

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

G. Health

The subject on June 20, 1951 advised Dr. MICHAEL J. HORAN, JR. that she was at that time taking treatment for bronchitis.

Witness: MICHAEL J.
HORAN, JR.,
M.D.
1185 Park
Avenue,
New York City

- 8 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

II. COMMUNIST PARTY CONNECTIONS

A. Data Surrounding Admission
to the Communist Party

A biographical sketch of CLAUDIA JONES as a "Young Communist League personality" revealed that in 1936, she met JAMES ASHFORD, a negro Young Communist League leader, who introduced her to the Young Communist League and was responsible for her joining the Young Communist League.

Exhibit #6: "New Masses"
May 16, 1939
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Con-
gress

CLAUDIA JONES became active in the Communist Party as a recruit to the Young Communist League ranks in about 1936. She was active as a Young Communist League organizer and as an officer for the Young Communist League. She was considered one of the ablest young Communists in America and was elected to the National Council of the Young Communist League. She subsequently became active in the Communist Party.

Witness: [REDACTED] b7c, b7d

B. History of Communist Party
Activity and Positions Held

Subject was described as the Chairman of the New York County Young Communist League and a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League as of October, 1938.

Exhibit #7: Young Communist
League "Review"
October, 1938
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

Subject was described as a leading member of the New York State Young Communist League in June, 1940.

Exhibit #8: Young Communist League "Review" December 9, 1940
Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was identified as the National Educational Director of the Young Communist League as of August 4, 1941.

Exhibit #9: Young Communist League "Review" August 4, 1941
Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was appointed Associate Editor of the Young Communist League "Review" as of February, 1942. She was also described as a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League as of the above-mentioned date.

Exhibit #10: Young Communist League "Review" February 3, 1942
Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

CLAUDIA JONES attended a "National War Service" Conference of the Young Communist League held in New York January 9 and 10, 1943. She was elected to the National

COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY
EMPLOYED BY "Review" (EMPL. CARD)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

Council of the Young Communist League as well as to the "National War Service Council" of the Young Communist League.

Exhibit #11: Young Communist League "Review" January 26, 1943

Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was elected as the editor of the American Youth for Democracy "Spotlight," which was first published in December, 1943.

Exhibit #12: American Youth for Democracy "Spotlight" December, 1943

Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

It was stated in the American Youth for Democracy "Spotlight" of February, 1945 that "Claudia Jones, editor of the 'Spotlight' since its first issue, had resigned her position on the magazine to take over a greater responsibility in the National leadership of the American Youth for Democracy." This issue carried a picture of CLAUDIA JONES. It was further stated in this issue that "CLAUDIA, in her new position, will devote herself to the educational and interracial, inter-faith work of the American Youth for Democracy, in addition to participating in the formulation of the general policy. We, on the general staff of 'Spotlight,' regret to see CLAUDIA leave although we know that her more active participation in the leadership of the American Youth for Democracy will be invaluable to the organization."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-18676

Exhibit #13: American Youth
for Democracy
"Spotlight"
February, 1945

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

b7d [REDACTED]

Witnesses: [REDACTED] (c)

CLAUDIA JONES was described as the Secretary of the National Women's Commission of the Communist Party in the April 25, 1947 issue of the "Daily Worker."

Exhibit #14: "Daily Worker"
April 25, 1947

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

Subject participated in the Radio Forum held July 18, 1947 at 9:30 p.m. over Radio Station KQV, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The subject for debate at this forum was the question of Universal Military Training. CLAUDIA JONES and a Mr. NATHAN ALBERT represented the side of Communism as opposed to two persons who represented the direct opposite view of Communism. In an opening statement made by the subject, she spoke of the Communist Party as "my Party." She stated that

CONFIDENTIAL

b7c [REDACTED] - 5
CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-18676

her position in the Communist Party was "Secretary of its National Women's Commission." She said that this position was held on a national basis.

Exhibit #15: Transcript of the record of the broadcast, Radio Station KQV, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 18, 1947, 9:30 p.m.

Witness to Introduce: Manager Radio Station KQV Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

CLAUDIA JONES admitted that she had been active in the Communist Party movement for a number of years and that she first became active in the youth groups of the Communist Party, and later, because of her work in the Party, was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party. She said that elections to the National Committee were made at a meeting attended by delegates representing the Party from all over the United States. She attributed her election to the fact that she worked diligently for the Party, writing numerous articles under her own name and by preparing Communist Party literature distributed in the name of the Party. She said that she had been on several speaking tours for the Party. She admitted that she was, as of January 19, 1948, the time of the interview, Secretary of the National Women's Commission of the Communist Party. As such, she was active in the women's work in the Party.

Witness: SA [REDACTED] b7c
F.B.I., New York, who interviewed CLAUDIA JONES on January 19, 1948 in New York City.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

CLAUDIA JONES was elected an alternate member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, at the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party held December 28-31, 1950.

Exhibit #16: "Political Affairs"
February, 1951
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

III. KNOWLEDGE OF THE ILLEGAL OBJECTIVE
OF THE CONSPIRACY (COMMUNIST PARTY)

A. Evidence Showing Subject's Adherence
to and Advocacy of the Principles of
Marxism-Leninism

CLAUDIA JONES is the author of an article in the August, 1945 issue of "Political Affairs." In this article captioned, "Pre Convention Discussion Articles," CLAUDIA JONES discussed the issue before the Communist Political Association at that time, namely, "Revisionism."

The following verbatim statements have been taken from this article:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

67C [REDACTED] 101
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"The thesis on self determination and the Negro people was thus presented by BROWDER:

"...the crisis of history has taken a turn of such character that the Negro people in the United States have found it possible to make their historic decision once and for all. Their decision is for their complete integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation....

"The decision of the Negro people, is therefore, already made. It is that the Negro people do see the opportunity, not as a pious aspiration for an indefinite future, but as an immediate political task under the present system of approximating the position of equal citizens in America. This is, in itself, an exercise of self-determination by the Negro people. By their attitude, the Negro people have exercised their historical right of self-determination...."

"BROWDER bases his thesis, first and foremost, on the premise that this 'decision had taken 'definite form which no foreseeable development could now change.' But Comrade FOSTER'S basic Marxist-Leninist analysis of the revisionist class-peace policy advocated by BROWDER is utterly upheld in this field by current developments. Witness the vehemence with which the permanent FEPC is being fought, and more recently the scandalous libel and lynch spirit of Senator EASTLAND'S attack upon the 800,000 Negro troops, even before victory has been completely won, which signalize the attempts to rupture the war-time Negro-white relations....

"The weight of emphasis in BROWDER'S thesis on the 'attitude of the Negro people' as the determining factor, and our acceptance of it, was a subjective and unscientific approach to the question. The end result of BROWDER'S erroneous analysis, in my considered opinion (unless corrected now), would amount to this: If the Negro people made their historic

- 15 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"decision for self-determination, through integration, and would inevitably receive freedom 'under the existing American system,' what need to mobilize and heighten the fight against white chauvinist ideology? What need to mobilize independent and militant struggle against the Hitler-like discriminatory practices (including social exclusion) which still beset the Negro people, despite important gains registered especially during the last twelve years?

"BROWDER'S harmful analysis led of necessity to the strengthening of bourgeois nationalism among the Negro people and to an undue reliance on Negro reformist leadership.

"Instead of fully utilizing the potential of an anti-fascist war of national liberation, which, as BROWDER correctly states, fired the political maturity of the Negro people, to root out determinedly the white chauvinist prejudices among the American people (and among new sections of our own membership), we did not take that initiative.

"That Negro comrades accepted BROWDER'S opportunist thesis makes the error all the more grave, because in effect we accepted the false and bankrupt logic of reformism as a solution to the problems of the Negro people. Not only that, we accepted a 'less than equal' status for the Negro people for 'generations to come' - something 'approximating equality.'

"Only by sharply dealing with this major question shall we be able to overcome the serious errors of this period and fully explain to the Negro people and the white working class the source of our errors. This, too, is the way to guarantee continued enlistment of the strength and organic support of the Negro people to the common goal.

"I have one proposal, which I believe to be practical and necessary, to recommend to the National

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 16 -

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Board of the C.P.A. That is: to set up a Commission to examine our work in this field, with the aim of making a basic appraisal and study of work in Negro communities, especially presenting a factual study and analysis of the status of the Negro people in this Black Belt, in industry, in consumer, industrial and agricultural spheres, and in the trade unions."

Exhibit #17: "Political Affairs"
August, 1945

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was the author of an article entitled, "Negro People Are Joining The Party that Leads Struggle for Equality," which appeared in the "The Worker," April 7, 1946. Excerpts from this article are as follows:

"It was this Marxist-Leninist principle that the Communists brought to the labor movement, more than 25 years ago....It were the Communists who inspired this fight which led to organizing negro and white share croppers in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. They sought tirelessly to integrate the Negro worker in the labor movement....

"If today the unprecedented unity of negro and white exists in the wage struggles of labor, it is largely because the Communists pioneered and zealously supported the nation-wide agitation to organize the workers of basic industries into industrial unions."

Exhibit #18: "The Worker"
April 7, 1946

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLAUDIA JONES participated in a radio form held on July 18, 1947 at 9:30 p.m. over radio station KQV, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The subject for debate was the question of Universal Military Training. CLAUDIA JONES and a Mr. NATHAN ALBERT represented the side of Communism in this debate. The following are verbatim statements made by Miss JONES, reflecting her knowledge of the aims and objectives of the Communist Party:

"My Party, the Communist Party, joins with millions of other Americans, in fact with the majority of people, in opposing a policy of Universal Military Training for the nation's youth. We are opposed to such a proposal because instead of its being a means of promoting democracy and world peace, it would in reality, promote (unintelligible) of the country (unintelligible) and war-mongers. Defense of the country depends not on its military might alone, but first of all on those policies that will insure democracy to all the people, decent homes, adequate education, a high standard of living, and an active defense of world peace and democracy.

The following statements were made by CLAUDIA JONES and Judge GUNTHER, who opposed the views of the subject:

Judge GUNTHER: "You are an admitted Communist, are you not?"

Miss JONES: "Correct.

Judge GUNTHER: "And you believe in the theories of Karl Marx, do you not?"

Miss JONES: "I do.

Judge GUNTHER: "Have you ever read the constitution of the U.S.S.R.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Miss JONES:

"Yes.

Judge GUNTHER:

"Does it include compulsory military training?"

Miss JONES

"On that question, let me answer you. The constitution of the Soviet Union does have a plan for compulsory military training. I am not here to defend the position of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, in having such a plan, whatever it does, it is its own business. I would say, since you asked the question, that the Soviet Union, in my opinion, has had more of a logical justification for such a program of universal military training because ever since its inception it has been the target of foreign imperialist intervention, both in June, 1941, attack by HITLER, the Finnish attack involving foreign imperialism--no less a person that HERBERT HOOVER supported such intervention against the Soviet Union--the threats from Japan, the Japanese militarists, in addition to sixty nations, including the United States, which attacked the Soviet Union.

Exhibit #15: Transcript of
Radio Address,
Station KQV,
Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania

Witness to
Introduce:

Manager, Radio
Station KQV,
Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLAUDIA JONES was the subject for a picket demonstration staged in front of the headquarters of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City, February 2, 1948. WILLIAM NORMAN, New York State Organizational Secretary, was the leader of this demonstration. Approximately 100 pickets paraded back and forth in front of the Immigration and Naturalization Service headquarters. The announced purpose of this demonstration was to denounce the deportation proceedings being carried out by the Department of Justice against CLAUDIA JONES and ALEXANDER BITTELMAN. Pickets carried placards calling for the end of the deportation and "discrimination" against minority groups.

It was noted that at the bottom of the placards was the statement that the picketing was sponsored by the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. The inscriptions on some of the placards were: "End Department of Justice Attacks on Minorities"; "Tom Clark, Don't Tread on Me" (in this inscription was a large sketch of the Statue of Liberty); "Halt U.S. Department of Justice Deportation of JONES and BITTELMAN"; "Remove Poll Tax Attorney Tom Clark."

It was noted that from time to time during the period of this picketing, members chanted various slogans. Some of the slogans were, "Lets get Rid of Clark and Hoover, Free Jones and Bittelman" and "Tom Clark, You Would Deport Democracy."

It was observed that CLAUDIA JONES marched in this parade from about 12:45 p.m. to 1 p.m.

Witness: SA [redacted]
F.B.I., New York

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 20 -

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLAUDIA JONES was the principal speaker at a May Day Rally sponsored by the Communist Party of Los Angeles on May 5, 1948, which was held at the Embassy Auditorium, 847 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Approximately 1700 persons attended this rally. The Chairman of the rally was NED SPARKS, Chairman of the Los Angeles County Communist Party.

