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NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

LOYALTY TO?

Mr. Oscar S. Straus, President
Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association.
120 Broadway
New York 5, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

To say that I was horrified to read a news item in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, dated September 16th, 1954, that the THEODORE ROOSEVELT ASSOCIATION was presenting to Dr. Ralph Bunche The Theodore Roosevelt medal for distinguished service for the year 1954, as an award for his work in international affairs is putting it very mildly indeed.

It would seem to me that, if the Board of Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION considers these medals evidence of distinguished service, a very careful checkup of the recipient's record should be made.

Of course, I realize that to the average man in the street who reads the TIMES and the TRIBUNE only, and hears such commentators on the radio as Edward R. Murrow, Barry Gray, or Elmer Davis, it would seem that Dr. Bunche is a great and good man who has been persecuted without reason. But, when such an honor is being bestowed on him as the THEODORE ROOSEVELT medal, I would think that the Trustees should not be satisfied with simply newspaper statements on the qualities of any man, particularly about such a controversial figure as Dr. Bunche. Any committee bestowing such an honor should have made it a point to find out that both in Congress and other places there is serious question as to whether Dr. Bunche should be a trusted servant of the Government of the United States.

Starting from this single fact, it is very easy in the case of as prominent a man as Dr. Bunche to trace his statements and his connections over the past years. I suppose it would be impossible for your committee to get a transcript of Dr. Bunche's testimony and the testimony of other people about Dr. Bunche in the Loyalty Board Hearings that occurred; but there is much other available testimony and much documentary evidence comparatively easy to obtain. Even if the Trustees are unaware as to the infiltration of left wing propaganda into our news media, press, and radio reports and editorial opinions unsupported by independent research, these should not be the sole basis for the award of any distinguished honor. The fact that the

DAILY WORKER and the left-wing press were unanimous in stating that Dr. Bunche was entirely cleared should have put you on warning.

To give the excuse that since the Loyalty Board had cleared Dr. Bunche even if so be the case - does not excuse the Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. The past decade has shown what type of people very often creep into the Loyalty Boards, and what pressure is put on those Loyalty Boards from mysterious sources.

As it is evident that the Trustees responsible for the presentation of this medal have made no careful study of this matter, I attach herewith some interesting documentary evidence regarding Dr. Bunche and some of the organizations with which he was connected:

I cannot understand why anyone who has had a past record of close affiliation with communism should be employed in a "sensitive spot" in our government, because such past connections would indicate, at the least, a certain instability, yet I can understand why people who have definitely repented and have set themselves out at great sacrifice to right, inasfar as it is possible for them to do so, the wrongs that they have committed, are perhaps, proper recipients of certain awards and medals. I can, however, find no record that Dr. Bunche has publicly stated his past connection or that he has ever repented on anything that he has said or done in regards to his left-wing activities, as have Mr. Louis Budenz, Mr. Joseph Kornfeder, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, Mr. Manning Johnson, and Mr. Benjamin Gitlow, to mention a few of those who have stood up and confessed openly "in the congregation".

You are the grandson of Mr. Oscar Straus, a distinguished patriot, who was in my father's cabinet. I am Theodore Roosevelt's son, and these awards are, therefore, connected both with Theodore Roosevelt and Oscar Straus. On account of our names it is our duty, insofar as our small ability lies, to protect the names that we bear. I know that when they were alive, both your grandfather and my father thought of America first, last and always, and although they are not here to consult with, I feel sure that they would be on the same platform to-day as they were in the past. We should be very careful not to let the names of those two men be connected with anything that is even doubtful.

The Trustees of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association are exactly what the name implies. They are Trustees, and as Trustees should exercise extreme vigilance whenever they give an honor in the name of Theodore Roosevelt. I do not know how much you were connected with the award of this medal, but presume that those who choose the names must consult with you, as president of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

I can perfectly understand and agree, that the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, in view of Theodore Roosevelt's deep admiration for Booker T. Washington, and in view of his great interest in furthering the progress of the Negro in the United States, should always be on the lookout to find a negro worthy of receiving the Theodore Roosevelt medal. In the present case, I cannot understand why the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION did not present a medal to Mr. George Schuyler, the New York editor of the PITTSBURGH COURIER, the largest Negro newspaper in the United States. At great personal sacrifice, and undergoing enormous vilification, Mr. George Schuyler has fought communists among the negroes valiantly, when communism and all of the queer isms of the past two decades were very popular indeed, and while Dr. Bunche was connected with such leftist organizations as I have shown in my enclosure and was making marxist-communist statements in speeches not, to my knowledge, ever disavowed by him. Mr. Schuyler is still carrying on the fight most valiantly. He is a man of letters, and a crusader on the side of right. He is in every way qualified to receive a Theodore Roosevelt medal, due to his patriotism and courage.

In view of the facts that I have given you above, I think even at this late date that every effort should be made to rescind the medal that your Board of Trustees has voted to Dr. Bunche, and I suggest, as a substitute recipient, that you award it to Mr. George Schuyler - a man unlike Dr. Bunche, with a constant record of loyalty to our Republic.

I greatly regret that I have had to take this stand in opposition to so many good people and friends of mine, and friends of my father's, who are connected with the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. But I feel it would be negligence of duty on my part if I did not point out what I consider to be carelessness, to say the least, on the part of the Board of Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. I do not want to see the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION Trustees to be the unwitting tools of the sinister influences that are now so powerful in the Country - influences responsible for the strange courses and actions taken by many hitherto splendid Foundations.

It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation that brought about the hiring of Alger Hiss. It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations that brought about the long and treasonable record of that organization and the infiltration of such a bad element into it. Most, if not all, of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute, and certainly most of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations were estimable men, busy with their own affairs, who became careless when they were managing the affairs of others. The THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION should take care not to follow the same course.

Sincerely yours,

Archibald B. Roosevelt

FOREWORD

This report intends to prove, without a shadow of a doubt, that Dr. Bunche for a number of years had expressed himself in writings, speeches, and organizational activity in a manner which paralleled the communist line in its major aspects. Further evidence is hereby presented to prove his expressions were of such a nature that they could only have been arrived at as a result of his going through a thorough indoctrination in communist methods and techniques. It will also be shown that his affiliations and activities were such as to fill the requirements necessary for a top level operative for the Kremlin apparatus.

It also presents authentic documentation to substantiate the following summation of Dr. Bunche's record of activities paralleling the communist line throughout the years which is so consistent that it seems impossible to interpret it as accidental:-

1. Travels in Africa, which coincided with the Kremlin's planting of agents in that part of the world, in order to lay the basis for racial explosions of the future. Bunche wrote from there (Journal of Negro Education) denouncing "Imperialist Capitalism" and advocated the elimination of the current social order in the mother countries. The fruits of the Kremlin infiltration in Africa can be seen today in the bloody Mau-Mau massacres. (1935-1936)

2. Wrote a pamphlet which advocated a communistic program in respect to the Negro question and advocated class war throughout the world asking the non-white peoples to look to the Soviet Union for inspiration and leadership. (1936)

3. Wrote a clearly communistic line in respect to education. He voiced the red line that "American education" is "goose step education". And that "Capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase". Bunche denounced "red riders", and "oath clauses". He complained that "in America" "we are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern". (1936)

4. Bunche was praised in the official theoretical red organ, THE COMMUNIST, published for upper echelon communists and supporters. One of the top communists, A. W. Berry, praised Bunche for "approaching the Marxist viewpoint" and "that Bunche realized the significance of the class struggle". Berry then described Bunche as an "active friend and supporter" of the working class, which in the communist aesopian manner means a friend of the

Soviets, since they claim exclusive franchise as representing the "working class". (1937)

5. Contributed an article to the RACE MAGAZINE whereby he repeated the "class" position on the race question and considered those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" and as "biased individuals". This magazine in its opening issue prominently announced that they are working for "a social upheaval which will plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist imperialist order". (1936)

6. Was one of the small handful of persons who initiated and organized the National Negro Congress. This was a carefully planned maneuver of the Kremlin which was manipulated through the Communist International. A published account from the Communist International, before the National Negro Congress was organized, stated that "the development of a Negro people's front depends on a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres" and that "the programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized". Even though Bunche had expressed himself in clear cut communist terms and had agitated for the Kremlin line in Africa, this in itself would not have been enough to trust him in such an undertaking as spawning the National Negro Congress. As pointed out before, this was to be the vehicle to organize many millions of Negroes behind the Soviets throughout the world. To have been delegated the responsibility of organizing the N.N.C., Bunche must have had the complete confidence of the Kremlin masterminds who conceived of the maneuver some years before.

7. Bunche was part of the editorial apparatus of an openly communist magazine (SCIENCE AND SOCIETY) for over four years. He contributed to this publication and added his name and prestige as a Professor of Howard University even after the communists in their publication (THE COMMUNIST) openly stated that Science and Society magazine had as its function "to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles". (1935-40)

8. Dr. Bunche was appointed to his government job in the Office of Strategic Services at the recommendation of a person having a communist front record. If Bunche had conceivably been an ex-partisan of the communist cause and had then been an anti-communist, it is difficult to believe that a Government body like the OSS, which had been infiltrated by Red agents, would tolerate him, or that a man with a communist front background would recommend him for the position. In fact with communists controlling key posts in the OSS, Bunche was promoted steadily until he was chief of the African Section of that agency.

9. In a Senate probe by their Internal Security Sub-Committee it was brought out that Bunche had repeatedly pressured persons in charge of UN employment to hire a notorious communist agent, in spite of the fact that there was a derogatory report against the individual by a security agency of the Government.

10. Bunche was an official of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has been definitely established as the top agency operated by communists to swing Soviet foreign policy into our government and to manipulate the be-

trayal of China to the Reds. (This resulted in tens of thousands of American boys losing their lives in Korea and in all probability will result in thousands more lives to be lost in the future). It must be remembered that Bunche had participated in small closed meetings with individuals who have since been proven to be communist agents. With Bunche's background and experience in communist philosophy and organization, it is hard to believe that he was an innocent bystander. Innocents are not allowed to lay down policy which the Kremlin is interested in or are they entrusted to manipulate it. Innocents are only manipulated themselves. The names in the IPR reports as published in over 6,000 pages by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee couple Bunche's activity along with such Communist agents as Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, Philip Jaffe, Frank Coe, Harry Dexter White, David Weintraub and scores of others.

Actually the evidence of communistic writings and communistic organizational activity by Ralph Bunche is greater overall than the combined evidence that government agencies had when they first began to get interested in red activities of Alger Hiss, Remington, Harry Dexter White and the Rosenbergs. Bunche's communistic utterances and connections are there as a public printed record and it is a great puzzle as to why our Government officials have not taken appropriate action. Instead it seems, that there is an effort to hush up the entire matter.

