 'Council on African Affairs', of which Paul Robeson is now president, is designed to link up the Negro Nationalist Movements, fostered by the Communists in Africa and the Americas; it is Moscow's direct tool in this field and accounts for much of Paul Robeson's international "activities" as well as his many trips to Moscow.

You may have noticed from this account of Communist created Negro fronts with appealing names that deception is a standard practice with Communists. Communist created fronts come and go like worn out suits. They are discarded and new styles are created. This is done on a national and even an international scale as well as on a local scale, like the 'Westchester Committee for a Fair Inquiry'. Fairness, of course, has nothing to do with it. The creation of this type of front is a means for attracting "suckers" for alleged causes and making suitable use of them with Communists as "stage managers" behind the scenes.

Deception, of course, is standard practice. Also, by the demand or "bait" put out by this type of front organizations to attract "suckers" for various allegedly worthy causes. It helps these organizations to publicize themselves and suck the masses into motion.

The Communist Party is on a continuous hunt for incidents, issues and causes. If there are none, they must be created. Amongst Negroes, even more than amongst others, there are usually plenty of issues to incite and to fight about. There is, for instance, the issue of segregation which the Communists have magnified to the nth degree. The Party will pick a strategic case in a suitable neighborhood, put up picket lines, demonstrations and even create a riot if it serves their purposes or there may be a restaurant or cafeteria which does not want to serve Negro customers. Picket lines will be formed, the windows may be smashed and a big issue created; or there may be an employer, who for sundry reasons, may not want to employ Negroes or, in the opinion of the Communist Party, does not employ enough of them or does not employ them in highly skilled occupations. If nothing handier is available, the Communist Party will pick on that or, as in the case of Peekskill, they will insist on holding a demonstration in a neighborhood intensely hostile to them. There are cases where factories employ Negroes in occupations that have no seniority ratings. The Communist Party will demand not only seniority but preferred seniority ratings for Negroes. A quotation from their sources may perhaps illustrate the point.

"The central question is the retroactive granting of the right of job seniority to Negro Workers. Without this, all other measures will be incomplete. Consider-

tion should be given in local unions or by an entire international union, to granting all Negro workers an automatic accumulation of an agreed-upon number of years' seniority (say, ten years) and then applying seniority equally to all thereafter."

Article: DEFEND AND EXTEND RIGHTS OF  
NEGRO WORKERS,

By: John Williamson

From: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, June 1949  
p. 33.

That many of these or similar grievances exist is, of course, nothing new. They have been fought over by bonafide Negro organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League and others long before the Communists came upon the scene and continue to be. What is new is that this alleged friend of the Negroes, the Communist Party, is avowedly not a reformist organization, they do not seek reform for reform sake, they merely play with reform as a "means to an end". They use reform in order to sell their other poisonous wares and create incidents for racial incitation, as the following quotation taken out of their sources may indicate:-

"The terrible truth which every American must face is that the government of the United States, in all its ramifications and culture, rests upon the 'white supremacy' system. The K.K.K. expresses this cannibalism only in the more vulgar and more violent forms; but, there is not a single Congressman, Senator, Judge, State Department official, police officer, or responsible executive in any branch of the State who is not enmeshed in, who does not give support to, or is not tactically adjusted to the 'white supremacy' philosophy of the Ku Klux Klan. The two-party system is an open bulwark of the 'white supremacy' horror."

Source: DAILY WORKER, June 19, 1949

Article: "Communism is the Deadly Enemy  
of 'White Supremacy'"

By: Milton Howard

According to this statement, every white man or official except the Communists, of course, is an enemy of the Negro and must be suspected and fought.

Of great importance in the racial incitation program are Negro Court cases, that lead themselves to racial incitation. For instance, one or more Negroes may be arrested for murder, rape or robbery. There are hundreds of these cases amongst the 'Whites' as well but, if it concerns Negroes, the Communists often pick up these cases for their purposes. The arrests may have been made on prejudice or on insufficient evidence, as sometimes is the case, or the charge may be wholly true but, if it serves the strategic purposes of the Party, at the time, the Party will charge it to be a frame-up, true or false, long before the trial comes up and especially if the case comes up down South. The Negroes involved may be as guilty as "hell", just as the eleven (11) tried before Judge Medina were but, if the Communist machine gets a hold of it, they will be painted as innocent victims of a frame-up, a legal lynching. Southern justice will be painted in the blackest colors and, as

the Negroes out of some of their past experiences have reason to be suspicious, such cases have a tremendous emotional appeal throughout the Negro community. If the men involved are actually not guilty, Communist propaganda in the community and around the Courthouse, plus the behavior of Communist defense attorneys in Court, may arouse passions to such an extent as to produce a guilty verdict anyway. So much better for the Communists. The case will become a "cause celebre" made to order for their propaganda mills. Now such a type of a case is actually worked, you may hear if you will from a witness, a former Party leader, who was involved in the famous Scottsboro case of years ago. The Scottsboro case is an old one which attracted tremendous national attention. It may serve the purpose of illustrating their incitation techniques which, if anything, have become even more unscrupulous over the years.

The following quotation, out of Lenin's collected works, illustrates their over-all practice in all fields:-

"We have to use any ruse, dodge, trick, cunning, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of the truth. . . . As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph---a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republics or over world capitalism . . . but until this takes place the principal role is to dodge and maneuver."

Communists racial incitation methods are as deceitful and indirect as many of their other practices and for that reason are rather felt than understood. Contrary to the Nazis, who berated the Jews and Negroes as inferior races, the Communists come to them like Greeks bearing gifts. They pretend to be solicit<sup>ous</sup> of their welfare and promise them, as minorities, privileges that even the majority does not enjoy. The Communists, for instance, demand that Negroes just because they are Negroes be placed on Governing Boards of labor unions, Government Agencies, Municipal Councils, State Boards, et cetera. They even advocate that Negro populated parts of our cities be constituted as autonomous or semi-autonomous municipalities with their own mayors, police, magistrates, et cetera, but that the city, as a whole, defray the expenses. This, of course, conforms to their concepts that the Negroes are a nation and, therefore, are entitled to be treated as partners instead of as mere citizens. The result of all this sort of agitation is to incite the minority against the majority; the exact reverse of the Nazis, who called upon the majority to either exterminate a racial minority, like the Jews, or as in the case of a religious minority, like the Catholics, deprive them of their rights.

In a condition where there is a latent distrust or hatred between races, Communist incitation can and has fanned such distrust into race riots by inducing provocative arrogance on the part of a minority well knowing that the majority will not tolerate it. Now important they consider the incitation of the Negro against whites may be seen from the following:

"The Negro question remains, politically, the Achilles heel of U. S. Imperialism; and the liberation movement of the Negro people is reaching new heights of consciousness and unity, representing a mighty anti-imperialist force."

Article: "SPECIFIC FEATURES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST EXPANSION"

Source: Political Affairs - Aug. 1948  
p. 684

By: William Z. Foster

Quoted in an article by Benjamin J. Davis entitled, "The Negro Peoples Liberation Movement" -- Source: Political Affairs - p. 880

Incitation of racial minorities fits, of course, into the general pattern of Communist operations which is designed to exploit the grievances of the most discontented segments of the population, especially those who have special grievances like the Negroes.

The Communists always make a great ado if any of their rioters are arrested or injured by those whom they have provoked but, what they would do if they had the power is perhaps best illustrated by a statement of Paul Robeson made to a Swedish pro-Communist newspaper while he was in Europe; a statement which has been reprinted in the Daily Worker. In this statement, Robeson alleges that there is a tremendous resistance and deep feeling amongst the Negro peoples in the United States:-

The interview is in a question and answer form:

Question: "Have you any personal experience confirming this resistance?"

Mr. Robeson: "There are numerous examples from the recent election campaign of Negroes protecting Wallace people from the Klu Klux Klan. I, myself, was to speak in a town in the South when word came through that the police planned to shoot me down on my arrival. The result was that the police received series of warnings to the effect if anything happened to me, nothing much would be left of that town within 24 hours. I have never felt so safe in all my life throughout my stay in that town. I was surrounded by a heavily armed bodyguard of regular police. Oh, yes, the Negro population is much more progressive than some of their leaders".

Source: The Sunday Worker - June 5, 1949  
P. 1 - Section 2.

I, of course, do not believe a word of what Robeson says as to the incident he alleges to have taken place, but it is an indication of what Robeson would like to do if he had the power. According to this statement, Paul Robeson would not be satisfied with a few of his enemies being merely manhandled. He would wipe out the whole town in which the incident took place just like the Nazis have done at Lidice, Czechoslovakia, which they have levelled to the ground because of the assassin of one of their deputy leaders was allowed to hide there.

Allow me to quote one more statement of Paul Robeson, made to the same Swedish newspaper; a statement in which Robeson again tells lies out of "whole cloth". 15

I quote:-

"Robeson declared that the Negro people in the United States, Africa and the West Indies are becoming so aroused over the denials of even basic freedom that the rule of White Bourbon Capitalism will be short-lived."