CLAUDIA JONES spoke, and reportedly centered her speech around alleged mistreatment of negroes, Mexicans and Jews, and the foreign born in the United States. The subject reportedly stated that negroes in the United States are under "Jim Crow rule." She spoke favorably of the plan of civil disobedience of negroes in the next draft for military service. She quoted WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman of the Party, as stating, "The Communist Party will refuse to comply with this measure" (referring to military training and service).

The subject reviewed the incidents surrounding her arrest for deportation and ridiculed the fact that she was charged by the Government with advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. She referred to the immigration station at Ellis Island as a concentration camp. She reportedly completed her speech by referring to the "valiant, democratic, freedom-loving people of Greece, China, and other countries," who, she stated, were fighting for their independence.

Witness:

SA [REDACTED]
F.B.I., Los Angeles

b7d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED]

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

Witnesses:

b1

[REDACTED] (c)

A report of CLAUDIA JONES' activities in recruiting new members to the Party was set forth in an article in the "Daily Worker," June 4, 1948, by staff correspondent ARNOLD SROOG. The title of this article is "Out on Bail, She Signs 57 New CP Members." The following is quoted from this article:

"CLAUDIA JONES, out on bail on a deportation charge, personally signed up 57 new Communist Party members in her month's tour of the West Coast, Miss JONES told the 'Daily Worker' yesterday. This figure, she stressed, does not include those brought into the Party at her meetings by other people.

"On her tour, which coincided with the powerful campaign against the Mundt police state bill, Miss JONES found 'deep alarm among all sections of the people and a desire to fight against infringements of civil liberties.'

"One of the most heartening aspects of the tour, she added, was that 'you could literally feel the democratic upsurge of the people.'

COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY EMPLOYED BY (EMPL. CARD)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"'People were not afraid--they came right up to the front of the hall and signed up for the Party,' she said.

"Her tour took her to Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, Oregon; San Francisco, Oakland, Contra Costa, Los Angeles and San Diego, California; Phoenix, Arizona; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Denver, Colorado. She spoke to more than 7,500 people at public meetings in these cities....

"In Phoenix, an unprecedented meeting of 1,000 people jammed her rally, the climax of a long campaign which recently won an FEPC ordinance for the state. The greatest applause at this meeting, as at all the others, came when Miss JONES declared that the Communist Party would never register if the Mundt Bill was passed, and that it would continue its struggle to free America from Wall Street."

Exhibit #19: "Daily Worker"
June 4, 1948
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

A report by the Chairman of the National Women's Commission, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, on the activities of the Secretary of the Commission, CLAUDIA JONES, was set forth in an article in the "Daily Worker," June 30, 1948. In this article, Miss FLYNN stated the following concerning the activities of the subject:

"She spoke at a whole series of May Day celebrations along the coast, at women's conferences, at meetings of the Negro Commission of the Party, and for the Civil Rights Congress--in fact she reorganized one chapter of C.R.C. in San Francisco, and set up three new ones in San Diego, Salt Lake City, and Denver. She

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"recruited nearly 60 new members to the Party and undoubtedly many more who listened to her have joined since.

"She reorganized the Women's Commission in Seattle, and had large conferences with women's committees in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles and in San Mateo County. Altogether, since the National Women's Commission of the Party has been reconstituted, and especially since February, 1947 when CLAUDIA JONES became our efficient and capable Secretary, we have set up 12 commissions in various districts, to work among women....

"She is one of the finest assets that our Party possesses today. It is a privilege and a pleasure to work with her and a satisfaction to see the splendid example she sets for Communists and other women."

Exhibit #20: "Daily Worker"
June 30, 1948

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

[redacted]

b7d

[redacted]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-72390-110 pp 25-27

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

b7c

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLAUDIA JONES is the author of an article in the "The Worker," September 4, 1949. This article was entitled, "We Seek Full Equality for Women." Due to the nature of the statements made by subject in this article, the major portion of it is being set forth verbatim.

"We Seek Full Equality for Women

"Taking up the struggle of the Suffragists, the Communists have set new tasks, new objectives in the fight for a new status for women. The special value of Foster's contribution.

"By CLAUDIA JONES, Secretary, Communist Party's National Women's Commission.

"The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggle to emancipate women from male oppression, is one of the proud contributions which our Party of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party, U.S.A., celebrates on its thirtieth anniversary.

"Marxism-Leninism exposes the core of the woman question and shows that the position of women in society is not always and everywhere the same, but derives from woman's relation to the mode of production.

"Under capitalism, the inequality of women stems from exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class. But the exploitation of women cuts across class lines and affects all women. Marxism-Leninism views the woman question as a special question which derives from the economic dependence of women upon men. This economic dependence as ENGELS wrote over 100 years ago, carries with it the sexual exploitation of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"women, the placing of woman in the modern bourgeois family, as the 'proletariat' of the man, who assumes the role of 'bourgeoisie.'

"Hence, Marxist-Leninists fight to free woman of household drudgery, they fight to win equality for women in all spheres; they recognize that one cannot adequately deal with the woman question or win women for progressive participation unless one takes up the special problems, needs and aspirations of women--as women.

"It is this basic principle that has governed the theory and practice of the Communist Party for the last three decades.

"As a result, our Party has chalked up a proud record of struggle for the rights of women. American literature has been enhanced by the works of Marxists who investigated the status of women in the U.S. in the '30's. Its record is symbolized in the lives of such outstanding women Communists as ELLA REEVE BLOOR and ANITA WHITNEY and others who are associated with the fight for women's suffrage, for the rights of the Negro people, for working class emancipation.

"Our Party and its leadership helped stimulate the organization of women in the trade unions and helped activize the wives of workers in the great labor organizing drives; built housewives' councils to fight against the high cost of living; taught women through the boycott and other militant actions how to fight for the needs of the family; helped to train and mold women Communist leaders on all levels, working class women inspired by the convictions and ideals of their class--the working class.

"A pioneer in the fight for the organization of working class women, our Party was the first to demonstrate to white women and to the working class that the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 29 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"triply-oppressed status of Negro women is a barometer of the status of all women, and that the fight for the full, economic, political and social equality of the Negro woman is in the vital self-interest of white workers, in the vital interest of the fight to realize equality for all women.

"But it remained for the contribution of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman of our Party, to sharpen the thinking of the American Communist Party on the woman question. Comrade FOSTER projected in a deeper way the basic necessity for the working class and its vanguard Party to fight the obstacles to women's equality, evidenced in many anti-woman prejudices, in the prevalent ideology of male superiority fostered by the monopolists imbibed by working class men.

"The essence of FOSTER'S contribution is that it is necessary to win the masses of American women for the over-all struggle against imperialist war and fascism by paying special attention to their problems and by developing special struggles for their economic, political, and social needs. Basing himself upon the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the inequality of women is inherently connected with the exploitation of the working class, FOSTER called on the Party and the working class to master the Marxist-Leninist theory of the woman question, to improve our practical work on this question, and to correct former errors, errors of commission and omission with regard to this fundamental question.

"Foster's special contribution lies in his unique expose of the mask placed on the status of women in every sphere in the U.S. by American imperialism. Comrade FOSTER exposed the bourgeois lie that women in the U.S. have achieved full equality and that no further rights remain to be won. He shows that the ideological prop used by reactionary propagandists to perpetuate false ideas of women's 'inferiority' is to base their anti-social arguments as regards women on all kinds of pseudo-scientific assumptions, particularly in the field of biology....

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"Any underestimation of the need for a persistent ideological struggle against all manifestations of masculine superiority must therefore be rooted out. If biology is falsely utilized by the bourgeois ideologists to perpetuate their false notions about women, Communists and progressives must fare boldly into the biological sciences and enhance our ideological struggle against bourgeois ideas and practices of male superiority.

"In order to meet the tasks projected for a deeper understanding and mastery of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the woman question a special Party Commission on Theoretical Aspects of Work among Women was established.

"Reflecting the great hunger for theory on the woman question on the part of Communists and progressives was the one day Conference on Marxism and the Women Question held under the auspices of the Jefferson School of Social Science held in June of this year. Nearly 600 women and men attended. Indicative, too, of how the Party is meeting its tasks in this sphere are the numerous cadre schools which have been held to facilitate the training of women for mass work among women and the training of Communist men on the woman question.

"Some 10 Party women's commissions now exist, which, under the leadership and guidance of the Party district organizations, give attention to work among women in the Party and in the mass organizations. It is necessary to utilize the 30th anniversary of our Party to strengthen our mass and Party work and to turn the face of the entire Party toward this question.

"This is necessary, first, because without mobilization of the masses of women, particularly working class and Negro women, the fight for peace against a third world war will not be successful. American women and their organizations have given

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 31 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"indications in varied ways, that they oppose the Atlantic Pact, and are fearful of the implications of the arms pact.

"This understanding is necessary, secondly, because of the growing reactionary offensive against the civil rights of the American people, the outstanding examples of which is the indictment and trial of the 12 leaders of our Party before a jury having a majority of women.

"Finally, this understanding is necessary because without rooting ourselves among the masses of women, without building the progressive organizations of women, such as the Congress of American Women, Women's Division of the Progressive Party, the Negro women's organizations, etc., and without organizing special struggles for the demands of women, we cannot win the women against the reactionary influences of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the bourgeois ideologists.

"By successfully mastering our theory of the woman question, organizing masses of American women, and focusing attention primarily on the problems and needs of working class women, our Party can help usher in a new status for American women.

"To achieve that end, we must win the women to an over-active fight against imperialist war and fascism. For, in the words of the great DIMITROFF, in his famous report, 'The United Front Against Fascism':

"While fascism exacts most from youth it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the most painful feelings of the mother, the housewife, the single working woman, uncertain of the morrow. Fascism, posing as a benefactor, throws the starving family a few beggarly scraps, trying in this way to stifle the bitterness aroused particularly among the toiling women, by the unprecedented slavery which fascism brings them....

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and toilers fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist people's front."

"In the sprit of the anti-fascist hero of Leipzig, let us rededicate ourselves to the fight for the complete equality of women."

Exhibit #21

"The Worker"
September 4, 1949

Witness to
Introduce:

Librarian
New York Public
Library

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Witness:

[REDACTED]

CLAUDIA JONES participated in the May Day Celebration sponsored by the United May Day Committee in New York City, April 30, 1950. She marched in the parade and appeared on the reviewing stand at Union Square and was introduced to the people in the audience as one of the leaders in the Communist Party.

Witness:

SA [REDACTED]
F.B.I., New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

CLAUDIA JONES, in a featured article in the "The Worker," entitled, "Half the World," in the May 21, 1950 issue, is critical of the President of the United States and the Government concerning the recent announcement made that the United States would produce the hydrogen bomb. She charged that billions of dollars were being spent for armaments in this country to destroy lives. She said that this money could be spent on health programs, and stated that the action of the Government was in contempt of the children of this country.