In 1948 when Alger Hiss was being charged with espionage against his country Bunche offered him a letter of support and vindication which included the observation that he (Bunche) was "stunned by this utterly shameless attempt to smear your good name. Though you have been grievously wronged, I have full confidence in your complete vindication....." (Reference - article in the FREEMAN MAGAZINE by Victor Lasky page 134 October 1954).

It is true that some innocent dupes were drawn into the Hiss affair and there may be some excuse for them due to ignorance of communist techniques and trickery but in the case of Bunche, who has had long and extensive experience in the Marxist-Leninist school of activity and whose understanding of communism is both thorough and varied, there is no room for refuge behind the appellation of "innocent" or "dupe".

DEFINITIONS

In considering the record and activities of Ralph Bunche, or any other individual who has been active in Left-Wing circles, it is important and necessary that the political terms applied to such individuals be defined sharply and precisely. We hear such terms as "communist", "communist fellow-traveler", "communist sympathizer", "communist activist", a "dupe" of the communists, and "conscious" and "unconscious" carriers of either the whole or part of the "communist line". There is much misunderstanding as to what these designations mean. It is best to define these terms according to the classifications given them by the Kremlin chiefs themselves.

The term "communist activist" or "communist functionary", in the communist sense and among communists themselves, refers to an individual operating under the discipline of the communist machine and who is thoroughly schooled in communist techniques, in communist agitational and propaganda methods. The mere possession of a Communist Party membership book is not considered a significant criterion of an important communist, by the red leadership. The communist movement has long practiced the policy of maintaining a large portion of its membership without benefit of Communist Party membership books. There have been hundreds of communists without membership books operating under full Communist Party discipline, who have been considered more closely allied to the Communist Party machine than others who have carried such books.

A "communist" is defined by his superiors as a political soldier, with or without a membership book, operating for the Kremlin and is considered an important member only if he faithfully follows the aims and purposes handed down to him, carrying out his tasks in keeping with directives given him. He must reflect these in his assigned field either through speeches or writ-

ings or organizing activity or all of these functions combined. He must demonstrate a knowledge of communist techniques and communist terminology. He must also shift his propaganda in accordance to the communist line of the day.

It is impossible for a person accidentally to coincide in his own personal independent views so as to match the communist line in all of its major features. It is quite possible that one may accidentally coincide in viewpoint with some one part of the communist program, but, in respect to the overall line it is a mathematical impossibility for anyone to independently match the total red line in its various ramifications. Such impossibility is further compounded if the language used is strictly Marxist-Leninist.

EXCERPTS FROM EARLY WRITINGS

OF DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE

Journal of Negro Education

Our first printed record of Ralph Bunche's pro-communist utterances is in 1935 when he already displayed a knowledge of radical terminology which fits into what the communists call "the language of Marxism-Leninism". In reviewing a book in the Journal of Negro Education, a magazine issued by the Howard University in January 1935, Bunche wrote as follows:

"An appreciation of the moving forces behind modern imperialism as practiced by the capitalistic nations of the world does not seem to fall within the author's ken. One gathers, by broad implications that Mr. Mockerie feels that the African can get along well enough under the existing system if only some of the more burdensome and noxious restrictions are removed. This is, of course, a vain hope.

My own belief is that there is little hope for the African now, or in the future, so long as finance capitalism, dominates the economic systems of the mother countries."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
CURRENT LITERATURE ON NEGRO EDUCATION

Jan. 1935 Vol. IV No. 1
by R. J. Bunche

The broad implication that the social systems of the countries, which have African colonies, must first be overthrown as a prerequisite of establishing an anti-capitalist system in Africa is quite obvious in Bunche's remarks. This necessarily pre-supposes the overthrow of the existing systems of society in Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and the United States. (It was and is the position of communists and their followers that the U.S. is in effect the controlling force in Liberia and that this constitutes the possession by America of an African Colony.)

It is interesting to note that standard Marxist-Leninist language was employed by Bunche which included the terms; capitalistic nations, finance capitalism, Imperialism, etc. The Marxist-Leninist objectives include not only the language but also sets the tone of communist social warfare which aims to overthrow the mother countries of these colonies.

In an article on Minority Groups Dr. Bunche carried out his concepts in keeping with the communist philosophy by mouthing certain fundamental Marxist cliches as follows:-

"Recent world history points out too clearly that modern democracy, conceived in the womb of middle-class revolutions, was early put out to work in support of those ruling middle-class interests of capitalistic society which fathered it. It has remained their loyal child and has rendered profitable service for them. But when in modern European countries it came to be vigorously wooed by those mass interests of society whose lot under modern industrialism has been that of cruel oppression, democracy was quickly discredited and disowned, and fascism became the favored child of Big-Business-controlled governments. The significant fact is that democracy, while never offered in any large measure to the black populations of the world, has been extended to the great masses of the working-class population only so long as it was employed by them as a harmless device involving no real threat to the increasing control of the society by the ruling classes."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Page 308 Article by Ralph Bunche
and Programs of Minority Groups"

July 1935 Vol. 4 No. 3
"A Critical Analysis of the Tactics

This entire concept and phraseology is part and parcel of the standard communist propaganda. This line follows thus:

1. Modern democracy was born by the impetus and leadership of manufacturing and commercial elements in order to overthrow the restrictive feudal order.

2. That democracy was permitted in a limited way for the poorer population in order to delude them and deceive them into thinking that this was a government of all the people.

3. That the negro people as a whole were deprived of even those limited rights.

4. That exploitation was becoming so flagrant with the growth of big business that fascistic forms were substituted, in place of the illusion of democracy, in order to maintain the oppression.

In the above mentioned article, Bunche repeatedly states that alternatives of a peaceful nature cannot serve the negro people. Under the heading of "VIOLENT TACTICS" he does however present the communist position as follows:-

"The Communist Party has seriously proselyted among the Negro group but with only indifferent success. The immediate task of such movements in this country is to develop radical class consciousness among the working class masses of both white and Negro populations, with a view to the ultimate recognition of an identity of interest and consequent black and white solidarity in a militant labor movement." Page 312, J.N.E., July 1935.

In presenting the immediate program of the Communist Party as one striving for a class-conscious unity between white workers and Negroes, Bunche admits an expert knowledge of the communist position. This knowledge precludes all possibility that his reflecting communist thought could be done through ignorance or innocence.

Dr. Bunche wrote in the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, in the capacity of Professor of Political Science and as such must have reflected his political beliefs to his students. He considered himself a radical teacher and as such took up the cudgels on behalf of all radical teachers and long ago began to

denounce all "loyalty oaths", red - riders and other measures which required teachers to conduct themselves in a loyal manner.

The excerpts below show that Bunche displayed an open defiance against attempts to keep our teachers within the confines of conducting their classes in the interests of good Americanism. His writings on this subject sound exactly as the red teachers of today do in denouncing Congressional probes into subversion in our schools:-

"In considering what may be done in the way of reorganizing any educational system, white or black, it must also be kept in mind that the dominant controls of the society are exerted over the teacher. Educators, if they are frank, admit their circumscriptions under the present organization of the society. We are now witnessing an unusual era of academic repression, but the controls are always present, in good times or bad. The repressive measures, 'red-riders,' gag-laws and oath clauses of the present period of hysteria are merely forceful reminders of the fundamental bias of our educational system. It is more than significant that radical teachers have always been in jeopardy; that long before the depression teachers were forbidden to join teachers' unions, though it is difficult to find any instances of conservative teachers being dismissed for their points of view. The idea has always been widely current among the powers that be in education that the teacher does not have the same rights as other citizens to speak or publish his views on social questions. Moreover, it would seem valid to assume that where one teacher is known to have been dismissed from his job because his ideas were in conflict with the controlling interests of his educational institution, thousands of others are cowed and remain too timid to take the risk of venturing an opinion on any 'dangerous' subject, or even to protest against the restraint."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Education in Black and White

pages 356-7

July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Bunche

Bunche continually railed against the free-profit-system and kept repeating over and over again, that capitalism is the main enemy and complained that our society taught its children a "bias in favor of the culture of capitalism":-

"Though there are some who would will it otherwise, in America today education is compelled to reflect the status quo. We are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern. Our schools are extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of capitalism. When capitalism prospers, the schools prosper. When capitalism suffers from depression, school budgets are drastically cut. When capitalism is hard-pressed with criticisms for its shortcomings, the schools are expected to provide its advocates, and if they demur, for reasons

of educational ideals, capitalism tightens the economic screws until the schools surrender. Though the schools are non-profit enterprises themselves, they operate within the framework of a profit economy, and there are rigid limits to their activities. On relatively trivial matters they may exercise a modicum of freedom but in all really vital matters they must reflect the will of the groups which hold the reins of power in the state. The American educational system, in its control, financial support, faculty and students, manifests a definite bias in favor of the culture of capitalism."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Education in Black and White

July 1936 Vol. V No. 3 page 355
Bunche

Bunche re-inforced his comments by the purely communist concept that educational equality is impossible under our present system of society:-

"The fact is that under our present system it is impossible to achieve educational equality for all members of any group in the society. Public schools, for example, are supported by taxation. The revenue derived from taxation will depend largely upon the relative prosperity of the propertied interests in the particular locality. Since wealth is unequally distributed in the country the present glaring inequalities in the distribution of funds for the support of education will persist even for 'White Education.' The basic question for all schools is not one of copying the 'white man's education,' but one of developing a system of education which will afford both white and black students a sound basis for understanding the society in which they live and for attacking the problems confronting them. White as well as Negro schools are woefully deficient in this respect."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Education in Black and White

Page 355

July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Bunche

The next quote shows that Bunche took the typically communist position that "capitalism owns the colleges and universities" and "nor can it (Ed:- American Education) teach the student the truth". His contention that our educational system pursues a policy of indoctrination of prejudices "in the capitalist culture" is a repetition of the Kremlin brand of slander carried on against our system of individual freedom:-

"In truth, capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase. These institutions are supported either by taxation paid largely by corporations and large property owners, or else by direct endowments, gifts, and contributions by the commercial class. It is not unusual therefore that the schools should be expected to foster and cultivate capitalistic ideas. It is easy to imagine what would happen quickly to the University administration or school board which would attempt to give any other orientation to the educational process. The universities themselves have a vested interest in the profit economy because of their investments in all sorts of capitalistic enterprises. The returns of these investments determine the

financial status of the institutions. Of necessity, American education thus becomes 'goose-step' education. It can be only relatively free. It cannot vigorously devote itself to the task of inoculating the student with a burning desire for the pure truth. Nor can it fearlessly teach the student the truth. It is compelled to pursue a policy of indoctrination -- with all of the attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, and prejudices which have been cultivated in the capitalist culture and which are vital to it."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Education in Black and White

Page 355-6

July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Bunche

Bunche's solution of the problems of education which he raises also parallels that of the Soviet propaganda line that special "labor schools" must be set up to give working people courses which Bunche states that if they were given in our "advanced educational institutions" then the business interests in every community would immediately put up a howl that the schools were "red and fostering revolutionary meetings on their campuses":

"The white and black mill and factory workers in all sections of the country require the same type of education - an education which will give them a true understanding of their status in the industrial order and an insight in the nature of that order. Under present conditions this cannot be done in our schools; this sort of training is gotten by the workers themselves in their labor organizations and their labor schools, of these latter there are too few. It would, of course, be a splendid thing if our advanced educational institutions were in a position to offer extension courses in workers' education for the adult workers of the community, black and white. There is not much possibility of this being done, however, for the business interests in every community would immediately put up the howl that the schools were 'red' and fostering 'revolutionary' meetings on their campuses. Even the Federal Workers' Education projects have suffered from this sort of organized attack."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Education in Black and White

Page 358

July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Bunche

PAMPHLET - A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

In 1936 Ralph Bunche wrote a booklet called "A WORLD VIEW OF RACE". In this publication he advocated the classic position of the communists in respect to the Negro question.

