

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

SEP 24 1964

W RADIO

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b7c
[REDACTED]

FBI PORTLAND
7-01 PM PDST DEFERRED 9-24-64 JAF
TO DIRECTOR
FROM PORTLAND 157-227 1P

W
ROY WILKINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NAACP. RACIAL MATTERS.
FOR INFO BUREAU, PORTLAND LEARNED THIS DATE FROM A RACIAL
LIAISON CONTACT THAT CAPTIONED INDIVIDUAL ARRIVED TODAY, PORTLAND,
FOR THREE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS BEFORE CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL
GROUPS AND RESIDING HILTON HOTEL, PORTLAND. THE MULTNOMAH
COUNTY SHERIFF-S OFFICE IS AFFORDING WILKINS PROTECTION THROUGH
A CAR AND DRIVER. WILKINS LEAVING PORTLAND SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX
NEXT BY PLANE FOR SEATTLE. PLANS AT SEATTLE UNKNOWN. NO FURTHER
PERTINENT INFORMATION KNOWN.

AIR MAIL COPY TO SEATTLE.

END
WA SXC
FBI WASH DC

REC-40

b7c
62-78270-14A
[REDACTED]

SEP 30 1964

352
64 OCT 5 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-28-79 BY *dia*
112184 SP6BJA/das 243304

November 30, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-28-79 BY bja

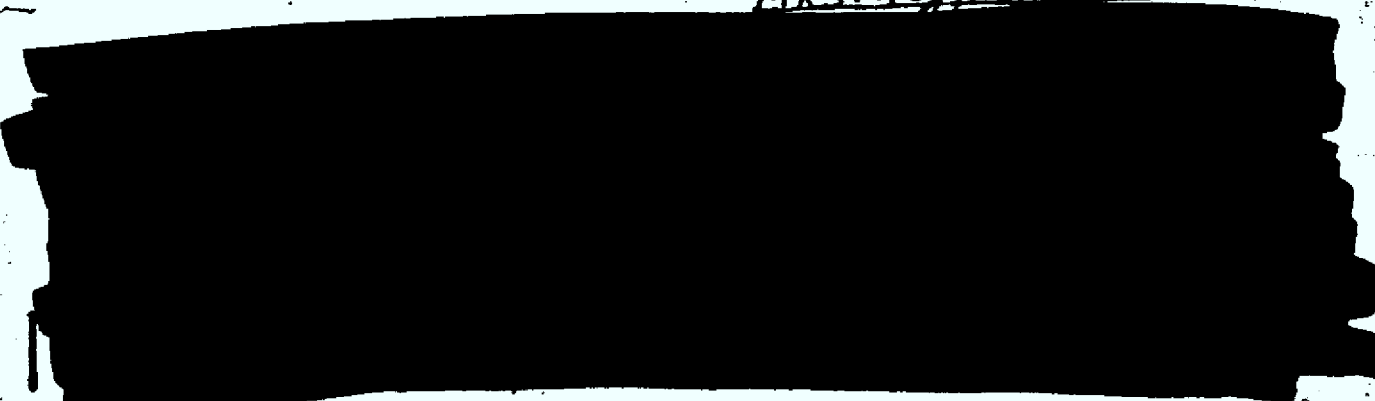
7/2/84

SP6BIA bms
243,304

My dear Mr. President:

On the afternoon of November 27, 1964, Ray Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at his request, made a hurried trip from New York to speak with Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach about a matter which he indicated concerned him greatly. The following is a resume of the information furnished by Wilkins.

MRS. ROY WILKINS b7D



- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Evans
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Mr. Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

SECRET

REC-117

NOV 30 5 10 PM '64

62-782-10

DEC 16 1964

CONTINUED - OVER

11-3171

The President

[REDACTED]

U.S. [REDACTED]
He stated that "Down with the Proletariat" was becoming the battlecry of militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama and the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He felt Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe the FBI could do nothing right and as a result solutions by the FBI of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

U.S.
Wilkins admitted that he had criticized me unjustly. He said he has a difficult time controlling his Board of Directors, consisting of 32 members, since King is a member of this Board. He stated "we're hurting" and that something must be done.

Wilkins stated he will be lecturing in California most of this week and that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, [REDACTED]

Respectfully submitted,

NOTE: Based on DeLoach to Mohr memo, dated 11-27-64 entitled "Roy Wilkins Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Appointment 11/27/64, FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C."

RA

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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

TO

Mr. Mohr *JM*

DATE: November 27, 1964

FROM

C. D. DeLoach

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT

ROY WILKINS
 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
 OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)
 APPOINTMENT 11/27/64
 FBI HEADQUARTERS
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2-28-79 BY b, w
 712184 SPL/BJA/TMS 2433

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p. m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference to us and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p. m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know.