Exhibit #22: "The Worker"
May 21, 1950
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

The subject was the author of an article in "The Worker" of July 16, 1950, in which she was sharply critical of the Government of the United States in the question of the Korean War. She spoke for freedom in Korea and said that, "It is apparently difficult for reactionaries to grasp the fact that millions of formerly oppressed peoples, ground under their heels for centuries, are willing to fight and die for their convictions for a fundamental change in their way of life, free of any foreign masters, including Wall Street." She said that the people who are opposing the peoples armies in Korea are corrupt and were placed in their high positions by the "imperialist forces of the world." She likened this to the "composition of the stacked jury which falsely convicted the leaders of the Communist Party in the Foley Square heresy trials in their political beliefs

Exhibit #23: "The Worker"
July 16, 1950
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

[REDACTED]

Witness:

[REDACTED]

(c)

[REDACTED]

Witness:

[REDACTED]

(c)

Subject was the author of a letter which was printed in the "Daily Worker," November 8, 1950. This letter, which, it was stated, was received from CLAUDIA JONES from her cell at Ellis Island, pertained to the treatment given to the subject by immigration authorities

All b1, b7d

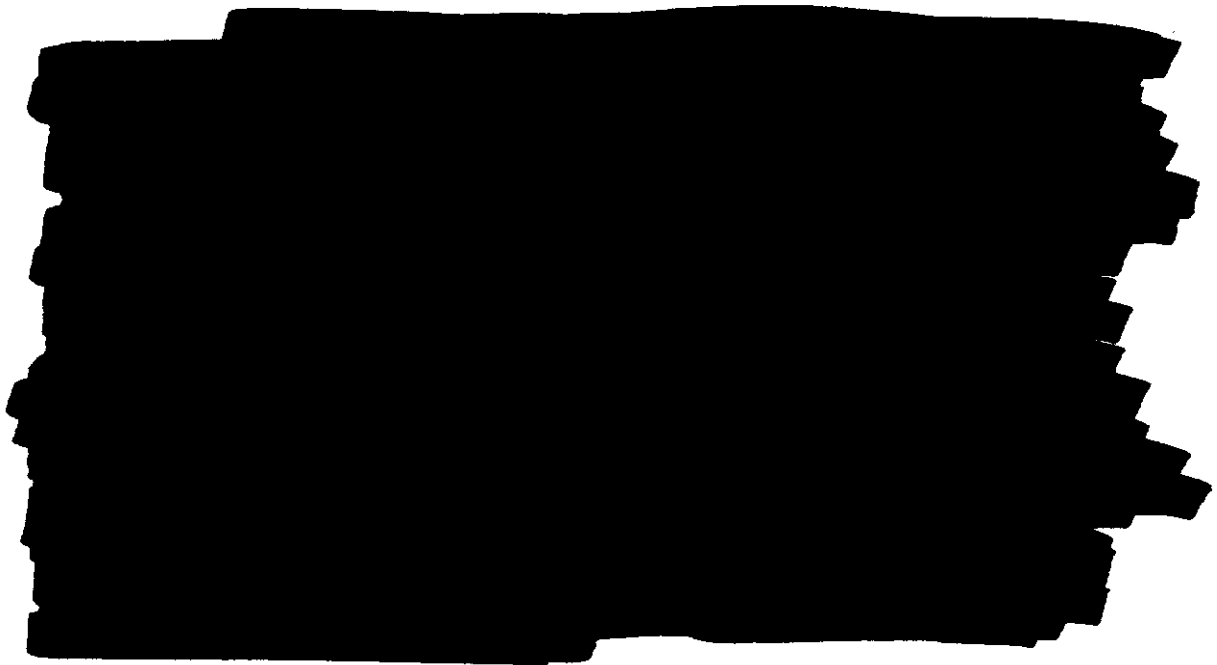
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

at Ellis Island. She attacked the American press and the Government officials who, she charged, were seeking to bring about Fascism to the United States and to bring atomic warfare abroad. She took the occasion to review the work of the Communist Party in what she charged was the fight for freedom for the American people, and freedom and equality for the negro people. She said that she was part of a mass struggle for human freedom. She criticized the delay in deportation proceedings and charged that the Justice Department had deliberately used unconstitutional means to hold the alien Communists on Ellis Island and to prevent their freedom.

Exhibit #24: "Daily Worker"
November 8, 1950
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library



Witness: [redacted] (c)

All b1, b7d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

CLAUDIA JONES was the author of an article which appeared in the February, 1951 issue of "Political Affairs." It was noted on the first page of this issue that the material contained therein would pertain to the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, and that "this special, enlarged issue is devoted to reports, speeches, and greetings of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in New York City on December 28-31, 1950." The article prepared by the subject was entitled, "For the Unity of Women in the Cause of Peace!"

The following excerpts are taken from this article:

"The growing surge for peace among the women of our country fully confirms the premise contained in the Resolution that 'the fight for peace has a special meaning to the women of the country' and that 'without their full involvement no peace campaign can be effective.'

"Why there is this elemental peace upheaval among American women is of course no mystery. For the first time, on the bodies of their husbands and sons, the women experience the price of attempted world domination by an aggressive ruling class, which only a short time ago boasted of 'easy' victories and a 'push button war.'

"In thousands of working-class homes, in the last few weeks, the 'notification to next of kin' has meant that a father, son or husband will never return from the Korean plains--5000 miles away. Even as the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, mother of the first quadruple-amputee learned, such 'slight injuries' are accompanied by callous War Department statements that the soldier's 'morale is excellent.'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"Negro mothers and wives are registering alarm as they become aware that lynching by court martial and wanton shooting of Negro troops in Korea merge with the growth of terrorization of Negro veterans at home, as witnessed in the brutal police lynching of the Negro veteran, JOHN DERRICK.

"Life is cheap to the brass hats these days. Recently, the 'Daily Worker' carried a story with a Peking dateline, in which the chairman of the Peking Red Cross stated that one-third of the people killed by MacArthur's troops were children, and forty-five percent were women! Children at play, women washing on the river banks, and peasants working in the fields have been the targets of bombing and strafing by the American armed forces whose so-called 'police action' was to bring 'freedom' to the 'unhappy' Korean people!

"With the same cold calculation that planned these barbarous atrocities, U.S. imperialism plans to use the sons of American mothers as 'blue chips' in their vicious plot of world conquest, fascism, war and death. Over the radio, Gen. Lucius Clay, the protector of Ilse Koch, and Gen. Mark Clark speak bluntly. Thus did Clark declare: '...in the international poker game we're playing today...we need more blue chips; blue chips are boys with guns in their hands.'

"...But that is not all. Now new economic hardships face the 18 million women workers. TRUMAN'S dictatorial National Emergency Decree carries with it a threat to draft women for total war production. Reminiscent of the bestial Nazi attitude toward women, Big Business, in their profit-mad quest for new sources of cheap labor power and resources, seek to emulate the Nazis who likewise drafted 'madchen in uniform' by the millions, reversing their foul slogan that 'woman must be neither comrade nor beloved but only mother,' and kitchen slave.

"...But to these sundry ideological exhortations directed against women's participation in the cause

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

67c [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"of peace and social progress, in the struggle to ward off attacks on the living standards of their families, and in defense of the democratic and civil rights of the people, American women are daily giving their answer. They reflect the new moods and express the new possibilities for stopping the warmakers. More and more the women are acquiring the consciousness that they will really be to blame if they fail to speak up in defense of their children and their country. That is why they have raised the mass slogans of the camp of peace to end the war in Korea and to bring our boys home.

"...American women have begun to expose the futility and immorality of the A-bomb as a weapon to solve problems between nations. That is why they are beginning to join their voices with that of their wrathful anti-fascist sisters the world over whose role for peace cannot be over-estimated.

"...Comrades! We must now pose the question: How can we most effectively reach the overwhelming majority of women to act for peace? How can we help to convert desire for peace into organization and struggle? How can we help to anchor a women's peace movement, embracing a majority of women, to a working-class base which will guarantee it consistency, principle and militancy?

"Yet, we do not find full agreement on the necessity to organize women, as women, in the peace camp. In numerous pre-Convention discussions, in our National Women's Commission, particularly, we have been involved in discussions about the necessity for such a distinct women's peace movement. We all agreed that this perspective must be fully registered and fought for at our 15th National Convention, since it is no secret that the present level of women's peace activity, which represents a new level in our work among women, has developed with little or no help from

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"male comrades. Indeed, they were often guilty of impeding its development. But in the course of our discussions, we found that full clarity did not exist among our women cadres on the character of such a movement. How did this show itself?

"Two tendencies emerged in our discussions. First was the tendency which argued that, since an outstanding weakness of the past was the failure to build united-front movements among working class and Negro women, it was now necessary to limit ourselves to the organization of a working-class women's peace movement. Clearly such a tendency is wrong. It fails to understand the full concept of our Party's united-front peace policy which is to create a movement based on the working class in unity with all other peace-loving peoples. It reflects a lack of faith in the working-class women themselves who can and will lead all strata of the women in their struggle for peace. This tendency has 'left'-sectarian implications. For to defeat the warmakers, it is necessary to unite all sections of the women under the leadership of the working women, as it is necessary to unite its broad allies under the leadership of the working class.

"Second was the tendency to see the need of bringing into being a peace movement embracing all women. Such comrades argued that the broad masses of women in our land, because of their oppressed social status in present-day society, because of their role as mothers, as the creators of life, are deeply opposed to war and can be won in their majority to peace. However, in presenting this generally sound point of view, the comrades underestimated the need that such a movement be rooted first of all among working-class women. Negro and white. This tendency had certain Right-opportunist implications because there was absent the understanding that the sharp turn to the working class, required in all phases of Party work, applied to the field of work among women as well.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"In overcoming these wrong tendencies, after considerable discussion, our National Women's Commission correctly stressed the primacy of the working-class orientation while recognizing the new opportunities which exist to create a broad women's peace movement among non-working class women in every community, and on all levels. Major attention must be given to organizing the millions of workers' wives in basic industry, the millions of working-class housewives in industrial cities, the millions of working-class and Negro women who can be won on the peace issue and around the struggle for their burning demands.

"...Impelling these developments is the leadership of the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism by a workers' state--the Socialist Soviet Union, which has exemplified in life its concern for the well-being and full equality of women and full protection of children in all spheres. The word-shaking examples of free Soviet womanhood, the new freedoms achieved by the liberated woman in the lands of the European Democracies who move toward Socialism, the historic strides--as a result of the Chinese People's Revolution--in the elimination of the feudal bondage formerly experienced by millions of downtrodden women of China--all are decisive contributing factors explaining why there now exists a powerful international anti-fascist, anti-imperialist women's movement.

"American women bear a heavy responsibility to the millions of our anti-fascist sisters in the world camp of peace, precisely because the threat to world peace stems from the imperialists of our land. The repeated appeals to American women from the embattled mothers of Greece, Franco Spain and the Marshall-Plan-saddled countries are staunch reminders of the responsibilities women in the United States bear to the world struggle for peace and anti-fascism.

"The pro-fascist Department of Justice attacks last year against the international fraternization of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"women should lead us to conclude that we face a great responsibility, in the sphere of work among women, to the high principles of proletarian internationalism. In great measure, our meeting of that responsibility depends on the support given by labor-progressives, led by our vanguard party, the Communist Party, to the emerging women's peace movement. Through such support, the struggle for the equality of women will merge with the general class struggle of the working class which understands the needs and demands of the masses of women. Support to the peace struggles of women in our country will thereby also help to bring in line with world developments, based on American experience a new advance in women's status in our country.

"...Comrades, I have singled out three main questions in this sub-report flowing out of the splendid report of Comrade Hall, namely: 1) the necessity to develop, strengthen and build a distinct women's peace movement; 2) the rooting of that movement among working women and the wives of workers; and 3) the special necessity to bring the fight for peace to the Negro women.

"...To help transform women's peace sentiment into a mighty organized movement for peace, security, equality and defense of children, means we must change our Party's methods of work and approaches to our own women cadre.

"In his report, Comrade Hall stated that:

"...the worst symptom of male superiority tendencies in our ranks is the speed with which we released the bulk of our leading women comrades after World War II--and our slowness to correct this error. The new level of work achieved by our women comrades, and the new currents stirring among the masses of women, must be reflected in our Party's new level of understanding of the woman's question. This goes for our entire leadership and membership."

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"What is necessary to achieve this 'new level of understanding' in work among women? It means, first of all, recognizing and applying the Leninist concept that Communist women must 'themselves be part of the mass movement of women.' It means the virtual release of dozens and dozens of our women comrades for work among women for peace and to struggle for women's special demands.

"In many Party sections a consciousness exists that in order to make it possible for women to participate generally in Party activities, the obstacles to women's full participation must be recognized. Party cadres here understand that because under capitalism, care of children is more than often the sole responsibility of women, and not viewed as a social responsibility, as is the case under Socialism, it is necessary to provide baby sitters to help release women for general Party work. But examination shows that this practice, because of its costliness, is not widespread. Nor is the same approach taken to release Party women cadre for work among the masses of women. Coupled with this a general underestimation of work among women is expressed in the practice of taking practically all of our women comrades out of their natural habitat thus robbing them of their mass contacts in P.T.A.'s and women's organizations while they function as general Party actives.

"I propose that this Convention instruct our incoming leadership and National Educational Department to launch such a campaign starting on International Women's Day, March 8, 1951. I.W.D. should be the occasion for widespread tribute to the role and potentialities of the masses of women, and to inculcate an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist approach to women in society, as a duty and responsibility of all Communist men and women. One such contribution to this end is the forthcoming volume on the woman question (a collection of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) which will be published by International Publishers in January, and which should receive wide circulation and study.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"Proper use of the Women's Page of 'The Worker', under the leadership of Peggy Dennis, now widely read; the organization of friends and readers of 'The Worker' to make this page the vehicle of exchange of experiences in the peace and general women's movement, can make this page the avenue to increasing the circulation of the press among the masses of women, particularly among Negro and working-class women.

"The Draft Resolutions's failure to deal adequately with the woman question, overcome now with Comrade Hall's report, consists in the fact that it failed not only to deal adequately with women's role --but with her oppression--the crux of the question. It is true that the widespread and justifiable criticism by many of our women comrades of the Resolution's weakness was due to their failure to find a corresponding estimate of work among women on all Party levels. They saw therefore the struggle for women's equality solely as an inner Party matter, isolated as too many of them are from the broad ferment of women for peace. Where women, despite obstacles, plunged ahead, and did not fall into the 'battle of the sexes' bourgeois-feminist moods, there recognition of women's full role and contribution to the fight for peace was swiftest. This should point up a great fact: namely, that it is the movement of the women themselves for peace that has forced a new awareness upon our Party and labor-progressive forces everywhere today. A real tribute for this approach goes to Comrade Foster who told us that women must fight for their own liberation, and to women Communist anti-fascist leaders in the international women's movement.