Bunche lays the foundation in typically Marxist fashion by tying in the racial groups as a mere part of the class struggle in America. In parroting

the communist position of pitting the workers against the capitalists, Bunche had the following to say:-

"THE 'RACE PROBLEM' SEEN AS A 'CLASS PROBLEM'"

"One of the latest and soundest views of the American race problem, and, for that matter, the race problem throughout the world, regards it, then, as merely one aspect of the class struggle. That is to say that differences in 'race,' differences in skin color, hair texture, language, religion or culture traits, are employed as devices by the privileged, ruling classes of the society to rationalize and promote their continued domination over and exploitation of the great numbers of the population. Thus it can be pointed out that the American Negro, by force of economic circumstances, is principally identified with the American working class and peasant elements of the population. The development of Negro business enterprise is impossible at this late stage in our industrial process, if it ever was possible. Similarly, it follows that no separate black economy can be erected within the walls of the white economy, as the movement for Negro business presupposes. The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working classes in a common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice, only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North. This objective is admittedly difficult of realization. Mutual suspicion and enmity between the white and black groups is an ever-present source of frustration. The minds of both groups have been poisoned against each other over a period of generations.

There are encouraging signs, however, that the problem of the status of the Negro in the United States is losing its traditional purely racial nature and is being increasingly identified with the growing struggle of the white workers and small farmers against the white (and, for that matter, black) captains of industry, landlords and bankers. The depression, ably abetted by the policies of the New Deal, has made the American population, white and black, increasingly class-conscious."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

By Ralph J. Bunche

pages 89-90

While laying the basis for the communist concept of irreconcilable struggle between the capitalists and the workers, Bunche then proceeds to describe how the "race" question will be solved after "capitalism" is done away with:-

"If the fundamental ailments of the American economy are remedied, the 'race question' will loom less large. So long as the society endures an economy which demands and thrives on human exploitation, race will be employed as an effective device in the promotion of the process group exploitation, economic, political and cultural. In such a society and under such an economy attempts at solving the 'race problem' will be futile."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

By Ralph J. Bunche

page 92

Bunche thus lays the basis of need for communist revolution by characterizing our way of life as "human exploitation - economic, political and cultural." Since all of our social life comes in under the above three categories the obvious propaganda basis is laid for the aim for another social order which is fundamentally different.

The next excerpt shows the class-struggle process as inevitably leading to a showdown between the workers and capitalists and that the elimination of private property interests and rights is a necessary process before the race and class problems are resolved. It is interesting to note in view of his U.N. position that Dr. Bunche considered the elimination of capitalism as a necessary condition before a proper World Order can be established.

"The plain fact is that the contemporary international order, characterized by its capitalist-imperialist organization, has no possibility of effectively controlling the destiny of such peoples and areas. For the international order cannot override the existing vested capitalistic interests which muster the forces of the state for their protection. As the world is now organized these interests cannot be overcome, for they are intimately tied up with the class-relations of capitalist society. The same forces which protect them are the exact forces which protect and promote the interests of the capitalist within the capitalist state to which he claims allegiance. Just as the capitalist state in its internal affairs maintains a legal and constitutional system designed to protect absentee ownership and safeguard those property rights which make the capitalist supreme, just so, in the realm of external affairs, the state's authority, by the very nature of his relationship to it, must be employed to impose that type of supremacy over other peoples.

It is only when this supremacy and privilege are dissolved and when it is no longer within the power of the privileged property-holding class to determine the institutional life and habits of the modern state, that there can be hope for the development of an international order and community which will promise the subject peoples of the world genuine relief from the heavy colonial burdens of imperialist domination."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

By R. J. Bunche

pages 64-65

As to where such groups (as the American Negro) can look to for leadership and inspiration Dr. Bunche gives the standard Bolshevik answer - to the Soviet Union, of course. In fact he considered it "both logical and likely";-

"If the oppressed racial groups, as a result of desperation and increasing understanding, should be attracted by the principles of equality and

humanitarianism advocated by the Soviet Union (and it is both logical and likely that they will) then racial conflict will become intensified. In such case, however, racial conflict will be more directly identified with class conflict, and the oppressed racial groups may win the support of oppressed, though previously prejudiced, working-class groups within the dominant population."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

By R. J. Bunche

page 36

In concluding his pamphlet Ralph Bunche tied in the whole communist aim of merging racial dissidents into the class struggle for the possession of the whole world. He talks of "titanic" and "uncompromising struggles" between "the working and owning classes." The last sentence of the pamphlet talks of war. It is not of ordinary war that Bunche speaks of, for even as terrible a thing as race war is relegated to a mere "sideshow". The war that he describes is a "gigantic class war". And its locale? The same as the operations of the Kremlin forces. It will be "waged in the big tent we call the world."

"There will be sporadic outbreaks when subject peoples become restless under too harsh measures of imperialistic oppression. But the signs throughout the world are unmistakable. Despite the frantic efforts of many of those who control national and world policy to conjure up international race issues, the lines are forming in a totally different manner. Race issues appear but tend to merge into class issues. Throughout the world the issue between working and owning classes is sharpening. The titanic conflicts of the future will be the product of the uncompromising struggles between those who have and those who have not. These conflicts now wage within all groups, racial and national. Insofar as the great masses of the black and yellow races are concerned, the status of economic and political inferiority which they have been compelled to accept results in their automatic identification with the working and 'have not' classes of the society. They are now beginning to understand the true nature of the issues confronting them. Moreover, they will eventually appreciate the great possibilities in their numerical strength as a weapon in their struggle for justice. Their organized and directed support of the working class of the dominant populations of the world will bring an unchallengeable power to this class.

And so class will some day supplant race in world affairs. Race war then will be merely a side-show to the gigantic class war which will be waged in the big tent we call the world."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

By R. J. Bunche

pages 95-6

Any further doubt as to whether the above pamphlet by Ralph Bunche carried the Communist position on the Negro question can be completely dispelled

with the below quotation from the magazine called the "COMMUNIST" which was issued as "A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism Published Monthly by the Communist Party of the U.S.A." In the issue of the COMMUNIST October, 1937 Bunche's pamphlet is reviewed by Abner W. Berry, a high ranking communist for many years. The entire first page is here quoted to show the enthusiasm with which the official communist hierarchy greeted Bunche's pamphlet. When A. W. Berry states that "Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues" he gives Bunche full credit for echoing the basic communist credo of class struggle to overthrow our social order. (Ed. Note: Former high level communist leaders have testified that all book reviews in the COMMUNIST are first passed on by the Polit-Buro leaders of the Communist Party to make sure that the review is important enough for the communist Cause and make certain that it is in keeping with the Party doctrine.):

"A STEP TOWARD NEGRO LIBERATION"

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE, by Ralph J. Bunche, Ph.D., Associate in Negro Education. Washington, D. C., 98 pp. Twenty-five cents.

"A fresh breeze is blowing through the class rooms of American colleges, carrying with it elements of Marxist and progressive thought. One of the welcome fruits of this renaissance is a world-embracing study of race attitudes by Dr. Bunche, professor of political science at Howard University.

The brochure begins with the discussion of world race theories, in which the author shows that the basis for racialistic theories is mythical rather than scientific. He properly estimates the dangers inherent in the propagation and spread of such theories, as, for example, the attempt to merge race and nation in Nazi Germany. Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues. A starting point toward a solution of the problem is his conclusion:

'Group antagonisms are social, political and economic conflicts, not racial, though they are frequently given a racial label and seek racial justification' (p. 23).

This point is further developed and elaborated in the second chapter. Discussing the historical basis for present-day prejudices, Dr. Bunche points out:

'The historic origin of racial prejudices and conflicts is to be found in migration of human groups and the invasions by conquering peoples of territory inhabited by other peoples. These conflicts did not result from any innate aversion of one racial group toward another, however....The true historical explanation is that the conquering peoples constituted themselves the ruling class and relegated the conquered group to an inferior status. Thus race became a badge of social superiority and in time the dominant race assumed for itself qualities of moral, intellectual and political superiority as well as economic privilege' (p. 26).

Approaching the Marxist viewpoint, the author follows up this statement by analyzing the class antagonisms within the dominant races, inferring an alliance of the subject people with the workers of both races.

The main areas of racial conflict where 'racial relations of today are pregnant with a danger for the future peace and development of the world' are Africa, West Indies, the Orient, Germany and the United States, according to Dr. Bunche. He discusses the issues in each area. In writing of the conflict in America, the author notes that even within the 'solid white front' against the threat of 'Negro domination' during the Civil War there were differences as between slave-holders and the poor whites.

That Dr. Bunche realizes the significance of the class struggle is clear. He reasons that with trade union policies based upon 'the inevitable realization that workers of the two groups (Negro and white) arrayed against each other in racial conflict have more in common than workers of the dominant group have in common with employers of the dominant group...racial conflict tends to be lessened, but class conflict...is intensified' (pp. 31-32). The solution of the 'race' problem according to the author lies along the road of working class freedom:

'The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in the common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North' (p. 90).

The working class can recognize, unmistakably, in this statement the voice of an active friend and supporter. It is a wholesome and hopeful sign that this statement represents also the social credo of an increasing number of Negro intellectuals."

