August 9, 2007
DR. WILLIAM J MAXWELL
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
608 SOUTH WRIGHT STREET
URBANA, IL 61801


Request No.: 1074489-000
Subject: WHITE, WALTER

## Dear Requester:

The records that you have requested were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act for another requester.

Enclosed are 83 pages of documents pertaining to your request and a copy of the explanation of exemptions.

You may submit an appeal from any denial contained herein by writing to the Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 205300001, within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

Sincerely yours,


## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

## SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and $(\mathrm{B})$ are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552 b of this title), provided that such statute(A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A ) could be reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could be reasonably expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

## SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
$(k)(1) \quad$ information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
$(k)(2) \quad$ investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
$(k)(4) \quad$ required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
$(k)(5) \quad$ investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
$(k)(6) \quad$ testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
$(k)(7) \quad$ material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.



(MATERIAL MUST NOT RE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)



ON: NOT

FOP $\frac{423055}{1036554}$ USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

 -$-$


## EAT:DS

- optemier A3, 2960


Whe wertocn, witay dondor: inniand

Se. 34 $\qquad$
 iaccuttue ecretwr. or wheratational ceoofation "or the invancement s:" foloree: Peopley called of mu oforce ant cuvtiet nt that lic tu mating G trip titrough ukriout satile, ronte in conncotion
 Atte"s itincrar, will be atop in wo. son ane I have "urnlehca win with: nur nane and sunaected
 beon friendly shs osoperatilue utth the .aurexu and I wMit to ze aurf that son arc ver. courteous writ


EIncarely 的䊾,
declassiferp by SP-16SK/mh
ON $\qquad$ ne
$\qquad$
Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm_
Mr. Clegg $\qquad$
Mr. Coffey $\qquad$
Mr. Glavin $\qquad$
Mr. Ladd $\qquad$
Mr. Nichols $\qquad$
Mr. Rosen $\qquad$


$\qquad$
Mr. Carson $\qquad$ -
Mr. Hendon $\qquad$ R2
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mumford $\qquad$
Mr. Piper $\qquad$


Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease $\qquad$
Miss Gandy

ALHMEn matinu mantained


SEP 251343
U. S. DEPARTMEIY CF JUSTICE
$J K^{\prime}: I B$
federal bureau of investigation

DATE Shotember 23, 1, 13


Mr. H $\qquad$
Mr . Harbo
Mr . Stark $\qquad$
Mr. Quinn Cam_
Tole. Room $\qquad$
liefcrence is made to the attached letter dated Sopecmbor 15, 1!343, from Arthur 5. Spingarn, President of the rational Association for the Advancement of Color oc sone, in which he requests testimonial lotion from jiirector, Niracta, to "miter white, secretary of that Association, on the occasion of white's completion of 25 of service tharemith.

L review of the Bureaus files was male in connection
Mr. Nease $\qquad$ Miss Beam $\qquad$
$\qquad$
(10notict ac. bite, and it, is interesting to note that wo do not wan o win file on him. There are many many sec raferonces, all of witch marta in in in m mast sestet his activities concerning the Association.

On ecueral occasions he has bon in to sec the birnotor ancorning tho cases that we had under invoatiration involving? civil rinds.

The files reflect that he is a milgatant type of individual and is active in every conceiuathe program in mince: the letterman af the negro race might be involved. In such participation, of coilr:io, he is alleged to have made numerous statements which ara of cribibel nature of various individuals. Na cxomplo of this inould bo the jotroit riot case in which be is alleged to have placed the blame therefore on the lack of intelligent administration o law indore went
 the entirc afjuir. writs! 198


 made and would certainly do the intrean no harm, int mola an the Ding rand aid us in our relations with the 1 gro race.


$$
100.32 .58 .41-X 1
$$



$$
\because n^{2}
$$

September 25. 1943

Mr. Walter White
Secretary
National Association for the
Advancenent of Colored people
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, Hew York
Dear vor. inite:
I have your letter of septemiver 23, 2943, and your telegran sent the next day, concerning your contemplated trips to the various theaters of war. I assure you I shall bo most happy if our discussion of the mattor proves to have been of assistance and ahall look forwara to hoaring fron you on your return.

You may bo interestec to know your personal security questionnaire was received from the war Department on the afternoon of Septonber 24 and was cleared on the murning of September 25.

With kind regards,

Mr . Tolson $\qquad$
Mr. E. A Tamm_
Mr. Clegg $\qquad$
Mr. Coffey $\qquad$

## ALL INFORMATION CONTAINEA

Mr. Glavin $\qquad$ HERFIMIS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE HQ| 81 BY SP-1GSK/mm
Mr . Nichols $\qquad$
Mr . Rosen $\qquad$
Mr. Tracy $\qquad$
Mr. Carson $\qquad$
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Piper
Mr. Starke
Mr . Quinn Tafm_
Mr. Nease $M$,




Sincerel
CL
ANEF




SEP 24.498
K.