[REDACTED SECTION]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Jones

Enclosure
 11-30-64

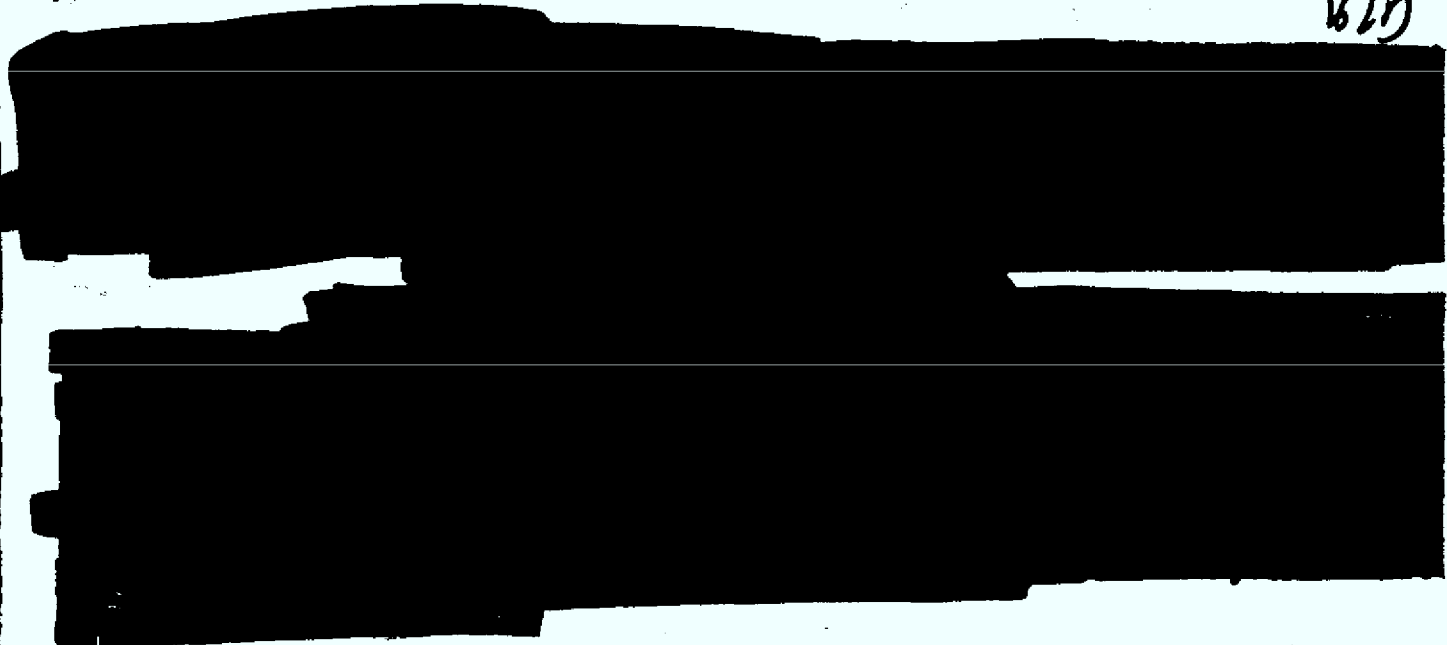
COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

CONTINUED-OVER

CREATE FILE

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

620



Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not seeing me as an emissary. I stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were other within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not expose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being initiated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to hold out the feat of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. I told him my point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King, but certain highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. I told Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that

↗ CONTINUED-OVER ↘

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

it to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disastrous, particularly to the Negro movement and that he hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

~~P~~

~~_____~~ b7c
G.R.
A

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. I stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

278 [REDACTED] Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 32-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win in any battle with the FBI. [REDACTED] He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is convinced that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him; however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give it.



FBI

Date: 3/11/65

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

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI

Att.: Civil Rights Section
General Investigative Division

From: SAC, CINCINNATI (157-New) (P)

Subject: ROY WILKINS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF NAACP

BOMBING MATTERS - THREATS RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum.

One copy is being disseminated locally to the 109th
INTC Group, Dayton, Ohio, and two copies to U.S. Secret
Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Agency G-2, ONL, OSL, CHD

Date Forw. MAR 1-5 1965

How Forw. 7-5

By Mh-mil

1 Room 828 RB

2 Detroit

62-78270-17

12 MAR 12 1965

Bureau (Enclosures 8) ENCLOSURE

2 Cincinnati (1 - 100-8230)
(1 - 157-New)

EX-114

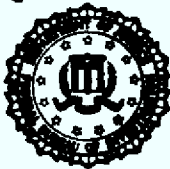
SUB CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

70 MAR 19 1965

DATE 3-28-79 BY [Signature]
7/2/94 SP-6 JAL/om 243,304



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio

March 11, 1965

Re: ROY WILKINS,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NAACP

The Journal Herald, a daily morning newspaper of general circulation published in Dayton, Ohio, published the following article on page 3 of the final edition on March 10, 1965. The article under caption "Roy Wilkins Speaks in Dayton Friday" states as follows:

"Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), will speak here Friday at 7 p.m. at Tabernacle Baptist church.