BOOK REVIEW by A. W. Berry page 965 of A WORLD VIEW OF RACE by Ralph J. Bunche THE COMMUNIST October 1937 Vol. XVI No. 10

Before passing on to the next phase, it is of interest to present the official point of view of the Communist Party as enunciated by its leader in the United States, Earl Browder, on the question of the Negroes in relation

to the class struggle and the march toward revolution. The two excerpts below sound like an echo of Bunche's words on the same subject. The following position was presented during the same period that Bunche wrote on the identical subject:-

"The purpose of our work on the Negro question is to establish unity of white and black proletariat in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the leadership of the proletariat over the Negro masses in the struggle for their national liberation."

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES, a book by Earl Browder Page 292 - 1935

"We live and fight within the world fortress of capitalism, of imperialism, which finds one of its main instruments of rule in the division between white and Negro workers. But this division also represents one of the weakest spots of American imperialism, where we can strike quickest and hardest, it represents a pre-capitalist survival, a relic of slavery and feudalism, a crying anachronism, embodying all the contradictions of the decaying imperialist world. In this discussion we have more effectively armed ourselves with the Leninist theory, whereby we can call forth for struggle all the revolutionary forces generated by this national oppression of the Negroes, link them up with the rising forces of the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thus with multiplied capacity for effective battle against the oppressors, the imperialist bourgeoisie, we will 'sail into the face of the storm' of the revolutionary mass struggles that are being prepared in America on a gigantic scale."

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES by Earl Browder Page 303 - 1935
For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!

RACE MAGAZINE

In a magazine called "RACE", which was organized and completely controlled by well known communists (including one who had been a several times delegate to the Communist International in Moscow from the Communist Party of the U.S.), Dr. Bunche wrote an article reiterating the orthodox communist position that the race problem is a part of the class struggle and that The National Negro Congress, which was formed in 1936, reflected "the ideology of organized labor was dominant". In communist nomenclature the ideology of organized labor is Marxism, since Labor, as such, has no particular ideology separate and apart from the rest of the population:

"Biased individuals saw the Congress inspired and dominated by the 'reds'. A more sober appraisal is perhaps in order."

ALERT AND ALIVE, (Dr. Bunche's Sub-Title)

"Quite the most significant feature of the Negro Congress was the fact that it constituted the first sincere effort to bring together on an equal plane Negro leaders, professional and white collar workers with Negro manual workers and their leaders and organizers. The result was gratifying to the latter. It was, to say the least, an educational experience for the Negro leaders and professional and white collar groups. In no other general Negro gathering has the note of labor been so popularly received. The ideology of organized labor was dominant."

(RACE magazine Vol. I No. 2 Summer 1936 page 93
Article by Ralph J. Bunche - "Triumph? or Fiasco?")

It is quite significant, as will be shown later, that Bunche declares that those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" are "biased".

What is particularly important is the fact that Bunche was associated with a Magazine that was not only run by known reds but openly proclaimed in its first issue that its object was to "plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist-imperialist order.":-

"That the special system of discrimination against the Negro in America is so deeply rooted in the very foundations of the present social order and the vested interests of dominant capitalism that there is no complete 'solution' of this basic problem of American life short of a fundamental reconstruction of society, a social upheaval which will plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist-imperialist order."

(RACE Vol. I No. 1 Winter 1935-1936 page 3 "Article on opening page")
(Note:- The magazine RACE did not appear after Vol. I No. 2)

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS AND DR. BUNCHE

The story of The National Negro Congress is one whereby the Kremlin leaders managed to get a grip on the influential section of the Negro people in this country which they had not been able to accomplish until this Congress was put into action. Previous to 1936 the Communist Party of the

U.S.A., upon instructions from the Kremlin, began to send in its small negro membership into existing non-communist Negro organizations. When this infiltration job was completed, the Moscow leaders through the Communist International instructed the communists in America to organize a Negro Congress which would pretend to be a representative body for all the Negroes in the United States, but actually be under the firm control of the Kremlin.

The purpose of this maneuver was obvious. Hitherto the communists had been operating feverishly to get a grip upon the mass of American Negroes and had been very unsuccessful in their attempts. The Kremlin had decided many years previously that the millions of Negroes in this country would be ideal political fodder which could be used in revolutionary activity against our form of government. They had failed in this way to unite the negroes under the open banner of communism. Other subterfuges were needed. In preparation for this day, scores of Negro communists were trained in the advanced schools of revolutionary tactics in Moscow.

In the organization of the National Negro Congress, however, the Red bosses did not trust the Negro communists to do the job. Previous experience had shown that the freedom loving American negroes rebelled against communist discipline and the turnover of negroes in the Communist Party was higher than that of any other group. Therefore, even in the National Negro Congress, organizations of white membership were allowed to send delegates. Needless to say, most of these white organizations were either communist fronts or were other organizations which had been previously infiltrated.

The failures that the communists had among the negroes had taught them that this operation must be carefully and thoughtfully carried out. Only the most trusted and most thoroughly indoctrinated negro communists were to be entrusted with the task of organizing and launching this new endeavor.

A number of ex-communists, who had been in on the plot in high places, have testified to the extent of this operation and that only the most trusted red agents were given the task of launching the National Negro Congress.

In 1940, while writing about the National Negro Congress in the Gunnar Myrdal-Carnegie studies on the Negro question, Bunche boasted that the original meetings which initiated the National Negro Congress were made by him and his associates in Howard University and in his home in Washington, D. C. in 1935.

In fact, the official communist publications gave him full credit as one of the initiators in their own publications as follows:-

"Among other outstanding participants were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of Howard University; Lester Granger of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; and Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science." (The Negro and the Democratic Front - Book - Publisher - International Publishers, N. Y. copyright, 1938. P. 69.)

James Ford, the writer of the above, was the leading Negro member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and was involved in meetings with Ralph Bunche on the question of the National Negro Congress (according to testimony of leading ex-communists.)

The next quote, from a recent communist book, written by W. Z. Foster, the current head of the Communist Party, confirms Bunche's role in connection with the National Negro Congress:-

"Among those present were such notables as Ralph Bunche, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, R.A. Carter, John P. Davis, James W. Ford, and others." (Book - History of the Communist Party by W. Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1952. P. 309)

Foster and Ford also confirm Bunche's contention that Howard University (where he worked as a professor of Political Science) was the locale of the Negro Congress planning in May, 1935, one year before the Negro Congress was convened:-

"The rising spirit of struggle among the Negro people during these years reflected itself in the National Negro Congress, organized in Chicago, February 14-16, 1936. The N.N.C. grew out of a conference held previously under the auspices of Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery." (Book - HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S., W. Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1952. P. 308)

"There were other speakers who made valuable contributions on the plight of the Negro at the May Conference at Washington. Space will not permit us to quote from all of them. Among these were: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, of Howard University; Lester Granger, of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; John McKinney, of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science." (THE COMMUNIST, April 1936, Vol. XV No. 4, page 322. Article: "The National Negro Congress" by James W. Ford.)

However, it should not be construed that the process which started the National Negro Congress originated with the May, 1935 conference, between Bunche and his cohorts. Actually the order to start the Congress, as is shown in the following quote, came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as enunciated by its leading Negro member, James W. Ford, in 1934:-

"It may be remembered that the National Negro Congress was proposed last May at a national conference held in Washington. Earlier in January, 1934, at a symposium held in New York between Frank R. Crosswaith, Oscar De Priest, and myself, I made a suggestion for the calling of a National Negro Congress." (THE COMMUNIST, April 1936. Page 318 James W. Ford.)

The method in which the whole process of building the Negro Congress was frankly and clearly laid out a few months before the Howard University conference (mentioned by Bunche) by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to its members at a special plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party to give instructions as to how the entire matter was to be carried out among the Negro people. In reading this excerpt, it must be kept in mind that this was issued to members of the Communist Party more than a year before the National Negro Congress was convened:-

"In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question - if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations, there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress

on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N. Y. District in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in Negro organizations." (PARTY ORGANIZER, March 1935, Vol. VIII No. 3, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Article: "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations" (Excerpts from Report to Plenum). Page 21.)

This instructive to organize a Negro Congress was issued to all communists, whether secret or open, in the following directive:-

"In the development of this work it shall be our aim to lay a firm basis for the realization on a local scale of our major political task in Negro work nationally, namely:

1. The promotion of the movement for the National Congress on Negro Rights, tying up our local campaign with the general issues around which this Congress will be convened, such as the campaign for the enactment of the L.S.N.R. Bill for Civil Rights, for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys and Herndon, against lynching, etc." (THE COMMUNIST, JUNE, 1935, Vol. XIV No. 6, page 575, "The Development of Struggle for Negro Rights".)

After the National Negro Congress was organized, the Communist Party took full and public credit for the creation of the Congress. It was understood by all and sundry that this was a child of the Kremlin. Ralph Bunche, incidentally, was elected to the National Committee of the Negro Congress. The process of getting control of the minds of the Negro leadership was well on its way. The goal set for the Communist Party of the U. S. by the Kremlin through the Communist International in its World Congress in Moscow in 1935, on the question of the American Negroes, was gathering full steam. The boast by American Communists of their handiwork in this respect and the report on how the Communist International instructives were the guiding light is illustrated in the next two quotations:-

"It is equally beyond dispute that the pioneering and trail-blazing work of the Communists has played a great part in opening the road towards the now developing broad people's movement. Our Party as a whole can justly take pride - not to rest in self satisfaction - in the role it played and is playing in awakening the Negro people, in helping to organize them, in bringing forth such Negro leaders as Ford and Herndon, and in promoting that united and people's front for Negro rights which resulted in the creation of the National Negro Congress." (THE COMMUNIST, MARCH, 1936, Vol. XV. No. 3, page 202. "Review of the Month".)

"I would say that the main feature of the past year has been that in the field of work among the Negro people, as in most of the other fields of our work, we have begun to realize on a mass scale the results of the line of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. We have begun to emerge from sectarian isolation and become a mass influence, a mass power. As in our Party work generally, this has been accompanied by a sharpening of all the problems involved in our work. All of our weaknesses and inadequacies come out most sharply now, precisely because we have made some tremendous gains and thereby face responsibilities which politically we feel equipped to meet." (Book THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT. By James W. Ford, International Publishers, page 95.)

It is necessary to present the following list of excerpts to emphasize the fact that the National Negro Congress was a Kremlin operation which could, and was, carried out by Kremlin agents, working consciously towards that goal:-

"Comrades: This convention, in my opinion, emphasized repeatedly the importance of the Negro question. I want to take the few minutes disposed to me to propose the concrete work of the Negro field.