Source: DAILY WORKER, Oct. 5, 1949, p. 3.

Robeson, of course, knows perfectly well that, if the basic freedoms would not exist in the United States, the likes of him would not be tolerated at all let alone being allowed to tell his lies all over the United States.

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#### THE JEWS

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If I have dwelt at length on Communist activities amongst Negroes, it is because Moscow has a primary interest in inciting them and the Communist Party does racial incitation work in this field as it were "on the double".

Second, in importance, in the racial incitation politics of the Communist Party, are the Jews. There was a time, in fact, when they were first but in the last fifteen (15) years the Jews have receded in the total weight of Communist activities, partly due to the special interest that Moscow has in the Negroes and also because the Jews, more experienced in things of ideology and politics, are beginning to see through the trickery of the Communist High Command in Moscow. An additional factor, of late, has been the suppression of Jewish organizations in Soviet satellite countries and in Russia itself. Nevertheless, in the New York City area, in Los Angeles and Chicago the Communists still have considerable organization amongst the Jews, including a daily paper, "The Freiheit", but even in these cities they represent less than ten (10) percent of the Jewry and there is, right among the Jews, a lively intelligent and active opposition against them, as a number of witnesses ready to appear can attest.

The Communists have played around with Jewish nationalism off and on also, but their main stalking "horse" amongst the Jews has been the issue of Anti-Semitism which they have exploited to the 'nth degree. Since the inauguration by Hitler of Genocide as a State policy, the result of which was the butchery of millions of Jews in Europe, the Jews have lived in a nightmareish fear that something similar might happen here; a fear heavily promoted by Communist Propaganda. Whatever anti-semitic groups spring up in this country no matter how small, like the Gerald K. Smith, "America Firsters" and others, they were always given a major build-up in Communist fear-propaganda, the main edge of which was directed at the Catholic Church which has been a primary target of the Moscow High Command for the past thirty (30) years.

The largest Communist controlled Jewish organization in the New York area is the 'Jewish Peoples Order', Jewish Language Section of the 'International Workers Order', a Communist fraternal and insurance society of about one-hundred-sixty-thousand (160,000) members. The 'I.W.O.' is, in fact, the Communist Party's central net-work amongst the various foreign language groups in this country. The Jewish Section is the largest affiliate. A large part of the demonstrators imported into Peekskill for the Robeson demonstration were members of 'I.W.O.'.

Next, in importance, in the Jewish Communist following, are party-controlled labor unions with a large Jewish membership, like the Furriers and other Jewish unions with Communist organization inside of them, like the Painters, the Needle Trades, some of the Food Trades, et cetera.

The mere fact that there were far more Jews than Negroes at the Peekskill demonstration should not mislead you as to the relative importance of these two groups in the Communist set-up. It simply means that amongst the Jews, the Communists have long established solid organizations in the New York area with a daily paper to drum up the crowd, and that the bulk of that paper's circulation happens to be in the New York area; whereas, amongst the Negroes their organization is young, far less solid and there is no daily Negro paper under their control to mobilize a big crowd in one week's time.

Amongst the witnesses ready to testify is a former vice-president of the I.W.O. whom you can ask any question in reference to that organization.

If one were to estimate the racial or national background of the Communist demonstrators at Peekskill in the order of their numerical importance, the following approximately would be the results:

1. Jews . . . . . 8000
2. Slavic Groups. . . 3000
3. Negroes . . . . . 2000
4. Latins & Italians. 1000
5. Anglo-Saxons . . . 1000

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#### THE SLAV CONGRESS

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The Slav Congress is one of the newcomers amongst the Large Communist fronts. It has been formed at the close of World War II and constitutes an effort by the Communists to combine all Slavic nationalities; such as, the Russian Ukrainians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, et cetera, into one pro-Russian organization. Its aim is by exploiting the racial backgrounds of these peoples and fostering a pro-Russian attitude to alienate their loyalty to the United States and transfer it to Russia.

The Slavic Group was the second largest at the Peekskill demonstration.

Study of its specific methods of pro-Russian propaganda amongst the Slavs would require a staff familiar with foreign languages.

Suffice it to say that, at this time, the Slav Congress is one of the important groups spreading racial dissension in the interest of Russia in the United States.

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#### RELIGIOUS DISSENSION

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Except for the continuous barrage of attacks against the Catholic Church and against "Clerical reactionaries" of other denominations, no religious incitation was manifested in Communist preparations for the September 4th demonstration at Peekskill.

Inasmuch as religious incitation does form an important part of Communist activities, I will deal with it briefly.

There was a time that the Communists confined themselves to straight atheistic anti-religious propaganda aimed mainly at the Roman and Greek Orthodox Catholic churches. This, however, was not very effective; hence, in the last fourteen (14) years under a plan also personally devised by Joseph Stalin in 1923, they have gone into the business of infiltrating the various church denominations with alleged liberal and progressive ideas about religion. To carry that plan through, the Atheists have to pretend to be religious. As fantastic as this may seem, it is not inconsistent with Communist behavior that - "all means are justified if they serve the end."

On the basis of this plan, they infiltrated the 'Methodist Federation of Social Service' and captured it and used it for their purposes. They also set up an 'Institute of Applied Religion' to infiltrate; especially, Negro Baptist churches. Their infiltration produced a crisis in at least one of the more liberal Protestant denominations, known as Unitarian Universalists, where the Editor of the Church Journal was found to be a Communist. They also captured one of the extra-curricular Protestant Journals, known as the "Protestant Digest", edited by Kenneth Lealie now known as the "Protestant", and used it to belabor the Protestant Ministry of the various denominations with their allegedly "liberal" ideas. Working in concert in these various Protestant denominations, they infiltrated the Federal Council of Churches but came far short of their objective when, in the last two (2) years, the Protestant Ministry finally awoke to their counterfeit liberalism and moved away from them. But, there was a time when they had as many as twelve-hundred (1,200) Ministers and several Bishops of the Protestant denominations in their various religious fronts and ventures. Their influence, in these Protestant denominations, was used mainly to deepen the schism between the Protestants and Catholics. Their influence amongst the Rabbis of the Jewish faith was used for the same purpose.

The chief engineers of this type of Communist front were:-

HARRY F. WARD, Professor Emeritus of Religion

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Institute of Applied Religion

KENNETH LESLIE, Editor of the Protestant Digest

JACK McMICHAEL, Methodist Federation for Social Service

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INQUIRY CONCERNING QUASI-MILITARY  
FORCES ORGANIZED BY THE COMMUNISTS

In connection with the Robeson Peekskill demonstration organized by the Communist Party in the Peekskill area, Honorable Thomas E. Dewey issued, on September 14, 1949, a directive which seeks to determine:

1. Whether the Communist led "guard" forces displayed at the Peekskill demonstration were a quasi-military force.
2. Whether the demonstration was a part of the Communist strategy to foment racial and religious hatreds.
3. Whether the meeting was initiated and sponsored for the purpose of deliberately inciting disorder and a breach of peace.

This report will deal with this subject in the order named above.

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On the basis of information assembled from various sources which will be named as this testimony proceeds and on the basis of my own experience with this type of organization, I will start with and deal chiefly with the question as to whether the Communist Party is committed to the organization of a quasi-military force as an integral part of its program and activity.

As the Governor correctly states, there were present at the Robeson Peekskill demonstration, a corps of guards.— "in addition, pro-Communist forces brought with them some 2,500 men whom they called 'security guards'. This force of 'guards' was military in character, operation, formation and discipline. They were equipped with weapons which, while not prohibited by law, such as baseball bats, can openers, stones and cans of black and red pepper. Such weapons in the hands of an organized group, could be formidable and even deadly."

The Daily Worker of September 5, 1949 says the following about the "security guard":

"A few feet within the grounds the young veterans among the concert goers stood shoulder to shoulder along the 1,500 yard length. Groups of them stood at various hilltops and other points of vantage." - page 3.

According to the Daily Worker of Sept. 12, 1949, page 4, "the 'security guard' consisted of 3,500 men." That such a guard was present at the grounds of the Robeson meeting is, of course, obvious from the numerous photographs taken, the comments of the Daily Worker and the testimony of numerous persons of various callings who were present. That the "security guard" came there with the purpose of engaging in combat can be reasonably assumed from the nature of the equipment taken away from them by the police, such as baseball bats, can openers and black pepper.

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The Communist Party leaders, in their various statements made through Communist members and otherwise, of course, claim that the "security guard" was there purely for defensive purposes; that is, to defend the meeting against hostile crowds and demonstrators. As will be seen from what follows, it is customary for the Communists, when engaging in offensive action, to claim that they are merely defending themselves; and thus, in the name of defense, they once more, in connection with the Peekskill demonstration, arrogated to themselves a police function.