The attention and agreement of the entire Party organization must be won to the solution of, and collective application to these problems. Overcoming of these weaknesses will release the collective talents of our wonderful women fighters to work, write, sing and fight for women's liberation; and they will want to do it not as second-class citizens, but as contributors to Party policy and mass work in our clubs and groups.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

[REDACTED] 32

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY

NY 100-18676

"It is time our Party recognized the precious capital it has in its women cadres. Important indications of an improved attitude in the Party toward the promotion of women in leadership are seen in many parts of the country. We have the advancement to the State Committee at the recent New York Party Convention of such comrades as Lill Gates, Johnnie Lumpkin and Mercedes Arroya; the splendid leadership of such women comrades as Vickie Lawrence and Anne Garfield in work among women in New York and New England; the recent elevation of Comrade Mollie Lieber West to the post of Illinois organizational secretary; of Grace Hillman to a similar position in Indiana and of Comrade [REDACTED] to a leading post in a Southern Party district. We have comrades like Rose Gauden in the leadership in Philadelphia's 4th Ward, of Dorothy Healy and Bernadette Doyle in key positions in California, of Betty Gannett as our National Education Director, of women Communist veterans like Dora Lipshitz and Rose Baron, and that of Martha Stone as District Organizer of New Jersey. We also have emerging Negro women leaders like Mary Adams, the splendid young Party women cadre like Jeanie Griffith and Judy; the inspiring role of the foremost woman leader of our Party, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and one of the great women veterans like Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney. There are other women cadres too numerous to mention.

"Inspired and steeled by the powerful science of Marxism-Leninism, which holds the key to the ultimate liberation of women in a Socialist society, where the basis of women's exploitation is eliminated, exploitation of man by man abolished, and the true equality of the sexes achieved, let us resolve at this 15th National Convention of our Party to honor the Jane Higginses whose daily work is a measure of their desire to master Marxist-Leninist theory, to participate in winning a glorious future.

"In this struggle, Communist women, by their leadership among the masses of women, and learning from

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 46 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"them to fight for their demands, will fuse the women's peace movement under the leadership of the working class, and will thereby help to change the relationship of forces in our land in such a way as to make for a new anti-fascist, anti-imperialist people's coalition, advancing through this struggle to Socialism."

In this issue of "Political Affairs," it was reported that CLAUDIA JONES had been elected to the Alternate National Committee of the Communist Party at the 15th National Convention of the Party which was held December 28-31, 1950.

Exhibit #16: "Political Affairs"
February, 1951
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was the author of an article in the March, 1951 issue of "Political Affairs" entitled, "FOSTER'S Political and Theoretic Guidance to Our Work Among Women." It was noted on Page 1 of this issue of "Political Affairs" that the issue would be a special tribute on the occasion of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER'S 70th birthday. Excerpts from the article prepared by the subject are as follows:

"It is no accident that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, in his more than 50 years of devotion and leadership to the emancipation of the American working class and the oppressed Negro people, should likewise have manifested throughout his life an active and special concern for oppressed womanhood. No stranger to the hard lot and double exploitation daily experienced by working-class wives and mothers in present-day society, this foremost Marxist theoretician and leader of the American working class and its vanguard Communist Party was from early childhood conversant with women's special oppression.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"...In the tradition of all great Communist thinkers, recognizing that the fight against women's inequalities is connected with the fight against capitalist property relations, FOSTER was the first in our Party to call for a sharp turn in what he characterized as a widespread 'underestimation and general neglect' of work among women. Typical of his unflagging interest in all phases of our Party's theoretical and practical work, despite his busy schedule and ill health, was his emphatic statement in his basic article, 'On Improving the Party's Work Among Women.'

"'One of the gravest weaknesses of the Communist movement in the various capitalist countries, including our own, is its relative failure to win the active support of the decisive masses of women. It is a fact that we dare not ignore that the forces of reaction still have a strong hold on womankind, including proletarian women....This shortcoming of the Communist Parties becomes even more manifest today in view of the huge and increasing part that women are taking in all walks of life. This shortcoming must be quickly overcome, inasmuch as the parties spearheading the drive to fascism and war hold the affiliation of large masses of women. Obviously, therefore, a drastic improvement in their work among women is very much on the order of business for the Communist Parties of the capitalist world, especially our Party here in the United States.'

"FOSTER'S personal attention and interest in the work of the National Women's Commission was invaluable to whatever progress was made in our work. It was his discussions with us, prior to finalization of the aforementioned article, that helped to lend confidence to our Commission to fight for such an approach in our Party. In over nine Party districts, conferences on work among women, participated in by district leaderships, followed; and there was a general improvement in the organization of classes on the woman's question by state educational departments as well as its integration in general Party school.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"FOSTER'S political and theoretical contributions led to a new appreciation of the tasks in our work among women throughout the Party. Indicative of this is the new awareness of the importance of women's work registered at our recent 15th National Convention. In all main reports at the National Convention, as in numerous state conventions, a new stress was given to this work particularly as a result of the unprecedented upsurge of peace sentiment among the masses of women and their significant actions for peace. Representing a sharp change in the extent of their participation, in comparison with our last Party Convention, our Negro and white women comrades who attended this Convention reflected in rich experiences their growing ties with masses and in general, the political growth of our women cadres. Particularly outstanding were the contributions of Negro women comrades, especially from the South.

"FOSTER'S contributions to our Party's understanding of the woman question likewise helped to combat blatant male-supremacist attitudes in our Party and progressive circles. More than over-caution, however, is still prevalent among many men comrades when this question arises, in relation to their own weaknesses. This situation has, however, led to a growing self-criticism of many of our male comrades and Party leaderships as regards the woman question. An important derivative of FOSTER'S contribution was his help in allaying the passivity of many of our women comrades, who, up to now had likewise not grasped their special responsibility to the masses of women. They had not understood the Leninist concept that Communist women must 'themselves be part of the mass movement of women.' As so clearly demonstrated in the upsurge of peace sentiment among millions of American women, FOSTER'S contributions served to strengthen our Party's understanding that in the all-decisive struggle for peace, the women's movement, as Lenin observed long ago, 'can be at times the decisive part of the mass movement.'

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"One need only refer within the confines of this article to the impassioned cry of mothers and wives who are increasingly questioning the involvement of American boys in the aggressive Korean adventure. One can only mention their growing demands to end the Korean War, to bring the boys home, and their alarm at the use of the nation's schools for terror-striking 'survival drills' to which young children are subjected.

"...We know that emancipation of woman is possible only under Socialism. A guide for the Party in winning advanced sections of women for a Socialist perspective are the following words of Comrade FOSTER in relation to the emancipated woman of the Soviet Union:

"One of the greatest of socialist freedoms is the freedom of women. Socialism establishes sex equality in the fullest sense of the word. It does away completely with many of the disgusting bourgeois sex distortions and inhibitions and makes of sex a truly free beautiful and artistic expression of man and woman. For a long time the succeeding systems of the exploiters have forced woman into an artificial position of alleged inferiority to man. Capitalism has done more than its share to maintain and extend this monstrous oppression. The capitalists exploit woman doubly, both as workers and women. Woman has to face special oppression in every field in capitalist society--as a worker--a wife, a homebuilder and a citizen. Whichever way she turns she is confronted with subtle and often crudely brutal manifestations of "male supremacy" chauvinism. These cripple her in every respect.

"But Socialism deals a shattering blow to this whole outrageous persecution system. It opens every door to woman, on the basis of the fullest freedom and equality.

"One of the very greatest achievements of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the way it has extended

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

67c [redacted] - 37

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"real equality to woman. The Soviet woman is truly a new human being. She has learned altogether new capacities and rights and has amazed the world with her ability to do superlatively well anything she turns her hand to. The tremendous added power that emancipated woman gives to the Soviet economy and political life is one of Socialism's greatest advantages over capitalism. The Soviet woman is incomparably the freest woman in the world. If anyone wants to know whether Socialism cultivates personality and individuality, a powerful answer is found in the progress made by Soviet woman."

"Millions of American women will one day come to understand that FOSTER'S bright Socialist vision is in their own fundamental interests and that of the family. For equal rights in the Socialist U.S.S.R. are not just formal legal rights, which under bourgeois democracy, are, at best, only extended on paper, but are denied in reality by the very nature of capitalist exploitation. Under Socialism, full enjoyment of equal rights by women is guaranteed by the very nature of a society in which classes and exploitation are abolished.

"Our Party can pay no greater tribute to our beloved Comrade FOSTER on the occasion of his 70th birthday than by helping to further an understanding of its tasks in relation to work among women. Utilization of Comrade FOSTER'S profound writings to deepen the theoretical understanding of our Party and to strengthen it in its practical tasks should be a major objective as we prepare to celebrate International Women's Day, on March 8. Our application to the tasks set us by Comrade FOSTER for theoretical work, in the spirit of persistence, until it is accomplished, should be another of our resolves.

"In the course of this development, paying close heed to FOSTER'S political and theoretical advice, our Party, as it performs its vanguard tasks especially

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"in relation to work among the broad masses of women, will help advanced sections of Negro and white working women to attain the level of Socialist consciousness. Armed by Foster's towering leadership of our Party, they will win millions of women to the scientific conviction that the final guarantee of peace, bread and freedom and the full emancipation of oppressed womanhood will be achieved only in a Socialist America."

Exhibit #25: "Political Affairs" March, 1951
Witness to Introduce: Librarian Library of Congress

The subject, in her column, "Half the World," which appeared in "The Worker," April 22, 1951, wrote in criticism of the action of the Government in the Korean conflict. The following is taken from this column:

"Millions of women, despite different political opinions, were among those who roundly cheered the forced retirement of General MacArthur as a virtual dictator of the Far East.

"Nor it is an accident why they did so. Mothers and wives were jittery at MacArthur's reckless threat to extend the war to China and the Asian mainland; just as they were concerned at his threat to bomb Manchuria and his threat to use the atombomb in Korea and China. If now they therefore sigh with relief over the removal of this arch reactionary warlord it is because they see in this action the temporary curbing of those who would plunge us into a third world war.

"In this, of course, they are right--but only halfway so. True, MacArthur's wings were clipped by

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"Truman who was forced to take this action because of the growing demand for peace in our country and abroad; the firm refusal of the British, French and others to go along with any further spreading of the Korean conflict. But the other side of the coin is that the Truman Administration, which committed the nation to war in Korea, has yet to change its orientation on the war in Korea itself. Only if MacArthur's removal is followed by a policy of negotiation which will result in peaceful settlement of disputes between east and west can there be a real guarantee of peace."

Exhibit #5: "The Worker"
April 22, 1951
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public
Library

CLAUDIA JONES was observed taking an active participation in the 1951 May Day activities which were sponsored by the United May Day Committee and held in New York on May 1, 1951. The subject appeared as a guest along with other members of the National Committee of the Communist Party on the reviewing stand and reviewed the parade as it passed.

Witness: SA [redacted] b7c
F.B.I., New York

CLAUDIA JONES was a speaker at a Harlem Street rally held on July 14, 1951 on 8th Avenue between West 118th and West 119th Street, Manhattan, New York. The rally was sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress. It is noted that the subject was a featured speaker at this rally. She was introduced as CLAUDIA JONES, Secretary of the National Women's Commission. The subject announced that she had just been released on bail following her recent apprehension by Federal authorities on charges that she was a Communist, and as such, attempted to overthrow the Government of the U.S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED] - 40
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

She said that the only thing she is guilty of is that she "is a member of the Communist Party, which Party is the negroes only hope for freedom from Fascist domination."

She defended the convicted eleven Communist Party leaders and the indicted seventeen Communist Party leaders as the leaders of the Communist Party who were responsible for leading the fight for freedom of the negro people. She belittled the U.S. Government, the Truman Administration, U.S. Attorney IRVING SAYPOL, and the F.B.I.

She charged that the F.B.I. used Gestapo-like tactics and made reference to the fact that F.B.I. agents were at the time in the crowd and stated that F.B.I. agents "stink like animals." She glanced around the crowd and said that, "You can just about smell their presence." She then directed her gaze to the agents in the crowd, and, in effect, attempted to arouse the crowd of Harlemites against the agents present.