WU17 LG
WU NEWYORK NY SEP 24 302P 1943

## EDGAR hoover

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION


81. Cosec

NIT. 4 Ca Boa

1. Ir. Wars Sos

ITs. an....
15: Lina :o
配- 6

- inc.

ALL INFORMATIOn CONTAINED
HERE IS UM A ABIFIED


WAR DEPARTMENT INFORMS ME MY PERSONAL SECURITY APPLICATION HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. WOULD DEPLY APPRECIATE ITS CLEARANCE WITH ATTACHMENT OF YOUR RECOMMENDATION WE DISCUSSED AS SOÓN AS POSSIble AS WISH LEAVE ABOUT

NOVEMBER 1. THÁNKS AND KINDEST REGARDS
WALTER 9 WHITE.

WHITEOK 1.

wame $100-328241$ - 14
Mr. Falter white
: Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 09 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New Fork

Dear Mr. Finite:
Your letter of September 28 has just been received.

I shall be very glad indeed to see you upon your return from your trip to California and before you leave for Europe. Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HERE: MS IS:GA:SSIFED





Oct 2 in 34 AM 1 ? heceived-tamm
:FBI
"S.OEPT. OF .JISTICE




- mbur arime
Ex
.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Br }
\end{aligned}
$$



In wist er of june 9, 194, you will recall I advised you that a copy of your latter to me, dated May 22, 194, was being directed to the Attorney General. You will recall that I also informed you that any additional information which you night forward to would be brought to thin attention of $\mathbf{M r}$. Biddle.
since writing you I have been requested by the Attorney conceal to pack you to contime to furnish all information concerning the status of racial conditions, not only in Detroit but in other areas, which is brought to your attention, or which ming bo developed by you in the course of may inquiries. I will, of course, be appreciative of your supplying any data along these lines. You may be assured that they in tex turn will be brought to the attention of the Attorney general.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar hoover
Dirwotor


## united States 3 apartment of Justice

理ashington，羽．U．
June 16， 1944

－ROUTING－
Pis．Mumford
Alden $\qquad$
Buckley
Burton． $\qquad$
Mr．Calla．
Mr．Carson．
ir．Cunningham．
Mr．Fitch．
Ir．Fletcher
Mr．Stricicland．

## MEMORANDUM FOR MR．LID

With references to the attached memorgnam addressed to the Attorney General transmitting a copy of the letter addressed to the Bureau by Walter White，Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on May 22，1944，you are advised that $\square$ called at my office concerning this matter．He stated the Attorney General did not believe that the subject matter should be investigated since there were no substantial facts，but only rumors．He stated however，he thought it would be well for the Bureau to write a further letter to Walter White requesting him to continue to submit to the Bureau such additional data and information as he receives upon this or other matters believed of interest to the Department．Since we have already written White one letter about this，I think it would be well in addressing a further letter to him to indicate that the Attorney General has requested us to ask White to continue to furnish such information． be well to avoid indicating to White whether we were or were not investigating this situation．


## STANDARD FORM NO. 64 o



TO : The Attorney General
YIfEROM
SUBJECT: RACIAL CONDITIONS, DETROIT, MCHIGAN

I am attaching hereto a copy of a letter dated May 22, 1944, directed to me by Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. You will note Mr. White refers to racial tension in Detroit, and urges that this Bureau institute an "exhaustive investigation" relative thereto and more particularly, an investigation concerning the source of rumors pertaining to Negroes who allegedly desire to cause trouble.

Date:


I have informed Mr. White that his letter was being forwarded to you for your consideration and stated to him that this Bureau does not institute investigations relafive to rumors or actual racial trouble and tension, of a nature referred to in his letter, without your prior authorization. I also expressed a desire that Mr. White furdish the Bureau any additional information he might receive in this regard, particularly any data reflecting pro-Axis or subversive elements agitating or exploiting the situalion in Detroit.

With regard to Mr. White's letter, I would appreciate it if you will furnish m with an expression of opinion as to whether any investigation should be made. As you know, I have in the past supplied you with considerable information in turn furnished to this Bureau by informants and other sources concerning racial conditions in Detroit.

With regard to the rumors referred to in Mr. White's letter, it is recalled that under date of April 1, 1944, I forwarded you a memorandum entitled "Racial Condilions," referring specifically to rumors of " Pushing Clubs" in the cities of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Baltimore, Maryland, Detroit, Michigan, and New York City. Informants and other sources of the Bureau were contacted with negative results as far as developing any foundation in fact to these rumors. With regard to Detroit, it was found by the Detroit Police Department that the rumors of the "Pushing Clubs" were in most instances passed along as anecdotes at social functions. The Bureau was advised by the Detroit Police Department that their investigations of the rumors met with negative results. Furthermore, a person believed to have been the original source of a conversatin relative to a "Pushing Club," advised he recalled a conversation in which he did discuss the fact that he had been confronted with a number of instances of "pushing" on the part of Negro shoppers among white shoppers. This original source indicated that possibly his conversation may have been misinterpreted and promoted a rumor concerning "Pushing Clubs" which was subsequently relayed by intermediaries to the Detroit Office fo of the Bureau.