This pretense of defense is perhaps best illustrated by the following quotation which relates to the creation of so-called defense corps organizations:

"These organizations are purely defensive in name-to prove to the working masses the necessity of such defensive organizations is easier than to get them into offensive organizations."

"But, here, we meet with the opposition of the reformers. They are against such workers' 'defense groups' because, on some fine day these 'defense groups' may turn to attack. If the workers were armed, class logic pushes them ahead for the old strategic rule says, 'the best method of defense is attack'". WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT by A. Lesovsky, p. 104-5. Published by The Trade Union Education League, Chicago, Illinois.

At present I want to deal with the question as to what, in the concept and program of the Communist Party, constitutes a "quasi-military organization". As already indicated by my answers to previous questions, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] acquired a knowledge both of the planning of this type of organization and how these plans work out in practice.

The Communist display of an alleged "security guard" at Peekskill is the largest display of this type of organization that the Communists have made in the United States thus far. That they dared to display it in such numbers and at this time is in itself remarkable, but before I proceed any further on the subject of this "security guard", allow me to give you a brief resume of what is thought on this subject at the political warfare colleges in Moscow.

Testimony from their own sources substantiate what I have said.

"To the counter-revolutionary bourgeois armed forces, the proletariat can only oppose its own revolutionary forces."

If one acknowledges the necessity of revolutionary force, one is compelled to acknowledge the consequence of a revolutionary force, the formation and maintenance of a Red Army, which is the efficient and most technical expression of the revolutionary force.....THE FORM OF THE RED ARMY IS MORE A QUESTION OF TECHNIQUE THAN OF PRINCIPLE, THE MAIN THING IS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE...."

This is accomplished by the setting up of a bogey. Once a bogey is established, their action in fighting against it is justified.

The organizations of strike-breakers and out-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now acquired a leading organ

in the so-called "American Legion", made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war."

to combat what they consider a quasi-military organization like the Legion, their method is

"to create their own workers legions and militant organizations which would resist the fascists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will break them of the strike-breaking habit.

"In view of the extra-ordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question, organizing a thorough-going educational and communication service (by this they mean espionage — author's note) which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenals, the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties, and work out all the necessary details of defense and counter-attack."

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, July 1922

"Thanks to the physical education obtained by them in the workers' sport and athletic organizations, the red athletes and sportsmen will form a hardened kernel of the proletarian defense organizations. The workers' sport and athletic organizations as such must put all their strength into the service of the defense struggle."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Pub. by the Executive Committee of the I.C.Y. p 93. Printed in Sweden, 1924

Part of the the three-year training course in Moscow is a three-month training in the various arts of insurrection and the creation of insurrectionary organizations which deals specifically with the subject of how to organize insurrectionary forces in the various stages of their development. The pre-requisite of organizing such forces is, of course, the existence of a Communist Party. The insurrectionary force in its preliminary stages, is to serve as a civilian combat force or "goon" organization; and later on as the military arm of the Communist Party. No Government, if it has any sense, would allow such an organization to exist in any overt form. Such a force, therefore, has to be organized under various camouflages. The "security guard" display at Peekskill is an organization of this type in a relatively early stage of development.

The camouflages used may be an athletic club, sports club, hunting lodge, veterans' club or a self-defense club. Another form of this type of organization, is the "goon" squads of Communist controlled unions, often called Organization or Action Committees, composed of indoctrinated fanatics which the Communist Party uses for many varied purposes, and there are other forms.

As you will see from further testimony to be presented, all of these or similar types of organizations are organized or sponsored by the Communist Party and its auxiliaries were present at the Robeson Peekskill demonstration just as they were at previous large Communist demonstrations such as May Days and other occasions, except unlike the one at Peekskill, they did not appear and display themselves in one single formation as a "security guard".

All these innocent looking "clubs", "leagues", "lodges", "action committees", etc.

veterans, are tied together by a secret committee of Military Affairs of the Communist Party; of which, you will also hear testimony by a former member of such a secret committee.

"A political party is not the same thing as a military army. While a military command begins a war with an army ready at its hand, the Party has to create its Army in the course of the struggle itself, in the course of class conflicts."

SOURCE: J. V. STALIN, The October Revolution, p. 114.

Published in The Communist International - No. 12 - 1940 p. 333.

I further quote from an official decision of the Communist International:

"The Communist organizer must look upon every member of the Party....as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason, he must allot him a place in the Party which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present Party work, and not mere drilling which the political worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist's best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle. SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, p. 114.

The military "cement" in all types of Communist-sponsored combat organizations is made up of war veterans and ex-service men who impart their knowledge to the others and, as a rule, are leading spirits in this type of organization. Those with Civil War experience, like the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, recruited illegally in the United States for intervention in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1938, are considered of special value for this purpose. All war veterans and ex-service men are specially listed for their military qualifications.

In order to keep this type of organization properly conditioned during peacetime, they are used as assault groups during strikes, as "guards" at demonstrations like the ones at Peekskill. They are used for disruption of opponents' meetings or to capture opponents' headquarters, like the recent attack on the headquarters of the National Maritime Union and for many other similar purposes. In connection with this type of "goon" activity on the part of this sort of organization, there is plenty of detailed testimony ready for presentation.

The following quotations from Communist sources will show that this type of fighting is an integral part of Communist activity:

"Under 'direct action', we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State; boycotts, strikes, street demonstrations, seizure of factories, armed uprising and other revolutionary activity which tends to unite the working class in the fight for Socialism."

SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD WORLD CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL - p. 143. Published by Contemporary Publishing Association, New York, N.Y.

How Peekskill and other demonstrations fit into the pattern:

"The fundamental means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie, that is, its state power, is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the mass organizations of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat

must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight."

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Moscow, 1920.  
Issued by the Communist Party of America, 1920, p. 43.

Much of the military training for the members of this type of groups the Communists expect the Government itself to supply, as the following quotation will show:

"Citizen guard organizations, the Army, rifle clubs, et cetera, should be utilized for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must be directed not against the military training of the youth and the workers, but against the militaristic regime and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons are most carefully taken advantage of."

SOURCE: THESIS & RESOLUTION, adopted at the THIRD WORLD CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, p. 92. Published by Contemporary Publishing Association, New York, N.Y.

The quasi-military organization of an insurrectionary type does not grow overnight; it takes years and the formation of such an organization usually goes through various stages of development. In its embryonic stages, this type of organization can easily be camouflaged and it takes an alert Government and people to see through such camouflage.

"The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia - a militia of the soldiers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerrilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organization of the Soviet Government, i.e., it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS. Resolution of the 6th World Congress of the C.I., 1938. Published by Workers Library Publishers, New York, N.Y. 2nd Edition, July 1934 p. 47-48.

#### Stages in the development of quasi-military organizations:

1. The so-called "defense organization" stage. Sport clubs, veterans clubs or veterans organizations, hunting clubs, self-defense clubs or leagues, physical culture clubs, hike clubs, etc., secret clubs, goon squads known as action committees, organization committees, entertainment committees, etc.
2. Formation of Insurrectionary Force in the form of select combat squads of a commando type, also known as detachments, guerrillas, etc. The secret arming of these groups. Detailed instruction in insurrectionary techniques. Planning of the insurrection. This force is recruited from the "defense organizations" mentioned in Point 1.
3. In case the insurrection succeeds, the formation of semi-army type of organization generally known as Militia or Red Guard, into which all members of organizations mentioned in Part 1 are enrolled

plus general arming of all Communists and their followers.

4. Formation of a "Popular" or "People's Army" as they now call it, into which the Militia, plus "Popular Military" formations that have gone over to the insurrectionists may be incorporated.

The different stages can be better seen in countries which have large Communist Parties, like the ones in France and Italy, where large quasi-military organizations in advanced stages of development exist and where these organizations have already accumulated large stocks of armaments, some of which have recently been seized by the authorities of these countries; and the final stage of this type of organization can be seen in China, where their quasi-military combat and guerilla organizations have grown into a full sized Red Army about to complete the conquest of the whole country.

Czechoslovakia, too, is an illustration of what role this type of organization can play when the Communists are ready to seize power.

When Governor Dewey took note of the "security guard" as the unusual feature of the Communist demonstration at the Peekskill Robeson "concert", he pointed to something more significant than appears on the surface: he pointed, in fact, to an insurrectionary organization in the making.

Allow me now to proceed more specifically on what is thought on this subject in the military classes in Moscow. I must say, at the outset, that there is very little testimony available in the form of publications on what I am about to tell you because all literature used in this type of classes must be returned after they are used. None is allowed to be taken out of Russia.

"....Instructions on concrete organizational questions regarding preparation for underground conditions must be given only verbally and only by absolutely tried and trustworthy people. Only in extreme cases should instructions be given in writing and these should contain only the most general instructions and should be written in such a manner as to give the police no clue as to whom to look for and where to find them if the instructions do fall into their hands."....