Witnesses:

SAS [REDACTED]
and [REDACTED]

b7c
F.B.I., New York

IV. OVERT ACTS COMMITTED BY THE SUBJECT IN
FURTHERANCE OF THE AIMS OF THE CONSPIRACY

b7d [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

Witnesses: [REDACTED] (c)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-72390-110 p55

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

b7c [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

b7d

[redacted]

Witness:

b1

[redacted]

(c)

The Centennial Celebration of Marxism and the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party were celebrated by the Communist Party at a mass rally held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on September 18, 1947, under the auspices of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. Madison Square Garden was decorated with Communist slogans, "Build the Communist Party Now," "End Terrorism to Jews and Admit To Palestine and U.S. DP's," "Repeal the Taft-Hartley Slave Law."

CLAUDIA JONES was the Chairman of this rally. A pageant depicting 100 years of Marxism was presented on the program. Approximately 14,000 persons attended this mass rally.

Witness:

SAS

and

b7c

[redacted]

F.B.I., New York

56
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED] 43
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

CLAUDIA JONES was interviewed on January 19, 1948 when apprehended on a warrant issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, charging that she "entered this country at New York on the 9th day of February, 1924, and has been found in the United States in violation of the immigration laws thereof, and is subject to be taken in custody and deported, pursuant to the provisions of the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, in that she is found to have been, after entry, a member of the following class, set forth in section one of said act:

"An alien who believes in, advocates and teaches the overthrow, by force or violence, of the Government of the United States, and the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended in that she is found to have been, after entry, a member of the following class, set forth in section one of said act: An alien who writes and publishes and causes to be written and published any written or published matter advising, advocating or teaching the overthrow, by force or violence, of the Government of the United States."

During the interview, subject admitted that she was first active with the youth groups of the Communist Party and later, because of her work in the Party, was elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party. She attributed her election to the fact that she had worked diligently for the Party, writing numerous articles under her own name and by preparing Communist Party literature, distributed in the name of the Party. She said that she had been on several speaking tours for the Party. She admitted that she was the Secretary of the National Women's Commission of the Communist Party and as such, was active in the women's work in the Party.

Witness: SA [REDACTED] b7c
F.B.I., New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

Subject was the author of an article which appeared in "Political Affairs," August, 1948. This article appeared under the Section, "Pre-Convention Discussion," and was entitled, "For New Approaches to Our Work Among Women." The following is quoted from this article:

"The Draft Resolution places as the central task before our Party the building of the People's anti-monopoly and peace coalition against American imperialism. It likewise stresses the imperative need for the people's coalition, and particularly the working class, to fight aggressively on those issues which can win the support of every section of the population that can add solidity, numbers, and strength to the battle against American imperialism."

Exhibit #28: "Political Affairs"
August, 1948
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of
Congress

[Large redacted block]

Witness:

[Redacted signature block]

(c)

All b1, b7d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

[REDACTED]

Witness:

[REDACTED] (c)

All b1, b7d

Subject was the author of a series of three articles which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on August 1, 2 and 7, 1949. These articles written by the subject, were on the topic, "Un-American Committee and the Negro People." In the first article, the subject accused the House Un-American Activities Committee for calling before it spokesmen of the Negro people to impugn all the Negro people in this country. She stated that never before in the history of the Nation has the loyalty of a whole people been so attacked. She stated that the hearings were timed at a strategic moment for American imperialist reaction. She stated:

"To begin with, and primarily, they coincided with the pivotal attack on civil liberties at Foley Square where 12 Communist leaders face a hearsey trial for their political ideas because of indictments by the Department of Justice and the Truman Administration."

She pointed out that three of the defendants were jailed for protesting against "the obvious bias of a judge who serves monopoly capital and who sought to put in jeopardy the names of thousands of working-class men and women by demanding that the defendants become stoolpigeons. She stated that the trial reached a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

significant highlight in the testimony of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Communist leader and Councilman from the city of New York. CLAUDIA JONES said that DAVIS utilized the "weapon of Marxism-Leninism to throw light on the forces responsible for the national oppression of the Negro people--the capitalist class itself."

In the Daily Worker of August 2, 1949, the second article in a series of three appeared on "Un-American Committee and the Negro People." In this article the subject stated that, "It is more than a passing coincidence that at the Un-American Committee loyalty hearings on 'Communism and the Negro,' the Negro reformist leaders--such as LESTER GRANGER, CHARLES S. JOHNSON (to say nothing of the miserable stoolpigeons such as MANNING JOHNSON) were not powerful enough or convincing enough in their views on this subject. This, despite the American bourgeoisie's all-out efforts to control the Negro press through ads, or to meagerly give crumbs from its profit-laden tables for the support of such institutions as the reformists may lead."

She stated, "The ever-present virus of 'white supremacy,' intensified national oppression, and the second-class citizenship, plus intellectual integrity compelled Rev. SANDY RAY, one of the leading Negro religious leaders, the chairman of the Social Service Commission of the National Baptist Convention, to boldly declare, without apology, of the Jimcrow lynch system in the United States: 'We do, however, seek to overthrow an intangible empire which exists within our Government and many of our institutions throughout the land. It is that empire which shelters injustice, oppressions, exploitation, segregation, discrimination, illwill, and all of the inconsistencies which make for separation, tension and strife. It is against that empire that we wage our war. It is that empire that must be subdued if we are to have domestic peace and give effective leadership in world chaos.'"

b7c [REDACTED] - 47
CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-18676

In the "Daily Worker" of August 7, 1949, there appeared the third of the series of articles by CLAUDIA JONES. In this article the subject stated that the Un-American Activities Committee hearings were unsuccessful and boomeranged. She said, "They boomeranged, first, because the Negro question is itself 'the Achilles heel of American imperialism' in the words of the national Chairman of the Communist Party, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. And because, the more they touch it, the more the imperialists are exposed for what they are: the oppressors of the Negro people, of the working class, the organizers of force and violence against the Negro people, the financiers of exploitation of six million Negroes and four million whites in the South, from which exploitation they wring the profits to stuff their coffers for the financing of an imperialist atomic war and domestic fascism!

"The hearings boomeranged, for a second reason. And that is because even as they utilized the old 'divide-and-rule' tactic, the eyes of 14,000,000 Negro Americans, the eyes of countless white Americans, the eyes of nationally and colonially oppressed peoples in Africa, the West Indies, and in liberated China, the eyes of the New European Democracies, the eyes of the leader of the world democratic forces, the Soviet Union, were upon them.

"And thirdly, these hearings boomeranged because even among reformist Negro leaders, intellectual integrity and intensified national oppression pushes many of them to a clearer realization of the profound truth spoken by FREDERICK DOUGLASS: 'Power concedes nothing without struggle.'"

Exhibit #26:	"Daily Worker" August 1, 1949
Exhibit #29:	"Daily Worker" August 2, 1949
Exhibit #30:	"Daily Worker" August 7, 1949
Witness to Introduce:	Librarian, New York Public Library

CONFIDENTIAL

bk [REDACTED] 1
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

CLAUDIA JONES was the author of an article entitled "International Women's Day and the Struggle for Peace" which appeared in the March, 1950 issue of "Political Affairs". The following is quoted from this article:

"On International Women's Day this year, millions of women in the world-wide camp of peace headed by the mighty land of Socialism will muster their united forces to make March 8, 1950, a day of demonstrative struggle for peace, freedom and women's rights.

"In our own land, there will be over fifty celebrations. On New York's Lower East Side, original site of this historic American-born day of struggle for equal rights for women, and in major industrial states, such as Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, broad united-front meetings of women for peace will be held. 'Save the Peace!' 'Halt Production of the A-Bomb!' 'Negotiate with the Soviet Union to Outlaw Atomic Weapons!' -- these are the slogans of women in the U.S.A. on International Women's Day.

"The Struggle For Peace

"The special significance of this holiday this year, its particular meaning for labor, progressives, and Communists, and for American working women generally, is to be found in the widespread condemnation, among numerous sections of the American people, of Truman's cold-blooded order to produce the hydrogen bomb and to inaugurate a suicidal atomic and hydrogen weapon race.

"Not to the liking of the imperialist ideologists of the 'American Century' is the growing indication by millions of American women of their opposition to war, their ardent desire for peace, their rejection of the Truman-bipartisan war policy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"The widespread peace sentiments, particularly of the women and the youth in their millions, must be organized and given direction and effective, militant expression. This is necessary, since the monopolist rulers are doing everything possible to deceive the people and to paralyze their will to fight for peace. Particularly insidious agents of the warmakers are the Social-Democratic and reformist labor leaders, the reactionary Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the American agents of the fascist Tito gang of imperialist spies, whose main task is to confuse, split and undermine the peace camp.

"Hence, a fundamental condition for rallying the masses of American women into the peace camp is to free them from the influence of the agents of imperialism and to arouse their sense of internationalism with millions upon millions of their sisters the world over; to protest the repressive and death-dealing measures carried through against the countless women victims by Wall Street's puppets in Marshallized Italy, in fascist Greece and Spain; to link them in solidarity with the anti-imperialist women united 80 million strong in 59 lands in the Women's International Democratic Federation, who are in the front ranks of the struggle for peace and democracy.

"March 8 was designated International Women's Day by the International Socialist Conference in 1910, upon the initiative of Clara Zetkin, the heroic German Communist leader, who later electrified the world with her brave denunciation of the Nazis in Hitler's Reichstag in 1933. Already in 1907, Lenin demanded that the woman question be specifically mentioned in Socialist programs because of the special problems, needs and demands of toiling women. Present at the 1910 conference as a representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, Lenin strongly supported and urged adoption of the resolution inaugurating International Women's Day. Thus did the American-initiated March 8 become International Women's Day.

b7c [REDACTED] - 3
NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"The opportunist degeneration of the leadership of the Second International inevitably reduced the struggle for the emancipation of women to a paper resolution. Interested only in catching votes, the Socialist parties paid attention to the woman question only during elections.

"Women Under Socialism

"Complete emancipation of women is possible only under Socialism. It was only with the October Socialist Revolution that, for the first time in history, women were fully emancipated and guaranteed their full social equality in every phase of life.

"Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life (New Soviet Constitution, Article 122.)

"But equal rights in the U.S.S.R. are not just formal legal rights, which, under bourgeois democracy, are curtailed, where not denied in reality by the very nature of capitalist exploitation. In the Soviet Union, full enjoyment of equal rights by women is guaranteed by the very nature of the Socialist society, in which class divisions and human exploitation are abolished. In bourgeois democracies, equal rights for women constitute at best a programmatic demand to be fought for, and constant struggle is necessary to defend even those rights that are enacted into law.

"In the U.S.S.R. equal-rights articles in the law of the land are but codifications of already existing and guaranteed reality. No wonder Soviet women express such supreme confidence in Socialism and such love for the people. Their respect for other nations, their profound sympathy with the oppressed peoples fighting for national liberation, is based on the firm conviction that their Socialist country is the decisive factor and leader in the struggle for peace.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Marxism-Leninism rejects as fallacious all petty-bourgeois equalitarian notions. Equal rights under Socialism do not mean that women do not have special protection and social care necessitated by their special function (child bearing, etc.) and special needs which do not apply to men.

"Comrade Foster's Contribution

"The Communist Party of the U.S.A. has many positive achievements to record during the last 30 years in the field of struggle for women's rights and in promoting the participation of women in the struggle against war and fascism.

"Outstanding was the recent participation of Party women and of the women comrades who are wives of the 12 indicted leaders of our Party in the mass struggle to win the first round in the Foley Square thought-control trial. And in the continuing struggle against the frame-up of our Party leaders we must involve ever larger masses of women.

"Under Comrade Foster's initiative and contributions to the deepening of our theoretical understanding of the woman question, a new political appreciation of our tasks is developing in the Party. Party Commissions on Work Among Women are functioning in the larger districts and in smaller ones. International Women's Day will mark a high point in ideological and political mobilization and in organizational steps to intensify our united-front activities among women, particularly around the peace struggle. As a further contribution to that end, a well-rounded theoretical-ideological outline on the position of Marxism-Leninism on the woman question is being prepared.

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Comrade Foster called for theoretical mastery of the woman question as vitally necessary to combat the numerous anti-woman prejudices prevalent in our capitalist society, and the 'whole system of male superiority ideas which continue to play such an important part in woman's subjugation'.

"Progressive and Communist men must become vanguard fighters against male supremacist ideas and for equal rights for women. Too often we observe in the expression and practice of labor-progressive, and even some Communist, men glib talk about women 'as allies' but no commensurate effort to combat male supremacy notions which hamper woman's ability to struggle for peace and security. Too many labor-progressive men, not excluding some Communists, resist the full participation of women, avow bourgeois 'equalitarian' notions as regards women, tend to avoid full discussion of the woman question and shunt the problem aside with peremptory decisions. What the promotion of a sound theoretical understanding of this question would achieve for our Party is shown by the initial results of the cadre training schools and seminars on the woman question, many of whose students have begun seriously to tackle male supremacist notions in relation to the major tasks of the movement and in relation to their own attitudes.