With regard to Mr . White's reference to rumors of a may insure might be noted that during the month of May the Detroit Office received a number of complaints about rumors of pending race riots. The Detroit Police Department and the $2 / 1 / \mathrm{k} 5$
$-8$.

?
Memorandum for the Attorney General

Offices of Military and Naval Intelligence also received similar reports. Investigation conducted by the Detroit Police Department to determine the source of the rumors was conducted and no specific information was received. Hilitary and Naval Intelligence in Detroit advised information received by them in this regard was nonspecific and without apparent foundation in fact. It has been pointed out, however, in connection with the rumors of a possible riot that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit was at the time contemplating a parade scheduled for March 28, 1944, in connection with its annual membership drive. This parade was to have attracted some 5,000 participants.

Attachment

M dear Mr. Hoover:


May 22, 1944


I returned today from Detroit where I found a racial tension as alarming as that which existed last year at this time preceding the disastrous race riot of June 20. Dangerous rumors are being industriously spread, apparently by organized effort. Virtually little has been done by either city or state officials to correct any of the conditions which led to last year's riot. It is my measured opinion. that unless breeders of hate are checked and other corrective action taken it is not only possible but probable that there will be another mot when warm weather comes.

I therefore take the liberty of urging that the Federal Bureau of Investigation institute an exhaustive investigation as soon as possible and that the Department of Justice take appropriate action based upon that investigation, to stem the tide which is running high.

Specifically, it is recommended that investigation be made of the sources of the rumors regarding the so-called"Bumping Club" and a "Negro D Day." $\square$ b6 of our Detroit Branch whose offices are located at 446 b7C East Warren Avenue (Telephone: Temple l-3609) has at my request supplied me with the following information regarding these two rumors.

1. Fumors are again circulating throughout Detroit which follow the general pattern of those which circulated last year. The most prevalent one, which is most widely circulated among white people is the story about the "bumping club". The variations of this rumor all center around a Negro maid who either will not work on Tuesday or takes off Thursdays to go downtown and bump white people on streetcars, buses, and crowded pedestrian traffic. The maid is alleged to have told her employer that she is a member of the "boumping club".
2. Rumors about "D" Day coming from School Administrators who in good faith have been told that Negro students are circulating among themselves statements about "D" Day for Negroes. We have traced this rumor from the president of the Teacher's Federation who got it from one of the attendance officers who in turn got it from a principal of a southeastern school in the city. This is as far as we have been able to trace the rumor, but to date have received no evidence that such an idea is prevalent among Negroes themselves.

I do not need to, add that any assistance that we may be able to give in running down and checking these rumors will be gladly and freely given to the extent of our ability.

Sincerely yours,


Llear sir.
2 am thaking ruy time and WILLAM prani houss
Phildebinic
yours to reperts $a$ condition thex you huss already he mellanale and one theo carinas gr on a inimute lorger.
There is a ded ralter fhite ive yenen for "the

 Othe hires.

Let ne rill ym ahn $\square$ She alrayp mas the swectet duikie is oil the hred untid vecently. She


 numaing vappant domo porich his six pentendist the paper, contition in Ansthern, camps are intolerafle, etos
 sengtunig hor tho der blite is a rottle roisiaid, hiso ther in some instunces. The Lete the colveed ace shussing trrasds us is tiveding uyp pus like one arshonche, may some day unselope us. Oluse lork into this ps $Q$ hite to sae such an lie thinip pornsume the colored race, which croed te a madeuful cesis to themsehes if theie footsteps are directes in the singlex fintharap and brapo of Htimpirin.

Shanking yon for any arsener,
$O$ am.

明"!





> .

JIW:mr
July 24, 1944
100-328241-1
K\&CORDW


Dear


Your letter postmarked July 5, 1944, is before me for acknowledgment.

I have carefully noted the content of your communication and wish to thank you for bringing the information contained therein to my attention.

Should you obtain any information which you bellave to be of interest to this Bureau, I want you to feel fres to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Newark Field Division which is located at 1836 Raymond-Commerce Building, Nowark 2, New Jersoy.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar HoOver
Director

## ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERTM IS UT MASIFIED <br> DATE $4 k \operatorname{ki}$ BYSP-1 $6 \leq k \operatorname{dn}$




According to the "People's Voice," his column will appear in the New York "Herald Tribune," the Chicago "Daily News," the Philadelphia, "Bulletin, ${ }^{0} \mathrm{p}$ the Akron, Ohio "Beacon Journal" and the Detroit "Free Press."

