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March 17, 1959

SUMMERRY

GEORGE SAMUEL SCHUYLER Born: Pebruary 25, 1895 Providence, Rhode Island

attached five reports which appear to relate to the subject of your name check request.

In addition, the files of this Bureau reveal the following information which may relate to the captioned individual.

An article in the July 30, 1943, issue of the "Daily Worker," reported that eight hundred labor, religious, and civic leaders from four states had joined insending an open letter to President Roosevelt expressing appreciation of his position against discrimination and attacks upon Megroes and other racial minorities, and urginghim to take further action to prevent outbreaks of antiracial violence. This letter was circulated by the International Labor Defense, and George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the "Pittsburgh Courier," was reported to be one of the signers of this letter. The International Labor Defense has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Parsons Rosen ____ Tamm ___ The March 30, 1944, issue of the "Daily Worker," contained an article entitled, "Schuyler's Poison," which was written by Doxey Wilkerson, at the time vice-president of the Communist Political Association of Maryland. In the article, Wilkerson described Schuyler as a pro-Pascist columnist and severaly criticized Schuyler's defense of

who had been accused with thirty others with conspiring to further Wazism in America and to overthrow "our so-called democratic form of Government."

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George Samuel Schuyler

Schuyler, in his column, "Views and Reviews," in the April 4, 1944, issue of the "Pittsburgh Courier," stated that several correspondents had taken exception to his identification of Fascism With communism and had written in for an explanation. Schuyler explained, "I purposely created this uprosr because I have noticed that a dangerously large percentage of se-salled thinking Wegroes have swallowed the Red propaganda hook, line and sinker without thinking. " Schuyler's article went on to show that communism as practiced in Russia and Fascism as practiced in Germany were alike. stated, "In short, Fascism and communism run totalitarian states with identical tectics. judged on performance there is no difference between Fascism and communism so far as the masses of people are concerned The totalitarian state, no matter What its name and its slogans, is a menace to human freedom, and Americans will do well to rid the country of both influences which are in practice identical."

Schuyler, in his column of April 4, 1947, in the "Pittsburgh Courier," pointed out that for several years he had been fighting communism because he knew that the communists were working solely in the interest of the Kremlin and only concerned themselves with the so-called Negro problem because it was a means of undermining American society. He explained that he had tried to point out to Negro leaders the dangers of involving themselves in this "international conspiracy."

An article in the June 28, 1947, New York edition of the "Pittsburgh Courier" stated that Schuyler, in a speech before the Catholic Interracial Council, 20 Vesey Street, New York, New York, had charged that the communists were the worst menace to Negro freedom. Schuyler declared that since the formation of the Third International in 1919, the communists had conspired to further world revolution in general and American civil war in particular, by

George Samuel Schuyler playing upon racial, class, and national prejudices and animosities in the hope of coming to power in the resultant tragedy and confusion. Schuyler further stated that the mainstays of the Party, among Negroes, were not the working class leaders, but were the middle class intellectuals who were more intrigued by Red professions than practices. The Movember, 1947 and January, 1950, issues of "Plain Talk," an anticommunist pamphlet published in New York, New York, reveal that Schuyler was one of the contributing editors of that publication. Schuyler was also authorses "The Communist Conspiracy Against The Negroes" and "The Red Drive In The Goldnies." These were pamphlets Number 4 and 19 in a series on communism published by the Catholic Information Society, 214 West 31st Street, New York 1, New York. For possible information concerning Schuyler, you may desire to consult the files of the Department of the Army. The foregoing information is furnished to and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearence of the individual involved. This informanated outside of your agency.

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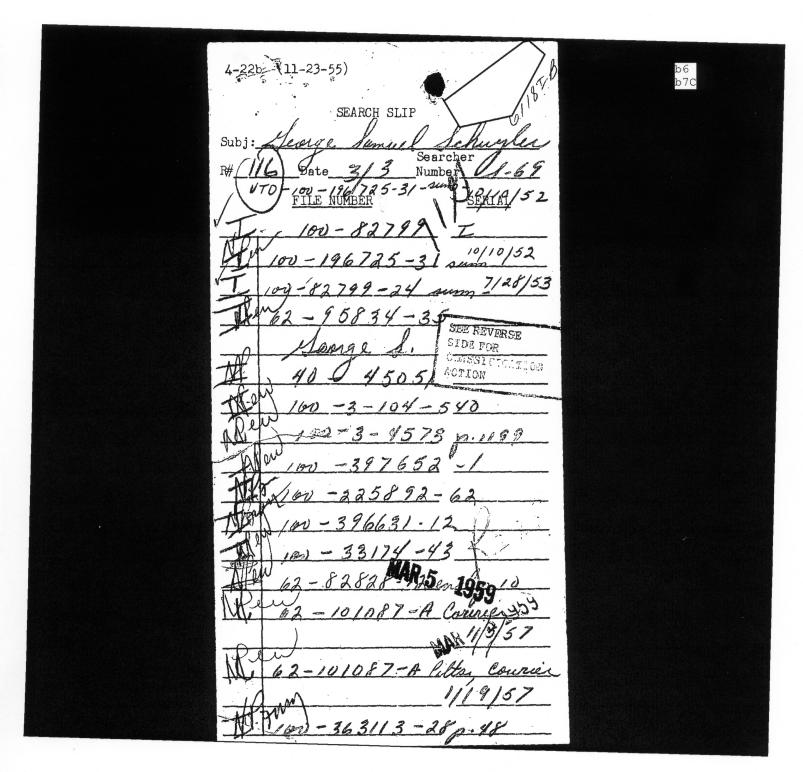
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As Pegler Sees It:

A Negro Newsman Views the 'Riders'

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

"Freedom-riding . . . is of a character which no community on earth would tolerate, and naturally suits the purpose of those whose objective is to worsen public order and confidence at home and injure America's image abroad."