"The manifestation of bourgeois feminism in the progressive women's movement and also in our Party is a direct result of the prevalence of male superiority ideas and shows the need for our women comrades to study the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the woman question. According to bourgeois feminism, woman's oppression stems, not from the capitalist system, but from men. Marxism-Leninism, just as it rejects and combats the petty-bourgeois 'equalitarianism' fostered by Social-Democracy, so it has nothing in common with the bourgeois idiocy of 'the battle of the sexes' or the irrational Freudian 'approach' to the woman question. These false ideologies must

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"be combatted by women labor-progressives and in the first place by women Communists. Key participants in the fight against these ideologies, and in the fight to enlist the masses of women for the pro-peace struggle, must be the advanced trade-union women and women Communists on all levels of Party leadership. All Communist women must, as Lenin said, 'themselves become part of the mass movement,' taking responsibility for the liberation of women.

"We must guarantee that women cadres end isolation from the masses of women, by assigning these cadres to tasks of work among women, on a mass and Party basis. The Women's Commissions of the Party must be strengthened. All Party departments and Commissions must deal more consistently with these questions, putting an end to the false concept that work among women represents 'second-class citizenship' in our Party. A key responsibility of all Women's Commissions is increased attention and support to the growing movements of youth.

"We must gauge our Party's work among women by our effectiveness in giving leadership and guidance to our cadres in mass work, with a view to concentrating among working-class women and building the Party. To this end, further, working-class and Negro women forces need to be promoted in all spheres of Party work and mass activity.

"An examination of our work among women is necessary in all Party districts. There is need of Party conferences on the problems of working women and housewives. The good beginnings of examining the long neglected problems of Negro women participating in struggles on all fronts.

- 67 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED] - 7
NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Experience shows that a major area of our work should and must be in the field of education, where monopoly reaction and the Roman Catholic hierarchy concentrate in a policy of inculcating militarist, racist, pro-fascist ideology in the minds of our children; of victimizing progressive teachers, of conducting witch-hunts, etc. Where good work has been carried on in this sphere, victories have been won, as in the defeat of reactionary legislative measures directed at progressive teachers. In developing struggles to alleviate the frightful conditions of schooling, particularly in Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other working-class communities, Communist and progressive women have an important task to perform and an opportunity for developing an exceedingly broad united front for successful endeavor.

"By connecting the struggle against the seemingly little issues of crowded schoolrooms, unsanitary conditions, lack of child care facilities, etc., with the issues of reactionary content of teaching--racism, jingoism, etc.--the political consciousness of the parent masses can be raised to the understanding of the interconnection between the demand for lunch for a hungry child and the demand of the people for economic security; between the campaign for the dismissal of a Negro-hating, anti-Semitic Mae Quinn from the school system and the fight of the people for democratic rights; between the protest against a jingoistic school text and the broad fight of the people for peace.

"In keeping with the spirit of International Women's Day, tremendous tasks fall upon our Party. The mobilization of the masses of Americans, together with the enlisting and activation of women cadres, for heightened struggles for peace and for the special needs of oppressed womanhood, is indispensable to the building and strengthening of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-war coalition. In working for a stronger peace

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"movement among the women as such, we must draw the masses of women into the impending 1950 election campaign and thereby, on the basis of their experiences in the struggle, help raise their political consciousness to the understanding of the bipartisan demagogy and the hollowness of Truman's tall promises. Large masses of women can thus be brought to a full break with the two-party system of monopoly capital and to adherence to the third-party movement. In the course of this development, with our Party performing its vanguard task, advanced sections among the working-class women will attain the level of Socialist consciousness and will, as recruited Communists, carry on their struggle among the broad masses of women upon the scientific conviction that the final guarantee of peace, bread and freedom, and the full emancipation of subjected womankind, will be achieved only in a Socialist America."

Exhibit #31: "Political
Affairs",
March, 1950

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
Library of
Congress

The subject was the author of an article entitled, "Women Crusade for Peace" which appeared in the "Worker", March 12, 1950. In this article the subject reviewed the activities of women's peace organizations, who, in connection with the International Women's Day celebration, organized women's organizations in various parts of the United States in a "crusade for peace".

The following is quoted from this article:

"The month-long observance of International Women's Day should be the occasion for developing the united front struggle for adequate maternity

- 69 -
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"protection and child care, women's right to work, equal pay for equal work, more schools, recreational facilities, housing, jobs and adequate security covering the entire period of employment, an end to Jimcrow and for an FEPC with jobs in it; for wiping out discrimination against Negro women in jobs, the arts and professions; for lower prices and strict control of rents. It should be an occasion to rouse and organize the working class women and housewives. It should be considered a key task by labor-progressive men and women everywhere.

"It is particularly urgent to draw large masses of women, actively into the important 1950 elections, and, as an important task in the struggle for peace, to expose the Truman demagogy. Large masses of women can be brought into the third party movement, thus speeding its growth into a genuine, people's anti-monopoly, anti-war movement, based upon the working class.

Let the keynote of these celebrations be: Hail International Women's Day, the Day of Unity of the Forces of American Women for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress!"

Exhibit #32: The "Worker",
March 12, 1950
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
New York Public
Library

The subject on April 2, 1950 was the author of an article which appeared in the "Worker" on that date entitled, "Half Of The World". In this article the subject spoke of "What Women Do to Ban the H-Bomb". The subject reviewed her activities in various cities in which she had appeared in connection with the Women's Peace Crusade.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following is quoted from this article:

"Recently in Detroit, and Flint, Mich., I had the opportunity to meet with trade union women and wives of auto workers celebrating International Women's Day. Concerned as were these women with the struggle for peace, there was as yet no evidence of organized activity to win their sisters for the organized peace struggle.

"Great stress was placed by a discussion by a woman UAW worker on the necessity to clarify the masses of working women, who want peace, on the source of the war danger. This concern was so great that she hesitated to launch a peace ballot as women in dozens of cities are doing, for fear that so many people might be involved who have different opinions as to the source of war.

"In these cities, where peace ballot activities are involving thousands of women, progressive and Communist women particularly, also share concern as to the source of war. But they are impressed with the knowledge that we cannot clarify responsibility for the war danger if we are isolated from the masses of women.

"As in Boston, Philadelphia, and the newly-formed N. Y. East Side Women Volunteers for Peace, progressive women recognize, that only by organized united front, grass-roots activity of women of various political opinions is it possible for the great mass of women to express their will for peace.

"It is evident in these cases that the minimum basis for unity can be achieved: namely, to demand outlawing of the A-bombs, U. S.-USSR negotiations toward establishing the basis of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition of the two systems."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

b7c [REDACTED] 1
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Exhibit #33: The "Worker",
April 2, 1950
Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
New York
Public Library

The February, 1951 issue of "Political Affairs", according to the first page of this issue, was a "special enlarged issue devoted to reports, speeches and greetings of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in New York City on December 28, 31, 1950".

It was noted that in this issue CLAUDIA JONES is the author of a report entitled, "For the Unity of Women in the Cause of Peace".

It is stated on page one of this issue that this report by the subject was one of several reports submitted to the delegates of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party. In this report the subject reviewed at great length the necessity for unity of women in the Communist Party and the crusade for peace.

The following is quoted from this article as it pertains to the subject's activity in organizational work in the party:

"I propose that this Convention instruct our incoming leadership and National Educational Department to launch such a campaign starting on International Women's Day, March 8, 1951. I.W.D. should be the occasion for widespread tribute to the role and potentialities of the masses of women, and to inculcate an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist approach to women in society, as a duty and responsibility of all Communist men and women. One such contribution to this end is the forthcoming volume on the woman question

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"(a collection of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) which will be published by International Publishers in January, and which should receive wide circulation and study.

"Proper use of the Women's Page of 'The Worker', under the leadership of Peggy Dennis, now widely read; the organization of friends and readers of 'The Worker' to make this page the vehicle of exchange of experiences in the peace and general women's movement, can make this page the avenue to increasing the circulation of the press among the masses of women, particularly among Negro and working-class women.

"The Draft Resolution's failure to deal adequately with the woman question, overcome now with Comrade Hall's report, consists in the fact that it failed not only to deal adequately with women's role -- but with her oppression -- the crux of the question. It is true that the widespread and justifiable criticism by many of our women comrades of the Resolution's weakness was due to their failure to find a corresponding estimate of work among women on all Party levels. They saw therefore the struggle for women's equality solely as an inner Party matter, isolated, as too many of them are from the broad ferment of women for peace. Where women, despite obstacles, plunged ahead, and did not fall into the 'battle of the sexes' bourgeois-feminist moods, there recognition of women's full role and contribution to the fight for peace was swiftest. This should point up a great fact: namely, that it is the movement of the women themselves for peace that has forced a new awareness upon our Party and labor-progressive forces everywhere today. A real tribute for this approach goes to Comrade Foster who told us that women must fight for their own liberation, and to women Communist anti-fascist leaders in the international women's movement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED]

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"The attention and agreement of the entire Party organization must be won to the solution of, and collective application to these problems. Overcoming of these weaknesses will release the collective talents of our wonderful women comrades to work, write, sing and fight for women's liberation; and they will want to do it not as second-class citizens but as contributors to Party policy and mass work in our clubs and groups.

"It is time our Party recognize the precious capital it has in its women cadres. Important indications of an improved attitude in the Party toward the promotion of women in leadership are seen in many parts of the country. We have the advancement to the State Committee at the recent New York Party Convention of such comrades as Lil Gates, Johnnie Lumpkin and Mercedes Arroya; the splendid leadership of such women comrades as Vickie Lawrence and Anne Garfield in work among women in New York and New England; the recent elevation of Comrade Mollie Lieber West to the post of Illinois organizational secretary; of Grace Millman to a similar position in Indiana and of Comrade Vi to a leading post in a Southern Party district. We have comrades like Rose Gauden in the leadership in Philadelphia's 4th Ward, of Dorothy Healy and Bernadette Doyle in key positions in California, of Betty Gannett as our National Education Director, of women Communist veterans like Dora Lipshitz and Rose Baron, and that of Martha Stone as District Organizer of New Jersey. We also have emerging Negro women leaders like Mary Adams, the splendid young Party women cadre like Jeanie Griffith and Judy;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"the inspiring role of the foremost woman leader of our Party, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and of the great women veterans like Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney. There are other women cadres too numerous to mention.

"Inspired and steeled by the powerful science of Marxism-Leninism, which holds the key to the ultimate liberation of women in a Socialist society, where the basis of women's exploitation is eliminated, exploitation of man by man abolished, and the true equality of the sexes achieved, let us resolve at this 15th National Convention of our Party to honor the Jane Higginses whose daily work is a measure of their desire to master Marxist-Leninist theory, to participate in winning a glorious future.

"In this struggle, Communist women, by their leadership among the masses of women, and learning from them to fight for their demands, will fuse the women's peace movement under the leadership of the working class, and will thereby help to change the relationship of forces in our land in such a way as to make for a new anti-fascist, anti-imperialist people's coalition, advancing through this struggle to Socialism."

• Exhibit #16: "Political Affairs",
February, 1951

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
Library of
Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

The subject was the author of an article which appeared in the "Daily Worker" February 13, 1951. The following statement appeared at the beginning of this article:

"The proceedings of the recent 15th National Convention of the Communist Party are now being published in pamphlet and book form. Because the 'Daily Worker' considers these proceedings of the greatest importance to the American people, and particularly to the workers, both Communist and non-Communist, we are printing sections of the major Convention reports."

A review of this article reveals that in substance the subject has again set forth the report she made before the 15th National Convention. This report also appeared in the February, 1951 issue of "Political Affairs".

Exhibit #34: "Daily Worker",
February 13, 1951

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
New York Public
Library

The subject was the author of an article in the March, 1951 issue of "Political Affairs". It was noted on the first page of this issue of "Political Affairs" that the issue would be devoted to the 70th birthday celebration of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.

The subject, in her article entitled, "Foster's Political and Theoretical Guidance To Our Work Among Women", reviewed the work of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in "improving the Party's work among women".

The following statements taken from this article reflect the subject's knowledge of and activity and leadership of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party:

"Foster's personal attention and interest in the work of the National Women's Commission was invaluable to whatever progress was made in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"our work. It was his discussions with us, prior to finalization of the aforementioned article, that helped to lend confidence to our Commission to fight for such an approach in our Party. In over nine Party districts, conferences on work among women, participated in by district leaderships, followed; and there was a general improvement in the organization of classes on the woman's question by state educational departments as well as its integration in general Party schools.

"THE URGENT FIGHT FOR THE NEEDS OF WOMEN WORKERS

"It becomes ever more urgent therefore for our Party to heed the sound political and theoretical advices of Comrade Foster as we go forward to improve our work among women. Particularly important is the need to fight for the needs of women workers and to root all our united-front activities among working-class and Negro women, as we go forward in our work to win women in the struggle for peace, democratic rights, and economic security.