This matter is being called to your attention in view of the fact that the Bureau is constantly receiving complaints from White concerning alleged violations of civil rights perpetrated primarily against the Negro race which necessitate a reply from the Bureau. It is felt that possibly these answers he roceives from the Bureau will be used by him elther in whole or in part in his column and consequently we should be more cautious in directing any communicätions


AIL IMFORMATION CONTAINED
Mrrg.Edgar blooner. HEREIN IS U:CLASSIIED
DATE 41881 BYSP-1GSKlmon
Dearsins:
elijpings for your infornation re. "W.W." he is a yellou caloned negro. The clijgrings-tateen from the Detsoit Sunday free Press. his astides appear in the paper eueng Sunday and in other newspapers in the counily. Atangest he of illterest to temin if his organigetion par the F.P. to have his tithe of the in a a c.P "apprear under his arame in the articles in question It appears he han dose |leamestion mith-phe gary in spozesw in organiging the ealored rave in thio $M . S$. Sumectime ago he visitio Poland-anging he did to to callect infountion obach the palish people to initia book atuxt them- no a
(1) luck-it was to reput his raink to the 'gange at at

- A furturder hivere- and recenie sinstunction for to

 layce eities in the $1 p$, - in a me mene
 To ghom thit there is mo race diative tivik ketureen intilios ayd blaeks and to have blactes gollow his enample As ofter as possibe, the is interested in a firin in tem huryork. That moakes a proponatim to turn beaste akin Whiti-aracket-see clippring-on his-honeynuorn Misk hiofthite mife he visilid Tuntey as his unibe coied
 hat to enf hatet at the hosder live hetwo on Rensia end

hismost- all erpenses. travel.eti.pinildiley the gang, fu a chectup on himi jin may foind that he is a paid agent forchis worte. In this cinnection, d nivuld pay that $W, W$ is one A check on him no doukt-wowld reveal much value the the good dronk prix are proceenting along-similar lines ruore pourur to you-

Hhith the eomplementor of the season and brife's laeat tospoen for 1950. \& Senuain
yours faithfally
Rasenowse:

blever eovarn up stiff
in a measure. His
"Thmahmoving" rennantos, astref hiced shuneid receive attention -

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 3315948! }
\end{aligned}
$$

## ALI INEDOMATIOM MONTAINED;  

(MNOMATM

## NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION
negatives


## Racial Prejudice

## BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
TOKYO-One of the most fascinating experiences in revissting war zones is that of measuring the extent of survival of racial prejudices or of democratic practices initiated by American soldiers during the fighting.

Here and there one encounters residual remains of fantastic myths about Negroes-for example, the one that all colored people have tails or that Negroes in the United States occupy virtually the same status as untouchables once did in India.
But one finds far more frequently that the deliberate efforts a minority of white Americans made during the war to create difficulties for colored ones have either been totally forgotten or have resulted in a materially increased sympathy for Negro occupation troops. This is especially true among those who themselves have been the targets of color prejudice.

For example, we talked with a brilliant and charming graduate of Wellesley College who had undergone considerable persecution from her fellow-Japanese during the war because of her outspoken pro-American views. "The thing which hurt most and proved to be one of the most valuable aids to the war lords in whipping up hatred of the United States


White was Americans calling us 'yellow . . '", she told us. "We knew the Germans weren't being called 'white . . ', and we couldn't convince the people we talked to that the United States wasn't as evil as Japanese propagandists said when we were attacked because of our color."

IT IS A PLEASURE to report that we found here a remarkable absence of friction or prejudice between white and Negro troops or civilian occupation personnel although a very high percentage of Americans here are from the deep South.

Seven out of ten soldiers who stood in line in front of me at the PX window where Americans can purchase yen or military scrip spoke in accents redolent of Mississippi

## Fading in Japan

or other deep South states, which seems to be about the average of sectional origins of occupation personnel.
Despite this fact, according to Maj. Gen. Doyle O. Hickey, deputy chief of staff of the Far East Command, himself a Mississippian, there has been only one minor instance of friction between whites and Negroes in Japan the last six months.

THIS IS TRUE in spite of and possibly because of the new army policy of racial integration. It appears that only a beginning of compliance with the armed services' order to wipe out segregation has as yet been made here in Japan.

I discussed this briefly at luncheon with Gen. MacArthur whose views on the necessity and practicability of abolishing racial discrimination in the armed forces seem to have grown materially since we last discussed the subject in 1945 during the battle of Manila.
But it is obvious that the use of racial friction in the United States by both Russia and Britain to create distrust of Americans in Asia has made Gen. MacArthur acutely aware of the problem.

THIS AWARENESS seemed to underlie much of his alarm over the worsening of the situation in Asia, especially in China.
"Even if Ching Kai-shek had been the devil incarnate, we should have backed him to the limit as we should back every anti-Communist," MacArthur told us. He added that the race question plagues and complicates every phase of American diplomatic and military policy in the Far East.
That his concern is abundantly justified is to be seen on every hand here by the frequency of the questions asked of the two Negro members of the 'round the world Town Meeting seminar.

The questioners seem to find it almost impossible to understand why or how Negro Americans can continue to have faith in a country which does nothing, apparently, to stop lynching and discrimination, which is about all they hear about Negroes in the United States.


## FROM COLUMNIST WHITE: IM A dedik, Ty yikr !

# Some Advice to GOP Rebuilders 


#### Abstract

\section*{BY WALTER WHITE}

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People OMAHA-Guy Gabrielson of the Republican National Committee did not include me among the 16,000 Americans of whom he asked advice on what needs to be done to stop the GOP from passing totally from the American scene.