"He will be the guest of the local NAACP chapter at a Freedom Fund dinner. The function is designed to raise money for the national organization."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-28-79 BY b.c.
7/2/84 SP6/JA/oms
243,304

ENCLOSURE

62-78270-17

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

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

Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3-16-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: GENERAL WALLACE MARTIN GREENE, JR.
ROY WILKINS
RE GRIDIRON CLUB DINNER
3-20-65

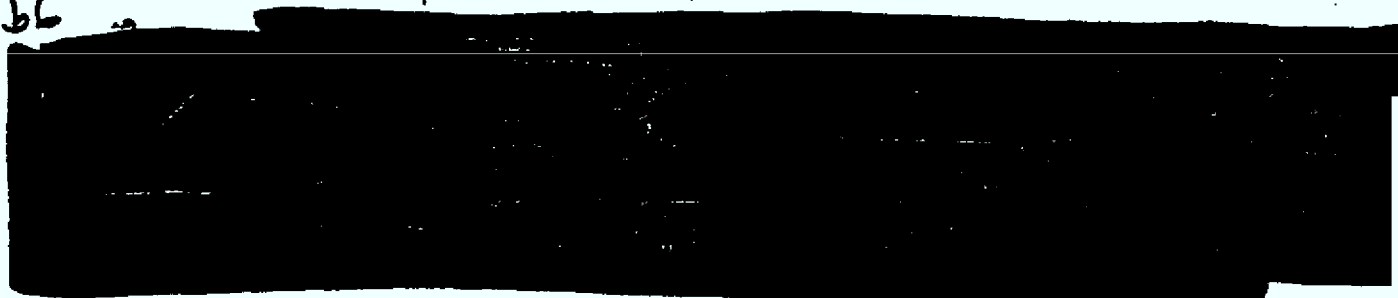
SYNOPSIS:

BACKGROUND:

7/24/84
Classified by SP6BJA/MS
Declassify on: OADR
Class. auth. 195-16243

The Director will be sitting between General Wallace Martin Greene, Marine Corps Commandant, and Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at the Gridiron Club on 3-20-65. Detailed information regarding these individuals follows the synopsis.

General Wallace Martin Greene, Jr.:



Roy Wilkins:

Wilkins associated with NAACP since 1931, became Executive Secretary in 1955 (title changed to Executive Director). Numerous references to Wilkins in Bufile 100-368270-1000. In 1930's and early 1940's Wilkins tended to adhere to Communist Party (CP) line and was associated with communist front organizations. Since then he has been strongly anti-communist and has done everything possible to prevent communist infiltration of NAACP. Since about 1950 the communists have been critical of Wilkins and efforts were made by CP to oust him. Wilkins has urged Negroes to fight for equal rights.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes

162-78270-
NOT RECORDED
176 MAR 24 1965

Continued--Over

56 MAR 29 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-6-77 BY 611

CRIME RECORDS
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

M. A. Jones to DeLoach
RE: GENERAL WALLACE MARTIN GREENE, JR.
ROY WILKINS

but has not advocated violence or radical measures. Martin Luther King, Jr., James Forman and some Board Members of the NAACP feel he is not as aggressive civil rights movement as he should be. Indications dissident NAACP members may attempt to remove him next convention. Wilkins opposed to irresponsible demonstration. The Director has noted "Very well stated" regarding Wilkins public comments in June 1964, regarding demonstrations. He has participated to some degree in racial imbalance situation in New York public schools. In radio interview on 8-9-64 Wilkins urged civilian review board to handle police matters following Harlem riots. NAACP officers and very brief background re NAACP set forth in details.

Wilkins and five other civil rights leaders met President 11-25-64 and expressed concern over Director's published remarks about Martin Luther King. Several were demanding dismissal of Director; however, Wilkins did not, according to published accounts. On CBS-TV, "Face The Nation," Wilkins indicated remarks did not warrant dismissal and referred to Director as "good public servant" with a "long and distinguished career" who is "simply wrong in this." You (Mr. DeLoach) have several cordial meetings with Wilkins. He contacted you on 11-27-64, admitted he criticized Director unjustly.

You had met with Wilkins on 2-24-60 after he had requested interview with Director for latter part of February, 1960. He expressed appreciation for cooperation between Bureau and NAACP; revealed concern about possibility of communists in the NAACP. On 8-12-64 you again met with him in New York City. Wilkins pleased with Director's personal trip to Mississippi; expressed displeasure with Negro civil rights leaders including Martin Luther King, Jr.; James Forman (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). He considers Mississippi Summer Project as failure in view of unruly undisciplined individuals who went to Mississippi.

Informant advised in 2-65 of possible efforts for a meeting between El Muhammad, head of Nation of Islam; James Forman and Roy Wilkins to show Negro unity. Wilkins arrested 12-11-64 for parading without permit and 6-1-63 for violation of Mississippi Code (not further described)--no disposition for either case.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the Director's information.