"Our Party can pay no greater tribute to our beloved Comrade Foster on the occasion of his 70th birthday than by helping to further an understanding of its tasks in relation to work among women. Utilization of Comrade Foster's profound writings to deepen the theoretical understanding of our Party and to strengthen it in its practical tasks should be a major objective as we prepare to celebrate International Women's Day, on March 8. Our application to the tasks set us by Comrade Foster for theoretical work, in the spirit of persistence, until it is accomplished, should be another of our resolves.

"In the course of this development, paying close heed to Foster's political and theoretical

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"advice, our Party, as it performs its vanguard tasks especially in relation to work among the broad masses of women, will help advanced sections of Negro and white working women to attain the level of Socialist consciousness. Armed by Foster's towering leadership of our Party, they will win millions of women to the scientific conviction that the final guarantee of peace, bread and freedom and the full emancipation of oppressed womanhood will be achieved only in a Socialist America."

Exhibit #25: "Political Affairs",
March, 1951

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian,
Library of
Congress

In February, 1947 a National Women's Commission of the Communist Party was established. This Commission was established by the party to coordinate the party's activities in the work among women. From the very beginning of the establishment of this committee, CLAUDIA JONES has been the Secretary of the National Women's Commission. It has been her duty to work with the Chairman of this committee, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, and to make trips in connection with the organization of this commission to the various Communist Party districts throughout the United States. She has been responsible for establishing women's commissions in several districts of the Communist Party.

Witnesses:

b1

[REDACTED]

(c)

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

PARTY DIRECTIVES, STATEMENTS MADE BY
CLAUDIA JONES WHEN A MEMBER OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY,
USA (1945-1948)

[REDACTED]

b1
b7d

Witness:

[REDACTED] (e)

In the September, 1945, issue of "Political Affairs," there is set forth a statement concerning the "resolution of the National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, adopted July 28, 1945." The following excerpts have been taken from this resolution as set forth in this article:

"This revision of Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the role of monopoly capital led to other erroneous conclusions, such as to utopian economic perspectives and the possibility of achieving the national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries through arrangements between the great powers. It also led to tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy, to false concepts of social evolution, to revision of the fundamental laws of the class struggle and to minimizing the independent and leading role of the working class.

"In consequence, we Communists began to carry on the historic struggle against fascism, for democracy and national freedom, in a way that was not always clearly distinguishable from that of bourgeois democrats and bourgeois nationalists, forgetting the class character and limitations of bourgeois democracy and nationalism. Finally, this right-opportunist deviation also tended to ignore, revise or virtually discount the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, declaring wrongly that the changed and changing forms of their expression indicated that they had ceased to

CONFIDENTIAL

b7c

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"operate in the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

"Furthermore, the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association were part and parcel of our revisionist errors, and did in fact constitute the liquidation of the independent and vanguard role of the Communist movement. As a consequence, our base among the industrial workers was seriously weakened. This further resulted in a general weakening of Communist activities and in adversely affecting the role and policies of other Marxist parties in the Western Hemisphere. Far from aiding the carrying out of such correct policy as support for ROOSEVELT'S re-election, the dissolution of the Communist Party weakened the democratic coalition because it weakened the initiative, strength and contributions of the Communist vanguard.

"A flagrant expression of this liquidation was the abolition of the Communist organization in the South through its transformation into non-Communist, anti-fascist organizations. This action undermined the foundation for consistent and effective struggle for the needs and aspirations of the masses of the South, especially the Negro people. This glaring example of the logical outcome of our revisionist errors reveals the direction in which our policy was leading. The dissolution of the Communist Party of America and the formation of the C.P.A. was in fact the liquidation of the independent Marxist Party of the working class.

"The correction of our revisionist errors demands the immediate reconstitution of the Communist Party and guaranteeing the re-establishment of the Marxist content of its program, policies and activities.

"The incoming National Committee and Board, by example, and with the active assistance of the membership, must undertake an ideological and organizational struggle to root out all vestiges of bureaucracy, and be constantly on guard against relapses to old bureaucratic methods of work and opportunistic practices, which could only obstruct

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"the most rapid and complete correction of our revisionist errors."

Exhibit #35: "Political Affairs"
September, 1945

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

CLAUDIA JONES was the author of "a discussion article" entitled, "On the Right to Self-Determination for the Negro People in the Black Belt." This article appeared in the January, 1946, issue of "Political Affairs." The following are excerpts from this article by the subject:

"We Communists adhere to the fundamental belief that complete and lasting equality of imperialist oppressed nations and peoples can be guaranteed only with the establishment of Socialism. The aim of Socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind into small states, not only to bring nations closer to each other, but ultimately to merge them. But we have never ignored the historical process necessary to the achievement of that goal. Nor can we 'postpone' the question of national liberation until Socialism is established or speak solely in general nebulous phrases about national liberation. We must have a clear and precisely formulated political program to guide our work in the achievement of that goal. For we know that 'mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations, only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede.'
(LENIN, Selected Works, Vol. V. International Publishers, p. 271.)

"As Leninists, we are distinguished from the reactionary Social-Democrats in that we reject, even if it is under the name of 'internationalism,' any denial of the right of national self-determination to the oppressed peoples. For true internationalism, that is Marxism-Leninism,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"places the right of self-determination as a basic programmatic point. The 'internationalism' of the reformists is nothing more or less than the nationalism of their own respective imperialist rulers, while the national program of LENIN is an essential part of internationalism. Any 'internationalism' that denies the right of self-determination to the subject peoples is false, is a mere cover for imperialist chauvinism.

"Our approach is based on proletarian internationalism, which recognizes that the workers of an oppressing nation best fight against national oppression--especially by their 'own' bourgeoisie--once they understand that such is the road to realize their own freedom. It is based on the Marxist proposition that 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'

"Clearly then, those who impute to the Negro people the main responsibility for 'accepting' or 'rejecting' the principle of self-determination ignore this tenet: they base their conclusions on the subjective factor, instead of the objective and historical conditions of oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt.

"But let us examine some of these arguments. Is it true that the Negro people do not want self-determination, that the Negro people shy away from this concept with abhorrence? Definitely not! It is, of course, quite a different matter if we speak of the Negro people as not being fully conscious of this concept in our terms. But to challenge the deepest desires of the Negro people for freedom and equality as being other than that of the fullest national self-affirmation is to fail to understand their fundamental aspirations!

"What do the Negro people abhor? They abhor the continuation of their actual status in the Black Belt--that of forcible segregation. They abhor Jim Crow from which they suffer in many forms today. They abhor the freedom with

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7c
5
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"which the poll-taxers and feudal landowners, by dividing Negro and white, continue their oppression of the Negro people. They abhor the ideology of 'white supremacy' which flouts the basic tenets of our Constitution, as the counterpart of HITLER'S 'aryan supremacy.' They abhor any idea which holds out the perspective, not of full freedom and equality, but of something less than these things. And the slogan of self-determination expresses precisely these aspirations in the most complete sense.

"To argue that the Negro people 'don't want self-determination,' is unwittingly to give sanction to the poll-taxers and feudal landowners in the South to continue exploiting the Negro people and poor whites on the basis that 'this is what the Negroes want'; it is to argue against a conscious fight by white American workers to help achieve the objective conditions in which the Negro people can freely make their own choice. It is to blunt the struggle for national liberation, to have at best, a bourgeois-liberal approach.

"SELF-DETERMINATION--
A GUIDING PRINCIPLE

"It is my opinion that we again must raise the right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt, not as a slogan of immediate action, but essentially as a programmatic demand. It might perhaps be argued that, raised in this manner, the slogan is academic and should therefore not be raised at all. Such criticism fails to take into account the difference between a slogan advanced as an issue on the order of the day and a guiding principle."

Exhibit #36

"Political Affairs"
January, 1946

Witness to
Introduce:

Librarian
Library of Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7c
6
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

The February, 1947, issue of "Political Affairs" contains an article entitled, "Resolutions on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination," which, it was stated, was "adopted by the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, at its December 3-5, 1946, meeting." The following excerpts are from this article:

"As always, the Communist Party stands firmly in the forefront of the struggle for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people.

"Today, the struggle for Negro liberation is concerned with gaining equal rights throughout the country, which includes in the South the struggle for attaining representative government and land reform. As our own history shows (Reconstruction) the development towards full and equal Negro participation in State and Federal government also moves in the direction of various forms of self-government by the Negro people, together with their white allies, in the Black Belt areas where they are in the majority.

Exhibit #37

"Political Affairs"
February, 1947

Witness to
Introduce:

Librarian
Library of Congress

The September, 1947, issue of "Political Affairs" contains an editorial entitled, "28 Years; A Record of Service to Labor and the Nation." In this article, it was stated that the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Communist Party marked two significant features--one, "the acute sharpening of the monopoly drive toward fascism at home and domination of the world" and, two, "The unparalleled extent of the misrepresentation, slander and persecution of the Party of the working class."

The following excerpt is taken from this article:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7c
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

" . . . In the struggle for the program of peace and democracy, jobs, and security, favorable conditions are created for the masses of our people to recognize, on the basis of their own experience, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along Socialist lines. . . We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of Socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation."

It is noted in a footnote that the above statement is a "Resolution of the National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., adopted July 28, 1945."

Exhibit #38: "Political Affairs"
September, 1947

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

The June, 1948, issue of "Political Affairs" contains a "Draft Resolution for the National Convention, C.P.U.S.A., To Be Held August 3-6, 1948, Submitted by the National Committee." The following excerpts have been taken from this draft resolution submitted by the National Committee:

"III. ROLE OF THE WORKING
CLASS IN THE PEOPLE'S
COALITION AND TASKS OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY

"The central task of the Communist Party in this period is to help forge the broadest people's anti-monopoly and peace coalition, in which the working class must play the leading role. The Communist Party will steadfastly help develop the class consciousness and independent

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED]
8
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"political role of labor. It will energetically promote the unity of action of the American working class, especially the united front of struggle from below of Communists and non-Communists in the shops, factories, communities, etc., and will help forge a mighty peace front of all anti-war and progressive forces.

"As yet the American working class is only taking the first steps on the road to establishing its leading role in the people's coalition and the new people's party. But there can be no doubt that it is capable of becoming, and that it must become, the leader of the people's struggles against the monopolies, if these struggles are to succeed.

"The working class is basically the consistent anti-imperialist and democratic class in American society. It suffers most from capitalist exploitation, and is therefore fundamentally interested in combating monopoly oppression. It is the class which must seek to undermine and eliminate monopoly-capitalist rule in order to advance to Socialism. That is why it is destined to be the leader of the people's anti-monopoly coalition.

"The people's coalition is a loose alliance of workers, farmers, the Negro people, city middle classes, professionals, national groups, etc. All forces in the people's coalition are vitally interested in waging an anti-imperialist, democratic struggle against the monopolies. But not all are capable of the same consistency and stability. Therefore, the coalition must have the relatively well-organized and disciplined working class as its backbone and eventual leader. Only this leadership can supply the consistency, the strength of organization, and the experience in struggle which is necessary for winning the historic fight against the monopolies.

"It is therefore clear that it is necessary to wage an unrelenting political and ideological struggle against these agents of Wall Street in the labor movement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

[REDACTED]

9

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"The working class will not become the main driving force in the people's coalition solely because of resolutions adopted by trade unions. It will gain influence and leadership among the broader forces of the people's coalition to the extent that the trade unions, especially the progressive-led unions, show themselves in action, unitedly, as a militant champion of peace and the daily interests of the people. Such united labor action will attract new and broader allies to the coalition and will help set in motion, not only forces ready to break with the two old parties, but every active fighter for security, democracy, and peace.

"The Communist Party will carry out its tasks in helping to strengthen the people's coalition and in advancing the united action and leadership of the working class. It will perform its tasks as an independent political party of the American working class, as its Marxist vanguard, dedicated to preventing the establishment of fascism and the unleashing of World War II, and to ensuring the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism in the United States.

"IV. BUILD A MASS VANGUARD
COMMUNIST PARTY

"For the American working class to advance to leadership of the developing people's democratic coalition, and for the coalition itself to become a power for victory, there must be a growing and influential Communist Party.

"Only a Communist Party of mass strength and influence, and functioning as an organic and inseparable part of the people's coalition, can effectively promote the struggle for working-class leadership in the nation. Without such a Communist Party, this struggle cannot be won. In the course of daily and resolute struggle for working-class leadership in the progressive movements of the American people for peace and progress, for the defense of their vital interests, a mass Communist Party of great strength and influence must and will become a reality in the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

10

NY 100-18676

"We must build our Party along these lines-- politically, ideologically, and organizationally. It must be built daily in the realization of the Party's vanguard role in the working class and among the people as a whole. It must be built, in the first place, among the basic industrial workers by a consistent, unflagging policy of concentration. The Party must be built in the struggle for its Marxist-Leninist principles and policies.