Comrades, as the menace of fascism threatens the Negro people with double ferocity, we find at this moment the very sincere desire for both black and white to unite in a concrete form in the struggle against fascism. When we do this we carry out the tradition of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin told us years ago that we did not pretend to be pure Communists, at all times to be practical people. While we do not negate the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the United States, we are today seeking the most practical means to develop the struggle of the Negro people toward this ultimate slogan known as the right of self-determination. And this practical weapon is the National Negro Congress."

"....The question of securing these National Negro Congress sponsors should be one of the essential points of all of our discussions from now on. Comrades in trade unions should consult the educational committee of their unions and arrange to include in their educational program discussion on the National Negro Congress. Meetings should be covered by people with folders, leaflets, sponsor buttons. Even at this convention we have given sponsor buttons to many of the comrades. There is nothing to hide. We openly declare we are responsible for bringing 1,000 sponsors in the New York State apparatus of the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party will continue to see the Negro question as a special question of approach. The Communist Party precisely by assisting the building of the N.N.C. refutes the theories of the Socialists in their recent resolution that attempts to put the Negro people on the same par with the conditions of the white and other people in the United States. We recognize this as a special question. We bring this out at this convention in order that the comrades will see the necessity of using the building of the N.N.C. as a practical question and concrete means of approaching the Negro question in a special manner." (Book - PROCEEDINGS 10TH CONVENTION. Communist Party New York State, May 20-23, 1938, pp. 253-254-255)

"We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program. We should organize all our fractions and guide them in their work in the various organizations in which there may be Party members. If we develop systematic work on the basis of our concentration policies in the various Negro communities and carry on a fight against sectarian methods of work, we shall be able very soon to fulfill the task of developing a broad people's front among the Negro people in the United States against fascism and war and for the liberation of the Negro people." (THE COMMUNIST, June 1936, Vol. XV No. 6. Page 561. Article: "Build the National Negro Congress Movement" by James W. Ford.)

"We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress. We were not deterred by the charges of 'Communist domination'. We were guided by what we knew of the desire of the Negro masses for united action."

".....The National Negro Congress recorded progress made by Communists and the many delegates who supported our program, in the increasing work we are carrying on in the various organizations of the Negro people. Our modest successes are, however, just beginnings. We must now undertake to profit from our experiences, mistakes, shortcomings and successes, by showing what changes are necessary in our methods of work to build the National Negro Congress."

"..We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program." (BOOK - THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT by James W. Ford, Page 69, 76, 85.)

"Some people think because we do not insist that the issue of the right to self-determination be adopted now by the Negro Congress, our Party is abandoning its revolutionary demand for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt in the South. Nothing is further from the truth. Never was it more clear than it is today that the complete liberation of the people in the Black Belt will be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords and capitalists, the destruction of the semi-slave agricultural relations and the realization of the right to self-determination. But there is a problem which we must face. And how must we face it? The problem is how to link up the daily struggles of the Negro Masses in the Black Belt today for their partial economic and political demands with our revolutionary slogan for the right to self-determination. It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination. But they are ready to fight against jim-crowism and oppression, for democratic rights and other partial economic and political demands. Our task, therefore, is not to stand passively by and wait until the Negro toilers become ready for the revolution. No! Our task is to join with them in the organization for their immediate struggle and strengthen their position economically and politically, strengthen the bonds between the white and Negro toilers, and in this way create the transition to the revolutionary struggle which will make possible the realization of the right of the Negro masses in the Black Belt to self-determination."

The top leadership took official cognizance of the communist success through the National Negro Congress and published an account of the role of that organization in the process of communist revolution. This was published in the INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, a publication which was the official organ of the Communist International and was published in every major language in the world.

"The work of the Communist vanguard within the Negro group is of the most profound importance. Success in the struggle for unity at the National Negro Congress, the development of a Negro people's front depends in a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres. The development of tried and true revolutionary cadres and the strengthening of our revolutionary organizations among the Negro people, is now of the most profound importance. The development of the Negro people's front is dependent upon this. In turn, the development of tried and true revolutionary cadres among the Negro toilers is dependent upon the development of the broadest possible united front of struggle among the Negro people. The programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized."

INT'L PRESS CORRESP. Vol. 16 No. 7 Feb. 1st, 1936
The Negro Movement - A National Negro Cong. in America pp. 195
(The article quoted above was published before the N.N.C. was held.)

The National Negro Congress was to be only one part of a Kremlin plotted world wide organization of negroes which was to have followed the formation of the N.N.C. Negro communist agents were sent throughout the world to inflame negroes (particularly in Africa) and to weld them into an international force serving the Soviet purposes. During the same year that the N.N.C. was formed and the call was issued through the Negro Congress for a "class conscious" organization to be called the "International Congress of Negroes", Ralph Bunche went to Africa and toured large areas of that continent. An investigation should be made to determine if Bunche had contact with some of the Negro agitators who are stirring up trouble and bloodshed in Africa today.

"Hence, the National Negro Congress in the United States occupies an important place in the life and struggles of Negroes everywhere. That is why the Congress adopted a resolution on an International Congress of Negroes, as follows:

Whereas, the exploitation and subjugation of the Negro masses is general, and world-wide in scope, and Negro toilers in one nation are not free so long as their brother toilers elsewhere are subjected to the degrading horrors of exploitation, and

Whereas, a deeper sympathy and class-consciousness of all Negroes throughout the world can best be developed by an International Congress of Negroes, be it

Resolved, that immediately upon the establishment of this Congress upon a permanent basis, it work for the fulfillment of such an International Congress of Negroes."

THE COMMUNIST May 1936 Vol. XV No. 5 Page 461
Political Highlights of the National Negro Congress by James W. Ford

The following message to the leadership of the National Negro Congress demonstrates beyond any doubt that the function of that organization is to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet Revolution. This quote incidently is from the INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE which only prints that which was cleared by top Soviet Leaders:-

"The history of the Soviet Union from the day of its birth is replete with lessons of utmost value to the National Negro Congress. These lessons can be an invaluable aid in the solution of every problem confronting the Congress, for the peoples of the Soviet Union have passed through just such struggles and have solved them."

INPRECORR February 1st, 1936 Vol. 16 No. 7 Page 195
The Negro Movement - A National Negro Congress in America

The nature of the National Negro Congress has been thoroughly probed by various governmental investigating agencies and they all have recognized its subversive character. The following taken from the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" page 86, sums up the investigations and testimony on the National Negro Congress:-

"NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)
2. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 on the ground that it was 'deliber-

ately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'

Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress *** according to A. Philip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party."

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.)

3. "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress.*** The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright communists."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.)

4. A "Communist-dominated mass organization."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 230.)

5. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. stated that the role of his party was 'one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February 1936.'

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 298.)

(Guide to Subversive Organizations and publications May 14, 1951)"

The reason for the lengthy analysis of the Negro Congress and the role of Dr. Bunche should be obvious by this time. Here is a man who has dealt in terms of a class conscious struggle of the workers allied with the Negro population against our system of society. At the same time he has pointed towards the Soviet Union as the example for the American Negroes to follow. He advocates a class war against our social order (on a world basis) and inveighs against the system of private ownership and free enterprise. During this exact same period (1935-36) he is a leader in a Soviet directed move to organize the National Negro Congress.

At the same time there was a manifestation from openly communist sources praising Bunche for his views and activities. First, there was the high praise by official red sources of his pamphlet "The World View of Race" and then there were several tributes given him for his "outstanding participation" as one of the "notables" who gave birth to the Negro Congress. His election to the governing national body of the National Negro Congress, where Bunche served with some of the most prominent communists of the day, ties in the accepted rule of the Kremlin that only the most trusted lieutenants of World communism can be allowed to plot out such of its vital activities as an organization which is to serve as the wedge to turn twelve million negroes against its own government.

A COMMUNIST PUBLICATION (SCIENCE AND SOCIETY AND DR. BUNCHE)

During the winter of 1935 there appeared a magazine called "SCIENCE AND SOCIETY - A MARXIAN QUARTERLY". (Vol. I No. 1 Winter of 1935-36)

This publication appeared stating that it intended to influence members of the academic world and those in the technical fields as well. The fact that this magazine announced on its front cover that it was a Marxian publication was an open admission to the world that it was dedicated to the Marxian principles of class struggle and revolution against existing society.

Ralph J. Bunche was listed in the first issue of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY as a contributing editor and his name continued on the covers of that magazine until 1940.

Dr. Bunche had an interesting accompaniment of Marxist revolutionaries on the editorial listing of the magazine. They included such communist luminaries as follows:-

J. D. Bernal

- A publicly known British communist from Cambridge University.

- Paul Langevin - A top level member of the French Communist Party who upon his death was publicly lauded for his "dedication to communism."
- Joseph Needham - A British professor who has led in the Soviet charge accusing the United States of germ warfare in Korea.
- W. P. Parry - He was managing editor of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY when Bunche first appeared as contributing editor. Parry was director of the communist progressive labor school in Boston. Appearing before the Un-American Activities Committee he refused to answer whether he was or has been a communist.
- Vladimir D. Kazakevich - When about to be arrested for deportation as a communist he fled this country and returned to his native Russia. In testimony before the McCarran committee, probing the communist connections of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Elizabeth Bentley said that Kazakevich handed over information to Jacob Golos, Soviet spy chief, with the knowledge that this was going to Soviet Russia.

There are a score of other names which include known members of the Communist Party or those who refused to answer questions as to such membership before investigating committees.

In the issue of Summer 1939 (Vol. 3, No. 3) the statement of ownership bears the name of A. A. Heller as Business Manager of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY.

Alexander Trachtenberg, well known communist leader, testified in September 1939 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that A. A. Heller was the President and listed owner of International Publishers, the publishing organization of the Communist Party. This firm was required by the Government to register as a foreign agency representing the Soviet Union in the publishing field in the United States.

Trachtenberg also admitted that right after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin gave Heller the oxygen concession in the Soviet Union and that Heller introduced the acetylene industry into Russia. Trachtenberg also stated that

Heller was a member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In the excellently documented Lusk Committee Reports of Red Activities in New York State in 1920 A. A. Heller is listed as an official of the Soviet Government in the United States.

A listing and analysis of the Communist articles and the Soviet propaganda in SCIENCE AND SOCIETY would take up a prohibitive amount of space in this report. The fact that this is a communist magazine is obvious even on a superficial perusal of the publication.

After SCIENCE AND SOCIETY was in existence for one year the top Marxist-Leninist theoretician in the top levels of the Communist Party made an evaluation of the work of that magazine in the pages of the chief publication of the Communist Party known as "THE COMMUNIST!"

V. J. Jerome, the communist writer of this article wanted to make certain that the use of the word Marxist by this magazine would not be confused with other claimants to Marxism who did not adhere to the interpretations of those principles by the Kremlin. Jerome clarified the position of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY in this respect by pointing out that its function was to interpret Marxism in accordance with "The Party of Marxism, The Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian party which Marx and Engels founded in their day". The following quote also makes plain the fact that this magazine is an instrument for communism in educational circles both for students and instructors:-

"Indeed, these constant rude interruptions by the proletariat interfere with the efforts of these philosophers to accommodate Marxism, groomed and respectabilized, to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories, such as the instrumentalism of Dewey, latest crusader in the cause of Trotskyism, or to the equally fashionable psycho-analysis of Freud.

Then, of course, there are the super-ultra Marxists of Socialism now or never, a cloak for counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. Their poison infects certain petty-bourgeois elements whose 'impatience' with the Soviet Union and the world proletariat is but a protective mask to cover their indisposition to toil for the revolution as the workers toil, by meeting practical problems

in daily struggle.

Naturally, such brands of 'Marxism,' ideologies of reaction, leave out of reckoning-except for slander-the Party of Marxism, the Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian Party which Marx and Engels founded in their day, political leader of the proletarian class which is the historic carrier of the Marxian objective-socialism.

These anti-Communist 'Marxists' seem to say of the Communists: Let them occupy themselves with the unemployed, with strikes and demonstrations, with united fronts and other such mundane things; we will take care of the Absolute Idea of Marxism.

With such factors as these to contend with, the Marxist magazine, Science and Society, was launched a little over a year ago. It entered the arena with an important and complex task to perform: to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles and to develop contributors from these circles; to stimulate the study of Marxism-Leninism by demonstrating the integration of Communist theory and practice with American social life; to apply the dialectic-materialist analysis to the natural and social sciences, and to cultural processes as a whole."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI. No. 12 Pages 1148-9
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

Jerome further stresses the fact that the purpose of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY is to proceed on the premise that Marxism is "revolutionary Marxism", and impartiality is unthinkable because they are out to "realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives". These objectives, as the whole world knows, is to capture all of society for the Soviet Masters:-

"The editors of such a magazine, however, have the important task of Marxist-Leninist study, in order to deepen their own understanding and provide leadership. Proceeding from the principle that Marxism is revolutionary Marxism, that it must continue to affirm its scientific theory and practice through unceasing struggle against open opponents and subtle perverters, their task is to help their readers overcome college-fostered misconceptions of Communism; depart from idealistic notions of history and from stultifying mechanical materialism; give up, in the face of objective truth, all remaining traces of the liberalistic 'both-sides-of-the-question' attitude; throw overboard the treacherous bourgeois instrumentalism; and realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI No. 12 Page 1149
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

That this was no mere academic journal but a means towards bringing about a revolution is clearly pointed out in the next excerpt. The conclud-

ing phrase which declares that "Science and Society" can be a "revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it" demonstrates the motives and impelling character of the publication:-

"This magazine of Marxian scholarship can refute the notion that theory may in any way be scientific apart from practice; it can fuse learning with the vital flow of action. It can present the proletarian revolution and the Soviet socialist system, not as an 'experiment'... 'purely Russian,' but as the inevitable outcome of the class struggle with international significance and application. It can demonstrate that Marxism for academic circles is in no way academic Marxism; that it is not a pacific, scholastic affair, but a scientific, revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI No. 12 page 1149
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In the next issue of the COMMUNIST (January 1937) Jerome devotes a second article reflecting directives in respect to SCIENCE AND SOCIETY. Here he expresses in communist language the instruction that this magazine is required reading for all communists and their followers:-

"We have stated earlier, and we wish to reaffirm at the conclusion, the considerable achievements of the magazine, its auspicious beginnings, and the hopeful prospects for its realization of the purposes the editors have set for it. On the basis of its efforts and of its realizations to date, Science and Society is deserving of the fullest support of the Communist Party and of all progressives."

THE COMMUNIST January 1938 Vol. XVII No. 1 page 90
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In the following quote, which concludes Jerome's article the frank admission that SCIENCE AND SOCIETY is designed to perform the work in the United States "of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM;" which followed the dictates of no other than Lenin:-

"But the very emergence of Science and Society implies a conscious purpose to transform science into an instrument for re-fashioning society. So it is fitting to remember Lenin's counsel to the editors of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, Under the Banner of Marxism; that 'a magazine that desires to be an organ of militant materialism must be a militant organ'."

THE COMMUNIST January 1938 Vol. XVII No. 1 Page 90
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In considering Bunche's serving as contributing editor of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY it must be remembered that he appeared in that capacity in the very first issue. The same rule applies to communist publications that it does to communistic organizations i.e. only the most trusted and reliable partisans are to be placed in positions of responsibility, especially at the beginning. Today there is no doubt that SCIENCE AND SOCIETY was and is a Soviet inspired publication. Naturally during its origin only the most trusted hard-core adherents of communism were assigned to its editorship.

In the issue of Summer 1936, Bunche wrote a review of a printed work on minority problems and criticized it for not stressing the class nature of the status and problems of minority groups. Here again Bunche repeats the standard communist line that all minority groups should be fit into the class-struggle pattern.

During the hearings on the loyalty of Dr. Bunche, during May, 1954, before the International Organization Loyalty Board, it has been reported that Bunche read a letter that he had sent to the Editors of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY explaining that other duties prevented him from further serving and wishing them success in their future endeavors.

In concluding the section on SCIENCE AND SOCIETY and the activities of Bunche in that publication, herewith is the evaluation of it by official investigative bodies:-

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

1. Cited as a Communist publication.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)
2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 225)

3. Cited as a Marxian quarterly distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. William T. Parry, director of the Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston, is the managing editor.
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938. p. 281 and 284)

(Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications - May 14, 1951)
Issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities page 149.

DR. BUNCHE'S ACTIVITIES SINCE 1940

During 1939-1940 many Jewish and Negro persons defected from the Communist Party because of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Negroes in the Communist Party found it hard to swallow the Nazis as new found friends, especially in view of Molotov's remark that "fascism was a matter of taste." Hitler's categorizing the Negro race in a slanderous manner - relegating them into a sub-human classification - made the new line of friendship with the Nazis hard for communist Negroes to reconcile with the previous communist position. As a result many Negroes left the Communist Party. Most of them gravitated back after Russia was invaded and the entire Stalin-Nazi Alliance was explained away as just another clever Soviet maneuver to gain time to prepare for the onslaught.

Bunche was one of those who defected. In the Gunnar-Myrdal Carnegie studies in 1940, Bunche criticized the Communist Party and particularly laid stress on those communist policies which came about as a result of the pact with Hitler.

However within 90 days after Hitler invaded Soviet Russia, Bunche was appointed to the Colonial Division of the Office of Strategic Services. He states in an autobiographical article that he received this appointment as the result of a recommendation by Professor Charles McIlwain, who was professor Emeritus of Harvard and one of Bunche's former instructors. Professor McIlwain has a communist front record. (Reference: Appendix IX House Un-

American Activities Committee Report, March 1944, page 380.) If Bunche had continued his separation from the communist movement it is hard to see why a person with communist front connections would interest himself to suggest Bunche for the position. Secondly there is the fact that the O.S.S. was a highly infiltrated government agency by the communists and their followers. A great deal of public and secret testimony has proven this to be an incontrovertible fact as illustrated by the following Senate Report:-

"Network in National Defense

In its decision of April 20, 1953, the Subversive Activities Control Board found that the Communist Party, USA, had as its objective 'the overthrow of the United States Government' and the effectuation of policies 'for the purposes of defending and protecting the Soviet Union.' Toward this end, the penetration of key agencies engaged in national defense was paramount. With the limited resources and data available to the subcommittee, we have been able to indicate only the pattern of such infiltration by those who have invoked their privilege against incrimination when asked about the subcommittee's evidence of their Communist Party membership."

"The subcommittee was in no position to make any overall investigation of the agencies mentioned. The following data, therefore, was purely incidental and does not depict the full situation."

"The Office of Strategic Services, the United States intelligence agency operating abroad during World War II, and discussed previously, included within its ranks the following such individuals: Leo M. Drozdoff, Irving Fajans, Maurice Halperin (Chief of the Latin American Division), Jack Sargeant Harris (in charge of military intelligence of South Africa), Julius J. Joseph, Paul V. Martineau, Carl Aldo Marzani (Deputy Chief of the Presentation Branch), Leonard E. Mins, Helen B. Tenney, Milton Wolff, and George S. Wuchinich."

Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments
Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security
July 30, 1953 pages 35-36

The Jack Sargeant Harris mentioned in the above Senate report as being in charge of military intelligence of the South African Section of OSS (Bunche was the Chief of the African Section) later figured in a probe of his activity on behalf of the Soviets and the fact that Bunche had recommended him for the job.

In spite of the high degree of communist influence in the O.S.S. Bunche was promoted and in 1942 he was elevated to chief of the O.S.S. African

Section. (It must be remembered that a few years previously Bunche had toured Africa and had written articles on the basis of his travels against "Imperialist Capitalism, Class Struggle," etc.)

In 1943 Bunche was transferred to the State Department during the heyday of the Alger Hiss influence. Again it is inconceivable that one remaining anti-communist, having been in the communist camp previously, could have received such a job when the communist agents were riding hard on even those who had been entrenched in the State Department for years.

Bunche stayed in the State Department for three years working on his old specialty "Colonial questions". Bunche was an advisor at the Dunbarton Oaks conference and at the first U. N. session at San Francisco and was an advisor at both the Council of Foreign Ministers and the U. N. General Assembly. These movements as to locale followed closely that of Alger Hiss.

Early in 1946 Bunche went to work at the United Nations, first on loan from the State Department and later permanently as director of the UN Trusteeship Division.

It is a fact that those who had been through the communist movement and have remained opponents of their former "comrades" are generally castigated and vilified by the red apparatus without let up. It is also a fact that such defectors can easily recognize or spot another communist. There is no truce between former partisans of the communist cause and the official communist machine. It is a matter of official record that Bunche sponsored a communist to a key post in the UN. In fact this communist had received an award of \$40,000 in lieu of reinstatement from the UN after he had refused to answer as to whether or not he had been and was a communist. The pertinent testimony on this question before the Jenner Committee of the United States Senate is as follows:-

"Mr. Morris. Now later, on December 11, 1945 did you state to the State Department official that you had applied for this position at the suggestion of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Harris. My answer remains the same, Mr. Morris, I decline to reply.