DETAILS FOLLOW ON NEXT PAGE

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DETAILS

BACKGROUND:

In connection with the Director's attendance at the Gridiron Club on March 20, 1965, the Director is to be seated between General Wallace Martin Greene, Jr., Marine Corps Commandant, and Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). There follows detailed information regarding General Greene and Roy Wilkins.

WALLACE MARTIN GREENE, JR.

Biographical Data:

General Greene, the 23rd Commandant of the U. S. Marine Corps, has been a Marine officer since 1930. He assumed his present duties and was promoted to his current rank on 1-1-64. Greene was born 12-27-07 at Waterbury, Vermont, attended public schools in Burlington, Vermont, and spent a year at the University of Vermont before entering the United States Naval Academy where he graduated 6-5-30 and received a commission as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Marines. His assignments have been many and varied, having served aboard ship and in foreign countries, as well as in the United States.

He was commended for performance of duties during the Sino-Japanese hostilities during 1937 and 1938. For his outstanding service as Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 Tactical Group, during the planning and effecting of the Marshall Islands invasion, Greene, then a Lieutenant Colonel, was awarded the First Legion of Merit with Combat "V." For his outstanding services prior to and during the combat on Saipan and Tinian, he earned a second Legion of Merit. He was promoted rapidly through the ranks and graduated from the National War College in Washington in June, 1953, the following month becoming Staff Special Assistant to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for National Security Council Affairs. He became a Brigadier General on 9-1-55. In June, 1957, he became Commanding General of the Marine Corps Base at Camp Lejeune. While serving as Assistant Chief of Staff at Headquarters Marine Corps in 1958, he was promoted to Major General, subsequently, becoming Deputy Chief of Staff (Plans). On 1-1-60 he was designated Chief of Staff of the Marine Corps with the rank of Lieutenant General.

The late President Kennedy nominated General Greene, on 9-24-63, to be the 23rd Commandant of the Marine Corps for a four-year term, which was confirmed; and, when he assumed that command, 1-1-64, he was promoted to a full General (four-star).

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General Greene and his wife, the former Vaughan H. Emory of Fairacres, Annapolis, Maryland, live (March, 1964) in the historic Commandant House in Southeast Washington. This has been the residence of every Commandant of the Marine Corps since 1805 and is probably the oldest public building in continuous use in the Nation's Capital. They have a daughter, Vaughan; and a son, Marine Captain Wallace M. Greene III. His parents are deceased.

Information In Bufiles:

b6

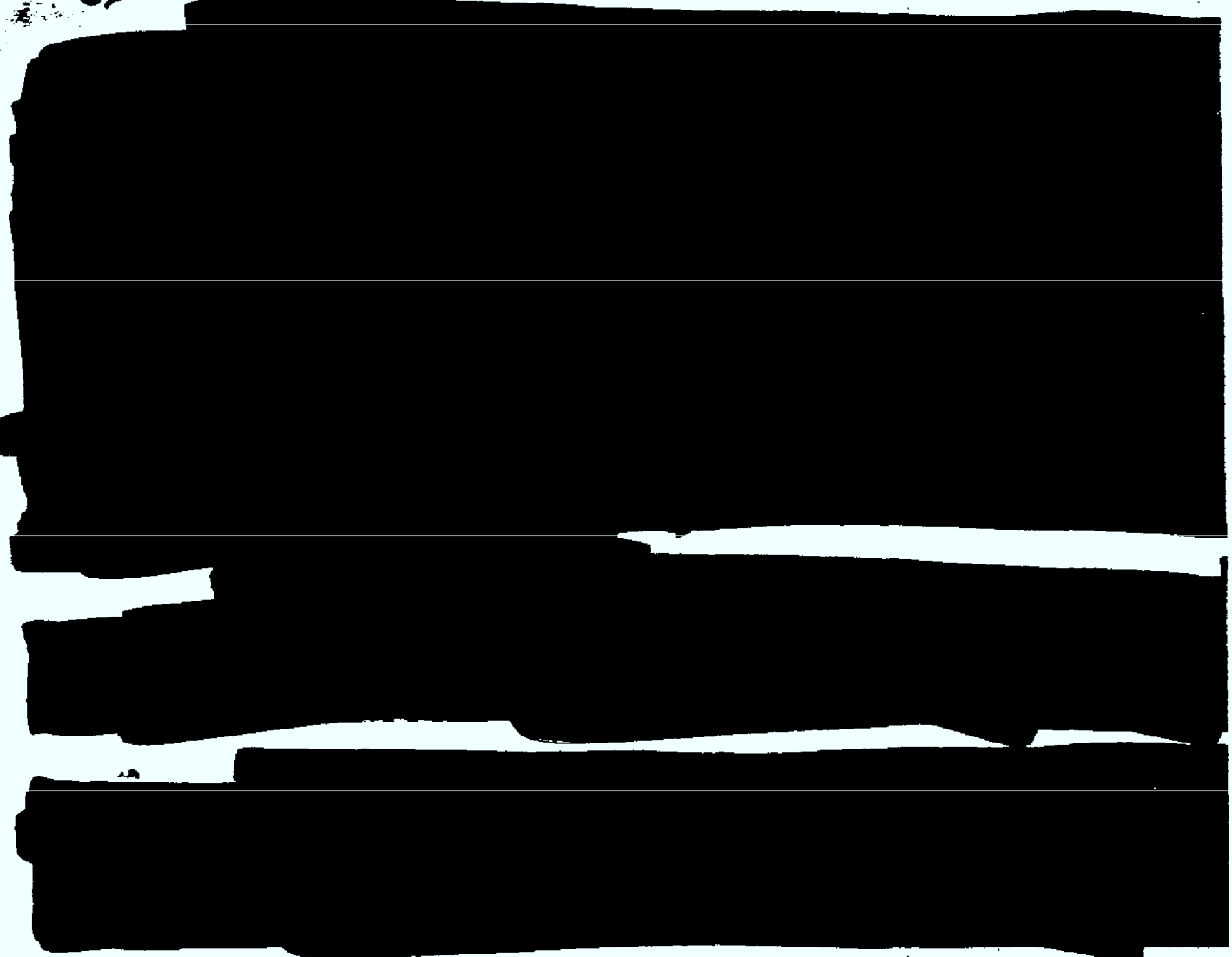
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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66