That flat statement comes from the well-known Negro journalist, George S. Schuyler, Associate Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, whom I asked to give me his opinion of what he calls the "freedom-rider hubbub." Here it is.

MO CLAIRVOYANCE is needed to see that the widely ballyhooed freedom-riders campaign is more than mere quixotic adventurism and that its direction is not in the hands of selflessly-dedicated people simply eager to get for the colored all of the rights enjoyed by whites, desirable as; is that goal. Not only does it lack support among all but a minority of crackpots and conspirators, but the Negroes in the areas afflicted will have none of it.

"Thanks to the superb legal strategy of the National' Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro's freedom to ride anywhere over the land and in the air has been secured by a succession of court decisions over a generation. Thus, freedom-riding is a misnomer because the issue is no longer valid. Every honest American knows this.

"The real issue is the freedom to be served and accommodated in railroad, bus and airport stations without racial discrimination. Such service is barred by State laws. These cannot be repealed except by legislative or judicial action, which is certainly not speeded by continual violation by groups of professional martyrs and their addlepated dupes. Two wrongs do not make one right, and the attempt to use passive resistance to change legislation is unusual in America, even though an example was and is set by professional defenders of the Nordic mystique. This country already has much more than its share of law violation.

Not in Same Category

"Freedom-riding and sitting-in are not in the same category. In the public mind the former has no justification morally, legally or logically. The Negro's fight for full equality has been based on morality and legality, and thereby his position has been unassailable. This is why his succession of victories has been steady in the U.S. Supreme Court since the outlaw of the grandfather clauses in 1915-blocked Southern efforts to completely disenfranchise the Negro.

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"Sitting-in is not illegal as long as it is peaceful. Under the Southern laws service is supposed to be separate but equal, and it is certainly a gross violation of those laws when it is refused altogether and would-be patrons insulted in the bargain. It outrages our sense of decency, justice and business enterprise to importune Negroes to buy everything salable in a store, and then refuse to sell him a hotdog! For this reason chain stores, drug stores and department stores with eating facilities have abandoned the practice voluntarily in a hundred places where there was no resort to picketing and sitting-in.

"Freedom-riding, which is the logical descendant of the Communist invasion of Alabama which caused the Camp Hill massacre and other such reprisals, has led to scores of arrests and jailings, a fortune in fines and strengthened local resistance. This tactic is of a character which no community anywhere on earth would tolerate, and naturally suits the purpose of those whose basic objective is to worsen public order and confidence at home and injure America's image abroad. Only the Soviet world conspiracy

profits from it.

"So long as the dual sponsors of freedom-riding, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, confined themselves to peaceful picketing and sitting-in, they had wide interracial sympathy and support, since most civilized people regarded the tactic as justified in the circumstances. Then, pressing their luck, they began deliberately sending groups into the offending States to violate their laws, be arrested, and return as self-flagellating martyrs.

Saw Danger in Tactics

"At its very beginning the 52-year-old NAACP recognized the danger of such tactics and strongly counselled against them. Lately, however, it yielded this position slightly, perhaps for fear of losing popular support in the power struggle among Negro leaders, many of whom are collectivists.

"The Southern Christian Leadership Conference claimed as its goal the registering of one million southern Negroes as qualified voters. The movement never really got off the ground, so it turned to the richer pastures of civil disobedience which is far more profitable to demagogues, who must

eat just like normal people.

"The NAACP which legally settled the bus issue in the courts (which the Montgomery Improvement Association's year's marching and car-pooling campaign could not settle) having quietly deprived the extremists of one-mob-rousing issue, they turned to the freedom-riding drive, when sitting-in subsided. This has been pretty expensive, what with fines and bail. It will soon disappear as the parsons and plinks seek prestige and pelf elsewhere, shedding crocodile tears over the downtrodden.

"In due course NAACP lawyers will move to end airport, bus station and railroad terminal discriminations, and aided by the Department of Justice and the Federal courts, will win. Obdurate Dixie towns will grudgingly give in, and the

white race will remain unsullied."

* * *

THANK YOU, Mr. Schuyler. I am more convinced than ever that the so-called "freedom-riders" are nothing more than hitchhikers "pressing their luck."

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As Pegler Sees It:

Whites Should Read This Negro Writer

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

THE NEGRO, as an element of our population, has acquired powerful influence in the last few years thanks in large part to manipulators without the slightest interest in his welfare and his aspirations. Whatever one may think of the motives of his most clamorous and hypocritical friends, the fact of his

advancement should not be ignored.

PEGLER

Accordingly, I venture today to suggest that a "column" by a Negro in the white daily press, as distinguished from the Negro papers, is now an appropriate venture. This might tend to separate the Negroes from the rest of the community, but I have discussed the idea with my nominee for the job and the responsibility and he agrees. He is George S. Schuyler, a scholar, a first-class article writer and a man of such strong character that he sometimes

gives offense to many of his Negro readers by ridiculing propositions which have been foisted up them by white politicians.

He was one of the first American journalists to say a word for Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. This was a very unpopular declaration at the time and I may say that I shared the abuse which he received because I had spent enough time in the Republic about then to see and describe the conditions which he saw.

Mr. Schuyler may have been the first American journalist to publish Trujillo's proposition that i'democracy" with its commotions and bloodshed, is waste of manpower and its drag on Progress caused by political tricks was a luxury beyond the purse of a

small poor nation.

He shocked many Negroes, but the pity was that his circulation did not reach the white people to challenge an arrogant superstition among us all that democracy is ordained by God Almighty as the last word in Government. So we try to impose it on millions of immature batches of people the world.

over with great loss of life and no provable benefit which could not have been achieved by a despotic or colonial regime.

This man travels the world. He recently did a special supplement on Portuguese Africa for the

Pittsburgh Courier, his base paper.

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Callahan Confad ... "The Portuguese are a tough, realistic crowd who will not cut and run from Africa like the British, Belgians, French and others," Schuyler wrote. "They have done a very good job in Africa, especially in the last generation, albeit they were pretty rough before that." Yes, and nobody has been rougher on primitive Negroes than other Negroes who happen to conquer them. Negroes were the basic slave traders in the long ago.

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long ago.

"You recall how the Portuguese called Nehru's bluff on Goa and their other Indian enclaves whereas the French surrendered Pondicherry without a word. This is understandable because the Portuguese have been tough for 500 years. They were first to challenge, fight and kick out the Moors a century before the Spaniards did it and chase them back to Africa.

"I like to write on the Negro in the United States, the West Indies, South America and of course, Africa. These are all my fields and I notice that no other Negro writer is doing it."

Schuyler does not pretend to believe that Negroes are all Nature's noblemen. He shows respect

for their intelligence and responsibility.

We could not quite agree on how to identify Negro writing. Running Schuyler's picture seemed a silly device, but we agreed on a hope that in a short time he would establish himself as a known Negro authority.

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DATE: 9-26-63

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

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SUBJECT: DEVIEW OF ARTICLE

FROM

"ROAD TO RIOT"
BY GEORGE S. SCHUYL

BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

CHRISTIAN HERALD, SEPTEMBER, 1963

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George S. Schuyler has been a member of the editorial staff of the "Pittsburgh Courier" (a Negro newspaper) since 1924 and its Associate Editor since 1942. During the latter 1940's he wrote articles and made speeches in an anticommunist vein, describing communism as the worst menace to Negro freedom. The Editor of "Christian Herald" is Daniel A. Poling who is a friend of the Director and met the Director 12-8-61. Articles written by the Director have been submitted to this magazine for publication and there has been a cordial relationship with Poling since 1938.

THE AUTHOR AND MAGAZINE

"ROAD TO RIOT"

Neither the Director nor the Bureau is mentioned. The article starts in a provocative and prophetic manner. Author states that considering the recklessness of the agitators currently leading Negroes, it need surprise no one if a bloody massacre results in America. He claims that current Negro demonstrations, "far from being a grass roots flare-up of indignant innocents panting for drastic reforms, they are a part of a carefully concocted program generaled by experts in mobism."

The article summarizes the many problems the Negro has had in the United States for many years such as those relating to discrimination, segregation, exclusion, and the like. Groups which have worked through the years on behalf of Negroes are identified -- such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Urban League, and various church and labor groups. The author summarizes gains made by the Negro in the areas of discrimination, segregation, and the like. He points out that, notwithstanding gains, there has been a growing impatience with moderate advances and gradualistic approaches. This growing impatience resulted in the campaigns against Jim Crowism being seized by professionals versed in mass pressure techniques and in The NAACP was thus caught flat-footed by the wellcreating hysteria. trained men of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. Now the Negroes' gries for revolutionary changes are getting ouder and demands are being made that cannot be met. 100 - 82797

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan REVIEW OF ARTICLE "ROAD TO RIOT" BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER b6 "CHRISTIAN HERALD," SEPTEMBER, 1963 b7C 100-3-116 The author examines the cast of characters in the movement and describes it as a "hierarchy of professional agitators." He identifies today as of the March on Washington time advocate of mass pressure and Movement. He refers to other march ideas of prior to the 1963 March on Washington (the article was obviously written before 8-28-63). prior to the 1963 Author gave a history of organizations coming into existence after World War I which concentrated on Negro agitation, including some described by Schuyler as communist dominated. He claims they all had their part in training adherents and agitators. He identified the most influential of the efforts to "mold Negro opinion favorable to a Soviet America" as the National Negro Congress (NNC) (designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450). The President of

Schuyler outlined communist efforts to capture the Negro during the 1920's and 1930's, and sets out a blueprint therefor emanating from the secret Communist Party convention of 8-22-22 at Bridgeman, Michigan. Schuyler claims that the prescient program of 40 years ago has been followed to the letter and that many whose names were connected with communist fronts over the years are the "intellectual authors of the present disturbances." In describing how Negro intellectuals get involved in fronts, the author makes a point of the fact that many did not know where their guidance was coming from and denied "Red membership or connection—as if that made any difference so long as they served the communist purpose." According to Schuyler, operating through fronts was later changed to a "new Red policy on Negroes"--the abandonment of "front" organizations and "concentration on boring from within existing Negro groups."

the NNC from 1936 to 1940 was and quotes as quitting "...because it is not truly a Negro Congress." According to Schuyler, out of 1,200 or more delegates, over 300 were white and

the NNC from 1936 to 1940 was

"obviously of communist persuasion."

Schuyler then jumps back to his references to communist influences on the Negro in the 1930's and claims that they shaped the thinking of the "current crop of agitators." He then prophesizes "Irresponsible demagoguery on both sides will lead someday, somewhere, to a bloody conflict which could spread as rapidly and as far as the demonstrations have, and the outcome of which will have to be martial law and eventual dictatorship."

Schuyler has a word of caution "while this may satisfy those who favor Red revolution, it is scarcely guaranteed to advance the cause of the Negro." He noted that even Gandhi discovered that nonviolence frequently leads to violence because few leaders can control hysterical followers. He closes with noting that it is a most alarming

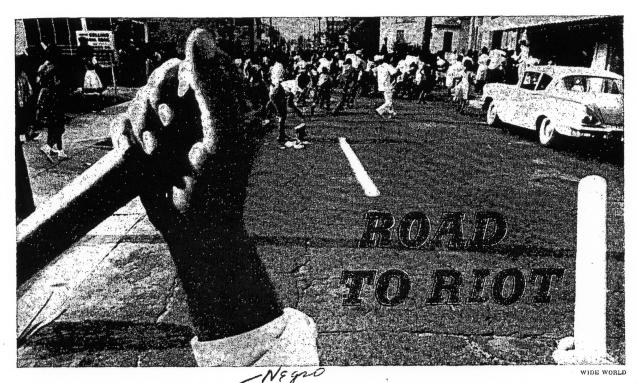
Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan RE: REVIEW OF ARTICLE "ROAD TO RIOT" BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER "CHRISTIAN HERALD," SEPTEMBER, 1963 100-3-116

development when leaders of a people shout "No compromise!" "No moderation!" He claims that since the Negro wishes to remain in America, violences on both sides will not bring any real integration or guarantee of national security nor insure our survival as a democracy which has brought the greatest freedom and highest living standards in all history to its citizens, black and white.

	OBSERVATIONS:
	A pertinent observation is worth noting. The article could be given a wrong interpretation as was done by one who called the article to the attention of the Bureau in a letter, 9-12-63, which promoted our securing the article and reading it, as the Director noted on letter that it should be read by the Domestic Intelligence Division. letter makes reference to the opening paragraph of the article and includes a quote from the article "Far from being a grass roots flare-up of indignant innocents panting for drastic reforms, they are a part of a carefully concocted program generaled by experts in mobism." follows this quote with the statement "which he conclusively shows to be communist-inspired and directed." In other words interpretation is that Schuyler conclusively shows that the current Negro demonstrations are communistinspired and directed. This is a broad conclusion not yet supported in fact; certainly not supported by any facts in the article.
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George S. Schuyler presents one Negro Viewpoint

ONSIDERING the recklessness of the agitators currently leading Negroes, it need surprise no one if we see in America a bloody massacre similar to that which disgraced South Africa at Sharpeville in 1960, when police fired into a crowd, killing 89 demonstrators.

That the Negro demonstrations in America are spontaneous and unrehearsed is a major imposture of the times. Far from being a grass roots flare-up of indignant innocents panting for drastic reforms, they are a part of a carefully concocted program generaled by experts in mobism.

It would be a grave error to overlook the real grievances of the Negro, as it would also be to ignore the great advances made in his status since World War II. When the present generation was born, prominent Negroes had already perfected the techniques of exploiting discontent, and there was plenty to be discontented about.

Save in a few Northern and Eastern communities, racial discrimination, segregation and exclusion were rife, lynching was still going on although declining, all transportation into and out of the South was rigidly segregated, there were separate racial schools everywhere in the South and in many parts of the North and West, and of course there were no general hotels and restaurants that would serve Negroes, nor any filling stations whose facilities they could use.

Department stores were reluctant, or refused, to permit Negroes to try on garments: the service was studiedly rude so that bourgeois colored women either sent their maids to shop for them or waited until they could go to New York or Chicago. Theaters and movie houses relegated Negroes to balconies or galleries, if

they admitted them at all, and the nation's capital was the worst offender. Everywhere Negroes were bulldozed or beaten by the police.

Civil service, even outside the South, was largely a white preserve. Housing was an acute problem whenever the Negro wished to move from his racial district, even more so than it is today. The columns of Negro newspapers have been filled for years with accounts of colored homes bombed, burned or defaced because their owners had the effrontery to move into a "white" district. Even if a Negro wished to operate a business, he could do so only in his own neighborhood, rarely "downtown" because of the virtual impossibility of getting a lease.

Publicly owned recreational facilities such as swimming pools, golf courses, tennis courts and zoos were barred to Negroes or a special time set aside for them.

At the same time Negro illiteracy was being wiped out rapidly, tens of thousands of Negro students were matriculating in colleges and universities the country over, great athletes were bringing honor to the United States in Olympic Games and to their alma maters at home, black boxers were dominating the field, a million young Negroes in uniform had been segregated and discriminated against at home and abroad.

It would have tried the patience of Job, and the Negro is not made of the stuff that will take treatment like this lying down. He was and always has been -contrary to some unlettered opinion-ready to fight. The question was how, where and when.

During the same period, through the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the large (Continued on page 30)



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Christ reconciling all men to one another and thus to Himself, that God was in Christ breaking down the walls of hostility that separate man from man and all men from God, that God, furthermore, was in Christ loving us, accepting us, forgiving us, even if we cannot yet love and accept and forgive our brother? If we had truly believed (lived by) this, we could not stand in the school house door.

And yet we repeatedly use the name of God while we stand in the door! Here is the greatest failure of the Church. If the racist said that no matter what God or the Church stand for he is going to stand for discrimination and special privilege for himself, that would be one thing. But for him to say that he is doing it in the name of God, in the name and defense of the faith, in the name of the Church, this is a simple act of heresy and this cannot be tolerated.

By whatever method, he must be made to cease and desist peddling pagan wares in the name of Christ. +

Road to Riot
(Continued from page 19)

church denominations and labor unions, the lot of the Negro was being gradually improved. Through the years the NAACP had won a score or more cases before the United States Supreme Court which broke the color bar in tax-supported colleges, killed the white primary, ended the Jim Crow car and bus in interstate travel, compelled the equalization of school monies and teachers' salaries, forced open tax-supported recreational facilities, outlawed residential covenants excluding Negroes. Finally, with the Supreme Court decision of 1954-55 desegregating schools, it did not seem far to the Promised Land of full equality.

The Army, Navy, Air Force and Coast Guard had been integrated by President Truman. Washington's racial barriers had been cast down by President Eisenhower. A score of states had fair employment practices laws, and because of this, significant advances had been made in jobs and in union membership.

The rigid Jim Crow barrier in organized religion was slowly being lifted in token fashion. Some big corporations were at last seeking out Negro graduates even before graduation. In a half hundred cities the Urban League was getting an increasing share of Community Chest funds for Negroes and making significant openings in employment. In the theater, on the concert stage, in art and literature, the post-war period was the Golden Age for Negroes.

Quite likely the rapidity of these successive reforms stimulated rising expectations and increased the appetite for more. There was a growing impatience with moderate advances and gradualistic approaches. The erstwhile nostrum of politics nowhere brought the advertised utopia, although it did bring some Negroes political preferment and minor reforms. Negroes became keenly aware, more so than ever, of the vast gulf separating them from their white neighbors in wages, job opportunities and social restrictions. A cause of vast bitterness was the persistent circumvention of court rulings on desegregation of public schools, and the dead end confronting the ambitious young Negro throughout the South who sought anything better than menial work in his community.

Where at first the Negro demands were far from extreme and the agitation was locally generated and controlled, it was not long before the direction of the campaign against Jim Crowism was seized by professionals from afar, versed in mass pressure techniques and in creating hysteria. From mild demands which local authorities might have granted, there were soon strident shouts for immediate, revolutionary changes which officials could not meet because the majority of whites would not tolerate them. The evidence from Albany, Ga., Jackson, Miss., Birmingham, Ala., indicates that it was outside agitators, the trained men from Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans and New York, who kept the fires burning.

The NAACP was caught flat-footed by the well-trained corpsmen of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, many of them schooled in special techniques at secret sessions subsidized by certain white individuals sharing the philosophy of mass pressure. The NAACP is now stressing immediacy as strongly as the less responsible groups. Like them it has refused to let up pressure anywhere along the line, although it is being hurt by the bite of other groups into the civil rights dollar while it has to pay the fines and go the bail of youngsters arrested for sitting-in, swimming in, kneeling-in and other challenges to local law and order.

Now the Negro cries for revolutionary changes are rising more loudly. Demands are being made that leaders know cannot be fulfilled, but they have a tiger by the tail and dare not let go for fear of being labeled "Uncle Tom and deserted by the more hysterical. There are many who seem to welcome the strife that must inevitably come when the patience of law enforcement officers runs out. They daily warn that

demonstrations will continue unless all their demands are met. They say literally or in effect that "the white man is scared." They have seen him run out of Asia and Africa; have noted that Washington rushed to recognize Castro, laid out the red carpet for Lumumba and Adoula, supported Nasser and Nkrumah; and they figure whites will surrender here without a real struggle, if they keep on challenging them. They perhaps rightly observe that the West has "gone soft" due to unprecedented luxury and high wages. They fail to distinguish the difference between globally oriented Washington politicians, international-minded bigcity officials, and persons in the hinterland; or the undisciplined neurotic and vainglorious white youth in congested urban centers.

Examination of the cast of characters reveals that it consists of a hierarchy of professional agitators schooled in sit-in tactics that were imported by American labor unions in 1937, after a successful trial by the French Confederation of Labor the year before. These sit-in strikes were revelatory and effective, and were not lost upon Negroes seeking solutions to the color bar and its attendant evils. There was also ample though not encouraging precedent in the Coxey's Army march of 1894 and the pathetic Bonus Marchers of 1932, as well as the jobless demonstrations engineered by the Com-

munists of that period.

One of the most respected leaders today is A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a longtime advocate of mass pressure and founder of the March on Washington Movement. It was this threat to march a band of 10,000 Negroes into Washington that pressured President F. D. Roosevelt into issuing his Fair Employment Practices Executive Order 8802, three days after the Nazis attacked their erstwhile Moscow allies. Ever since then, Randolph has been in the forefront of Negro leadership. Today's marches on city halls and executive mansions, culminating in the proposed march of 100,000 Negroes on the nation's capital to speed passage of a sweeping civil-rights law, is an indication of the effectiveness of these ideas now reechoed by younger men. Other Negro leaders who now wholeheartedly support this program in the name of nonviolent civil disobedience, had sat on their hands in 1941-when it was first proposed by Randolph—content to confer and draw up resolutions.

A year later the Congress of Racial Equality was founded by James Farmer, a pacifist, which brought to perfection the tactic of sit-ins in public places excluding Negroes from service. For years CORE restricted its activities

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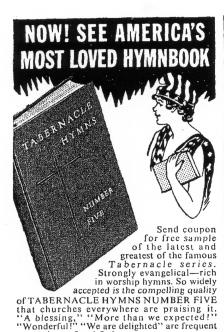
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largely to non-Southern areas, enlisting an interracial corps of intrepid individuals willing to brave clubbings and arrests to break down the color bar. CORE took the lead in testing supposedly integrated buses and trains in Dixie, and later waiting rooms and lunch counters in bus and railroad stations.

There were other organizations set up in the period after World War I which concentrated on Negro agitation. One of the earliest was the African Blood Brotherhood headed by a 'voluntary" Negro, Cyril Briggs in the twenties in Harlem; the American Negro Labor Congress of 1925, headed by Lovett Fort-Whiteman, who soon took off for the Soviet Promised Land and remained. This was followed by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights of 1930. Others included the Communist-dominated Federal writers' and theater projects; the very profitable Scottsboro case which the astute colored Communist leader, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., snatched from the N thus keeping the Reds' larder filled for years: the International Labor Defense, an arm of the Third International, which was able to penetrate Negro churches and organizations by parading a succession of Scottsboro "mothers" all over the country, taking up collections and delivering incendiary speeches. Other directly Red-inspired or at least pink-tinted organizations were the Sharecroppers Union; the Nero Labor Councils; the Negro Labor ictory Committee; and the Civil Rights Congress.

They all had their part in training

adherents and agitators.

Most influential of the efforts to mold Negro opinion favorable to a Soviet America was the National Negro Congress Ostensibly formed by Howard University professors, the plan for it actually originated in the New York County Committee of the Communist Party and was carried to Howard by Manning Johnson and another Communist. According to Johnson, who was a member, John P. Davis, secretary of the Congress, was later elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party. The president from 1936 to 1940 was A. Philip Randolph. He resigned, saying, "I quit the Congress because it is not truly a Negro Congress.' Out of some 1,200 or more delegates, over 300 were white, and obviously of communist persuasion...

The first Negro president of Howard University, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, now a member of the Washington, D.C., Board of Education, was publicly identified with communist doctrines by Judge James A. Cobb of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia testifying before the House Committee Against Un-American Activities.

Another witness, the very respected Dr. Kelly Miller, for 45 years a faculty member, testified about a conference held at Howard on May 18, 19 and 20, 1935, presided over by President Johnson. Miller said that he was astonished to hear the fiery speeches by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, professors Emmet Dorsey and Abram Harris, James Ford, (quadrennial vice presidential candidate of the Communist Party) and Eric Waldron, correspondent of the Communist Daily Worker and surprised that President Johnson sat through it all without comment and apparently with approval. (HUAC, Vol 3, p. 2148, Oct.-Nov. 1938.)

Lawrence A. Oxley, an official of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor attended every session of this conference and found it "distinctly Communistic in character."

... There seemed to be but three ways out for the Negro. (1) The answer of the Socialist Party; (2) The answer of the Communist Party; (3) The answer of the American Labor Party."

"During the course of the last session, May 20," said Mr. Oxley, "I heard Mr. Ford and Mr. Dorsey advocate the overthrow of the American Government, if necessary, to secure the objectives of the program sponsored by the conference" (p. 2149 HUAC, Vol. 3, Nov. 1938).

IT is illuminating to read what was outlined at the secret Communist Party convention in Bridgeman, Michigan, on August 22, 1922, attended by subversives and unkindly raided by the Michigan constabulary who carted off two barrels of documentary proof. The blueprint for Negroes reads: "In order that the Negro may be reached with education and propaganda and that he may be organized for activity, the following methods are recommended:

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"1. Nuclei shall be established in all existing Negro organizations, such as fraternal, religious and labor organizations, co-operatives, tenant farmers' leagues, etc.

"2. Colored organizers and speakers shall be sent among Negroes to inform them and win their confidence.

"3. Newspapers and publications shall be established or, when this is not feasible, news service shall be established by friendly co-operation with colored newspapers of liberal tenets.

"4. Friendship of liberal-minded Negro ministers shall be sought as these men are at the present time the leaders of the Negro masses and many of them are earnest but lack scientific knowledge.

"5. Conferences on the economic conditions shall be held from time to time with these ministers, educators and other liberal elements, and through their influence the party shall aim to

CHRISTIAN HERALD

secure a more favorable hearing before the Negro masses.

"6. By means of its membership the party shall penetrate the existing forums, literary societies, lyceums, schools, colleges, teachers' institutes, etc., of the colored people, and establish forums of its own for the enlightenment of the Negro population.

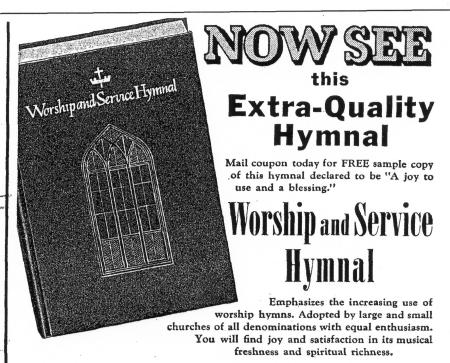
"Where other forms of activity are impossible or impracticable, as in certain Southern districts, co-operatives

may be formed."

This prescient program of forty years ago has been followed to the letter. Thousands of Negro students, professors and preachers are prepared to lead and support extremist strategy. With opportunities for leadership sparse, Negro intellectuals were easily beguiled with honorary positions in "front" organizations, chairmanship at dinners and meetings, and grosser forms of interracial persuasion at which the Communist conspiracy is adept. Many did not even know where their guidance was coming from and indignantly denied any Red membership or connection-as if that made any difference so long as they served the Communist purpose. A fancier of old Communist-front letterheads and the columns of Red newspapers will find enough names of prominent Negro leaders to fill a book; many of these people are the intellectual authors of the present disturbances.

When Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, with "one stroke of the pen," in 1946 snatched the Communist Party U.S.A. away from "20th Century Americanism," which it had opportunistically adopted while American arms were making the world safe for the Soviet Union, the Party fell upon evil days. Security agencies were smiting the comrades hip and thigh. The revival of Self-Determination-forthe-Black-Belt, the ousting of nine Red unions from the C.I.O., the Peekskill riot, the presentation to the United Nations by the NAACP's Dr. DuBois and Walter White of a charge of American genocide against Negroes, even the triumphant Communist Peace Conference at New York's Waldorf-Astoria (endorsed by the first Negro President of Fisk University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson) could not rescue the aboveground party from the doldrums. It was then that a new Red policy on Negroes was adopted. It meant aban-donment of "front" organizations and concentration on boring from within existing Negro groups.

In July, 1931, when Robert Minor, a veteran Communist boss, quoted approvingly an editorial "No Menacing Red" in the powerful Negro weekly, Afro-American, it was almost alone among the 150 colored weeklies in its position. Twenty years later this was



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Is Your Debt Paid?

Christians take pride in their credit rating. They realize that it is their duty to pay their debts promptly. However, many believers are guilty of neglecting their debt to the people of Israel, through whose hands we received all the "spiritual things" we have and enjoy as Christians. Our Holy Bible, the Old Testament and the New Testament, has come to us through the Jews. Not only were they its writers and custodians throughout the centuries, but they were the only Christians during the first 15 years of the Church Era. It was through the missionary efforts of those early Christian Jews that many of our Gentile forefathers were converted from their pagan religions. If Paul and the other lewish missionaries had gone to the East instead of to the West, probably China would be a Christian nation today, and we would still be heathen. Truly, we owe the Jews a great debt of gratitude.

When you reach Heaven, can you face Jews like Abraham, Moses, Paul, or Peter, if you have neglected to do as much for their children as these early saints did for your spiritual welfare? Are your Jewish neighbors dying without knowing that Christ is their Messiah? Have you ever told them? Your debt can be paid by returning the Gospel to the descendants of those Jewish saints who preserved it and passed it down to you. Then you can face them in the Glory, with a clear conscience, because your debt

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a popular view in editorial offices, and one big newspaper had as many as four fellow-traveling columnists.

The Afro editorial said in part: "The Reds are going our way. Like ourselves they represent a feared and hated cause. They are the first white group since Emancipation to advocate race, social equality and intermarriage for those who wish it. In fact there is more real Christianity among white Communists than in the white Y.M.C.A., the white Christian Endeavor Societies or the white so-called Christian churches. The Reds are no menace to Negroes. In fact, it is comforting to find groups of such people as Communists in this color-mad world."

Interestingly this newspaper had no comment when in the mid-fifties the Communists set up a Jim Crow school in Harlem because of racial tension and discrimination at its Jefferson School in Greenwich Village.

The People's Voice, a Negro weekly of large Harlem circulation founded by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, was soon dubbed the "Uptown Daily Worker" because of its news and editorial content and fiery columns by Paul Robeson and Lena Horne, which left no doubt of its ideological kinship with the Afro-American. On the Pacific Coast, the widely circulated California Eagle was equally a mouthpiece for Red ideas.

These are among the influences that shaped the thinking of the current crop of agitators

Irresponsible demagoguery on both sides will lead some day, somewhere, to a bloody conflict which could spread as rapidly and as far as the demonstrations have, and the outcome of which will have to be martial law and eventual dictatorship. As Bernard Shaw has observed: "Bravery is sometimes a form of stupidity," and some may cynically agree with the Communists that "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs," but the risk is an American Sharpeville. While this may satisfy those who favor Red revolution, it is scarcely guaranteed to advance the cause of the Negro. Even Gandhi discovered that nonviolence frequently leads to violence because few leaders can control hysterical followers, and bedeviled police armed with shotguns and rifles may not always withstand showers of rocks and bottles with calm and fortitude.

It is a most alarming development when leaders of a people shout, "No compromise!" "No moderation!" Since the Negro wishes to remain in America, embittered violences on both sides will not bring any real integration or guarantee our national security nor insure our survival as a democracy which has brought the greatest freedom and highest living standards in all history to its citizens, black and white. 🕈

What About the Crime Rate? (Continued from page 22)

several points. Among other findings were these: "For a predominantly Negro gathering, the sponsors and school officials showed little concern for developing a wholesome racial climate. As police report, the matter of a predominantly white team versus a pre-dominantly Negro team was discussed in prior meetings. But there was no sign of a constructive step. . .

"There was evidence of racial prejudice among attackers during the stadium riot. Remarks, profanity and utterances heard by some spectators carried the bitterness of racial hatred.

'In a statement issued shortly after the riot, leaders who represent the great majority of Negroes condemned the 'unsportsmanlike conduct and rowdyism,' contending that it can 'neither be excused nor tolerated.' The leaders pointed to 'a release of pent-up emotions built around the championship game' and mentioned 'that aspect of the fracas reflects ominous overtones and mirrors the challenge of much of America's unfinished business. Negro leadership faces a particularly important challenge. . . .

The overlay between the problems of race and education showed up in the report this way: "In the last few years the basic [school system] has become the 'dumping ground' for hundreds of Negro youths, who are consigned to inferior instruction, far too large classes and a complete lack of training to fit them to become employable citizens of tomorrow. Some of these youngsters graduate from high school without acquiring the ability to read and write, and later meet with rejection when they apply for jobs. Many others; discouraged at being tossed into a scrap heap, lose interest in schooling and become drop-outs, the members of a large grouping who form the 'social dynamite' to haunt our community in the months to come. . . . Lecturing to these unfortunate children about the correlation between rights and responsibilities, or the necessity of respect for persons and property, means nothing. They simply are unprepared to accept abstract ideas of this kind.'

Then the officials made the point: has there been too much silence on the problem?

Looking at it from the standpoint of the schools, the panel found "because of the fear of criticism, educators too, long have 'covered up' serious defi-

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100. 80799-October 30, 1967 HEREIA IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-7-83 BY Sp 6 B Dear Mr. Hoover received your letter of October 23rd. He asked me to advise you that while he would like to be of assistance, in view of a long-standing policy, he does not furnish comments of the type you desire regarding individuals, organizations or publications. Sincerely yours, Helen Handy ED 30 3 0 **1967** Helen W. Gandy Secretary NOTE: Correspondent could not be identified in Bufiles. Bufiles contain considerable references to George S. Schuyler who is on the Editorial Staff of the "Pittsburgh Courier." He has written several books including "Black-No-More"; however, no record could be located through Bureau library sources of an autobiography. He has written many articles indicating the Communist Party is exploiting the Negro race. and in 1946 the New York Office requested permission to contact him as a possible source of information concerning communist activities. Permission was not granted, however, since it was not believed Schuyler could furnish any information which the Bureau did not already know. SAW:lvc MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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	Mr. J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C.
	Dear Mr. Hoover,
	As a graduate student at Auburn University, I am doing research on George S. Schuyler. Since your name is mentioned in his autobiography, I would greatly appreciate your commenting - unofficially of course - on his writing, his character, his philosophy, or especially, his influence. Even if you are not personally acquainted with him, your estimate of his imprint on America and especially on his race will be of interest to me. Thank you very much.
	Sincerely yours,
	EX-102 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-7-15 BY SP6 BIR/12 S OCT 31 1967
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To the second Mr. J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-7-85 BY SP 6 BJB/190 Dear Mr. Hoover, go a graduate student at auburn Univer pity, I am doing research on Deorge S. Schuyler Since your name is mentioned in his autohiography, I would greatly appreciate your Commenting - unofficially of course - on les writing, his character, his philosophy, on especially, his influence. Even if you are not fersonally acquainted with lim, your estimate of his imprint on america and especially on his race will be of interest to me. Thank you very much. manno yours