SOURCE: Article: Revolutionary Underground Work.  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, Vol. II, Nos. 10-11-12 July 1, 1932  
p. 341 Special Edition for U.S.A. Pub. by Workers Library  
Publishers, N.Y.C.

The discussion on insurrection that one does find in available Communist literature is largely misleading. According to available literature, an insurrection is a matter of big strikes, mass demonstrations in which the masses put up barricades, storm Government offices and fight with troops, or else fraternize with the troops in order to win them over to the side of the insurrectionists. The closest quotation as to the actual techniques taught in the military colleges that I can find is one from Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, and theorist and organizer of the Communist movement:

"The third great lesson provided by the Moscow uprising refers to attacks and the organization of forces for the uprising. Military attacks depend on the level of military technique - ... Military technique, now, is not the same as it was in the middle of the 19th Century. It would be folly for crowds to contend against artillery and defend barricades with revolvers. Kautsky was right when he wrote that Moscow had inaugurated new 'barricade tactics'. These tactics were the tactics of guerilla warfare. The organization which such tactics demand is that of ten men, three men or two men detachments..... Study carefully the story of the Moscow uprising, gentlemen, and you will understand what connection exists between 'five men detachments' and the question of 'new barricade tactics'."

SOURCE: THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 by V. I. Lenin, p. 36. New York, New York, International Publishers.

You should take note, as I go along making these quotations, the Communists always speak in their written material about the workers, which they call the Proletariat. The workers are expected or charged with doing this or that. They do not, of course, expect the workers to scheme up insurrectionary techniques or organizations to carry through an insurrection. Lenin himself, again and again says that the workers are incapable of that much know how on this subject. When they speak in this connection about the workers, that is just the usual Aesopian language which they use to avoid speaking in the first person. What they actually mean is that the Communist Party organizes all these things.

Now to the actual method of insurrectionary fighting as taught in the Moscow colleges. As Lenin indicates in the quotation I just made, the popular notion of insurrections of the past is not at all what the Communist-organized insurrections are based on. The Communists base their insurrection organization on numerous tiny little guerilla groups of a Commando type which attack their selected objectives by calculated deceit and utter surprise.

It may seem fantastic to you if I say that on the basis of the insurrection techniques taught in Moscow, a city like New York could be seized from the inside by a force of less than 10,000 men organized in the fashion that I will indicate; and, if the Army is disaffected, as the Russian Army was at the time of the Communist seizure of power in Russia, such a city could be held and the new Government, based upon the insurrection, could consolidate itself.

The Communist Party membership in New York State as of 1946 was 24,697 members. Nearly two thirds of whom live within the New York City area. Only 20% of the Party membership are as a rule considered fit to be included into a combat type of organization. The number present in the Security Guard formation corresponds to approximately this percentage.

Petrograd, former Capital of Russia, now known as Leningrad, with the Government having 50,000 troops plus police at its disposal, was actually taken and held by 8,200 men thusly organized. Hamburg, a city of 1,500,000 people, was taken in 1923 and held for two days by 1,800 men organized according to these methods;

and Riga, Capital of Latvia, a city of 500,000 inhabitants, with the Government having 15,000 troops and police at its disposal, was almost taken in 1934 by only 300 men using these techniques.

In Bogota, Capital of Columbia, a small force of Communists staged an insurrection on April 9th, 1948, and with less than 2000 so organized, held the city for about a week. By the time they were ousted by troops coming from outlying districts, the Capital looked as if a heavy bombardment squadron had gone over it.

Each of the above-named insurrections was different as to detail but, in the main, they conformed to the following pattern:

1. The seizure of power-houses and all communication centers, such as telephone exchanges, telegraph and radio stations, etc. This has as its object the paralysis of the Government machine.
2. Seizure of all transport terminals to paralyze all traffic to and from the city; this may include the derailling of trains 50 to 80 miles out of the city or the disabling of airports, disabling of bridges and the creation of other road blocks to impede Government reinforcements from quickly reaching the city while the insurgent force is at work.
3. Seizure of key Government buildings, like the central police headquarters, City Hall, National Guard armories and other command spots to impede or paralyze quick retaliation on the part of the Government and further paralyze the Government machine.
4. The arrest, early in the morning, of the principal personalities of the Government and forcing them at gun point to declare immediate support of the new Government or to be executed immediately. This is intended to further spread the paralysis of the Government and its armed forces.
5. The seized radio is immediately utilized to build up morale on the side of the insurrectionists and to demoralize resistance to them. The principal newspapers are seized at the same time and used for the same purpose.

The whole job is done early in the morning when the Government least expects it, usually between 4:00 and 5:30 A.M. That is the time when the various objectives they expect to seize are held very lightly, and surprise, therefore, is most effective.

All objectives are thoroughly cased before-hand. There are many trial mobilizations of the combat or guerilla groups before the zero hour mobilization takes place, and many false alarms and rumors are spread for days and weeks to wear out

the Government's vigilance, but when the set hour for mobilization does take place, the most extreme precautions are taken to prevent a leak of information to the Government. The "Commandos" assemble in small groups at the homes of their members and are instructed not to allow anyone to leave the room once they get there, or approach a window to give a signal, or reach for a telephone or even go unaccompanied to the bath-room.

When the hour for action strikes, each group goes with its armaments hidden as inconspicuously as possible to its previously selected objective. It is the surprise that strikes terror more than anything else.

Only after the principal objectives are taken are the seized radio stations utilized to mobilize the rest of the Communist organization and to call out the masses. When the insurrection is planned on a large scale and is no mere trial run, it takes place simultaneously in all the principal cities where the Communists have sufficient organization.

Operating by this method, it takes but a small force to seize an objective. Railway terminals, at that hour, may be seized by only five guerilla groups of five men each, operating as a team. A bus terminal may be seized by one to three groups. The key spots at New York City Police Headquarters may require fifteen or more groups, formed into several teams, etc., etc.

Combat formations are part of the underground apparatus.

"The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should be of assistance to the party to do its duty toward the revolution."

THESES & STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL Issued by T.O. of C.P.A.

"Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks."

THESES AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Pub. by Contemporary Publishing Assoc. New York, 1921 p 111.

The armaments of this type of insurrectionary force are not too difficult to obtain. Small arms like revolvers, light machine guns or tommy guns, rifles, hand grenades or simple incendiaries like "Molotov cocktails" are usually sufficient for this purpose and they are not difficult to obtain either by direct purchase, bribery or smuggling from outside. They may also be obtained by practice raids on hardware stores, isolated police stations and other arms depots.

While I am at it, I may as well trace for you a pattern of operation of such an insurrectionary force more closely related to modern warfare, which has been anticipated as part of the insurrectionary pattern taught in the Moscow colleges, but

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This has to do with coordination of an underground organization with an enemy air force capable of supplying superior armament to such an organization and reinforcing it with trained combatants and experienced combat leaders parachuted from the air. As we know from our own operations in World War II, this can also be done by the use of submarines operating in concert with an underground organization functioning inside our Area of Command. If with the development of air power and submarine warfare such a thing should become possible also with reference to the Communist underground in the U.S., then all estimates of danger from such an underground combat organization will have to be sharply revised.

The insurrectionary force is the "guts" of the Communist Party, but it is only part of the quasi-military set-up of the Party. One may seize a city with a compact guerilla force of this type, but one cannot hold it as long as the Government has a reliable force at its command and has the will to use it. It is essential, therefore, and this must be considered a very important part of the preparations for the seizure of power, to carry out, prior to any insurrection, certain types of infiltration activities in the armed forces that bear direct relation to it.

I will now give the second part of the plan:

1. Infiltrate by secret organization the armed forces of the U.S. and carry out demoralization work therein.
2. Infiltrate the Administrative and, if possible, the policy making set-up of the Government in order to obstruct, sabotage, demoralize and deviate Government action against the insurrectionists.
3. Infiltrate the decisive transportation and communication set-up of the country to impede a rapid or large scale mobilization of the Government's forces against the insurrectionists.
4. Infiltrate decisive armament industries in order to obstruct and sabotage their operation, especially during periods of war, and utilize the same to help arm the insurrectionists.

"Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be carried on in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization."

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America. 1920 p 26-27

The infiltration organizations above-indicated are an essential and vital part of the whole quasi-military set-up of the Communist Party and one of its by-products is political, military and technical espionage in the interests of the U.S.S.R.

In fact, one of the chief characteristics that differentiates the Communist

Party from other parties is that the Communist Party is basically an infiltration organization, operating by stealth, camouflage and deceit. Small compact groups of a few dozen men have been known to take over large labor unions, spreading their grip and influence as they go along. The same methods have and are being used to infiltrate our colleges and our technological and literary intelligentsia associations and so forth.

The surface or above-ground set-up of the Communist Party is, in fact, only a media to recruit members for its concealed infiltration operations in all walks of life.