"Mr. Morris. And did you state to the State Department official that Ralph Bunche and Mr. John Ross, of the Special Political Affairs Committee, had told you that you were the best man for the job?

"Mr. Harris. I must decline to answer that on the grounds stated, Mr. Morris. (Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations.) page 654 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. On December 11, 1945, did you again write defending your record and complaining that you had not been told of the charges against you, and stating again that you had been invited to apply by Dr. Ralph Bunche in the first place?

"Mr. Harris. The same reply."

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
page 655 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. Do you know, Mr. Harris, that after your clearance with personnel for this P-6 appointment that the Security Office in the State Department disapproved of your appointment?

"Mr. Harris. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

"Mr. Morris. Do you know there was a memorandum prepared by the security official pointing out that there was strong evidence that you had been a Communist at least up to 1938?

"Mr. Harris. I must decline to answer that question also, Mr. Morris.

"Mr. Morris. Do you know that Mr. John Ross was notified on November 1, 1945, about the decision of the security people in the State Department who again urged your appointment on the ground that Dr. Ralph Bunche knew you well and had cabled to that effect from London?

"Mr. Harris. The same reply. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

"Mr. Morris. What ground?

"Mr. Harris. On all the grounds mentioned.

"Mr. Morris. And among others, the fifth amendment?"

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
page 655 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, I have a copy here of the administrative tribunal's decision, and it does read that the tribunal did award \$40,000 in lieu

of reinstatement to Mr. Harris.

"One of the factors they mentioned here, Mr. Chairman, is item (c), the fact that he joined the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche, Director of the Trusteeship Division, thereby terminating his previous career.

"Now, Mr. Harris, did you, as a matter of fact, join the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Harris. The answer, Mr. Morris, as I stated previously in the executive session is "Yes".

"Mr. Morris. Will you give us the circumstances of your joining the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Boudin. May the witness be permitted to state several objections to this question, and then may it be deemed that the objections now stated will be applied to any other questions he wishes to decline to answer, without repeating them?

"Mr. Morris. Yes.

"Mr. Harris. Sir, I decline to answer the question on the ground that:....."

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
October 2, 29, and December 22, 1953. Page 647

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS & BUNCHE

One of the main channels of Soviet espionage and communist betrayal of China into the hands of the Reds has been the Institute of Pacific Relations. The American Council of the I.P.R. is studded with the names of Soviet agents, red partisans and sympathizers who managed to secure a grip on various government departments which included our State Department, the White House, the Treasury Department, the Office of Strategic Services, and who have been variously charged with stealing Government documents, spying for Soviet Russia, and for perverting American Foreign and domestic policy to fit the Soviet aims to prepare the ground to seize control of the whole world.

Ralph Bunche was a high official of the Institute of Pacific Relations. More than this, he rubbed elbows and entered into close and private conference in respect to matters involving our National Policy with subsequently known Soviet agents and convicted communist operatives.

In respect to the I.P.R. and its communist manipulations, Alfred Kohlberg, a member of that organization for almost 20 years, presented evidence before the Jenner sub-committee of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, THE UNITED STATES SENATE, and swore to the following facts:-

"Since 1944 I have learned much more about the IPR; its apparently completely Communist or pro-Communist staff; that all articles on Far Eastern politics are written by Communists or pro-communists (some articles on economic, scientific, geographic questions are not); and that it has ties through interlocking directorates or staff with various Communist or pro-Communist organizations."

"Through its influence in the staffing of the State Department, Army and Navy Intelligence, and Far Eastern Divisions of UNRRA, of OWI, and even General MacArthur's staff, our Institute has put considerable numbers of Communists and pro-Communists where they could and have done the most possible harm and spread the most confusion."

"It would be my intention to present first to this Investigating Committee witnesses, and by witnesses I mean more than one, who would testify that the Institute of Pacific Relations is considered by the National Committee of the Communist Party to be one of its organizations and that certain of the Executive Committee of the American Institute are members of the Communist Party."

"Since that time numerous qualified witnesses have testified under oath before the McCarran Committee that:

"1. Your organization constantly and deliberately followed the Communist line in its publications.

"2. Some espionage activities were carried on.

"3. More than forty of your staff, Trustees and writers were actual Communists, or espionage agents, or both, and others learned that way.

"4. That activities in infiltrating our government by such people were carried on both officially and unofficially in your name."

Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on The Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952.
Page 4940-4942-4944

Mr. Kohlberg also brought out the fact that the I.P.R. was involved in the gigantic espionage scandal of pilfered State Department documents which were seized by government agents in the offices of the "AMERASIA" magazine and for which the editor of that magazine Philip Jaffe (well known Soviet agent) was convicted. Mr. Kohlberg swore that:-

"Four of the six persons arrested in the Amerasia case were connected with the IPR."

A former official of the Soviet Government in testifying before the McCarran Senate Committee stated that:-

"In 1933 Soviet Military Intelligence officers used the 'Institute' (meaning the IPR - Ed.) as 'cover' for obtaining secret military intelligence".

The extent of Bunche's importance to the pro-Soviet group in the IPR is demonstrated in the following communication from the head of the American group, E. C. Carter, to W. W. Lockwood as to possible delegates to the International IPR conference in Mont Tremblant, Canada.

"In response to your request I have hastily jotted down a number of suggestions for the American group at the conference. It's a long list, of course, but I believe we should add to it considerably and then get competent advice-say that of Currie, Barnes, and Jessup-on elimination. This list runs too much in the regular groove as regards non-government people. So far as Washington is concerned, we need more intimate knowledge as to who really are in the key positions."

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 4973

In the long list which followed the communication there were included the following:-

Ralph Bunche
Joseph Davies (Mission to Moscow)
Alger Hiss (Soviet Spy)
Laughlin Currie (Named by Elizabeth Bentley as connected with Soviet spy ring)
Frederick Vanderbilt Field (convicted communist agent)
Philip Jessup (accused of following communist line)
Harry Dexter White (Spy exposed by the Attorney General of U.S. and Edgar Hoover of FBI)
Henry A. Wallace (Former head of Communist led Progressive Party)
Joseph Barnes (Identified as a member of the Communist Party)
Benjamin Kizer (Identified as a member of the Communist Party)

The final list of delegates as sifted through by Laughlin Currie (accused as spy for Soviets), Joseph Barnes (identified as communist) and listed above along with Bunche were:-

Frank Coe (Cited as Soviet spy)

Len DeCaux (identified as an important communist)
Harriet L. Moore (E. Bentley testified that spy chief Golos told her Miss Moore was one of their people)

There were a number of other delegates like Mrs. Ogden Reid, who were picked either as window dressing or were so surrounded by the communist agents that they could not effectively make their opinions prevail. It was a completely staged communist show.

At the end of the IPR Canadian conference E. C. Carter, the head of the American IPR, wrote to Jessup as follows:-

Dr. Philip C. Jessup
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Phil;

Here are the rapporteurs' reports for the last group of Round Tables. I think you will be particularly interested in the reports of Harriet Moore, Fred Field, and Ralph Bunche.....

Sincerely yours,
Edward C. Carter

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
Hearings before the Subcommittee of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on the Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14 - May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 5210

The official government records of the above mentioned persons are as follows:-

Moore, Harriet L. (Gelfan), research associate; acting executive secretary (exhibit 801); chairman; nominating committee (p. 3858, 3859):

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses

Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination

Made one or more trips to Communist territory

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT OF U. S. CONGRESS
June 1952 p. 156

Field, Frederick V., Secretary, American Council (p. 995); executive (Exhibit 801); trustee p. 264).

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Collaborated with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony.

Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

Subject of action by agency of American Government or a foreign non-Communist government on grounds involving loyalty or national security.

INTERNAL SECURITY SUB-COMMITTEE REPORT OF U. S. CONGRESS
June 1952 p. 153-154

Carter, Edward C., Secretary American Council; secretary-general IPR; trustee; executive vice chairman (exhibit 801):

Made one or more trips to Communist territory

Affiliated with: Amerasia (exhibit 1355); American Russian Institute (p. 296); Russian War Relief (p. 295).

INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, U. S. CONGRESS
June 20, 1952 p. 152

The linking up by the head of the I.P.R. of a report by Bunche along with Harriet Moore and F. V. Field (exposed as Soviet agents) is significant in itself. It is obvious that the three reports mentioned above are recommended as a distillation of this communist dominated conference.

In a 1943 communication of the IPR, Bunche is listed as a member of a private discussion group which included the usual pro-Soviet stalwarts such as Frank Coe, Len DeCaux and David Weintraub (there were 43 derogatory FBI reports on Weintraub as to red activity and he resigned under fire from the U.N.)

At the 1945 International conference of the IPR, Bunche was accompanied as delegate by the usual names of Frank Coe, Len DeCaux, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Philip Jessup and by the additional names of John Carter Vincent (who was accused of aiding in the sell out of China to the Reds) and Owen Lattimore who is now under indictment.

At the end of 1944 it became obvious to the Kremlin leaders that Japan

was on the verge of surrender. Therefore orders were issued to communist agents all over the world to concentrate on preparing the groundwork for the seizure of China by the reds. The preliminary phase was to create the condition whereby the Chiang Kai-shek Government was to be criticized for the internal situation in China. Almost continuous war in Chinese territory since 1937 had naturally created havoc with the internal life of the country. Therefore by harping on demands for reforms and conditions which were impossible of realization, the reds managed to create and channel dissatisfaction against the Chinese government.

In the United States the Communist agents were to influence official government bodies, especially the State Department, to force the Chinese Government to adopt reform measures and make concessions to the reds which would pave the way for seizure of China by Soviet forces.

The IPR was the major instrument used by the Kremlin to do this job. The following official conclusions by a Senate committee were published on this matter as follows:-

"It was the continued practice of IPR to seek to place in Government posts both persons associated with IPR and other persons selected by the effective leadership of IPR."

* * * *

"The effective leadership of the IPR used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States."

* * * *

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE
INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE June 20, 1952 pp. 223-4

On October 28, 1944 there was held a preliminary conference of the American Delegates of the IPR in preparing to drag the internal situation of

China into a forthcoming international IPR conference where Chinese delegates from the Chinese Government would be present. This small meeting was made up of persons who were predominantly Soviet agents and communist partisans as listed previously in this report. There was only one person present who fought the communist line at this conference in respect to the Chinese question. This was Admiral Yarnell. The testimony and documents on this meeting before the Senate Sub Committee on Internal Security was as follows:-

"Mr. Morris. Who else gave their opinions at this conference?

