

This LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from the above sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be detrimental to the defense interests of the US and result in the loss of sources of great value.



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 19 MAY 1982 EDITION GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO

SAC (100-146553)

b1c-1

(#42)

DATE:

8/19/64

FROM

SA

SUBJECT:

JAMES BALDWIN SM - C

on 8/11/64, there was received from a confidential mailbox of the NYO a form letter bearing the signature of JAMES BALDWIN which referred to the 1,000 volunteers who are working in Mississippi on the Mississippi Summer Project and asked for a generous contribution for this project. BALDWIN requested that the contribution be sent to him at the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. THIS LETTER WAS SENT FROM THE SNCC OFFICE IN ATLANTA

Also enclosed was a business reply envelope addressed to JAMES BALDWIN, Suite 803, 100 Fifth Avenue, to enclose a contribution for the Mississippi Summer Project. It asked that the checks be made out to SNCC.

Also enclosed was a reprint from "Newsweek" of 2/24/64, which concerns the feare that Mayor ALLEN THOMPSON of Jackson, Mississippi, was gathering together in expectation of a wave of civil rights demonstrations during the Summer of 1964.

The above items received throught the confidential mailbox are being made an exhibit in the BALDWIN file.

1-New York (157-1175)
1-New York (157-) (SNCC)

JFO:mm (3)

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SAC (100-63825)

CHINA DAILY NEWS IS - CH

On 9/2/64, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available trash which was collected from the China Daily News, 20 Elizabeth Street, NYC, b7c-1

Included in the trash were 3 envelopes addressed to the China Daily News bearing the following return addresses:

> JAMES BALDWIN 100 Fifth Avenue NYC

So coaddness

Progressive Labor Box 808 GPO, Brooklyn 1, NY

Organization of Afro-American Unity Hotel Theresa 125th Street and 7th Avenue NYC

The above informant was unable to advise any information regarding the contents of the above correspondence.

ba-1 670-1

- 100-146553 (JAMES BALDWIN)
- 100-147372 (Progressive Labor)
- 100-1533080 (Organization of Afro-American Unity) (Investigative)

MD:mek

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

| Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion. | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you. | | | | | | |
| | Section 552 | | Section 552a | | | | |
| | □ (b)(1) | □ (b)(7)(A) | (d)(5) | | | | |
| | □ (b)(2) | □ (b)(7)(B) | □ (j)(2) | | | | |
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| | □ (b)(5) | □ (b)(9) | □ (k)(6) | | | | |
| | □ (b)(6) | | □ (k)(7) | | | | |
| ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only. | | | | | | | |
| ø | Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you. Cufurul to State | | | | | | |
| Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies). | | | | | | | |
| Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date. | | | | | | | |
| | Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of | | | | | | |
| | Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages: Ny 100-146553-180 | | | | | | | |
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FBI/DOJ



Baidwin Will Quit — U.S. If Goldwater Wins

BERLIN James Baldwin has vowed he will emigrate to another country if Senator, Barry, Goldwater is elected President of the United States.

United States.

At the same time, he denounced the American Black Muslim movement and racial violence in the United States.

Baldwin discussed the American racial problem in an interview given in Paris to the West Berlin newspaper Spandauer Volksablatt.

The newspaper bannerlined the interview on the front page under the headline "Harlem Is A Ghetto."

Asked for his opinion of Goldwater's nomination as the Republican candidate for President the

Negro writer, said, "That is a scandal for the United States. I do not believe in saying too much, but the San Francisco convention showed what the nation really thinks of us 20 million Negroes.

"It was a bitter lesson. If he becomes president I will emigrate. And I would not be the only one to do so."

Asked if he would support President Johnson's campaign felt reelection, Buldwar replied, "As much as it is in my power to do so."

En'd vin condemned the Black Muslims as the Negro equivalent to the Ku Klux Klan.

"I have nothing in common with them," he said. It is emulate to want to solve the (recent) problem with force, any national necessarian for the present relationship is to drive out the nevil with Beelzebub."

Baldwin said Negroes regretted more than anyone the recent outburst of violence and locting in northern cities

"Such demenstrations a ways and everywhere are used by direct elements for their criminal goals," be said, "And not only by Vogroes, Look at what happened in Europe during the depression."

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TEE NEW GRUSADER CHICAGO, ILLEWOIS

WEEKLY EDITION

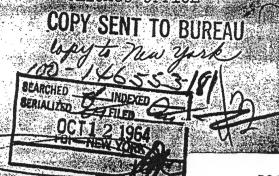
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PAGE / COL

EDITOR:

BALM: LEAVELL JI

CHICAGO OFFICE



VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARDS

MEMORANDUM RE:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

Office File

100-146553

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

| Apartment 6, 470 west End Avenue, New 101k, New 101k |
|---|
| Employment: Self Employed Writer from Residence CONTAINED |
| Address: |
| Labor Union Affiliation: |
| Defense Facility: Yes No Key Facility: Yes No Security Flash: Yes No Photo Yes No |
| It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record. |
| A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial |
| Method of Verification: Present unlesses on aneses method bolumbared the info. on Boldwin |
| Neighborhood Source: Date: //-/3-6 Verified by SA: |
| Employment: 50 me Address: |
| Labor Union Affiliation: Date Checked Geographical Reference Number |
| Key Facility: Yes No SERIALIZED INDEXED Tab Detcom: Yes No. No. SERIALIZED TIME SERIALIZED |
| Method of Verification: |
| Employment Source: Date: 1-13-68 Verified by SA |
| FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau: Yes No A letterhead memorandum should be submitted to the Bureau and Secret Service Yes No File Beviewed //- 19-64 |
| Subject Meets SI Criteria Does not Meet SI Criteria OPER (OR REOPEN) CASE |
| Agent's Initials ORIGIN AGENT SECT SUPV SECT SECT |
| 506 |

SECRET

| SAC | STEEL VISE | | |
|--------------|--|---|----------------------|
| | Informant Reliability Contacting Agent | Who has furnished reliable information the past | bicks |
| | Date of Contact | 11/23/64 | 61 |
| Declaration. | CADINA - 20 9 CS as officed of the second of | SEARCHED ANDEXED | 7 3-183 4-14-3 |
| WED:ctd (9) | SECRET | SINGV 2.7.195 SINGV | 1544 X |

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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| for review and direct respon Pages contain information to the releasability of this | furnished by another Government age information following our consultation as a final release determination has n | ncy(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as with the other agency(ies). |
| Pages contain information to the releasability of this Page(s) withheld inasmuch disposition at a later date. | furnished by another Government age information following our consultation as a final release determination has n | ncy(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as with the other agency(ies). not been made. You will be advised as to the |
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FBI/DOJ

VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARDS

| | MEMORANDUM RE: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN Office File 100-146553 |
|-------|--|
| | The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence |
| | address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card. |
| | Residence: Apartment 6, 470 West End Avenue, New York, New York |
| | Employment: Self Employed Writer from Residence |
| | Employment: Self Employed Writer from Residence Address: Labor Union Affiliation: ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIT IS UNCLASSIFIED HEREIT IS UNCLASSIFIED HEREIT IS UNCLASSIFIED |
| | Labor Union Affiliation: |
| | Detense Facility: Tes X No |
| | Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ No ☐ Detcom ☐ Yes ☒ No ☐ Yes ☒ No ☐ Photo ☒ Yes ☐ No |
| | It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the |
| | subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and |
| | efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record. |
| | A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial |
| , the | Residence: CAME |
| | Method of Verification: Contact with DC- Low DATE OF ANNUAL 3/76/65 |
| | Neighborhood Source: B. new Annual |
| | Date: 3/23/65 Verified by SA: |
| | Employment: SAME |
| | Address: |
| | Labor Union Affiliation: Date Checked Capacitaphical Reference Number |
| | Key Facility: Yes No |
| | Defense Facility: Yes No |
| | Tab Detcom: Yes No OR SEOPEN CASE DATE // DATE |
| | Method of Verification: Employment source: Outstant on C-6 Employment source: Outstant on C-6 Employment source: Outstant on C-6 |
| | Date: 3/23/65 |
| | Verified by SA: |
| | FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau: Yes VNo A letterhead memorandum should be submitted to the Bureau and Secret Service Yes |
| | File Reviewed 4/5/65 |
| | Subject Meets SI Criteria Does not Meet SI Criteria |
| | Agent's Initials Serialized Seria |
| | Date 4/6/65 |
| | SI line Chy 5 |

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| REPORTING OFFICE | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE | INVESTIGATIV | E PERIOD | |
|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------|
| NEW YORK | NEW YORK | APR 6 1965 | | 3/30/65 | |
| TITLE OF CASE | | REPORT MADE BY | 1 2/ 30 | 3/30/07 | TYPED BY |
| JAMES ARTHUR | DATPUTH ' | | | | ctd |
| THUR CAMAG | DELINIA DE | ARACTER OF | CASE | | |
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| 5 - Bureau (| 62-108763) (RM) | | | | |
| 1 - Secret S | ervice, NYC (RM) (100-146553) | 10 | | _ | |
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| HOW PWD. | | - | | | |
| BY | **** | | | | |
| | W.S. SOVERHMENT PRINTE | 14 OFFICE 16-76234-1 | | | |



ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

bic-1

The pretext utilized by SA on 3/23/65, to verify the subject's residence consisted of an attempt to locate an individual named BEHRINGER who resided in the subject's building. During the conversation between the agent and

67C-6

the latter advised that the subject resides in Apartment 6 at 470 West End Avenue and is well known in the building as an author and playwright.

The Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Edition of Playbill entitled "Curtain Call" Volume 1, No. 7, dated July, 1964, on page 36, published an interview entitled "Playwright At Work: JAMES BALDWIN." A notation by the editor of Playbill noted that JAMES BALDWIN is a "brilliant burning tiger who is probably the monarch of the current literary jungle, (who) has won international acclaim as both a major writer and as the angry conscience of a nation." The notation continues "This blunt, lonely, perceptive forty year old bachelor has created three novels, three books of essays and the two plays. His latest work may be seen on Broadway in the Actors Studio's explosive production of 'Blues for Mr. Charlie.'" The notation concluded with the statement that BALDWIN recently discussed his career and views on the American theatre in a two hour interview.