Depending on the international situation of a country, this type of Party organization could be and has been able to seize control in certain countries when from five to twenty percent of the population was in sympathy with it.

To perhaps illustrate the effect of this kind of method with a case close to home, let us take for example a huge labor union like the United Electrical and Machine Workers Union, which was a participant in the Robeson Peekskill meeting. This union has been effectively controlled for the last ten years by a force of less than one percent of its membership. This one percent was the organized Communist groups operating within it. An even lesser percentage of Communist Party members controlled twelve national unions of the C.I.O. having a membership of 1,500,000. I am not suggesting that the Communist Party in this country is, at this time, ready to carry out the insurrectionary plans indicated above, nor do I suggest that the so-called "security guard" is at this time a force sufficiently qualified and organized to attempt the seizure of New York City, but I do say that it is the beginning of such a force; else its existence would have no sense whatsoever in the total plans, activities and program as taught by the High Command in Moscow and as practiced by many of the Communist Parties all over the world.

#### COMMUNIST CONTROLLED LABOR UNIONS

[REDACTED] the Fed International  
[REDACTED] with Solomon Lozovsky, its General Secretary.

As you will see from the quotations I will make of Lozovsky's views, labor unions play an important role in the Communists' plans of organizing quasi-military formations and this accounts, to a large extent, to the heavy participation of Communist controlled unions in the Peekskill affair and the "security guard" deployed there.

"...it is necessary from the very inception of a strike to commence organizing defense corps, drawing into these corps the most active group of workers.

"It is especially desirable to draw into the picket-line and into the workers' defense corps, members of the workers' sport organizations."

PROBLEMS OF STRIKE STRATEGY. Decisions of the International Conference on Strategy held in Stuttgart, Germany, January, 1929. Foreword by A. Losovsky. Preface to American Edition by Bill Donne. Pub. for T.U.U.L. by Workers Library Publishers New York City. p 29-30

The Communists are not labor unionists; they only use the labor unions as one would use a mallet to suck all the strength out of them. They use labor unions as engines of disruption of the capitalist economic system. They use these unions to finance Communist Party activities and pay their payrolls with Communist personnel. They use labor unions to recruit the rough and tumble element for their "assault" or "guerilla" groups. They use them as the heavy artillery in the day-to-day economic and political warfare they conduct against capitalistic society.

The following quotation from Communist sources indicates what the High Command in Moscow says on this subject:

"The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions carries not peace but a sword to the bourgeoisie of all countries. This defines the essence of our activity. Our program is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; a ruthless class war on an international and national scale and a close unseverable alliance with the Communist International."

SOURCE: International Trade and Industrial Unions by S. Losovsky p. 59, Published by Union Publishing Association, N.Y.

While building up their forces for the seizure of power, the Communists are very much interested in building up the unions - the very opposite of what they do after the seizure of power, when they proceed to take the dorsal spine out of them.

Communist controlled unions which as a rule, are engaged in continued strife against the employers and the State are an ideal training ground for all types of warfare, and Communist guerilla groups or "goon" squads incubate in them as germs would in a plague spot; hence, the prevalence of this type of "squad" amongst the "security guard" display at Peekskill.

"The individual daily struggles of the workers against capitalist exploitation in which you participated at various times on various occasions, are really not isolated and separate events, but constitute so many links in one chain - the chain of class struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, a struggle which aims at the overthrow of capitalist rule, the abolition of the capitalist system, and the building up of Socialism as the first stage of Communism, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet government."

Pamphlet: THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN ACTION by Alex Bittleman. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, New York City, April, 1932, p 6.

"Whatever fighting has been done in the last few years for higher wages and unemployment insurance and relief was done under a revolutionary leadership with the closest participation of the Communists, who are in favor of the overthrow of the capitalist system by force."

WHY COMMUNISM? By M. J. Olgin. Workers Library Publishers, 1933, p 71.

"... We go to the law-making institutions, not to tinker them up for the benefit of the capitalists, but to be a monkey wrench in their machinery, preventing them from working smoothly in behalf of the masters." IBID p 86.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the Communists are merely reckless. There is a design in their method. Once they possess themselves of the union in a strategic field like the Electrical Appliances industry, they are willing to wait, temporize and compromise in order to hold on and entrench themselves for the day when their strength in such a strategic industry will count for the most. The day may be one of a crisis in the country or a war in which the Communists want to defeat their own Government. When that day comes they will roll into action when and where it hurts most as they did during the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939-1941 when they used alleged grievances to pull the workers out on strike and kept them out for a long time in such strategic plants as the Allis-Chalmers plant in Wisconsin, the North American and Boeing Aviation plants in the Northwest, etc.

In the case of war against the U.S.S.R., the following quotation indicates the line of behavior prescribed for Communist controlled unions:

"The Trade Union Unity League fights militantly against the impending capitalist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The slogan, 'not a man, not a cent, not a gun for militarist war'...It seeks to mobilize the great masses of workers against war by organizing strikes, demonstrations, etc....In the event of a militarist war, it will mobilize the workers to struggle against American militarists and to transform this war into a class war against the capitalist system."

SOURCE: Trade Union Unity League, American Section of the Red International of Labor Unions - p. 28. Published by The Trade Union Unity League, New York, N.Y.

The above quotation is based on the instructions of the Red International of Labor Unions and has been the standing policy of the Communists throughout the years.

#### Instructions regarding Self-Defense Corps:

"Police terror during strikes and demonstrations have been greatly intensified recently. In most cases, however, the masses have not shown sufficient resistance. Such a situation must be overcome by organizing mass self defense corps on a factory basis, drawing into them both the employed as well as the unemployed workers. Their task must be to impart an organized character to the workers defense against the violence of the police, fascists and social-fascists during economic struggles, demonstrations and other movements of the workers to guard workers' meetings, organize pickets to fight scabbing. The self-defense corps must not be considered as special self-sufficing organizations - they are an auxiliary mass organization for the revolutionary trade union movement, and consequently must be directly led by the latter. The methods of the self-defense corps must be very flexible and assume various forms, depending upon the local conditions."

Article: THE TASKS OF THE T.U.U.L. (Resolution adopted by the 8th Session of the P.I.L.U., Central Council). Magazine LABOR UNITY, June, 1932. N.Y., p 9.

This is corroborated by Moscow:

"To organize the armed struggle it is necessary to form workers' detachments and an organization of the defensive and offensive of the working class."

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS - Third World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions. Pub. by Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, Ill., 1924. p 31.

At least one-third of the membership of the Communist Party in the United States, that is, about 25,000, are engaged in labor union activity. These members are amongst the most effective of their mass organizers and mass tacticians. They, together with their quasi-military guerilla groups or "goons", are the strong "spine" of the whole Communist movement.

The activities of all Communists in the labor unions throughout the world are coordinated by the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the successor to the Red International of Labor Unions; but the policies of the Red International of Labor Unions which have been initiated and approved by the High Command in Moscow still continue to guide all their activities.

Another contingent taking part in the Robeson Peekskill demonstration is the Labor Youth League, successor of the American Youth for Democracy, which in turn was the successor of the Young Communist League. According to the Daily Worker of September 9, 1949, the Labor Youth League held a special city-wide meeting to protest the violence suffered by them at the Peekskill demonstration. The meeting was held at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Avenue, N.Y., with Jack Stachel, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and one of the eleven convicted in Judge Medina's court, as the principal speaker.

#### COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Jack Stachel, former organization secretary of the Communist Party and of late, the head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Party, has been known [REDACTED] as one of the Party's ablest organization strategists. He was formerly a high official of the Young Communist League. He is well versed in the plans the Moscow High Command have for infiltration activities amongst the youth of this country. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] acquainted with these plans.

"The Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues, in close connection with the Party, and parallel with the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new imperialist wars, must carry on a special agitation, propaganda and education for the inevitability of the civil war, the necessity for military preparation and the arming of the proletariat, and the right to defend the proletarian revolution by force of arms, that is to say, the creation of the armed proletarian power, the Red Army."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Published by the E.C.I. of the Y.C.I. p 52. Printed in Sweden, 1924.

"WE MUST PREPARE OURSELVES FOR THE CIVIL WAR ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE."

Second Session, 17th of July, 1924. Special Congress Report Number, Y.C.I., REVIEW, Nov. 1924, p 3.

As you can see again, the main motive of this plan is a military one.

1. It aims at the ideological disintegration and demoralization of the American youth in general.
2. Infiltration of all youth organizations, colleges, universities and other strategic spots for the purpose of stimulating disaffection and disloyalty to our institutions and recruiting members and sympathizers for the Communist movement.
3. Utilizing the organization thus created for infiltration in the Armed Services, technological laboratories, etc.