But as a passionate advocate of the two-party system I want to share with him (and you) a few observations made in the last six weeks in Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, Ohio, Michigan and New York. Thirty years of experience in the battle for human rights have convinced me that democracy, especially for minorities, can survive only when there are at least two political parties reasonably equal in strength. Unbroken rule from 1920 to 1932 was good neither for the nation nor the Republican Party since it bred belief that the GOP was invincible. It is equally dangerous for Democrats to believe that they cannot be beaten; it is tragic for the opposition party to be largely responsible by its inability to formulate a program which could bring it victory.

An economics professor in a Midwestern state university told me an experience which illustrates the need of more realistic thinking by Republicans. $\mathrm{He}^{-}$attended a meeting 

White of the city's top 15 business men who talked heatedly against "outside" control of the town's affairs and Democrats ruining the nation through concentration of power in Washington. Free enterprise and local control must be preserved, they argued, or else.


IT OCCURRED TO THE professor to see how "local" the group was. Thirteen of the 15 were local representatives of New ${ }^{\circ}$ York, Detroit, Akron and Philadelphia corporations. Of the other two whom he classified as local, one had recently remodeled his department store at a cost of three million dollars, most of which he had borrowed from a New York bank. At least so far as that town is concerned centralization of power had been started long before the advent of the New Deal or the Fair Deal.

Senator Bricker's proposal to legalize the "affair"
which conservative Republicans and Dixiecrats have been carrying on so scandalously these past dozen years hit the headlines the day I talked with a group of western business men. They wanted to know what needed to be done to win back to the GOP the Negro vote, especially in the 17 states with 281 electoral votes where that vote is pivotal.

I suggested as a first step fulfillment of the $1948 \mathrm{Re}-$ publican platform: "Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized nation . . . we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy." "One of the basic principles of this Republic . . . equal opportunity to work . . . we favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary . . ." "We favor the abolition of the poll tax..." "We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services . . ."
Senators who worked to translate these solemn pledges into legislative reality, Mr. Gabrielson, are today both in disfavor and in the minority among Senate Republicans. In their stead Republicans-like Senate-Minority Leader Wherry play their game so identically with that of the Dixiecrats on racial and economic issues that none can draw a discernible line of demarcation between them.

HONESTLY, MR. GABRIELSON, can you blame the Negro. voters of Illinois, Ohio and California who cast the ballots which elected Truman instead of Dewey in 1948 for being somewhat less than trusting of GOP promises?

I know a goodly number of them and talk to them in $\{$ their homes and churches and organization meetings. They distrust the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic Party and the slippery Northern Democratic politicians as much as they do men like Senators Wherry and Bricker.
May I suggest you read Henry Lee Moon's excellent book, "Balance of Power," and an article, "Does the Republican Party Want the Negro Vote?", by Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler in The Crisis for December if you want the facts.

Give these voters proof that the GOP doesn't make pledges on human rights only to forget them, Mr. Gabrielson, and they won't cast the deciding votes against your party. The new session of the 81st Congress will give your party opportunity to prove its sincerity when the FEPC is called up.


## NEW ORDER IGNOReD

## BY WALTER WHITE

Secretarp. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NEW YORK-A showdown to determine whether President Truman or the Army and the FHA shall decide what is to be done about racial discrimination is imminent and inevitable. More than a year ago the President ordered the Army, Navy and Air Force to do something about segregation of Negroes in the defense forces.

The Navy and Air Force went to work immediately and have gone a long way toward racial integration and equalizing of opportunity. The Army has stubbornly refused to budge except ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ in a few token moves.
Recently Baltimore-born Phillip Pearlman, Solicitor Gen eral of the United States, announced on behalf of himself, President Truman and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath that henceforth no Federal monies shall be given through the FHA for construction of any housing from which American citizens are barred because of race, color, creed or national origin. No reasonable person can question the right of the government to make and enforce such a requirement. Funds loaned by the FHA and all other government agencies are obtained through the taxation of all citizens. No tax exemptions have evei been given citizens to whom equal benefits are denied. Thus the United States Government said through Mr. Pearlman's order that Americans who insist on indulgence of their
 White personal prejudices must pay for that luxury and shall not have government assistance in enforcing them.

MR. PEARLMAN'S STATEMENT was widely praised all over the United States. For more than 10 years a continued
campaign had been carried on to persuade the FHA to cease its flagrantly discriminatory practices which were so brazen as to include in its Underwriters' Manual specific instructions to refuse approval of loans to minorities except in segregated areas.

It was not until 1941 that continued public pressure forcei the FHA to remove the discriminatory provision from its Underwriters' Manual. But the FHA continued its discrimination by recommending inclusion of restrictive covenants in new housing developments until the United States Supreme Court ruled that no agency of government could enforce such covenants.

APPARENTLY IDENTICAL tactics are now being fol owed by the FHA to avoid compliance with the newest order to cease and desist from racial discrimination. An anonymous FHA spokesman is quoted in an Associated Press story out of Washington as saying that "racial segregation in public housing projects will be left up to local authorities," adding as a concession to the President's order and public opinion, "so long as equitable provision is made for all races."