"Mr. Mandel. We have here a digest of the opinion of Mr. Dennett, Admiral Yarnell, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Field.

"Mr. Dennett. I don't recall. He wasn't in the delegation, I don't think. I don't know who Mr. Chase was.

"Mr. Morris. Who was Mr. Field?

"Mr. Dennett. Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Coe.

"Mr. Morris. Who was Mr. Coe?

"Mr. Dennett. Frank Coe.

"Mr. Mandel. Miss Farley.

"Mr. Morris. Who is Miss Farley?

"Mr. Dennett. Miriam Farley.

"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Johnstone.

"Mr. Morris. Who is Mr. Johnstone?

"Mr. Dennett. William C. Johnstone.

"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Bunche.

"Mr. Dennett. That is Ralph Bunche.

"Mr. Mandel. Mr. DeCaux.

"Mr. Morris. Is that Len DeCaux?

"Mr. Dennett. Yes.

"Mr. Morris. As far as you can recall, what was the purpose of that advance session?

"Mr. Dennett. I think it is well described by the statement of the chairman; that is, to see what the attitudes of the members of the delegation were, many of them strangers to each other, and to discuss particularly at this session the degree to which it would be possible to examine as part of the discussions the internal developments in China.

"Mr. Morris. Have you read that through completely?

"Mr. Dennett. I have read this through. There are a lot of others I have not read, however.

"Mr. Morris. With the exception of Admiral Yarnell, would you not agree there was uniformity of opinion there?

"Mr. Dennett. I think that is a fair statement; yes.

"Mr. Morris. What was the underlying expression of this majority of people there with the exception of Admiral Yarnell, with respect to the Chinese question?

"Mr. Dennett. The underlying agreement was that we certainly should discuss the internal situation in China as it bore very definitely upon postwar situations in China.

Admiral Yarnell's position is, I think, best summarized in one statement, and I am quoting:

'But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking Government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control.'

"Mr. Morris. Nobody agreed with him?

"Mr. Dennett. They seemed not to."

Page 990

* * * *

The above testimony was based upon an official IPR minutes of this meeting which was as follows:-

"The main point under discussion during this period of the morning's meeting was what the American attitude should be in regard to the discussion of the internal problems of China, at the Hot Springs conference. Mr. Jessup felt that if the American delegation could decide what slant to take in bringing forth a discussion of China's domestic difficulties, it would facilitate a free discussion of this problem at the conference. He pointed out that the Chinese delegates have not wished and will not wish to discuss the internal situation in China. The domestic Chinese situation is covered in an indirect way in the agenda of the conference, as a diplomatic concession. He then asked Mr. Lattimore what factors in the Chinese internal situation were likely to come under discussion at the conference."

Page 991

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"Mr. Lattimore: He thought that the method of including India as well as China in the topic on the agenda might cushion the Chinese discussion. He said that the Chinese delegation at Hot Springs may occupy the position formerly held by the Japanese delegation at IPR conferences. The Chinese will present the party line, well cloaked in fog, and individual members of the Chinese party will hew to the party line although they may differ from it as individuals. They won't care to speak of their differences of opinion. Owing to the scarcity of information about Chinese internal affairs, the discussion at Hot Springs is likely to boil down to a discussion of the Kuomintang and the Communists, although the actual situation is far more complex; there are many smaller groups who are playing active parts in the political picture whose roles will be ignored. Developments in China today will have important political consequences. One example: the developments in southeast China, with the United States getting closer and closer to the Chinese coast. China's military leaders may decide to break through the Japanese lines to commandeer United States equipment when we land. The political affiliation of the Chinese commander who might make this move would influence the whole political set-up. The Chinese delegation will present no real data on China's internal situation, even though this situation is of military as well as political importance in the whole international picture."

Page 991

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"Admiral Yarnell: But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control."

Page 992

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"Mr. Bunche: How can we divorce national policies from domestic conditions? We cannot avoid discussing internal conditions in China in relation to her future foreign policy, and all other countries as well."

Page 993

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"Mr. Bunche thought that under section C-I of the agenda, Dumbarton Oaks should play an important part. And also he brought out the fact that a United Nations conference might take place before the Hot Springs meeting, and that too should be included in the agenda."

Page 993

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Dr. Bunche, as the above remarks indicate, proposed the line which the Kremlin wanted, to prepare the ground work for the seizure of China by red forces. Thus the IPR was used to swing U.S. foreign policy behind Soviet objectives. The preliminary move was to trick the Chiang Kai-shek government, through our State Department pressure, to allow the reds more lee-way in the internal affairs of China. In a weakened war-torn country this was all the foot hold the Moscow trained reds needed.

It is interesting to note that in his last statement Bunche asked that the IPR forces be injected in helping shape the future of the United Nations.

It is hard to believe that one who has been trained and experience in advanced communist propaganda and theory (as indicated in Dr. Bunche's earlier writings and associations) could do these things in the company of Soviet Agents and oppose Admiral Yarnell's pro-American position, without realizing the serious traitorous consequences of the preparations for betrayal of China to Moscow.

After sifting through thousands of seized IPR documents and hearing the testimony of numerous witnesses on the activities of this organization, a Senate sub-Committee arrived at the following conclusions as to the nature of

its pro-Soviet character:-

"The IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet Officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence."

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"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources."

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"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist."

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"Effective leadership of the IPR had by the end of 1934, established and implemented an official connection with G. N. Voitinski, Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Communist International."

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"A group of persons associated with the IPR attempted, between 1941 and 1945, to change United States policy so as to accommodate Communist ends and to set the stage for a major United States policy change, favorable to Soviet interests, in 1945."

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"During the period 1945-49, persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China."

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"The net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been such as to serve international Communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, PURSUANT TO S. RES. 366 (82nd Congress) A RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. HEARINGS HELD JULY 25, 1951-JUNE 20, 1952 BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE pages 223-4-5

STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL

The main Soviet line during the last few years has been to set up a barrage of activity to disarm the non-communist world by a so-called "peace" drive. The main instrument in this endeavor has been the self-styled

"Stockholm Peace" drive with which the Kremlin intends to build up pressure to disarm their opponents throughout the rest of the world, while the red drive towards subversion and conquest is to go right on without a letup.

In a Soviet organized movement, called the "Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace", (which in turn was promoted by an organization called the "World Peace Council", which is located behind the Iron Curtain in Warsaw, Poland.) there is published a well known Soviet publication called WORLD REVIEW IN DEFENSE OF PEACE. The acknowledged head of this enterprise is M. Frederick Joliot-Curie, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

In this magazine, Dr. Bunche is referred to in the most complimentary terms and his speeches are quoted as reflecting the line which fits into the propaganda issued by the Soviet organized "Stockholm Peace" Appeal. The following quote of the complete text amply illustrates this:

"DR. BUNCHE'S WARNING."

"The Stockholm appeal continued to progress. The banning of the atom bomb and control of that ban appear more and more as an imperative necessity. Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the United Nations Trusteeship Division and winner of the 1950 Nobel Prize for Peace, warned listeners at Western University where he received an honorary degree last month that:

"If the United Nations cannot keep peace, there will be war-catastrophic, final, atomic war. A war, perhaps the final war, in which there may be survivors but none who dare boast of themselves as victors."

"Dr. Bunche repeated his warning to a meeting of the Canadian United Nations Association in Toronto:

"The road ahead is not inviting ... it will not be easily traversed. But, it will be more easily undertaken if the peoples of the West and the East come to believe that in the atomic weapons they have a common enemy."

"Dr. Bunche warned against the idea of reorganizing the United Nations with Russia excluded. He said:

"This idea misses the fundamental concept of the U.N. We do not propose to choose up sides for an ultimate fight but to have all nations in ... particularly those who have differences among themselves."

"He criticized the slogan 'cold war' and said emphasis should be on winning peace, and expressed his opinion that a peaceful means of settling major disputes is possible."

WORLD REVIEW OF PEACE. Magazine - official organ of the BUREAU of the COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE. President M. Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, November 15, 1950. Published twice monthly in Chinese, English, French, German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian and Spanish. Page 65.

An official Congressional evaluation of this communist peace organization lists it as:-

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL (See also Second World Peace Congress)

1. Cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 378 on the Communist "peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date April 1, 1951, p. 38.)

THE DAILY WORKER

Finally, the Official Communist newspaper, THE DAILY WORKER, gave full support to Dr. Bunche, during the obviously inadequate "quickie" hearing held before the Government Loyalty Board during May of 1954.

In an editorial on the Bunche case, this communist newspaper was almost hysterical in support of him. (It is a long established fact, supported by expert testimony, that the top polit-buro of the Communist Party must pass on the text of all editorials of THE DAILY WORKER):-

"DR. BUNCHE'S CASE

"The UN was getting ready to appoint Dr. Ralph J. Bunche to a new high post when certain racist 'anti-Communist' forces moved fast to stop this.

"This is the obvious explanation of the fact that two sordid characters making a profession of 'fingering Communists' were quickly dragged out of the cellar to knife Bunche.

"And so Dr. Bunche again had to solemnly prove his 'loyalty' - meaning that he had to prove he is innocent of the 'crime' of Marxism and is a reliable supporter of the 'anti-Communist' policy.

"The plans of the 'anti-Communists' who could not stomach the idea of a Negro in top UN posts couldn't be carried through. The same enormous anti-racist pressure which in the U.S.A. and throughout the world, compelled the Supreme Court to declare segregated schools and housing un-Constitutional also blocked this scheme.

"But what was revealed again was the un-American machinery of the 'anti-Communist' frameup mill. Bunche, thanks to the new anti-racist upsurge, escaped but the same McCarthyite machine hounds and jails hundreds of innocent Americans. Two stool pigeons not only lied about Dr. Bunche - this type of FBI 'anti-Communist' stoolie has been lying to courts and juries for more than five years; their lies have served as the basis for the 'red menace', Smith Act jailings and McCarthy's '20 years of treason' forgeries.

"It is good that the attempted political knifing of Dr. Bunche was balked; but America's safety requires that the Big Lie about Communism which the political assassins tried to use against him be discarded for the forgery it is."

DAILY WORKER - Editorial, Monday, May 31, 1954. P. 5

There is one certain criterion by which one can determine the position of any official by reading the DAILY WORKER. It is axiomatic that never, under any circumstances, is that newspaper known to praise or support sincere and effective anti-communists, especially editorially. In fact, communist publications have been known even to publish slight slaps on the wrists of actual Soviet agents in order to divert suspicion. Alger Hiss is one example. When praise and support is detected in communist papers of a high UN official as Ralph Bunche, it should appear conclusive that the communists consider him important enough to their cause to defend him.

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