It is to be noted that in the interview mentioned above wherein the subject was asked, "Will you write for the stage again?" BALDWIN replied, "I will do more plays. I am now finishing a book with RICHARD AVEDON on the way we now live in America. His pictures, my text-entitled 'An Essay'. Then I have a long article to do on the FBI and how it treats Negroes. It will be called, 'The Blood Counters', which is the Negroes nick-name for the FBI. After that, perhaps a play."

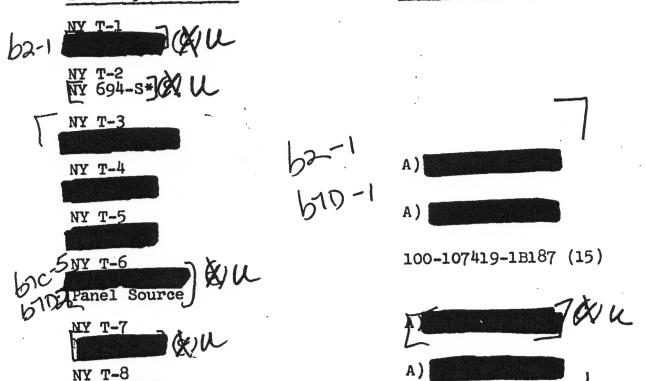
Information pertaining to the subject's name being in the possession of the "China Daily News" in September, 1964, has been paraphrased in this report in order to protect the source.

CONSTRAIN

INFORMANTS

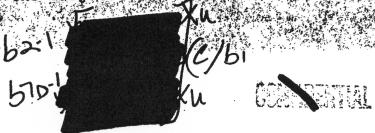
Identity of Source

File Number Where Located



Negative Contact with Informants

The listed confidential informants of the NYO who are familiar with certain phases of CP and/or racial activity in the New York City area advised during February and March, 1965, that they had no information pertaining to the subject:



THEORMANTS CONTID

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CONTREMIAL

| 1. 2. 3. 4. | Subject's name is included in the Security Index. The data appearing on the Security Index card are current. Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau. A suitable photograph is is is not available. Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are This report is classified confidential because (state reason) of information furnished by NY T-1 through NY T-7, the unauthorized disclosure of which could reveal these sources of continuing value which would be detrimental to the national defense interests of the United States. | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| 7. | Subject previously interviewed (dates) Subject was not mainterviewed because (state reason) of his prominent position as a Negro author and his personal involvement in the civil rights struggles by the Negroes in the United States as well as his implied dislike for the FBI is evidenced by the fact it has been stated he is planning to write a book criticizing the FBI on its activity in the civil rights field in the South. It is felt | |
| 9. | This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card. This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) of the subject's outspoken stand on the civil rights issue, his current prominence as an author and the inflammatory nature of his writings which show him to be a dangerous individual who could be expected to commit acts inimical to the national defense and public safety of the United States in time of emergency. | |
| 10 | Subject's SI card is is not tabbed Detcom. Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons) | |

CONFINENTIAL

CONSTRENTIAL

7. CONT'D

that an attempt to interview BALWIN. If publicized, could be a source of embarrassment to the Bureau.

COMPDENTIAL

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



Copy to:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

ALL NIPOEMATION CONTAINED MERELA IF UNCLASSIFIED HERE SHOW

OTHER New York, New York

Report of:

Date:

Field Office File No.

APR 6 1965 100-146553

Bureau File No.: 62-108763

Title

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

Subject resides at 470 West End Avenue, New York,

New York, and is an author and playwright. Subject is associate of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in promotion work for subject's play K Subject was sponsor of Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants in February, 1964. Subject spoke before Emergency Civil Liberties Committee dinner in December, 1963. Subject wrote article appearing in Spring, 1964 issue of "Preedomways".

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 94255 SAUS CA97-5249

GROUP VI Excluded Tr om automatic downgrading leclassific tion

I. BACKGROUND

BOWN THE

Residence and Employment

On March 23, 1965, it was determined by a pretext conducted by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that JAMES BALDWIN, Negro Author and Playwright, resides in Apartment 6 at 470 West End Avenue, New York, New York.

On April 23, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" was scheduled to open on April 23, 1964, at the Anta Theatre, 252 West 52nd Street, New York City.

In June, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" which opened on April 23, 1964, was scheduled to close in June, 1964.

The "New York Herald Tribune" edition of July 14, 1964, contained an article which stated that a book about the FBI by JAMES BALDWIN was scheduled to be published by Dial Fress in the Spring of 1965. This article also stated that this book will be featured in the "New Yorker" magazine before it appears as a book.

II. ASSOCIATION WITH COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) MEMBERS

On April 5, 1964, NY T-1 advised that JAMES BALDWIN was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early April, 1964. NY T-1 was unable to determine the purpose of this contact between O'DELL and the subject.

MY T-2 advised in July, 1962, that as of July 1962 HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was considered by the CFUSA as being a member of the National Committee of the CFUSA.