It is clearly manifest now that neither the FHA nor the United States Army intends to comply with the explicit orders of the President, the Attorney General or the Solicitor General if they can get away with such thumbnosing.
Commendable though the orders may be, they are meaning. ass before the ink has dried on them if the executing agencies find or devise loopholes or excuses to evade their implementation. This kind of action makes it obligatory upon President Truman to insist on compliance or resignations. To do otherwise would constitute an admission by him of weakness and of inability to lead his own administration.

## ALL NFOMMTIn: RONTANED

Mr. Hoover:
When recently being interviewed by this office in connection with an extortion letter received by him, Walter White, Executive Secretary of the NAAC'P, Was very complimentary to the Bureau and told the following story:

He said that he had recently received a telephone call from an executive of Hadassah, a Jewish women's organization in Philadelphia, who stated that they understood that Walter White had issued a statemont critical of the FBI's activities in connection. with the Negro bombings in Florida and that White had stated that the FBI was not diligent and not doing a conscientious job in the Florida bombings.

White said he told this Hadassah executive he had not made any such statement and that as a matter of fact, the FBI was doing an outstanding job in Florida. He further told this executive he had been down in Florida and had observed the FBI's efforts and that they had been working night and day in a most conscientious manner


RECORDED. 75 100-328241-
2952

Mr. Hoover:
While being interviewed the other day in connection with an extortion letter received by him, Walter White, Executive Secretary, NAACP, volunteered the following information regarding the incident at the Stork Club:
White said that
tly worried over this incident. ACis apparently worried over this incident. Ac-
cording to White, attomey, got in touch with White and told him that would like to shake hands and forget the incident and also wanted to have walter White and $\qquad$ his guests for the evenjing at the Stork club. White stated he refused the offer of $\qquad$ as long as there was no guarantee that no discrimination would be practiced in the future at the Stork Club.
White also said he had received a telephone call from Walter Winchell concerning the $\square$ incident and that Winchell talked to him over the telephone two hours and five minutes in a marathon tirade. According to White, Winchell stated that for twenty-five years he had been a close friend of his and of the NAACP and a vigorous supporter of their policies but that now because of his support of the stork Club's action in the $\qquad$ incident that he was being crucified by the NAACP and by newspapers like the New York Post. Winchell said that as a consequence if he (Winchell) were to go into Harlem now his blood would flow in the streets.

White stated that he told Win-
chell that it was Winchell's privilege to admit that he had made a mistake in the Stork Club incident. White stated that at the end of conversing, Winchell said "You probably have recorded this conversation and will crucify me further." White replied that there were no recording devices in the NAACP headquarters and that he had never recorded any telephone conversation, but he said to Winchell, "I don't doubt though that you are recording the conversation for your own benefit." Winchell hesitated for a moment but did not deny White's statement.



Wm. Webster Burke - ASAC, Miami


Dear Mr. Hoover:
I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed syndicated column I wrote about the Mims, Florida bombing and the job the F. B. I is doing.

At their request. I arranged for Messrs. Webb Burke and
 to talk with $\qquad$ despite the fact that her condition was still quite critical. I also turned over to them the material which I had gathered, believing that they would do a better job than anyone else.


Walter White
Executive Secretary

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.
WW: erb
Enclosure


BOARO OP DIRRETOLS

| Allomio, Go. Bolitimero, M6. | Dr. Bonnamia 5. Moss Lillio M. Jachson Corl Murphy |
| :---: | :---: |
| Bosien. Moss. | Dr. Allan Knights Chalwers |
| Combon, M. J. | Dr. Ulyssos Wiggins |
| Charlotro, N. C. | Kelly M. Alorandop |
| Cimego Ill. | Eorl B. Dicherson |
| Cinelonail, Ohso | Thoodopo M. Serpy |
| Glovoiond, Ohio | Dr. Nothan K. Chrissophor |
| Dollos, F 2 z . | A. Mocoo Smieh |
| Doirgir, Mich. | Dr. Jamos J. MeClondon |
| Plinf, Mle | Dr J. Loonidos Loc |
| Fi. Worsh, Yos. | Dr. Goorgo D. Fomminea |
| Gpocnwich, Cona. | Alfrrd Behor Lowis |
| Horplord, Gonn. | Dr. Allon F. Jocisona |


| Hydo Park, N. $\nabla$. Samoico, N. Y. Konses City Mo. taviponce, N. V. <br> Lu Angoloo, Golis. Nowart, N. S. Now Yoph, N. V. | Eleonop Beesovois <br> Ralpe d. Quncho <br> Carifi Johnson <br> Robbi uudoh Catn <br> Norinon O. Monstan <br> Graso ti. Fonderron <br> Lillian A. Alozandeo <br> Algarnon D. Blact <br> Hion. Hubert I. Dolupy <br> Levis S Gumocs <br> Joi.n Hamr zond <br> Hon. Merbest H. Lorman <br> Dr. O. Slay Maxuoll <br> Amy E. Spingarn <br> Arphup B. Spingern <br> Qr. Chonniag H. Tobios |
| :---: | :---: |


| Now Vorts, $\mathrm{N} . \mathrm{V}$ | Polmap Vober Dr. Louls Y. Wi:ighs |
| :---: | :---: |
| Noplinjmpren, Mass. | S. Rolpin Horlor |
| Otidenoms Cliv, 24. | Rescoo Dufico |
| Oronco, A. d. | Somiol Willions |
| philadolphio, Po. | Dro Morpy J. Grocne Hon. Wilhom M. Hossio |
|  | procaloro Spoviding |
| Piatsklfgis Pa | Colsy E, Lomplin Joss² M. Nona |
| qichniencl, Vo. | Dr. J. As. Tirsion |
| Sarannah, Ga. | Wostloy Wh. Low |
| Tustrigoc, Alo | Dr. Seropi A. Berry |
| Washagron, O.C | Dr W. Monioguo Cobb |

WAFPONAS BCEAL COMMITTEE

$$
\therefore W d O E \varepsilon L \text { Nid }
$$





FROM:
320.04

MIMS, FLORIDA

6is 588.1

It may be that the background of the lush, natural beauty of blue lakes and sky, of orange trees so studded with golden fruit as almost to obliterete the green foliage and of "Millionaires' Row" in Winter Park makes the bombed home here of Harry T. Moore more incongruous and shocking than the destruction I witnessed during the war in Europe and Asia. For here is the shambles of the modest dwelling place of a man, now dead, and his wife, now lying critically wounded in nearby Sanford, because he had dared to speak out and work for enforcement of the law.

Today I turned over to the F. B. I. the names of three persons who allegedly have recently advocated mob action against Mr. Moore. They are not the only ones who have voiced resentment against him. Repeatedly since August, 1949, he had written to Gov. Fuller E. Warren urging him to assign trustworthy persons from the Governor's office instead of Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County to transport Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin from the state prison at Raiford to Tavares, Lake County county seat, for a hearin $n_{c}$ on motion for a change of venue in the new trial which had been ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The entire world knows what happened because of Gov. Warren's refusal to act as was requested by Mr . Moore. Samuel Shepherd is dead

| blast of either nitroslycerine or TNT. Explosives experts are convinced that dynamite could not have done such destruction. They are also convinced that the crime was painstakingly planned, timed for the only period of the year when the entire family would be gathered together. Mr. Moore traveled constantly for the NAACP. Mrs. Moore is a teacher in a rural school near Palm Beach. Both she and Mr. Moore were denied renewal of their contracts as teachers in Brevard County because of hostility of the school officials to Mr. Moore's participation in a legal campaign against educational inequalities inflicted on Negroes. One of the Moore daushters is a secretary in the Department of Labor in Washington and the other is a secretary in the public school system of Ocala. The bombers waited until the entire family gathered to spend Christmas--birthday of the Prince of Peace--together. So shattered is the modest cottage that/one knows why one of the Moore daughters and Mr. Noore's 7l-year-old mother, who slept in an adjoining room, were not also killed. It is obvious that the criminals intended to wipe out the entire family. <br> Gov. Fuller Warren, irritated by criticisms of the failure of the State of Florida to act against bombings here and in Miami, has issued daily blasts at this commentator as "a disturber of the peaceful relations between the races." How peaceful those relations have been |
| :---: |

These are samples of the unpunished crimes against Negroes in Florida now highlighted by the assassination of Harry Moore and by the spreuuing of mob vịolence áainst Jews, Catholics and others.

To Florida's credit are the vigor and courage of most of its newspapers, especially in the metropolitan areas, in exposing the breakdown of law and order. Many citizens of the state, Negro and white, are shocked and aroused. Hotel men, proprietors of tourist resorts and Chambers of Commerce are awakening to the fact that millions of dollars may be lost by the unsavory developments here. Already an alarming number of cancellations of reservations for the winter tourist season have been reported. It is possible that this combination of moral indignation and economic interest may result in action. If the energy and determination of the F.B. I. can be approximated by Florida law enforcement officials, there is hose that Harry Moore's tragic and violent deeth may diminioh if not put. an end to the violence which has become an epidemic here.


ALI INFORMATION CONTAINeD
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOT
OTHERWISE






## 

Mr. Walter White
National Aesoeftation for the
Advancement of Colored People ALL INFORMATION COnTAINED 80 West 40 th Street New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. White:
I have recoin jed your very kind letter of June 9, 1952, together with the column concerning Canada Lee.

It is very gratifying that you saw fit to write me ooncepining my participation in your new radio program, and I would consider ti a real privilege to indicate an acceptance if it were at all possible. I must explain, however, that for the past several years now I have had to deolthe ail'sach tutrations, and it ts necessary dice to the great number of requests received that I be entirely consistent in this regard. You will appreciate, I know, from your frequent contacts wi th as that the pressure of mort here has been overwhelming, and frankly it shows no sign oj lessening.

It goes without sting that all of ss hers in the
 age which can result from irresponsible name-callin
 a person's loyalty belongs in the hands of profegstonet inestivators and that evaluations of the data developed six suit be made by authorities appointed for that purposes;

I trust than, yous wi. II accept my sincere Tr ye ta and I do hope you will appreciate position. One ofthes days surely the international tension mill lessen sa thar I can do some of the things that I have had to forego. apprectated.

Your good wishes concerning my health are indeed cc - Neman York, with copy osfycolining.
HPL:grighagntocn,

"incerely yours,

PERSONAL



Dear Mr. Hoover:
I would like to have you join me on a broadcast on my new radio program. The format is simple and somewhat different since it combines a discussion with a guest and a brief news analysis. The discussion between my guest and myself takes ten minutes, and it has been remarkable how much can be crowded into such an ad lib discussion.

The program originates from Station WLIB in New York, and other stations which have subscribed to date are WCFL in Chicago, KFWD in Los Angeles (the Warner Brothers station), WWDC in Washington, WIP in Philadelphia and WBMS in Boston. The guest on my first program was Mrs. Roosevelt, and lothers who have been recorded are Senator Hubert Humphrey, Averell Harriman, and Dr. Channing Tobias. I am doing a program with Senator Russell on June 30 and have invited General E1 senhower, Sengiors Taft and Kefauver and Ambassador Chester Bowles to appear. Mr. Bowles has accepted.

What I would like to discuss wi th you, if you are willing to do so, is the possibility of establishmont of some machinery by which persons faisoly accused of belonging or heving belonged to an organization on the Attorney General/s subversivo ilst may obtain an objectlve hearing. You know me well enough to know that I feel strongly that if a man 1 s guilty in the sifghtest degree of disloyalty the book should be thrown at him. But I have boen disturbed at the manner in which people like $\qquad$ Dr. Channing Tobias and one or two others have been-falsely accused. I feel equaliy disturbed about the same situation facing any person irrespective of color. But when Americans who have dơne so much to stop communism by flegting for democracy, as has been the case with and Dr. Tobias, can be smeared.by crackpots, the situation becomes dangerous to democracy itself.

- Lou Nichols and I have discussed this several times. But as both he and have oxplalned to me, Congress hes never given the FBI the authority to clear a person if his record is clear. $b 7 C$ Here is a syndicated column I wrote about the case of Canada Lee. It would have been enormously useful, in my opinion, to have used the talents of an earnest and sincere person like Canada Lee to offset the effect of men like Paul Robeson.


[^0]

Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass. Camden, N J Charlotte, N Cincinnati, Ohio Cleveland, Ohio Columbia, s. C. Dallas, Tex.
Detroit, Mich.

Flint, Mich. Ft. Worth, Tox. Greenwich, Conn

Dr. Benjumin E Mays
Lilie $M$ Jackson Carl Murphy Dr Allan Knight Chaimers Kelly M Alexander Kelly M Alexander Earl B Dickerson Dr. Nathan K Christopher Rev James Hinton A Maceo Smith Dr James J McClendon Walter Reuther Dr. J Leonidas Leach Dr George D Flemmings Dr. Allan F. Jackson

BOARD OF DIRECTORS



NATIONAL LEGAI. COMMITTEE

" in
13

```
2.
June 9, 1952
```

Knowing how busy you are, I could come to Washington at your convenience and record the program there. Please let me know if you are willing to do such a program.

I was delighted to hear from Lou the other day that you are now in perfect health again.

Cordially,


Walter White

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigations Washington, D. C.
ww
Enclosure

FROM: Walter White<br>242 East 68th Street Now York, New York

For release to subscribing nowspapers, Thureday, May 25, 1952

Canada Lee's obituaries were lengthy and effusive-so laudatory, in fact, that the generous and gentle actor would be startled by them in light of the privation he experienced during the last few months of his ife. It is certain he would read thom with a bitter amile reflecting that he might have earned money enough for the rest and medical treatment he needod to save his life had the newepapers apoken as admiringly of him during his iffetime as they did when he died.

They had written, it is true, in glowing terms of Canade Lee's superlative performance in "Cry, the Beloved Country" in which the spectator through Mr. Lee's great acting really lived the role of the Reverend Stephen Kamala. But employment neither in Hollywood nor television nor radio materlalized as would have been the case of any other actor following such ecfstatic reviews. A whispering campaign was circulated among broadcasting and advertising executives that Mr. Lee was "too controversial" because he had appeared at benefits for orgenizations purportediy fighting race preJudice which subsequentiy had been placed on the Attorney General's subversive list.

Never one to take attack or innuendo lying down, Mr. Lee called a prese conference in 1949 "to put the record straight". In that rich and eloquent voice of his he declared passionately and angrily, "I am not a Communist or a joiner of any kind, never have been and never will be. Call me a Communist and you call all Negroes Communist who cry out against injustice." Dutifully some of the press reported his

## 0



## $\leqslant$ 。


a
$\%$





 ..



 $\because \hat{y}$ ?







[^0]:    43 rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Oklahoma Cíy, Oklahoma, June 24-29, 1952