ROY WILKINS:

Wilkins has not been investigated by this Bureau; however, there are over 700 references in our files to him. Jones to DeLoach memo of 4-13-55 set for detailed data from Bufiles regarding Wilkins for the Director's information. There is set forth below data from this memorandum and other pertinent items in Bufiles since that time.

Biographical Data:

Roy Wilkins was born 8-30-01 at St. Louis, Missouri. He received his A. B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1923 and married Aminda Bacee on 9-15-29. From 1923 to 1931 he was Managing Editor of the "Kansas City Call" newspaper. He became associated with the NAACP as an Assistant Secretary in 1931.

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which position he held until 1949 when he became Acting Secretary. In 1950 he became Administrator and, since April, 1955, has been Executive Secretary of the NAACP. He was editor of "Crisis" magazine, a monthly official NAACP organ, from 1934 to 1949. According to "Who's Who in America" his home address is 147-15 Village Road, Jamaica, New York, and his office is located at 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Connections with Communist Infiltrated or Dominated Organizations:

Over the years, due to Wilkins' extremely active participation in the civil rights movement, he has associated with or come into contact with individuals connected with the Communist Party (CP). There is no definite indication he has ever been a member of the CP, but in 1939 a source made such an allegation. In his early years (1930's and early 1940's) it appeared that he was adhering to the CP line but since the early 1940's Wilkins has evidenced a very strong and firm anticommunist stand and has given every indication of steering the NAACP away from any communist infiltration or influence. More details on this will be set forth later.

Included among some of the communist influenced organizations he associated with are the following: in September, 1936, a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association (communist influenced); in 1937, active in the Scottsboro Defense Committee; in 1937, associated with the Fourth National Congress Against War and Fascism, and described as a "headliner" at the Convention in 1937 of the American League Against War and Fascism; in 1939, active in the Workers Alliance (communist influenced) according to "Daily Worker"; in 1939, active in Negro Peoples Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (communist controlled); allegedly active in the American League for Peace and Democracy; in 1944, listed as speaker before Modern Trend Progressive Youth Group of New York City (group had speakers of divergent views including CP and Socialist Workers Party members); in 1944, a scheduled speaker before a meeting of the National Workers Order (some of the other speakers scheduled either known or reliably reported communists). Some of the foregoing organizations have been cited by either the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Department of Justice pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The 12-8-40 issue of the "Daily Worker" revealed that American Civil Liberties Union charged that Westchester County Police permitted the assaults on the Paul Robeson concert near Peekskill, New York. Among those who signed the report was Roy Wilkins as Acting Secretary of the NAACP.

In November, 1943, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Negro communist functionary, was elected on the Communist Party ticket to the New York City Council. The "Daily Worker" for November 23, 1943, carried an article to the effect that

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Wilkins, in his column, "The Watch Tower," in the "New York Amsterdam News," made the following statements after condemning the "New York World Telegram" on publishing articles on how communists used racial and religious issues to win place in the election:

"....Moreover, the Communist appeals were not vicious or based on hatred, whereas the Governorship battle was the slimiest waged here in many a decade....As our system of government is so weak that two Communists out of a council of 17 members constitute danger, then we had better be looking into our foundations....As a matter of fact, the presence of two declared Communists in our council probably will benefit everyone. Communists stimulate activity. They stimulate progressive measures more often than they voice the aspirations of the plain people, even though these plain people would not go so far as to espouse Communism itself.... As for Ben Davis himself...it is to be doubted whether there is a single Council member of any higher caliber. Davis is a graduate of Amherst and the Harvard Law School...Needless to say, with this background and with the graduate course he has received in the Communist Party, Davis is far from being a greenhorn..." (100-149163-A)

At the 39th Annual Conference of the NAACP held in Kansas City in June, 1948, Wilkins, as the keynote speaker, stated, "Anyone who speaks up for his rights or who does not follow the beaten path is likely to be called a communist." He urged the delegates not to be intimidated by the cry of communism. He pointed out that Negroes do not want a totalitarian state either of the right or of the left and further stated that they want democracy and that they would speak and work for it with every weapon at their command.