In April, 1964, NY T-1 advised that HIMTER PITTS O'DELL was doing the promotion work for JAMES BALDWIN's play, "Elues for Mr. Charlie".

On April 20, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in April, 1964, in New York City regarding the subject's play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie" scheduled to open on Broadway, New York City, on April 23, 1964.

On May 3, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early May, 1964. (A) III

On June 9, 1964, NY T-1 advised that the subject was in contact with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL in early June, 1964, regarding the subject's play "Blues for Mr. Charlie".

III. AFFILIATION WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

China Daily News

A characterization of the China Daily News is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

On September 2, 1964, NY T-3 advised that the subject's name was in the possession of the China Daily News in September, 1964.

Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants

A characterization of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is contained in the Appendix attached Hereto:

5 CHINDILL

WY 100-146553

ENYM

On February 17, 1964, NY T-4 and on February 18, 1964, NY T-5 advised that at a meeting of the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party, held on February 16, 1964, in Chicago, Illinois, it was stated that the subject was a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants as of February, 1964.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

A characterization of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

on April 16, 1964, NY T-6 made available a copy of the February-March, 1964 issue of "Rights" distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) which contained portions of a speech given by the subject at an ECLC Bill of Rights dinner held in December, 1963, in New York City.

"Freedomways"

A characterization of "Preedomways" is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

The Spring, 1964 issue of "Freedomways", Volume 4, Number 2, self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement", published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York, New York, contains an article entitled, "What Price Freedom" by JAMES BALDWIN.

The New York School for Marxist Studies

A characterization of the New York School for Marxist Studies is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

" town

On March 19, 1964, NY T-7 and on March 24, 1964, NY T-8 advised that at a forum sponsored by the New York School for Marxist Studies, held on March 17, 1964, at 853 Broadway, New York City, JOE NORTH, who spoke on the topic, "Where Is American Literature Going?", remarked that there should be more writers like JAMES BALDWIN and heaped praise on BALDWIN.

"The Worker" dated March 15, 1964, in its masthead identified JOSEPH NORTH as being a member of the Editorial Staff of that publication.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The August 2, 1964 edition of the "New York Post", a daily newspaper published at New York, New York, contained an article written by the subject on the Harlem riots which had occurred in New York City during the summer of 1964. In this article, BALDWIN set forth the reasons which he felt caused the riots by Negroes in Harlem. The lead to this article noted that it had been written by the subject in Paris, France, where he was then writing a new novel and had been sent directly to the "New York Post".

The "New Crusader", Chicago, Illinois, weekly edition dated September 15, 1964, contained an article daptioned, "BALDWIN Will Qut US If GOLDWATER Wins." In this article, the subject, who was interviewed in Paris, France, on an unspecified date by a West Berlin newspaper, stated that he would emigrate from the United States if BARRY GOLDWATER, nominated as a Republican candidate for President of the United States was elected President.

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Negative Contacts With Informants

TON METHOD

Confidential informants who are familiar with certain phases of Communist Party activity or hate groups in the New York City area advised during February and March, 1965, that they had no information pertaining to the subject.

CONPOLUTIAL

NY-100-146553

1.

APPENDIX

CHINA DAILY NEWS

On May 19, 1964, a source advised that the "China Daily News" (CDN) was founded in 1940 by a group of Chinese Communists and that the persons who controlled its policies from then to the present time have all been known to him as Chinese Communist leaders within the Chinese Communist movement in the New York area.

LOUIE TOM, a former employee of the CDN stated on October 30, 1962, that the people in the Chinese Community consider the CDN to be in favor of the Chinese Communists, and he now believes that they are correct. He stated that he and many other Chinese began reading the CDN because it reprinted stories from the homeland. He conceded that most of these stories favored the Chinese Communists.

The CDN, on December 29, 1962, contained an article on page 1 which stated that the financial situation has become more acute in recent days, and in order to operate it was necessary to economize. The article also stated that the CDN would only be published twice weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Another source has advised during 1963 and 1964 that the CDN receives current news releases from the China News Service. The news releases are from Peking, Shanghai, and Canton. China.

On February 16, 1955, the CDN paid a fine of \$25,000.00, and EUGENE MOY, its managing editor, began serving a one-year prison sentence after conviction in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, in connection with the paper's printing of advertisements for Chinese Communist banks which sought to induce Chinese in the United States to send money to Communist China. EUGENE MOY died on December 14, 1958.

NY=100-146553

1. APPENDIX

COMMITTEE TO AID THE MONROE DEFENDANTS

A source advised on October 10, 1961, that the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD) was formed during September, 1961, by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City.

Source advised on May 6, 1964, that the aims of the CAMD were to afford financial support and counsel for ROBERT F. WILLIAMS and four other defendants who were involved in a racial incident on August 27, 1961, at Monroe, North Carolina. The SWP hoped to dramatize this incident nationally and internationally through the CAMD and thus attract individuals to the SWP aims and principles by playing a leading role in the integration struggle. The CAMD was also active in promoting the philosophy of utilizing counter-violence to achieve integration as espoused by WILLIAMS.

According to the source, the organization and impetus of CAMD activities throughout the various parts of the United States, such as obtaining sponsors and the raising of funds, were the results of the efforts of various SWP branches.

The March 23, 1964, issue of "The Militant," a weekly SWP newspaper, stated the CAMD suspended activities. This article related that this action was taken following the rejection of this committee by the defendants just prior to the trial held February 18-28, 1964, at Monroe, North Carolina, which resulted in the conviction of all of the defendants, except ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS has fled the United States and is reportedly residing in Cuba.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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



"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

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

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



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APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

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

NY=100-146553

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APPENDIX

-CONTYDENTIAL

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

-CONVOLUTAL

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1. APPENDIX

NEW YORK SCHOOL FOR MARXIST STUDIES

In September, 1960, a source advised it was announced at a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA), New York District (NYD), Staff, held September 16, 1960, that the People's School for Marxist Studies was founded in September, 1960, as the result of a decision of the CP, USA, NYD. Adult classes were scheduled to start October 17, 1960.

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, October 16, 1960, issue, announced the opening of the New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) with general classes beginning October 17, 1960, and Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) (Youth) Classes beginning October 14, 1960. The address of the School is Room 1922, 853 Broadway at 14th Street, New York, New York.

The records of Pierce Mayer & Greer, 41 East 42nd Street, New York City, reflect that on August 29, 1960, HERBERT APTHEKER leased Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, for the period starting October 1, 1960. The premises were to be occupied by a "People's School." On July 3, 1962, HERBERT APTHEKER signed a new lease for Room 1922-23, 853 Broadway, New York City, to start October 1, 1962, which reflects that the premises were to be used as an office for the NYSMS.

During April and May, 1964, a second source furnished information that the NYSMS was then in operation at 853 Broadway, New York, New York.

A third source advised on December 14, 1959, that at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held December 10 5 13, 1959, HERBERT APTHEKER was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

The May, 1963, issue of "Political Affairs," self-described as the theoretical organ of the CP, USA, reflects that HERBERT APTHEKER has been replaced as editor of that publication after holding this position for several years.

A characterization of SCOPE is included in the appendix.

528

NY-100-146553

APPENDIX

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

A source advised on June 16, 1958, that the Student Committee on Progressive Education (SCOPE) was formed in early 1958, by a group of individuals who were believed to be, by the source, sympathizers of the former Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A second source advised on November 20, 1958, that at the third day's session of the National Executive Committee (NEC), Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held that day in New York City, ROBERT THOMPSON, Executive Secretary, CP, USA, stated that in New York there is a group of about twenty-one youths who have been a very active force in youth and formed a group called SCOPE, a Student Committee On Progressive Education, which has run for the last year with young people with a Marxist character. THOMPSON stated that approximately eight or ten of this group are CP members.

A third source advised on March 24, 1959, that during a meeting of the NEC, CP, USA, held on March 21, 1959, HYMAN LUMER, CP, USA Educational Director, stated that in New York most of the discussions on youth are between the National Office (CP) and two groups of young people who function in New York, which are either Party groups or proparty groups. The first group is called SCOPE (Student Committee on Progressive Education), and this group stands closest to the CP leadership.

A fourth source made available on March 23, 1961, a mimeographed letter signed by "The SCOPE Committee." This letter sets forth that last fall SCOPE became a part of the newly formed New York School for Marxist Studies (NYSMS) as its autonomous youth division.

The Winter (January 30, 1964 - March 6, 1964)
Term 1964 Bulletin of the NYSMS states that SCOPE "believes that knowledge can be achieved and intellectual conformity and apathy avoided only through continual study and discussion. All students are encouraged to participate actively, as the goal of SCOPE is to provide a unique opportunity for the study and discussion of Marxism."



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APPENDIX

STUDENT COMMITTEE ON PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION (SCOPE)

On May 13, 1964, a fifth source advised that SCOPE continues to share the office space in Room 1922, 853 Broadway, New York City, with the NYSMS.

A characterization of the NYSMS is included in the appendix.



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



In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York APR 6 1965

Title James Arthur Baldwin

Character Security Matter - C

Reference is made to report of Special Agent dated and captioned

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



Mary

SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250)

5/4

SA

CLARENCE JONES SM-C ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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on 4/8/65, advised that on that date was in contact with an unknown individual at a bank. This person asked how the insurance project was and said he had little to do with it right now. The unknown person said he saw that \$50,000.00 went through the account over to the Franklin National. explained this was an excellent situation, that apparently they came through with an interesting proposal in the line of credit and in order to activate it there had to be an initial deposit.

on the same date, according to the source, contacted CLARENCE JONES and Inquired that was new on the insurance company. JONES said he was trying to get PETER PETERSON, Bell & Howell, for a director, also WHEELER from Pitney-Bowles. He said he also is working on investments from LESLIE UGGAMS (the singer) BROOK BENTON, HARRY BELAFONTE, SIDNEY POITIER, and JAMES BALDWIN. He added that "our money" is coming in slowly and that he was waiting for a check from the Chemical Bank.

with clanified "SITRET

1 - New York (100

Lymation from

- New York (100-146553) (JAMES BALDWIN(45)

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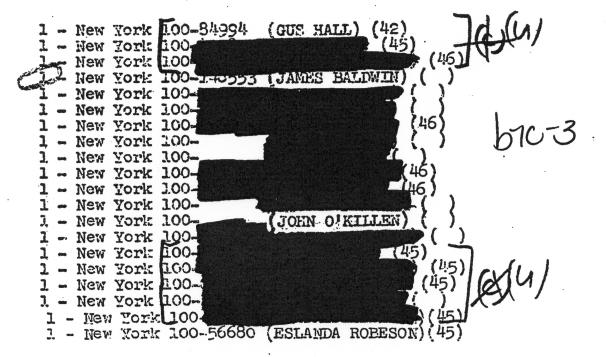
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED MERRIN IN UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT ASSEL SHOWN DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 39677 SAH UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM ON 3/17/99 DATE: 5/10/65 SAC, NEW YORK FROM FREEDOMNAYS ASSOCIATES SUBJECT: IS-C Identity of Source Salute to PAUL ROBESON, Description of info sponsored by Freedomways 4/29/65 Date Received Original Located A copy of informent's report follows: b2-1 b1D-1 1 - New York 1 - New York 100-25857 1 - New York 100 FAUL ROBESCN Classified by 1 - New York 100-1 - New York 100 1 - New York 100 - New York 100 - New York 100 - New York 100 1 - New York 100-1 - New York 200 1. - New York 100 1 - New York 100 1 - New York 100 1 - New York 100-54965 1 - New York 100-JOHN AET) 1 - New York 100-GEORGE MURPHY) 1 - New York 100-COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE SERIALIZED ... FILED.

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MAY 10, 1965 FBI - NEW YORK

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CONFIDENTIAL"

April 24.

Freedomways Magazine sponsored, on April 22nd, a cocktail party & testimonial entertainment in honor of PAUL ROBESON. This took place at the Americana Hotel located at Seventh Avenue & Fifty Second Street in New York City.

Entry fee to the cocktail party was \$10 - this was also good for the entertainment which followed later in a larger room. Approximately 500 persons attended the cocktail party with app. 20% being negro. Among those attending the cocktail party were

JOHN ABT

Mr. & Mrs. BALDWIN who reside in Pennsylvania & have an apartment in New York - it is believed Mr. BALDWIN is an artist, this couple is white & elderly (XXV)

Among those entertaining or speaking at the larger room were the following: JAMES BALDWIN, HOPE STEVENS, PETE SEEGER, BOB NEMEROFF, JOHN LEWIS OF SNCC, OSSIE DAVIS & RUBY DEE who alternated as master of ceremonies. SARAH, WRIGHT, GEORGE TABORI, JOYN C KILLEN and LORETTA PAUKER. Kmong those seen at the latter part of the affair were

who it is known, spoke to PHIL & told him she had heard he would attend.

Mrs. ROBESON spoke and, also, PAUL ROBESON who, in addition to smaking, broke into song on a couple of occasions.

A collection was made & the people contributing put their money into small white printed envelopes. GEORGE MURPHY made the appeal for the collection.



2 Milesice White America

THE DEFENDER White people cannot are the lies of their own history said author ames flaidwin in a fecture at the New School for Social Research. Some 300 people fammed in to hear him the same asserted Continuing Balwin asserted that white Anglo-Sazons have



JAMES BALDWIN

falsified the history of the Unit for 364 years."
ed States and are now at the mercy of their own myth-making.

He said the earliest English settlers had left Europe to escape poverty, and to set up their own aristocracles. Many had come out of English jalls, he pointed out.

Who Baldwin asked knows anything about the Virginia aristocrats outside of Virginia aristocrats outside of Virginia who organized the three day conference and presides over the New School and the Hariem Writers Guild, said the white man's future depends on

Negro progress.

In the 50th Century, Ruisens stated, the black American is the white man's appearance of the alluded to remarks by Baldwin. Baldwin has raised the essential question, he began his explanation, how do save America from herself.

The answer, he said, is in the hands of the "black writers" of America. The black writers must save America.

When the history of the 20th

When the history of the 20th Century is written, it won't mattel who reached the moon first but that this century was the century of freedom.

During a question and answer period, an onlooker asked what he had in common with the black man in Africa?"

Gild member Sylvest Leaks answered him

"By asking what you have, you have only demonstrated how thoroughly you have been brainwashed by the white man for 364 years." Refames Baldwin

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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3 CHICAGO DAILY
DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 4-26-65 Edition: DAILY

Authors

Editor: JOHN SENGSTACKE

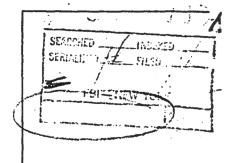
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UNITED STATES G TERMENT

MEMORALIDUII

TO:

SAC (100-144189)

100c-1

DATE: 5/20/65

FROM:

SA

(42)

SUBJECT:

FREEDOM/AYS ASSOCIATES INC.

IS-C

On the night of 4/22/65, "Freedomways" magazine held a salute to PAUL ROBESON at the Hotel Americana, NYC. A physical surveillance was conducted at the Hotel Americana on the night of 4/22/65, between the hours of 5:30 P.M. and 8:00 P.M. At 5:30 P.M., HUNTER PITTS O'DELL was observed in the lobby at the main entrance to the hotel and he was observed in the lobby on numerous occasions during the evening, at times conversing with other Negroes and occasionally on the hotel telephones in the lobby.
O'DELL was wearing a boutomiere and carried a program. One of the persons seen conversing with O'DELL was ARTHUR KNIGHT. The following persons were observed entering the lobby of the hotel and walking to the rear of the hotel where there was access to the ballroom where the "Freedomways" affair was being held:

| 1-100-146553 (JAMES BALDUIN) 1-100- 1-100- 1-100- 1-100-99363 (HOWARD DA SILVA) 1-100-13483 (DETTY GANNETT) 1-100-13472 (GIZ GREEN) 1-100-34994 (GUS HALL) 1-100- 1-100- | MILINFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNICH SPEED SISTED DATES DESCRIPTION CONTAINED |
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| 1-100-25857 (PAUL ROBESON, SR. |) / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / / |
| 1-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR. | |
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| 1-100-16005 (JACK STACHEL) | |
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NY 100-144:189

JAMES DALDWIN
TED BASSETT
JOE HANDT AND THE DAVIDOR HOWARD DA SILVA
ELETTY GAMMETT
GIL GREEN
GUS HALL
ARNOLD JOHNSON
GIARENCE JOHES
IRNA HO WEIL

GIDBY NEEDLEMAN
CYRIL PHILIP
PAUL ROBESON, SR.
PAUL ROBESON, JR.
DAMMY RUBIN
DAMMY RUBEL
JACK STACHEL
MASHEED STOREY
JIM TORNEY
THE EYLLINSTON

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56) BI Date: OTENTAL Transmit the following in DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 39677 SAHDZ AIRTEL ON 3/17/99 (Priority or Method of A CA97-5269 DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971) SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635) FROM SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM IS-NOI OO: CHICAGO The following information was furnished by who has furnished reliable information in the past. On 7/5/65, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD remarked to in connection with a discussion regarding NOT activities, particularly the NOI newspaper "MUHAMMAD SPEAKS", that he keeps hearing from British Columbia, urging him to come up there after he has previously turned them down. He added that they keep telling him they will give him more money for expenses and pay him more. He also stated there was another place in Maine that is doing about the same thing. He also stated that he has to do something about the Saturday Evening Post, as he promised them that he would give MCAthem an article as well as other magazines. He added that (ERIC) LINCOLN and (JAMES) BALDWIN both want to do some writing and go 50-50 with him, but that he has told them he will have no part of it. He added that he desires to give the material to write it for MUHAMMAD and have will be compensated. He added that for which he, "these fellows just want to get fat off of us". ELIJAH also stated that he desires to go to Tuskegee (Alabama) and that he desired to take DURHAM with apparently jumped at the chance, stating he 3 - Bureau (RM) 1%- Boston (RM) (97-145) 4 - Chicago Mobile (RM) (105-55) (1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH New York (RM) 100-(1/ 100- JAMES BALDWIN) 1 - 100 -

Approved: .

Special Agent in Charge

540

SEXCET

CG 100-35635

would be delighted and it would give him a chance to jump between ELIJAH and the Ku Klux Klan. MUHAMMAD explained that that would not be right as he, MUHAMMAD, was too strong for them. MUHAMMAD indicated that the affair in Tuskegee, if it took place, would be in the latter part of September, 1965, and that he would want to have write his speech for him and accompany him there as the editor of the newspaper.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau and interested offices.

In view of the vagueness and non-specific nature of the above, it is not being placed in LHM form at this time. Chicago will follow this matter closely and in the event additional specific information is developed, the Bureau and interested offices will be appropriately advised. In addition, this information is not being put into LHM form as it could conceivably jeopardize.

ba:1670-1

SEARET -2-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:

SAC (100-91911)

DATE: 7/23/65

FROM:

SA

67C-1 (#42)

b7c-3

SUBJECT:

SM - C

who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information on the dates indicated. Information furnished by this source should be carefully paraphrased when used in any communication which will be disseminated outside the Bureau so that this confidential technique may not be compromised.

1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)(42) 1 - 100-(LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS)(41) 1 - 100-(47) - 100-152081 (COMMUNITARY COUNCIL ON HOUSING) (41) (45) - 157-892 (RACTAL STEWARTON, NY DIVISION)(42) - 100-67c-3 - 100-- 157-1223 (CORE)(42) - 100 - 100-146553 (JAMES BALDWIN) (43) - 157-1469 (ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER) (42) 1 - 100-ENU, FEMALE NYC) (43)

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her that he would be going pretty soon.

GLEN (LNU) (Female) contacted the League of Women Voters and said that she lives at Street, NYC. She inquired if she was in the 31st Senatorial District.

7/3/65

(LNU) and asked her to come for dinner that day.

said she knows is "shacking up" in chicago with and she wanted to talk to about it.

670-2

7/5/65

at tempted to contact (LNU) was not in.

that Bronx CORE was having a rally on Saturday night, July 10, 1965, at 169th Street and Boston Post Road, Bronx, NY. He wanted JESSE GRAY to speak at this rally against police brutality. JESSE GRAY was not in.

Council on Housing (CCH) stated that the petitions are not out yet but he expected them to be ready on 7/6/65. Stated that for the past three days he has been in the office of CCH taking the voter registration list and typing it out on sheets of paper broken down according to addresses. He could not get any typists so he had to do the job himself.

and gave contacted Brooklyn, NY. his home residence as stated he is said his chances of winning are good because none of his opponents have his militancy and background of to help him get into the asked ____ He said the main thing is the solicitation of signatures for petitions. The campaign right now is to get on the ballot. The August campaign will be is running in a campaign of registration says that it might be the Democratic Primary. worthwhile getting involved because it's a short term thing.

said that we can use help any time and the main thing right now is that JESSE GRAY needs 5,000 signatures; heeds 750 signatures.

Says, I'm going to see what we can or can't do".

7/6/65

who was not in. NY Telephone Co. records reflect this phone is listed to.

7/8/65

Cosmos Progressive Association.

told that he and need help. is forming a "committee of 200" who will contribute \$10.00 a month towards his campaign expenses. said he is opening his office at

(PH) from Hep (PH) attempted to reach Major WILLIAMS who was not in.

7/11/65

at ______ contacted an junidentified man at _____ This individual told ______ to go to VIRGINIA and FRED's, 264 Tenth Avenue, near 25th Street, NYC. _____ said he would be there.

Cappa Alpha Chi) contacted and asked for JESSE who was not in.

contacted an unknown female at and asked if she had the list of contributors during the period of the rent strike. The woman asked if the meant JAMES BALDWIN. Said yes. The woman said she does have the list but does not have it handy, however, it would be available.

7/12/65

asked if the "tramp and prostitute were back yet. She referred to and She also asked to tell to put some money in an envelope and send it for the children.

telephone left word for to call him.

_ 4 _

JAMES BALDWIN





Dear Friend,

I have recently returned from Alabama witnessing an heroic effort by the Negro Community of that state to achieve universal adult suffrage. Selma is one of those many areas in the south having a majority Negro population and it is in such areas that the present crisis in American Democracy is most intensely mirrored. The Selma example is of great significance to all of us.

Upon returning home, I found on my desk my copy of the latest issue of FREEDOMWAYS magazine. If you haven't read this magazine, which is a Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement, I urge you to get a copy immediately.

During the past five years, in which the growth of the Movement for Human Rights has so profoundly stirred the conscience of our nation, FREEDOMWAYS has been in the forefront of those magazines providing illuminating articles on the many facets of the Civil Rights crisis. In addition, its in-depth coverage and analysis of important developments on the African and Asian continents, its poetry, short stories, art and photography make FREEDOMWAYS a most complete magazine.

I am renewing my subscription today.

Won't you join me in using the enclosed envelope to mail a check for your subscription? You will be in time for the special Mississippi Issue, which is now available.

I know you will find FREEDOMWAYS an indispensable source of information as well as an inspiring literary experience.

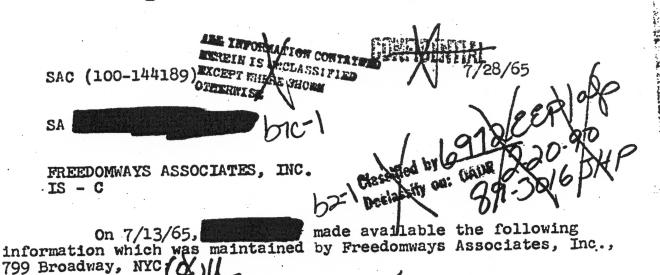
Sincerely,

DECLASSIFIED ON

James Back

Classified by SADR 5-26-89
Declassify on: OADR 5-26-89

CONFIDENTIAL



A form letter on the stationery of JAMES BALDWIN, NY, NY, bearing the signature of JAMES BALDWIN and addressed "Freedomways," BALDWIN comments on a recent trip made to Alabama where he witnessed the effort by the Negros there to achieve voting rights. He said that the example of Selma is of great importance to all of them.

BALDWIN continues that he found the recent issue of 'Freedomways" on his desk when he returned and said that this magazine, during the past five years, has been in the forefront of those magazines providing articles on the many facets of the Civil Rights Crises.

BALDWIN asks that the recipient join him in using the enclosed envelope to subscribe to 'Freedomways.'

Enclosed with this letter was a flier showing the cover page of the winter, 1965 issue devoted to W.E.B. DuBois and the spring, 1965 issue devoted to Mississippi. Also enclosed was a self-addressed envelope to Freedomways Associates, 799 Broadway, containing space for a subscription to the magazine.

The above information is filed in NY file 100-144189-1B.

| 1 - New Y | York (100-146553) (JAM York | ES BALDWIN Sec. | 45) |
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Memorandum. Close Case on this SEARCHED INDES SEP 28 '955