Much of the ideological disintegration and demoralization work is done through secret organization amongst the teaching staff, infiltration of teachers' unions, the movies and through textbooks, etc. The activity amongst the teaching staffs is coordinated with the activities of the Young Communist League, now known as the Labor Youth League, by the leading committees of the Communist Party, the Party being the over-all coordinator of all such activities.

The military motive in this special youth set-up can be seen from their own documents:

"Particularly necessary is the military training and education of members of the Young Communist Leagues, under the direction of the Communist Party."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL p 102. Published by Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

The Communist Youth Organizations take in youngsters up to the age of 24, after which they are transferred into the Communist Party. A considerable part of the youth membership is recruited from the Communist controlled labor unions, where they become part of their "goon" squads, sports leagues, veterans groups, etc.

#### COMMUNIST VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

The Communists started their own veterans' organizations in the late '20s, known as the Workers' Ex-Service Men's Leagues, which by methods of infiltration nearly captured the great Bonus March in Washington, D.C. in 1932. It was their successful and concealed infiltration activities amongst the great mass of discontented veterans encamped in Washington at that time which caused the Government under President Hoover to disperse the Bonus Army as a menace to the security of the Capital. The leaders of the Communist wing of the Bonus March were John T. Pace and Emanuel Levine, both of them known to me personally.

In 1936, the Communist Party created the United States Veterans, Incorporated, into which the elements of the Workers' Ex-Service Men's League merged. After World War II, the Communists participated in the formation of the American Veterans'

Committee (A.V.C.). In the last two years they have been dislodged from the positions

of control at national level by liberals led by Michael Straight. The most recent effort at Communist-inspired veterans organization is the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, formed in Chicago, Illinois about two years ago. Then there is the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Communist Party recruitment for the Civil War in Spain.

It is alleged that twelve thousand Communists were in the Armed Services during World War II and that the activities of these Communist veterans were directed by a secret committee headed by J. Peters, recently deported from the United States.

According to available information, a Veterans' Commission of the Communist Party is now directing the activities of these veterans.

The great majority of Communist World War II veterans are not, at the present time, in any single veterans organization, but are spread all over inside the Communist controlled labor unions, sport clubs, and "koon" squads; others are busy infiltrating the regular veterans organizations like the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc.

A large number of these veterans were present in the "security guard" at Peekskill, as can be seen by the military behavior and leadership of this "guard". We have been unable to determine their exact number, but according to the Daily Worker:

"These men, most of them ex-GI's had a solid ring around the concert grounds before Robeson was scheduled to appear. By 8 a.m. more than 1,000 were present, about an hour later there were about 3,500."

DAILY WORKER, Sept. 12, 1949, p 4. Article: Why Unionists Guarded Concert - written by Bernard Burton.

From all available information it appears that the "security guard" does not exist as a formal organization and that the Communist Party at this time prefers to keep this force organized under various camouflages instead of within a formal organization.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Communist Party, in our opinion, organized the Peekskill demonstration as a deliberate provocation, similar to methods used by the Nazis when, prior to their seizure of power in Germany, they invaded Jewish or Catholic neighborhoods with their demonstrations and troops. The Communist Party, which advocates the destruction of democratic society, does not confine itself to mere advocacy of force and violence, but organizes that force in order to effectively carry out its program.

The Communist Party's intention to form and maintain a quasi-military organization is implicit in its continued efforts in the formation of such groups in the past and in the present, and in the declared intentions and directives of the Moscow

Masters. It is implicit in the actions of other larger Communist Parties, acting under the orders of the same Masters. The Communist Party's display of its "fangs" at Peekskill should be appraised in the light of the whole of its activity, past and present, and the Communist Party's program which calls for the formation of such organizations.

To make it clear once again:

"The overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS.  
RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.  
1928. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, N.Y.C. 2nd Edition, July, 1934, p. 10.

The fact is that the whole Communist Party is set up as a political warfare organization against the society and government under which we live.

"Stalin compares the Party to the general staff of an army. The Party is the general staff of the working class revolutionary army, leading the war against capitalism."

Pamphlet: THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN ACTION by Alex Bittleman. Pub. by Workers Library Publishers, N.Y.C., April 1932, p 23.

Stalin himself, describes the Communist Party as a warfare force with the top leadership as the General Staff and from there on down in the order of their importance he describes the other officials as Major Generals, Lieutenant Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, with the plain members of the Party being designated as Sergeants and Corporals, with Stalin, himself, as the top Generalissimo.

Stalin makes clear the meaning of dictatorship:

"The scientific concept of dictatorship means nothing more nor less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules... Dictatorship means - note this once and for all... unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law."

(Collected Works, Vol. XIV, pp. 441 and 436, Russian Edition)  
Pamphlet: PROBLEMS OF LENINISM by Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, N.Y., 1934, P. 25

When the Party creates such a quasi-military force under whatever camouflage, it is but a branch growing off the same tree; namely the Communist Party. The whole tree would have to be cut down to do away with it.

Under present legislation, this cannot be done and none of the highly camouflaged methods that the Communist Party uses to create such a force can be reached or even seriously interfered with under present laws.

The Communist Party is a type of enemy organization, operating inside our borders, which takes full advantage of our liberal Constitutional set-up and grows, as it were, while we sleep. It is an enemy, the precise likes of which we have not confronted before and which we must learn to fight by trial and error. As against the atom bomb

and the submersible submarine, entirely new methods and processes will have to be found to combat it. Our old methods, although helpful, are not likely to be able to cope with it.

N.B. The above material was confidentially supplied to the National Americanian Commission for its sole guidance and information. It is released to you by the N.A.C. with the distinct understanding that this is a privileged confidential document and in no way whatever commits either the N.A.C. or the American Legion. The material was prepared by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The N.A.C. makes no representations with respect to the material itself, charges made, or conclusions drawn which are the sole responsibility of the person who prepared the report who is favorably and long known to the [REDACTED] of the N.A.C.

←

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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

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

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

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters file 100-12304 Not Recorded, dated  
March 22, 1950.

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

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON  
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: May 9, 1950

On the night of May 6, 1950, Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] utilized the services of CNDI LA CD-63 for the purpose of recording a meeting sponsored at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles, by the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the IWO. The announcement in the "Daily Peoples World" for May 5, 1950, reported that the occasion would be the Twentieth Anniversary celebration of the JPFO, featuring PAUL ROBESON in a program of songs. It also indicated that he was slated to make a talk apart from the entertainment.

The chairman of the evening was listed as SADIE DOROSHKIN, Los Angeles Executive Secretary of the JPFO and the principal speaker as RUBEN SALTZMAN, General Secretary of the JPFO and National Vice President of the IWO.

The detailed information concerning this meeting will be set forth in separate reports emanating from this office. The Bureau, however, is being furnished at this time with a verbatim transcript of the comments made by PAUL ROBESON, being made at the conclusion of the musical portion of ROBESON's appearance. His off-hand comments are as follows:

"I just want to say before I go that I was happy when I came in, and it's wonderful to know and to experience this kind of spirit and courage in Los Angeles. I've been going across the country-----as you know, we hear a lot of nonsense, about fear et cetera, but I've seen the people from below, among the Negro people, among the Jewish people, among the foreign born, among the workers who are saying that we are going to have peace in our time, we're gonna have a decent world for our children whoever they may be, whether they be black or white. I've seen those kind of people and they aren't frightened, they aren't stepping back any more than you are stepping back here tonight, and I wanta thank you for this feeling of courage that you give to me, and I am sure to those others who come into your midst. It's nice to know, going about this America, fighting as the song said, for our kind of America, not a reactionary America but an America of the people - that kind of an America that I said before that I love to the depth of my being, but the other America, the fascist

Air Mail

ETW:DAK

100-25861

cc: New York

100-30398

INDEXED - 19

RECORDED - 19

EX-125

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/50 BY SP-5 RJS

COPIES DESTROYED 4-3-74

America, I will fight against it with every fiber....."

(At this point, ROBESON was building up considerable emotion and reached almost a point of frenzy when he concluded this last sentence, part of which was blurred out because of the applause and reaction of the audience joining in the spirit of his remarks.)

ROBESON continued, "Though I would tell you of the strength that I find going about this America of ours and to remind you that all around the world today the people are on the march. We are winning this struggle and nothing can set the world back but upon our shoulders in this great land is a very very deep responsibility, a responsibility to live up to what we must in our times, and it isn't easy. It means working everyday, broadening this base among millions and millions of Americans who wait to hear our message, having the courage to stand and fight and never give ground. That is our responsibility which we must carry on to our children yet unborn. I am sure that those responsibilities we shall accept. That battle we can win and I wanta thank you for being part of that vanguard in this great historic time."

It may be noted that the songs rendered by ROBESON were not only in English but also some in Russian and others in Jewish.

These records will be made an exhibit in the Los Angeles Office.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD-36	
Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APRIL 11, 1950

WASHINGTON FROM WASH FIELD

11

3p

DIRECTOR

URGENT

CPUSA, IS-C. REOURTEL THIS DATE RE SODAC, IS-R. [REDACTED] ADVISES, b1  
PAUL ROBESON TO BE AT HOME OF MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM J. REYS, FOUR EIGHT SIX  
THREE POTOMAC AVE., NW., FOR A RECEPTION AT EIGHT THIRTY PM APRIL TWELVE,  
FIFTY. SELECTED PERSONS BEING INVITED BY FORMAL INVITATION TO MEET HIM  
THERE. FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

HOTTEL

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-5 RJS/KIM  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/9/90

JEH:MAH

100-421

CC: New York (Mail)  
Baltimore (Mail)

RECORDED - 132

INDEXED - 132

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI.

DATE: 5/15/50

FROM : SAC, New York.

SUBJECT: PAUL LEROY ROBESON,  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.  
(Bufile 100-12304)

ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

Transmitted herewith are handwriting specimens of the subject which were obtained from the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C. and which the Bureau is requested to place in the Communist Key Figure handwriting file maintained by the Bureau.

Encl. (2)

cc: NY 100-96900

2 ENCL.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
154MAT:DJG  
100-25857

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 12/9/60

SP5 RJG/cum

RECORDED - 126

100-12304-194

MAY 16 1950

14 B I

MAY 11 1950

RECEIVED

55 MAY 26 1950

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU

RE: NY 100-25857

ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

January 24, 1949

Passport Division  
Department of State  
630 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have been booked for a series of concert engagements in Europe during February, March, April and May, in England, Eire, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and all the Scandinavian countries. For this reason I am requesting an extension of my attached passport. These concerts have been booked by my managers, Columbia Artists Management, Inc., 113 West 57th Street, New York.

I would appreciate your attention to this request so that I may obtain the required visas for the countries listed.

RESTRICTION

With thanks,

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

This Passport, if properly vised, is valid for travel in any country except Germany, Austria, Trieste, the main islands of Sicily or China.

Before travel to any of the above named places, the passport must be appropriate in the United States. It is granted through the Department of State. It is valid for travel abroad, except for Japan and through an American Consular

THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID  
FOR TRAVEL TO YUGOSLAVIA.

187

and that I am domiciled in the United States my permanent residence being at 321 W. 138 St.  
in the State of New York, where I follow the occupation of Actor & Student.  
My last passport was obtained from none, on \_\_\_\_\_  
and was \_\_\_\_\_ (Disposition of passport.)  
I am about to go abroad temporarily; and I  
intend to return to the United States within 3 {months} with the purpose of residing and per-  
forming the duties of citizenship therein; and I desire a passport for use in visiting the countries  
hereinafter named for the following purpose:

England  
(Name of country.)

Shakespeare  
(Object of visit.)

(Name of country.)

(Object of visit.)

(Name of country.)

(Object of visit.)

I intend to leave the United States from the port of New York  
sailing on board the Celtic on July 1, 1922  
(Port of departure.) (Date of departure.)

### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States  
against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and  
that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help me God.

Paul Henry Rubens  
(Signature of applicant.)

Sworn to before me this \_\_\_\_\_ day

of June 22 1922  
James H. L.  
Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_ Court of \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 22 1922

15176

\* A person born in the United States should submit a birth or baptismal certificate with his application, or if the birth was  
not recorded, affidavits from the attending physician, parents, or other person having sufficient knowledge to be able to testify  
as to the place and date of the applicant's birth.  
† If the applicant's father was born in this country, lines should be drawn through the blanks in brackets.  
[OVER.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
PASSPORT APPLICATION

FORM FOR NATIVE CITIZEN  
(Edition of 1947)

58303

MAY 2 - 1947

OF THE STATE OF AMERICA

Return and attach PART TWO if applicant of  
nationality are to be included in passport

DATE OF

COUNTY OF

Paul Robeson

a Citizen of the United States

do hereby apply to the Department of State, at Washington, for a passport. I solemnly swear that I was born at  
Paterson, Mercer New Jersey April 9, 1898

I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at  
Englewood Englewood State of Ohio

I have resided outside the United States as follows:

England from 1925 to 1937

My father William D. Robeson was born at Paterson, New Jersey

on 1843 and is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

My father emigrated to the United States on or about 1872 and resided

years continuously in the United States from 1872 to 1872 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United

States before the Court of Paterson, New Jersey

at Paterson, New Jersey (Month and day) 1872

My mother Lucretia Rustel was born at Paterson, New Jersey

on 1855 and is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

My mother emigrated to the United States on or about 1872 and resided

years continuously in the United States from 1872 to 1872 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United

States before the Court of Paterson, New Jersey

at Paterson, New Jersey (Month and day) 1872

I never married. last married on none

who was born at Paterson, New Jersey and who is now residing at Paterson, New Jersey

Our marriage has not been terminated. (was terminated by (death) (divorce) on none (Date of death or divorce)

My maiden name was Lucretia Rustel and

I was not previously married. (was previously married to none (Full name of former husband)

on none at Paterson, New Jersey (Month and day) 1872 who was born

at Paterson, New Jersey and the marriage was terminated by death (divorce) on none

(If reported more than twice, attach facts in a supplemental statement)

My husband (former husband) emigrated to the United States on 1872

and the father William D. Robeson was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the

Court of Paterson, New Jersey at Paterson, New Jersey (Month, day, and year) 1872

as shown by the Certificate of Naturalization submitted herewith (previously submitted)

THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL IN ANY COUNTRY OUTSIDE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

PAYMENT FEE RECEIVED  
MAY 29 1947

Passport was obtained from Washington on about July 31, '40  
and herewith for cancellation on return to U.S. on about Sept 8, '40  
I intend to leave the United States from the port of Newark & Miami, Fla.  
on May 24, 1947 on board the TI  
leaving May 22  
I intend to visit the following countries for the purposes indicated:  
Panama, C.R. have. Concerts  
and I intend to return to the United States within 1 month months.

I request that my passport be mailed to the following address:

Name PAUL ROBESON  
Number and street 22 East 89th St.  
City, zone, and State 40th Geo - New York City

DESCRIPTION AND PHOTOGRAPH OF APPLICANT

Height 6 feet, 3 inches

Hair Black

Eyes Brown

Distinguishing marks or features Scars over each eye  
(Give any marks or scars on hands or feet)

by which applicant is to be known:

Place of birth Frederick, New Jersey

Date of birth April 9, 1895

Occupation Concert artist & actor



I solemnly swear that the statements made on both sides of this application are true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

I have not been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against, the United States.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25 day of May, 1947

at New York City

Notary of the State of New York

AFFIDAVIT OF IDENTIFYING WITNESS

I, the undersigned, solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States; that I reside at the address written below my signature hereto affixed; that I know the applicant who executed the affidavit heretofore set forth to be a citizen of the United States; that the statements made in the applicant's affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief; further, I solemnly swear that I have known the applicant personally for 15 years.

If witness has been issued a passport, give number if known and date of expiration date of issue.

No. 101 Date of issue 1947

No larger or other pass will be accepted as witness in a passport application if he has received or expects to receive a fee for his services in connection with the issuance of the application or obtaining the passport.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25 day of May, 1947

at New York City

Notary of the State of New York

Court of New York City

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Subject Service No. 97-2014  
Approval expires June 30, 1949.

## PASSPORT RENEWAL APPLICATION

in conformity with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State, application is hereby made for a renewal of the passport indicated.

Renewal Series No.

13652

Passport No.

58303

Issued on

May 8, 1947

Issued at

Washington, D. C.

Name

Paul Robinson

Place of birth

Princeton, N. J.

Date of birth

April 4, 1898

THIS SECTION MUST BE FILLED IN BY ALL PERSONS WHO HAVE ACQUIRED CITIZENSHIP THROUGH MARRIAGE OR NATURALIZATION AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Since my present passport was issued I have been outside of the United States at the following places for the periods stated:

From	To

The purposes of my visits to the foregoing countries were as follows (give reason or reasons for stay in each country named):

MAILING ADDRESS  
(Print complete address plainly)

% ROBERT ROCKMURE  
10 EAST 40 ST.  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

I ☒ have not been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial or deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against, the United States.

Paul Robinson  
(Signature of applicant)

(DO NOT USE THIS SPACE)

Application and passport submitted for Department's consideration

by

(Initials of agency)

Agency, on

(Date)

Renewed by

(Initials of agency)

Agency, on

JAN 25 1949

For (one) year from (today's date)

Until the

(date of expiration)

January 1951

\$5.00 fee received by

(Signature)

(attached hereto)  
(deposited by agency)

(Do not use this space)

11785

JAN 27 1949

ROBINSON  
PAUL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 13 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO  
DIRECTOR, FBI

5-13-50

7-29 PM PDST

KMH

URGENT

PAUL ROBESON, SECURITY MATTER - C REMYTEL THIS DATE. ROBESON ADDRESSED CROWD IN MARIN CITY WITHOUT INCIDENT.

KIMBALL

END AND ACK PLS

WA-7A

10-31 PM OK FBI WA HK

DIX

2- PLS ROLL BACK FOR ACK

57 MAY 23 1950

RECORDED - 38 100-12304-195  
MAY 17 1950

EX-6

5-7-50

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP-5 RSB/CIM

192

Mr Ladd  
Mr Belmont  
Mr Clegg  
Mr Glavin  
Mr Nichols  
Mr Rosen  
Mr Tracy  
Mr Harbo  
Mr Belmont  
Mr Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 18 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO

5-13-50

4-23 PM PDST

DIRECTOR, FBI

PAUL ROBESON, SECURITY MATTER - C. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REPORTED AT THREE FIFTEEN PM, PDST, THIS DATE, THAT PAUL ROBESON WAS EXPECTED TO GIVE A SPEECH IN MARIN CITY SOMETIME AFTER FIVE THIRTY PM THIS AFTERNOON. MARIN CITY IS WAR TIME HOUSING DEVELOPMENT BUILT TO HOUSE WORKERS AT DEFUNCT MARINSHIP SHIPYARDS. IT IS NOW POPULATED BY APPROXIMATELY SIX THOUSAND PEOPLE OF THE WORKING CLASS, ABOUT HALF OF WHOM ARE NEGROES. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THIS MORNING POSTERS WERE PLACED IN MARIN CITY ANNOUNCING VISIT OF ROBESON AND INDICATING HE WOULD GIVE SPEECH IN MARIN CITY. [REDACTED] ADVISES THAT SOME ANTI-COMMUNIST NEGROES, IDENTITY AND NUMBER UNKNOWN, MAY BE PLANNING ANTI-ROBESON DEMONSTRATION. VARIOUS CI-S, SF, HAVE ADVISED PROBABILITY ROBESON WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY QUOTE HONOR GUARD UNQUOTE OF ONE HUNDRED OR MORE ALLEGEDLY PRO-COMMUNIST MEMBERS WATERFRONT UNION DESCRIBED BY CP STATE HEAD-QUARTERS, SF, AS QUOTE GOON SQUAD UNQUOTE AND THEREFORE, THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE AT MARIN CITY THIS EVENING. ONI, G-2, OSI LOCALLY ADVISED. NO ACTION BEING TAKEN BY THIS OFFICE AND BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

RECORDED - 75/100-12304-196  
MAY 17 1950

56 MAY 23 1950

END AND ACK-PLS

AAU 7-27 PM OK FBI WA HK

DISC P

5-12-50  
L B F  
KIMBALL  
REC'D BELL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/19/80 BY SP-5 RSC/KIM

193

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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

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

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

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

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

FBI Headquarters File 100-12304-197

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

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: May 18, 1950

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: PAUL ROBESON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Mr. Tolson	/
Mr. Ladd	/
Mr. Clegg	/
Mr. Glavin	/
Mr. Nichols	/
Mr. Rosen	/
Mr. Tracy	/
Mr. Harbo	/
Mr. Belmont	/
Mr. Mohr	/
Tele. Room	/
Mr. Nease	/
Miss Gandy	/

On May 18, 1950, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] "Chicago Defender" newspaper, was contacted by Special Agent [REDACTED] in the course of a security investigation of [REDACTED]

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

At this time, [REDACTED] advised that about three weeks ago he heard a rumor was circulating amongst the negro people in the Chicago area that PAUL ROBESON was not the Communist he appeared to be, but was actually working for the FBI. [REDACTED] further advised at this time that he contemplated a trip to Washington, D. C. next week and he intended to see Mr. LOUIS NICHOLS, Assistant Director, FBI and inform him of this rumor.

[REDACTED], on being asked the identity of the person who had informed him of this rumor, stated he did not recall but he would determine who the person was and the source of this rumor, and make this information available to the FBI.

It is to be noted that [REDACTED] has in the past furnished information to the FBI and has always expressed a cooperative attitude in dealing with Agents of the FBI.

CB:LL  
100-0

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100-12304-178

EX-3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RJB/ML

58 JUN 7 1950

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SAC, New Haven

June 8, 1950

Director, FBI

MRS. PAUL ROBESON, wa.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

105-11950-7  
Attached for your information is a photostatic copy of a memorandum dated 3-28-50, submitted to the San Francisco Office by [REDACTED]

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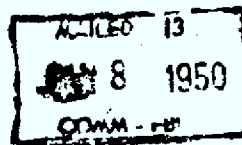
Attachment

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DATE 12/9/80 BY SP5 RSC/km/y (2)

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MEMORANDUM:

San Francisco, California  
March 28 1950

Yesterday, a Mr. William F. Kerner (Residence 2114 Baker Street, San Francisco, Telephone: Fillmore 6-1739) telephoned saying he represented the Democratic Committee for Far Eastern Policy, and that Mr. Paul Robeson (Elsie Robeson) was now in San Francisco having just returned from China, and wanted very much to meet me. My secretary advised Mr. Kerner I was out of town but expected to return today and Mr. Kerner asked to hear from me as soon as possible with reference to an appointment.

This morning, through my secretary, I advised Mr. Kerner that I would be glad to meet Mrs. Robeson at any time, any place. This resulted in both Mr. Kerner and Mrs. Robeson calling on me in my office, at 11:00 a.m. and remaining until 12:15.

Mrs. Robeson told me she had been in Peiping late December and early January, where she had attended a meeting of a conference of some 500 women, called by the Chinese Communists. Women representatives from all parts of the world attended this meeting, although the greater number were Chinese. She mentioned that Chou en-lai had addressed them for over five hours at one session and had told them of the Government's plans, etc.

Mrs. Robeson had reached China, coming from Russia via the Trans-Siberia Railway and, before going home, had travelled by rail to Hanking and Shanghai, and then returned the same route — Trans-Siberian Railway — through Russia.

She had heard that I had advocated recognition of the Chinese Communists; and urged that I head a delegation of American businessmen, to go to China and discuss the matter of recognition with the heads of the Chinese Government,

San Francisco, California  
MEMORANDUM March 28 1950

who, she assured me, really want trade channels between the United States and China opened up; and who, she assured me, want recognition to facilitate trade development — the Communists would welcome investment of private capital, etc.

I said, in the light of what had happened since last September — the Communists' treatment of Consul General Fero and others, culminating in the demand made at Peiping to surrender part of our Consul General's compound — it seemed evident that the Communists did not want U.S. recognition. I could not understand, if they did want it, why they took the action they did, because they must have known such action would only intensify the feeling against recognition in Congress and with the American public.

Mrs. Robeson seemed to agree that was so; but still felt the Communists want U.S. recognition.

I emphasized I was not for recognition so much from a business angle as I was from my wish to keep Americans in China, whether they were businessmen, medical missionaries, teachers, or what not, if only to offset Moscow influence and teaching.

Then followed a general discussion on the Moscow type of government. I emphasized Russia's arbitrary actions in the United Nations — use of veto, extravagant, insulting statements — had, I thought, done more to turn American public feeling against Russia than anything else. Her unwillingness to let her nationals travel freely abroad, as well as restrictions she placed on Americans entering Russia, made it difficult for the peoples of the two countries to understand each other. From all accounts, Russia allowed her citizens to hear or read only what the Politburo wanted them to hear and read. Foreign correspondents were allowed little freedom.

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Mrs. Robeson said, twenty years ago, Russia encouraged American travel to Russia through the IMOWRIFT Bureau etc.; but, when she found so many Americans not reporting the truth, she had to drop down the lid.

Mrs. Robeson seemed to think that Marshall Plan aid furnished western European countries carried restrictions — mentioned U.S. propaganda in Italy before the elections there two years ago, Italy didn't get American aid unless she voted right etc.

While Mrs. Robeson volunteered the statement she is not a Communist, she defended Moscow policies — no discrimination against negroes etc. while here in the U.S., especially in the South, plenty of discrimination.

I mentioned refusal of Chinese Communists to permit foreign correspondents to file dispatches; again countered by the statement that, if only correspondents told the truth, there would be no restrictions.

However, she seemed certain that if I wanted to go to China with a group of American businessmen to learn the truth, it could be arranged; asked when I wanted to go, to which I replied "Summer would be the best time — but don't take that as a commitment!"

Mrs. Robeson is a rather pleasing and attractive person, a persuasive person, apparently part white. She feels she can understand the Chinese Communists; they have been exploited just as the negroes have been exploited; and the fact that no race discrimination is practiced in Russia is one thing which appeals to her most.

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March 29, 1950

Thinking of our talk overnight, I am pretty well convinced that Mrs. Robeson, even if not a Communist, certainly is a party-line follower. She plays up all the good points of Communism and refuses to see what she must know are the bad points.

Apparently unwilling to concede that the standards of living and democracy in this country are, relatively speaking, further advanced in the U.S. than in other countries she has visited.

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