Indications of Anticomunist Attitude:

Since the early 1940's, as indicated previously, Wilkins' attitude has been strongly anticomunist. In 1949, [redacted] stated that the Party was greatly concerned about the election of Roy Wilkins to fill the vacancy of Walter White of the NAACP during a year's leave of absence. According to [redacted] Wilkins had been openly opposed to the tactics of the CP and had been one of the leaders in the NAACP responsible for the defeat of the communists in their effort to take over the organization on a national scale. [redacted] further stated that the CP was and had been attempting to infiltrate the local branches of the NAACP and with the election of Roy Wilkins they expected a great deal of opposition.

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b7D [REDACTED] advised in January, 1950, that instructions had been given out to all CP members to make every effort to attend the National Civil Rights Mobilization sponsored by the NAACP in January, 1950. A top official of the CP criticized Wilkins and top leadership of the NAACP for the efforts of the organization to rid itself of all forms of communist assistance in the Mobilization.

There are numerous other instances in the 1950's wherein Wilkins would not allow his organization to participate in affairs with or sponsored by the CP. The Party had set its sights on the NAACP with the intention to capture the organization and it was said in one newspaper that the ultimate objective of the CP was to oust Roy Wilkins.

The December, 1951, issue of the "American Magazine" carried an article entitled "Stalin's Greatest Defeat" which was written by Roy Wilkins. The article set forth pertinent information concerning the CP's attempt over the years to recruit the Negro people into the CP and stated that this recruitment had been met by failure. Within the Bureau, this article was considered a rather excellent treatise on the CP approach to the Negro question.

[REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] stated that a fight was shaping up in the NAACP between the Walter White forces and the Roy Wilkins forces. It was stated Wilkins actually represented the Trotskyite element in the NAACP and although the CP was not interested in taking over the NAACP, the CP did not want the Trotskyites to take over. Consequently, the purpose of CP infiltration would be to combat Wilkins and support White. As of December, 1954, Walter White was Chairman of the "Leadership Conference on Civil Rights" and Roy Wilkins was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the NAACP. (61-3176-914)

b7D [REDACTED]

(100-442529-291 pg. 13)

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A 12-9-64 release of Fulton Lewis, Jr., concerned the activities of the groups campaigning to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Lewis concluded his article by stating that the more moderate civil rights leaders including Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League "have refused to join the anti-House Committee on Un-American Activities chorus." (100-433447-572)

General Contacts With The Bureau:

Wilkins' contacts over the years with the Bureau have been very limited. You (Mr. DeLoach) have spoken with him on several occasions. These contacts are set out separately in this memorandum under contacts with you.

In the absence of Walter White of the NAACP, Wilkins did write to the Director on 9-10-47 in connection with a "so-called Robeson incident in Peoria, Illinois, in April, 1947." He requested investigation concerning this matter. The matter had already been furnished to the Attorney General. By letter dated 8-14-53, Wilkins wrote to the Director to merely acknowledge receipt of a letter the Director had written several days previous to Walter White.

By letter dated 11-15-54 the Chief Postal Inspector furnished the Bureau letter dated 11-5-64 received from Wilkins. Attached to Wilkins' letter was a mimeographed copy of an extortion-type letter, wherein the writer signed himself "Yours for the NAACP, Rufus Tecumseh Washington III." The letter was dated 9-8-60 and contained scurrilous language and threats against Governor White of Mississippi. Wilkins indicated the NAACP had no connection with the mailing of the letter and the letter had been mimeographed and distributed in Mississippi in an effort to slander and discredit the NAACP. Wilkins requested investigation. We had received a copy of the letter through other channels, but we were unable to identify the sender.

Contacts With You (Mr. DeLoach):

You (Mr. DeLoach) have had several meetings with Roy Wilkins. By letter dated 1-21-60 Wilkins requested a meeting with the Director during the period 2/16-31/60. It was recommended that if Wilkins contacted the Director when in Washington during that period the Director's regrets be expressed and he be referred to you. You met with Mr. Wilkins on 2-24-60, at which time he expressed appreciation for the continuing good cooperation between the Bureau and the NAACP. He was assured these comments would be passed along to the Director. You expressed the Director's appreciation for Mr. Wilkins support of the FBI and the fact that he had mentioned us favorably on a number of occasions in speeches. Further, appreciation was expressed for the very favorable resolution passed by the NAACP

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at its last convention in New York. The discussion revealed his concern about the possibility of communists in the NAACP, but he strongly emphasized that the communists were not in control of any chapter and that such persons would be eliminated if proof could be obtained. He was also concerned about extremists in the Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP. The Mack Charles Parker case was discussed and Wilkins indicated his intentions to see to it that the FBI got the credit it deserved in the matter.

On 8-12-64 you (Mr. DeLoach) met with Roy Wilkins in New York City with the Director's approval. This was a lengthy conference covering a number of general topics with regard to civil rights. Briefly, Wilkins was pleased with the Director's personal trip to Mississippi to open the Jackson Office, expressing the feeling that this had greatly restored the faith of the Negro people in the FBI. Wilkins explained there are two groups in the Negro movement responsible for criticism of the FBI. One group would not change its tactics no matter what miracle the FBI might bring about, and prominent in this group are Martin Luther King, Jr.; John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNVCC); James Forman of the same group; Bayard Rustin; and Clarence Jones, formerly connected with the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. He felt that these individuals deliberately foment trouble in order to add to their own stature and that it is wrong for the Government and the President to attempt to pacify these people. He referred to the second element as the great majority of the Negro race who do not have good educations and intelligence, resulting in their misunderstanding of the FBI's jurisdiction. Wilkins recommended that you appear before the next NAACP Regional Conference in Denver, Colorado, during the Spring of 1965; that an article in "Reader Digest" entitled "The FBI's Participation in the Racial Crisis" be prepared; and you meet with the President of the Negro Publishers' Association in Philadelphia. The Director approved the implementation of these recommendations where possible.

Wilkins indicated his desire to stay on for many years with the NAACP commenting that only about one-fifth of the 60 individuals on the Executive Board have criticized him for not being loud enough or militant enough in protesting discrimination and unequal rights. These individuals would like to take over the leadership of the NAACP. (We have since received information from sources indicating that these dissidents would like to accomplish this at the next NAACP Conference.) Wilkins described John Lewis of the SNVCC as being a poor or inarticulate Negro who does not control his own organization.

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He feels the Mississippi Summer Project is a failure in view of the unruly, undisciplined individuals of this group who went to Mississippi. He also did not agree with the picketing of automobile agencies and banks in California. He concluded that SNVCC and CORE consist of immature young whites and Negroes who are obviously frustrated in their own lives and turn to irrational activities for self-satisfaction.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and Wilkins indicated responsible leaders of the Negro movement have been alarmed about the communist association and procommunist statements of King. Wilkins mentioned that James Forman of SNVCC is also believed to be affiliated with the communists and highly suspect among the Negroes. Wilkins told of his fight against the communists over the past 30 years. In conclusion, Wilkins was invited to come and visit us at FBI Headquarters and that, if the Director was in, he would like to shake hands with Wilkins.

News articles indicated six top civil rights leaders, including Roy Wilkins met with President Johnson, 11-25-64, and expressed concern and disagreement with Mr. Hoover's recent published remarks about Martin Luther King. Several demand Director's dismissal; however, Wilkins did not. Wilkins told a CBS-TV, "Face The Nation," audience that the Director was "a good public servant" with a "long and distinguished career" who is "simply wrong in this."

On a 2-15-65 memorandum from Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, the Director noted, "I don't want anything furnished to Wilkins or Forman in view of the visit to the President demanding my dismissal because of what I had to say re King, particularly since they knew I had stated the truth. H."

[REDACTED]

(100-3-104-31-312) b7D

b7D [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Wilkins also pointed out that "Down With The Proletariat" was becoming the battle cry of militar

Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama, and the same thing was true with respect to Negroes' allegations of laxity on the part of the FBI. Wilkins felt that King and Rustin had led the Negroes to believe that the FBI can do nothing right.

In this conference, Wilkins admitted that he had criticized the Director unjustly. He pointed out also that he has a difficult time controlling his Board of Directors since King is a member of the Board.

There has been evidence in the past year of a split between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Roy Wilkins. There have been a number of examples of this split. For instance in mid 1964 Wilkins denounced King and James Forman, the head of CORE, with respect to their planned purpose after the Civil Rights Bill became law. According to Wilkins, King and Forman were trying to outdo one another and the approach to the situation should be slower for the most effective movement. According to confidential sources, King feels that Wilkins' attitude strengthens the resistance of the southern people. Confidential sources have revealed at other times that King has commented that Wilkins is always in conflict with him and he is getting tired of it.

[REDACTED]

(100-3-160-770)

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Attitude Toward Civil Rights Demonstrations:

Generally, Wilkins has indicated a more moderate or "go slow" attitude in the field of civil rights. While Wilkins is said to oppose demonstrations for the sake of demonstrations and has opposed irresponsible demonstrations, he has been associated with them on occasions. In June, 1964, when speaking on the matter of civil rights before the graduates of Morris Brown College he said, "Marches and demonstrations have their places and have proved their value but they are not necessarily the key to unlock all doors. We have a duty to recognize that for part these solutions we must look within ourselves and our group as well as without." He indicated that, "We need frank appraisals of ourselves and, where indicated, corrective measures. We cannot have standards different from those of great and successful peoples throughout history. We must impose upon ourselves those measures of reliability, responsibility and excellence that are universally applied to men everywhere." In this connection, the Director noted, "Very well stated." It is noted, however, that the NAACP made plans for possible nationwide demonstrations, including a work stoppage, in the event Congress did not pass the Civil Rights Bill, and the NAACP gave Wilkins stand-by powers to call the demonstrations.

Wilkins has participated to some degree in the racial imbalance situation with regard to New York public schools. Much publicity has attended this effort. The purpose of these demonstrations concerns a move of children from scho

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which are generally all white to schools which are generally all colored and vice versa. It was indicated that he also was involved in a similar type of school boycott in Boston (157-4-5-23, 21; 154-4-34-64, 56; 147-6-34-A (WCNS); 100-3-116-1546; 100-442529-157-157-)

Civilian Review Boards:

With regard to the New York City riots last summer, in an interview over WCBS on 8-9-64, Wilkins urged a civilian review board made up of reputable and distinguished citizens to handle police matters. Wilkins believed that the Harlem riots were due to the refusal of the police department to handle the shooting of "Powell" by Lieutenant Gilligan in anything but a routine manner. Wilkins claimed that everyone in Harlem felt they had been done wrong in the Lieutenant Gilligan matter. Wilkins, of course, was referring to the riots which were precipitated after the shooting of a young colored hoodlum by a police lieutenant. (100-3-116-2150)

African Policy:

The 11-29-64 issue of the "New York Times" indicated that 6 of the prominent American Negro leaders including such individuals as Roy Wilkins; James Farmer of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban League, indicated to the Administration that they favored a complete revision of the United States policy in Africa including the withdrawal of support from Premier Moise Tshombe of the Congo. In a letter to the President they indicated that the "Mercenaries and other external forces, including those of the United States, should disengage from all military commitments until such time as aid can be given in the context of requests from the Governments of the Congo, acting in concert with the African Governments represented in the Organization of African Unity." The remarks of these Negro leaders were drawn from resolutions passed by the American Negro Leadership of Africa held in September, 1964, in Washington. (105-116631)

The NAACP:

The national officers of the NAACP are:

Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, Chairman, Board of Directors
Arthur B. Spingarn, President
Jesse H. Turner, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors
(Previous Board member replacing Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins as Vice-Chairman)
Roy Wilkins, Executive Director (Title changed from Executive Secretary)
Alfred Baker Lewis, Treasurer
Dr. Harry J. Greene, Assistant Treasurer

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Briefly, according to an August, 1964, news article the NAACP was founded in 1909 by white people, headed by a woman crusader Mary White Overtun. According to the article this group later affiliated with a Negro group led by the late W.E.B. DuBois. The NAACP today reportedly has 500,000 members of all races and religions and has 1,600 local groups. The article pointed out that most of its victories have been won in legal struggles. Wilkins reportedly heads a staff of 125. (100-3-116 "New York Times" 3-10-64)

An article in the 1-24-65 issue of "New York Times" indicated that with one exception the civil rights organizations suffered declining revenue and budget deficits in 1964. The exception to the pattern of financial embarrassment was the National Urban League which increased its revenue in 1964.

Miscellaneous:

Bufiles indicate that since his initial association with the NAACP, Wilkins has traveled throughout the country speaking before various branches of the organization. Excerpts of talks he has given through the years would indicate that he has urged the Negro to fight for equal rights and against discrimination and segregation through the organization. There is no indication that he has ever advocated violence but has advocated the fighting of segregation through teaching the whites that the Negro is equal in all respects. He has criticized "reactionary forces in America" particularly mentioning Westbrook Pegler.

In 1943 a news article indicated that Wilkins severely criticized the Attorney General's suggestion to curb the migration of Negro workers to industrial areas.

A 3-20-48 item in "New York Times" indicated that Roy Wilkins, as spokesman for the NAACP, repudiated statements that the organization would assist Henry Wallace in his presidential campaign and reaffirmed its non-partisan policy.

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A 9-24-64 article in the "Washington Post and Times Herald" revealed that a committee of 30 national leaders, including former cabinet members, government union chiefs, educators and scientists had been formed to expose the activities of the John Birch Society "front" organizations. Roy Wilkins was listed among the members of the council. (62-109675-A)

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(S) 105-117-793-187
105-117793-139

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Rustin was the subject of a feature article in the "Saturday Evening Post" in its 7/11-18/64 issue, wherein he was said to be an organizer for the Young Communist League in New York, but that he left the "Party" in 1941.

[REDACTED]

Arrest Record:

On 12-11-34 Roy Wilkins, along with other individuals, was arrested for parading without a permit in front of the Memorial Continental Hall at 17th and D Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Records of the FBI Identification Division reveal that Wilkins was arrested 6-1-63 by the Jackson, Mississippi, Police Department for violation of Section 1088, Mississippi Code, 1942 (not further described) and there was no disposition shown.

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