"We must combat the false idea that we need only a small Party of key people, that we do not need a strong mass Party. We must educate our members and followers to understand that without a strong mass Communist Party there can be no strong progressive labor movement and no leading position for the working class in the people's peace coalition. We must demonstrate further that only a strong mass Communist Party, recognized by the masses as its vanguard, will be able to lead the fight against war and fascism, insecurity and chaos, and eventually for Socialism, the only guarantee that a world will be built free of wars, crises, fascism, exploitation, and oppression.

"Hence, the crucial importance of developing loyalty to the Communist Party, of strengthening Communist discipline and mass activity--based on a clear understanding of, and devotion to, the Party's principles and policies-- of building Communist cadres and leadership, and of extending the circulation and use of the Party press, Political Affairs, and other Party publications."

Exhibit #39

"Political Affairs"
June, 1948

Witness to
Introduce:

Librarian
Library of Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

The November, 1948, issue of "Political Affairs" contains an article entitled, "Approaching the 30th Anniversary of the C.P.U.S.A.," which, it was noted, was a "Statement of the 14th National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. Adopted August 6, 1948." The following excerpts are taken from this statement:

"Roughly between 1923 and 1929, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. underwent a serious internal struggle against Lovestoneism and Trotskyism. Complicated by the factional situation, the fight became a prolonged one, at times threatening the existence of the Party. But the loyal, devoted, and healthy Marxist and working-class forces of our Party succeeded in defeating and eliminating both Right-opportunist, reformist Lovestoneism and the counter-revolutionary agent and ally of fascism--Trotskyism.

"Again, in 1945, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. was confronted with the menace of Browder revisionism and liquidationism. The Party's Marxist-Leninist theory was being replaced with non-Marxist and anti-Marxist ideas and theories, and the Party itself was in fact being liquidated. And once more, the loyal and devoted Party forces, the healthy Marxist and working-class elements, rose to the defense of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist theory. Browderism was condemned and rejected and a broad ideological struggle against it initiated. The fight against the theoretical and political sources of Browderism must continue. It must become intensified in the light of the historic ideological and political struggle initiated by the Communist Information Bureau and waged by all Communists, against the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, bourgeois nationalist positions of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

"From the same Marxist-Leninist positions we must now wage the struggle against Right opportunism and Leftist sectarianism, as outlined in the main political resolution of this, the Fourteenth National Convention of our Party.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"Approaching the 30th Anniversary, the Convention calls upon all Party members and organizations to intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism; particularly the study of the classic of our time, the History of the C.P.S.U.; the struggle for the propagation and mastery of our theory; the fight for the ideological and political strengthening of our Party and its mass work. The Convention calls upon the Party to wage on incessant battle to build the Party in the course of our mass work, to study the Party's history, and to build among the masses of the American working class and its allies the authority and influence of the vanguard Communist Party.

"LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!"

Exhibit #40: "Political Affairs"
November, 1948

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

V. FALSE STATEMENTS MADE BY SUBJECT INCLUDING THE USE OF ALIASES

A. False Statement

The subject has listed two different birth dates, February 25, 1916 and February 21, 1915, at Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

Exhibit #1: Records, INS

Witness: Commissioner, INS,
U.S. Department
of Justice

Exhibit #2: Records, Public
School #136, NYC

Witness: Superintendent,
NYC Public Schools

B. Use of Alias

[REDACTED]

b7d
b1

Witness: [REDACTED] (c)

VI. APPENDIX I - WITNESSES

1. Commissioner, INS, U.S. Department of Justice,
Washington D. C.

Witness or designated individual can furnish INS records on file at 70 Columbus Avenue on CLAUDIA VERA CUMBERBATCH, manifest #7888, page 13, line 6.

Referred to on pages: 2,3,4,7,91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

Exhibit #1

2. Superintendent of Schools, City of New York

Witness or designated individual can furnish school record on file for CLAUDIA ^WCUIBERBATCH who attended Public School #136, February 18, 1942 to January 31, 1930, and Wadleigh High School, New York City, February, 1930 to June, 1935.

Referred to on pages: 2,4,6, 91

Exhibit #2

3. Chief Clerk, Marriage License Bureau, Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York

Witness or designated individual can furnish Marriage License Certificate #15913.

Referred to on pages: 5,6

Exhibit #3

4. Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Witness or designated representative can furnish record of Identification Division, FBI, for subject, FBI [redacted] b7c

Referred to on page: 7

Exhibit #4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

5. MICHAEL J. HORAN, JR., M. D.
1185 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Witness examined subject at FBI office,
New York, on June 20, 1951.

Referred to on page: 8

6. Librarian, Library of Congress

Witness or designated representative
can furnish copies of following publications:

"New Masses" May 16, 1939

Young Communist League "Review"

October, 1938	Exhibit 7
December 9, 1940	" 8
August 4, 1941	" 9
February 2, 1942	" 10
January 26, 1943	" 11

American Youth for Democracy "Spotlight"

December, 1943	Exhibit 12
February, 1945	" 13

"Political Affairs"

February, 1951	Exhibit 16
August, 1945	" 17
March, 1951	" 25
March, 1950	" 31
August, 1948	" 28
September, 1945	" 35
January, 1946	" 36
February, 1947	" 37
September, 1947	" 38
June, 1948	" 39
November, 1948	" 40

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

"New Masses"

May 16, 1939 Exhibit 6

References to Witness, see pages 9-12, 14-17, 38-47, 48-52, 58, 62-69, 72-75, 78-90

7. Librarian, New York Public Library, Main Branch, 42nd Street, New York, New York

Witness or designated representative can furnish copies of following publications:

"Daily Worker"

April 25, 1947	Exhibit 14
June 4, 1948	" 19
June 30, 1948	" 20
May 21, 1950	" 22
November 8, 1950	" 24
February 13, 1951	" 34
August 1, 1949	" 26
August 2, 1949	" 29
August 7, 1949	" 30

"Worker"

April 7, 1946	Exhibit 18
July 16, 1950	" 23
April 22, 1951	" 5
March 12, 1950	" 32
April 2, 1950	" 33
September 4, 1949	" 21

References to Witness, see pages 17, 22-24, 28-33, 35, 37, 52, 53, 59-61, 69-72, 76, 77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

8. Manager, Radio Station KQV, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Witness or designated representative can furnish a transcript of the record of broadcast of the forum subject spoke at on July 18, 1947 at 9:30 p.m.

Referred to on pages: 13,18,19

9. [REDACTED]
Special Agent, FBI, New York

Referred to on pages: 13,20,34,53,57

10. [REDACTED]
Special Agent, FBI, Los Angeles

Witness attended rally at which subject spoke sponsored by Communist Party in Los Angeles, May 5, 1948.

Referred to on page: 21

11. [REDACTED]
Special Agents, FBI, New York

Witnesses attended outdoor mass rally at which subject spoke on July 14, 1951.

Referred to on page: 54

All b7c

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18676

12. [REDACTED] b7c
Special Agents, FBI, New York

Witnesses attended a mass rally held at Madison Square Garden, September 18, 1947, by the New York State Communist Party. Rally celebrated the Centennial Celebration of Marxism and the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party. CLAUDIA JONES chaired this rally.

Referred to on page: 56

13. LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former manager editor of the "Daily Worker". He testified previously in the case of the 11 Communist Party leaders

Witness advised of duties of National Womens Commission of which subject is the secretary.

Referred to on page: 78

14. [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] b7d
New York City

Witness, Negro, is a former Communist Party functionary. He was active in the Communist Party for 9 years. He has been a capable witness for the Government in deportation hearings before the INS.

Witness advised of subject's activity in the Young Communist League in 1936.

Referred to on page: 9

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

4 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-72390-110 pp 97-100

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

NY 100-18678

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VII. APPENDIX II - EXHIBITS

Exhibit #1: Records
Immigration and Naturalizat
Service
U. S. Department of Justice
70 Columbus Avenue
New York, New York

Witness to
Introduce: Commissioner, or designated
representative
INS
Department of Justice

Referred to
on Pages: 2, 3, 4, 7

Exhibit #2: Records
Public School #136
New York, New York
(CLAUDIA CUMBERBATCH
entered February 18, 1924;
graduated Wadleigh High
School, June, 1935)

Witness to
Introduce: Superintendent, or desig-
nated representative
New York City Public
Schools

Referred to
on Pages: 2, 4, 6

Exhibit #3: Records
Marriage License Bureau
Borough of Manhattan
New York City

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18678

[REDACTED] b7c
4

Witness to
Introduce: Chief Clerk
Marriage License Bureau
Borough of Manhattan

Referred to
on Pages: 5, 6

Exhibit #4: Records
Identification Division
Federal Bureau of In-
vestigation
Washington, D. C.
FBI [REDACTED] b7c

Witness to
Introduce: Director
Federal Bureau of
Investigation

Referred to
on Page: 7

Exhibit #5: "The Worker" - April 22,
1951, Section Two, page
8, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 53

Exhibit #6: "New Masses"
May 16, 1939

b7c [redacted]
5

NY 100-18678

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 9

Exhibit #7: Young Communist League
"Review"
October, 1938, page 6,
column 2

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 9

Exhibit #8: Young Communist League
"Review"
December 9, 1940, page
8, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 10

Exhibit #9: Young Communist League
"Review"
August 4, 1941, page 7,
column 4

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
103

[redacted] b7c
6

NY 100-18678

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Exhibit #10: Young Communist League
"Review"
February 3, 1942, page
5, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 10

Exhibit #11: Young Communist League
"Review"
January 26, 1943, page
7, column 4

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 11

Exhibit #12: American Youth for
Democracy "Spotlight"
December, 1943

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 11

Exhibit #13: American Youth for
Democracy "Spotlight"
February, 1945

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18678

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Exhibit #14: "Daily Worker"
April 25, 1947, page 5,
column 4

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 12

Exhibit #15: Transcript of Broadcast
Radio Station KQV
Pittsburgh, Pa.
July 18, 1947, 9:30 p.m.

Witness to
Introduce: Manager
Radio Station KQV
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Referred to
on Page: 12

Exhibit #16: "Political Affairs"
February, 1951

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
On Pages: 14, 47

Exhibit #17: "Political Affairs"
August, 1945
Pages 717-720

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18678

Exhibit #18: "The Worker"
April 7, 1946, Section
One, page 4, column 3

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 17

Exhibit #19: "Daily Worker"
June 4, 1948, page 7,
column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 23

Exhibit #20: "Daily Worker"
June 30, 1948, page 10,
column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 24

Exhibit #21: "The Worker"
September 4, 1949, Section
Two, page 11, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
106

NY 100-18678

[REDACTED] b7c
9
[REDACTED]

Exhibit #22: "The Worker"
May 21, 1950, Section
Two, page 11, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 35

Exhibit #23: "The Worker"
July 16, 1950, Section
Two, page 8, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 35

Exhibit #24: "Daily Worker"
November 8, 1950, page
2, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 37

Exhibit #25: "Political Affairs"
March, 1951, pages 68-78

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Pages: 52, 78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18678

Exhibit #26: "Daily Worker"
August 1, 1949, page 7,
column 3

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 61

Exhibit #27: Deleted

Exhibit #28: "Political Affairs"
August, 1948

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 58

Exhibit #29: "Daily Worker"
August 2, 1949

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 61

Exhibit #30: "Daily Worker"
August 7, 1949

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

NY 100-18678

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Exhibit #31: "Political Affairs"
March, 1950, pages 32-45

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 69

Exhibit #32: "The Worker"
March 12, 1950, Section
Two, page 1, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 70

Exhibit #33: "The Worker"
April 2, 1950, Section
Two, page 11, column 1

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 72

Exhibit #34: "Daily Worker"
February 13, 1951, page
7, column 2

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
New York Public Library

Referred to
on Page: 76

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c

NY 100-18678

Exhibit #35: "Political Affairs"
September, 1945, pages
816-832

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 81

Exhibit #36: "Political Affairs"
January, 1946, pages
67-77

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 83

Exhibit #37: "Political Affairs"
February, 1947, pages
155-158

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 84

Exhibit #38: "Political Affairs"
September, 1947, pages
771-779

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7c
13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-18678

Exhibit #39: "Political Affairs"
June, 1948, pages
483-513

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 88

Exhibit #40: "Political Affairs"
November, 1948, pages
1006-1012

Witness to
Introduce: Librarian
Library of Congress

Referred to
on Page: 90

- P E N D I N G -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7c with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-72390-110 p 112

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX