

Who was Frank Marshall Davis?



This report is published and distributed by America's Survival, Inc.
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Introduction

By Cliff Kincaid*

Under the innocuous headline, "Writer offered a young Barack Obama advice on life," the Associated Press on August 2, 2008, referred to Frank Marshall Davis, a member of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) when it faithfully echoed the Stalinist line, as merely a "left-leaning black journalist and poet" known for "leftist politics" and someone who might be accused of having "allegedly anti-American views."

The story was published because of the growing controversy over "Frank," which is how Davis was identified in Obama's 1995 book, *Dreams From My Father*. Obama went to "Frank," when Obama lived in Hawaii, for advice.

This report explores what the AP and many in the media want to avoid. Davis (1905-1987) was so much of a hard-core communist that in his book, *Living the Blues*, he charged black writer Richard Wright with "treason" for leaving and exposing the CPUSA.

The FBI file on Davis, consisting of 601 pages and covering the years 1944-1963, means that Davis was under investigation or surveillance for at least 19 years. One document refers to Davis having CPUSA affiliations dating back to 1931. He was included in the FBI's security index, meaning that he could be arrested or detained in the event of a national emergency. The FBI material also documents his anti-white and pro-Soviet views, infiltration of the Hawaii Democratic Party, and other activities.

Despite the fact that the FBI file on Davis ends in 1963, we know that, as late as the early 1970s, Davis was still associating with a CPUSA front called the American Committee for Foreign Born. A 1973 mailing from the American Committee for Foreign Born listed Davis as a sponsor, in addition to Harriet Bouslog, the CPUSA member and Hawaii lawyer who was his counsel during Davis's appearance in 1956 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In that appearance, Davis refused to deny he was a CPUSA member. There is no evidence that he ever stopped being a communist.

The communists had targeted Hawaii largely because of its strategic location and importance to the U.S. defense effort.

In this regard, one of the more disturbing FBI documents refers to information that Davis "was observed photographing large sections of the [Hawaii] coastline with a camera containing a telescopic lens." The FBI information states:

"Informant stated that DAVIS spent much of his time in this activity. He said this was the third different occasion DAVIS had been observed photographing shorelines and beachfronts. Informant advised that it did not appear he was photographing any particular objects."

This information suggests the possibility of espionage or some other form of illegal activity.

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As dishonest as the AP story, Jon Meacham wrote in *Newsweek* that Davis was “a strong voice for racial justice” and a political activist whose “writings on civil-rights and labor issues” had “prompted a McCarthyite denunciation by the House Un-American Activities Committee.” Meacham was suggesting that Davis was the target of false allegations that he was a communist.

In *Time* magazine, David Von Drehle was a bit more honest. “Like his friend Paul Robeson and others, Davis perceived the Soviet Union as a ‘staunch foe of racism’ (as he later put it in his memoirs), and at one point he joined the Communist Party,” he wrote. Nevertheless, Von Drehle falsely suggested that “by the time they [Obama and Davis] met, Davis had been out of politics for decades, and ‘mentor’ may exaggerate his role in the young man’s life. Still, it’s clear that Obama did seek advice from the old man and that what he got was undiluted.”

These stories followed the release by America’s Survival, Inc. (ASI) on May 22, 2008, of two reports that featured extensive documentation about communist networks in Hawaii and Chicago that included Davis and many others. This material was specifically provided to the AP reporter, Sudhin Thanawala, but it was deliberately ignored. A Washington Post reporter, Dana Milbank, attended the ASI news briefing where the reports were released. But his story about the event, which made fun of the information and the participants, never mentioned the name of “Frank Marshall Davis.”

The Washington Post on August 24 ran its own 10,000-word stunningly dishonest story about Obama growing up in Hawaii that completely ignored Davis’s critical role. The author, David Maraniss, later explained that, in his view, Davis “did not play a role in really shaping Obama.” His view contradicted Obama’s own book, which cites several cases of “Frank” giving him advice.

The Davis connection took on more significance when the August 24, 2008, *London Daily Telegraph* reported allegations by reporter Toby Harnden that Davis was not only a communist but a sex pervert and pornographer, and that he smoked dope with Obama’s grandfather, Stanley Dunham, who had introduced Davis to Obama when the child was only nine years of age. Dunham and Davis had been drinking buddies, and Obama admits in his book that he, too, shared alcohol with “Frank.”

The Real Frank Marshall Davis

Davis was not a “journalist” in any real sense of the term. He was a propagandist, racial agitator and recruiter for the CPUSA. The evidence demonstrates that Davis was a secret CPUSA member with a history of involvement in CPUSA fronts who was so much of a Stalinist that he opposed U.S. participation in World War II during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, but then supported U.S. involvement after Nazi Germany invaded Soviet Russia.

AP did note that Davis was “an important influence” on Obama but it didn’t mention Davis’s communist views and how he took the Stalinist line before, during, and after World War II. AP even used the term “mentor,” noting that Obama “struggled to find mentors in his search for a black identity.” But the failure to mention that Davis was a Communist means that AP deliberately ignored the newsworthy significance of the relationship. Davis “published several volumes of poetry,” AP said, failing to note that they include poems praising the Soviet Red Army and mocking Christian missionaries.

The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security issued a report in 1956 declaring, "Founded in September 1919, the Communist Party of the United States of America is an organization unique in American history. It is not a true political party and differs fundamentally from all political parties in this country. It is in fact a Russian-inspired, Moscow-dominated, anti-American, quasi-military conspiracy against our Government, our ideals, and our freedoms."

In 1982 testimony, FBI assistant director for intelligence Edward J. O'Malley testified that the CPUSA has been "one of the most loyal and pro-Soviet Communist Parties in the world and has unfalteringly accepted Soviet direction and funding over the years." The CPUSA, which was controlled by the Soviet Communist Party, was receiving funding from the Soviet Communist Party through KGB channels as late as the 1980s.

The recent book, *Comrade J*, based on interviews with a Russian spymaster at the United Nations, documents that Soviet intelligence operations against the U.S. continued even as the Soviet Union collapsed and Russia emerged in its place.

The ILWU Connection

The deceptive Associated Press story relied on "friends" of Davis, including Ah Quon McElrath, who was actually an organizer for the communist-controlled International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). This connection is important. The ILWU was led by Davis's friend and associate, secret CPUSA member Harry Bridges. Davis wrote for a newspaper, the *Honolulu Record*, which was controlled by the Communist Party of Hawaii and subsidized by the ILWU. The FBI file includes many references to the activities of the ILWU and Davis's association with the communist-dominated union.

Herbert Romerstein, a veteran investigator and author of books on communism, has examined the FBI file on Davis. His report, with exhibits, follows. The entire file and related materials are posted at www.usasurvival.org.

The Davis-Bridges relationship is very important. Romerstein had visited the archives of the Communist International, known as the Comintern, and discovered a report on Bridges, establishing him to be a member of the central committee of the CPUSA with a great future in the party. Moscow had to approve Bridges' high-level status in the party. Romerstein explains, "Bridges, of course, always denied party membership and attempts were made to deport him because he was a communist. He was born in Australia, but he was able to fight back because he had very, very sharp shyster lawyers and a lot of friends in the U.S. Government that helped him and they prevented his deportation. But he had been a major force promoting communism."

The American Committee for Foreign Born existed to prevent the deportation from the U.S. of foreign communists such as Bridges. Davis had met Bridges at the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, a CPUSA front.

Davis went to Hawaii in 1948 after consulting with Bridges and Paul Robeson, another secret CPUSA member. A separate FBI file on Robeson examines a trip that he made to Hawaii and his extensive contacts with the ILWU.

"Frank" was initially established to be Frank Marshall Davis by Gerald Horne, a writer for a CPUSA publication, who boasted about the relationship that Davis had with

Obama. Horne's remarks were brought to our attention by New Zealand blogger Trevor Loudon. Former associates of Davis in Hawaii confirmed his identification.

Based on these sources, we confirmed that Obama's white grandfather, Stanley Dunham, picked Davis because Obama's black father had abandoned the family and Dunham thought Obama needed a black father-figure. We confirmed information that Davis was Obama's mentor during the critical years 1975-1979.

However, Toby Harnden of the *London Daily Telegraph* has now reported evidence that Obama was introduced to Davis in 1970 when he was only nine years old. This would mean that Davis was an influence over Obama for about nine full years, until Obama was 18 and went off to college. Harnden quoted Dawna Weatherly-Williams, a friend of Davis's, as saying that Stanley Dunham brought Obama to meet Davis in the autumn of 1970. She "was chatting with him [Davis] that late autumn afternoon as Dunham and Barry [Obama] approached," Harnden reports.

Some accounts say that Obama returned to Hawaii in 1971. But Harnden says that the Punahou School, the coeducational college preparatory day school in Honolulu that Obama attended from 1971 to 1979, was adamant that Obama took his entrance examine in autumn 1970. "It's possible he briefly went back to Indonesia before actually starting at the school," he said. But whether it was 1970 or 1971, this adds several years to the amount of time that Davis was exercising influence over Obama.

Harnden also reported that Davis and Dunham smoked marijuana together. Dawna Weatherly-Williams said that "Frank never really did drugs, though he and Stan would smoke pot together," the paper said. Obama, of course, also admits that he used marijuana and cocaine in his youth.

Harnden reported that Davis's sexual proclivities were documented in a 1968 pornographic novel, which was titled, *Sex Rebel: Black (Memoirs of a Gourmet Gash)*. Davis wrote the book, which is now generally unavailable, under a pseudonym, Bob Greene. Harnden flatly asserts that "The book, which closely tracks Mr. Davis's life in Chicago and Hawaii and the fact that his first wife was black and his second white, describes in lurid detail a series of shockingly sordid sexual encounters, often involving group sex. One chapter concerns the seduction by Mr. Davis and his first wife of a 13-year-old girl called Anne. Mr. Davis wrote that it was the girl who had suggested he had sex with her."

Harnden added, "He then described how he and his wife would have sex with the girl" many times over the course of several weeks. "On other occasions," he added, "Mr. Davis would cruise in Hawaii parks looking for couples or female tourists to have sex with. He derived sexual gratification from bondage, simulated rape and being flogged and urinated on."

This explosive information, if the character in the book is actually based on Davis's own experiences, would further demonstrate why Davis would be identified as just "Frank."

There is no question that Davis wrote the book under the pseudonym of "Bob Greene." Davis's editor, John Edgar Tidwell, has confirmed this is the case. But Tidwell has questioned how much of *Sex Rebel* is based on Davis's own life experiences and describes it as "semi-autobiographical."

Harnden acknowledged that Davis "left himself some wiggle room, not least I suppose because of the possibility of prosecution" for statutory rape of a 13-year-old.

But in the introduction to *Living the Blues*, a book by Davis that Tidwell edited, Tidwell reveals that Davis left behind after his death an uncompleted manuscript, "The Incredible Waikiki Jungle," which describes how Davis "specialized in sex" during the period 1969-1976. No details are provided by Tidwell. He also says that Davis wrote another unpublished manuscript called "Mixed Sex Salad."

Whether the book *Sex Rebel* is entirely based on Davis or not, the controversy certainly demonstrates that Davis had a perverted sexual interest and should not have been trusted as a mentor for any young person.

Gerald Horne, the writer for the CPUSA journal, *Political Affairs*, who first disclosed Davis's relationship with Obama and his family, has told the Marxist publication that he is now writing "a history of the radical, Communist and working-class movement in Hawaii." He explains, "It is not well known, I'm afraid, that before statehood in 1959 probably the most vigorous, communist and radical trade union movement under the U.S. flag was in Hawaii."

Frank Marshall Davis was a member of that powerful movement.

"At some point in the future," Horne had said, in talking about Davis's influence over Obama, "a teacher will add to her syllabus Barack's memoir and instruct her students to read it alongside Frank Marshall Davis' equally affecting memoir, '*Living the Blues*'..."

Horne's talk was titled, "Rethinking the History and Future of the Communist Party."

By Herbert Romerstein*

Readers of Barack Obama's book *Dreams from My Father* were puzzled about the identity of the man Obama called "Frank." Obama said a lot about "Frank" without giving his full name but indicated that when he needed advice, he would go to the black poet that his white grandfather had introduced him to. Then, Gerald Horne, a writer for a Communist Party USA publication, revealed that "Frank" was Frank Marshall Davis.

Our first research report on Davis was entitled, *Communism in Hawaii and the Obama Connection*. Cliff Kincaid and I were able to document from the public record that Davis was an active member of the Communist Party and a participant in communist front activities.

Now we have obtained the Federal Bureau of Investigation file on Frank Marshall Davis. It documents not only his Party membership but his anti-white attitudes. This is consistent with Davis telling Obama that black people "have a reason to hate [white people]" (*Dreams from My Father*, p. 91). He also advised the college-bound Obama to "keep your eyes open" and "Stay awake" otherwise he would be "trained" against his own interests. (p. 97) Obama explained how he carried out Davis's advice. "To avoid being mistaken for a sellout, I chose my friends carefully. The more politically active black students. The foreign students. The Chicanos. The Marxist professors and structural feminists and punk-rock performance poets." (p. 100).

The FBI first learned of Davis's Communist Party membership when he was identified in 1944 as a member of the Dorie Miller Club of the Communist Party in Chicago. As he was elected to the Communist Party convention that year and had to be a member for at least one year prior to that to be elected, he had been a member at least since 1943. The May 1944 convention changed the name of the Communist Party to Communist Political Association. Earl Browder, the Party leader, would later be accused of "dissolving" the Communist Party by changing its name. In June 1945, another convention was held, Browder was removed from leadership and the Communist Party USA name was restored. In early 1945, Davis was reported by the FBI to be a member of the Carver Second Ward West of the Communist Political Association, and by 1946 a member of the Carver Club of the Communist Party.

The FBI was advised by an undercover informant in the Communist Party that Davis's Communist Party card number was 47544. Davis's wife, Helen Canfield Davis, was a member of the Paul Robeson Club of the Communist Party of Chicago and her 1947 Communist Party card number was 62109.

Another FBI informant in Chicago reported that Frank Marshall Davis had regularly attended meetings of the Cultural Club of the Communist Party between September 1946 and February 1948. As the FBI only began to send informants into the Communist Party in the late 1930s, it was only by the early 1940s that they were able to identify most Communist Party members and their branch affiliations.

* Herbert Romerstein retired from the United States government after 25 years of service, including Investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Minority Chief Investigator for the House Committee on Internal Security, Professional Staff Member for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and head of the Office to Counter Soviet Disinformation for the United States Information Agency.

In June of 1950, a person Frank Marshall Davis was trying to recruit into the Communist Party revealed that his interest in the Party went back to 1931 with the Scottsboro and Herndon cases. The "Scottsboro Boys" was a designation given to a group of young Black men arrested in Scottsboro, Alabama in a railroad boxcar. There were two white girls with them who claimed that they had just been raped. The "Scottsboro Boys" were defended both by the Communist Party's front, the International Labor Defense (ILD), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For at least five years, there was bitter rivalry between the communist ILD and the non-communist NAACP. Although the NAACP paid out much of the money for the legal defense, the ILD raised a considerable amount of money supposedly for the defense but it never got to the "Scottsboro Boys" attorneys. (see Exhibits 1, and 2 for communist propaganda in the U.S. and England.)

Angelo Herndon was a black organizer for the Young Communist League. Arrested in Georgia, he could have faced either the death penalty or many years in prison. He was defended by the International Labor Defense, which by 1937 had obtained a Supreme Court decision freeing Herndon. (See Exhibits 3 and 4. In Exhibit 3, you will find the kind of slogans that the communists were using in the Herndon case: "Forward to a Soviet America and the complete liberation of the Negro people! Join the Young Communist League!")

Frank Marshall Davis's Mentor

While in Chicago, Davis's close friend and mentor was an old international communist apparatchik, William L. Patterson. We found Patterson's biography in the files of the Communist International in Moscow. Written in 1938, it identifies Patterson as a candidate member of the Communist Party USA Central Committee, born in 1891. He belonged to the Communist Party USA from 1926 to 1929 and transferred membership to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1936. When he was appointed to the Central Committee of the American Communist Party, he resumed his membership in it. He was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 and to the Tenth Plenum of the Executive of the Comintern in 1930. He also served as an official of the Red International of Labor Unions and as a representative of the Communist International in France. (Comintern Archives Fond 495, Opus 74, Delo 467, pp. 29-30 (See Exhibit 5).

Patterson ran the Chicago Communist Party training school, the Abraham Lincoln School. Its earlier name was the Worker's School of Chicago. The Communist Party USA had a series of schools to both train Communist Party cadre and attract non-communist young people. Patterson's courses were in the first category, Davis's in the second.

In the early 1920s, Moscow established the International Lenin School to train cadre and to set the tone for Communist Party training schools around the world. It closed in 1937, but reopened after WWII under the name The International Leninist School and also the Higher Party School. Its cover was the Institute of Social Sciences of the USSR. In the 1983 invasion of Grenada we found a partial list of the courses given at the school, which Grenadian students had attended. Among the courses was "Social Psychology and Propaganda" (Grenada Documents, an Overview and

Selection, Introduction by Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein, published by the Department of State and the Department of Defense, Washington DC, 1984, document 28) In 1985, we were able to obtain some of the textbooks used in the Moscow training school. They were published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, but not widely distributed. In fact, the book "Social Psychology and Propaganda," the text book for the class of the same name was photo offset from a type script and hardbound. It was published for the Institute of Social Sciences. Being for restricted use, it was quite frank. (See Exhibit 8).

Davis Moves to Hawaii

In 1948, Davis and his wife went to Hawaii. According to Davis's autobiography, he was recommended by Paul Robeson and Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Bridges, according to Davis, recommended that he contact Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the "Honolulu Record". ("Livin' the Blues", by Frank Marshall Davis, p. 311) Davis neglected to say that both Bridges and Robeson were secret high-level members of the Communist Party. Ariyoshi was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Hawaii. His newspaper was subsidized by Bridges' ILWU. In 1949, ILWU was expelled from the CIO because of its communist domination. The FBI files reveal that the first contact Davis made in Hawaii was not Ariyoshi but Jack Hall, the ILWU regional director, also an official of the Communist Party of Hawaii.

An FBI confidential informant reported that on July 18, 1948, the California State Convention of the Communist Party heard a report from Dwight James Freeman, who was being sent by the Party on the mainland to take over the Communist Party of Hawaii. Freeman reported that the Communist Party in Hawaii planned to publish a new weekly newspaper. The first issue of the *Honolulu Record* was published on August 8, 1948 with Koji Ariyoshi as Editor. Davis, soon after his arrival, became a columnist for the paper.

In 1950, the Hawaiian Communist Party, like much of the Party on the mainland, went underground. The FBI report on this, dated November 10, 1953, was heavily redacted. However, by this time we knew enough about the Communist Party of Hawaii to fill in some of the blanks. The source of the information was Robert M. Kempa, who had joined the Communist Party in San Francisco in 1946 and transferred to the Communist Party of Hawaii in 1947. According to Kempa:

"In 1950 after the Communist Party had conducted a series of control interviews Dwight James Freeman known to me as a Communist Party Organizer, told me that the Party was being reorganized and was going underground. Freeman explained to me that the Party was being broken down into 'Groups of 3's' and that I was being made chairman of Group #6 and in addition given the assignment of being contact man for my own group and four other groups. Freeman advised me that Chairman of Group #10 was Frank Marshall Davis and I was to contact him at Davis' office, then maintained in a building of the Drown Transfer Company in the Damon Tract near the Airport.

“Late in the fall of 1950, I started contacting Frank Marshall Davis in connection with Communist Party matters, and relaying to him information received from my superior contact in the Communist Party, either James Freeman or [Blacked out].

“During a portion of 1950, 1951 and part of 1952, I continued contacting Frank Marshall Davis and also transmitted dues for the Communist Party received from him to my contact above. During the period of my contacts with Frank Marshall Davis, he advised me that his wife, Helen was a member of Group #10. I was never advised of the identity of a third of that group, or the fact that there was a third member in the group. During a portion of 1951 [Blacked out] took over contacts with the Davis group but I resumed contacting Davis in 1952 and continued meeting him on Communist Party matters until I left the Party in June of that year.”

Kempa left the Communist Party in 1952 and, as a result, the FBI had no coverage underground, or if they had, they have not released the post-1952 material. However, when interviewed by the FBI on September 5, 1963, Davis made an interesting admission. While refusing to say whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party, Davis blurted out that the Communist Party in Hawaii had gone out of existence in 1955 or maybe in early 1956. This was consistent with what was happening on the mainland where many underground members of the Communist Party dropped out. Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin in 1956 not only took the Communist Party by surprise but resulted in their loss of about half the membership and most of the intellectuals.

As a Communist Party member, Frank Davis did his duty to the Party by being active in many Communist fronts. In 1953 the FBI obtained a copy of a report on Davis prepared from the public files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for Senate William E. Jenner, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. (see report at the end of this article).

To supplement the Committee report, see Exhibit 6 for Davis' role in the League of American Writers. In 1938, he supported the leftist government in Spain. One of the things missed by the Committee was Davis' sponsorship in November 1948 of the Rev. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, who spoke in Chicago. Called the “Red Dean” Johnson echoed the Communist Party line. Another sponsor of his speech, Dean John B. Thompson of the University of Chicago, provided a list of sponsors which included Davis. (See Exhibit 7)

Davis also used his column in the *Honolulu Record* to defend various communists in trouble. This included Gerhardt Eisler, who had been the Communist International representative to the CP USA in the 1930s and had been indicted for refusing to testify before the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. While under FBI surveillance, Eisler “slipped his tail” and boarded the Polish ship Batory, which took him back to East Germany where he was appointed to head the communist government's radio and television.

Davis also defended his friend, the secret Communist Party member, Paul Robeson, who had made a treasonous statement in a speech in Paris. Davis claimed

that Robeson was “taken out of context”. However, Robeson on his return to the United States again repeated his statement. (See Exhibit 9)

An FBI source, who was close to Davis in 1959, reported that he had been having a problem with his comrades of the ILWU and the newspaper they supported, because Davis was “haole (Caucasian) hater”. Although his anti-white attitude antagonized his comrades, Davis continued to be a true believer and complained that “he had been warned on the Mainland prior to his departure to reside in Hawaii that he would get in a state of lethargy. Davis commented that he guessed that the people were right inasmuch as he believed all the individuals in Hawaii who were formerly connected with the progressive movement were in such a state.” Davis didn’t know it, but the same was true on the Mainland.

Communist Party Goes Underground in Hawaii

At the time that the Communist Party of Hawaii went underground, it also carried out a program of infiltration of the Democratic Party and presumably other non-communist organizations. The FBI reported in 1950 that “Confidential Informant [Blacked out] advised in April of 1950, that it appeared that members of the subversive element in Honolulu were concentrating their efforts on infiltration of the Democratic Party through control of Precinct Clubs and organizations. He said they were spending considerable time urging support for their candidates in these Precinct Club elections. In this regard, he noted on April 6, 1950, that subject had been elected Assistant Secretary and Delegate to the Territorial Democratic Convention in his Precinct Club, which is the Third Precinct of the Fifth District. The attendance of Davis at the Territorial Democratic Convention was verified by Confidential Informant [Blacked out]. This convention took place on April 30 at Kalakana Intermediate School.”

The communists were a very tiny minority among Hawaii’s Democratic Party members. But, by doing the “grunt” work, contributing money, and doing other things that the ordinary members wouldn’t do, they could expand their influence far beyond their meager numbers. According to the FBI, “[Blacked out] advised that on May 10, 1950, subject issued a check drawn on the Bishop National Bank in the amount of \$60.00 to [Blacked out]. The purpose of the check, as noted on the face of it, was “Loan to Democratic Precinct Club.”

The Communist Party has its lowest membership since it was formed eighty-nine years ago. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party has also lost its substantial financial subsidy. Beginning in 1948, when they pulled their cadre out of the Democratic Party to run Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket, there has been a steady decline. One of the results of the disaster to them of the Progressive Party was their loss of a base in the trade union movement. They’ve been trying to regain that base for many years.

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: October 20, 1953

FOR: Honorable William E. Jenner, Chairman
Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security
SUBJECT: Frank Marshall Davis

The public records, files and publications of this Committee contain the following information concerning Frank Marshall Davis. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee and it should be noted that the subject individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler, unless otherwise indicated.

In a printed program of a dinner celebrating the first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy, October 16, 1944, Frank Marshall Davis was listed as one of the sponsors. He sent greetings to the Second National Convention of the American Youth for Democracy in New York City, June 13-16, 1946, as shown by the "Proceedings" (p. 35) in which he was identified as Executive Editor, Associated Negro Press.

In 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Youth for Democracy as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 102). It was again cited by this Committee in 1947 as a front formed in October 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself" (Report 271, April 17, 1947). The U. S. Attorney General cited the American Youth for Democracy as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). It was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

The Abraham Lincoln School was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as the successor of the Workers School and as a "Communist educational medium" in Chicago (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 82). The U. S. Attorney General cited the school as an adjunct of the Communist Party (press release, December 4, 1947), and it was redesignated April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. Frank Marshall Davis entertained at the Abraham Lincoln School, as shown in a bulletin for short courses issued by the School, May 22-June 30, 1944. In testimony before the Committee on July 21, 1947, Walter S. Steele named Mr. Davis as a member of the faculty, Abraham Lincoln School (Public Hearings, page 52).

Frank Marshall Davis was one of the sponsors of a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, as shown on the "Call" to the Conference held in New York City from January 23 to 25, 1948. He was identified in this source as Assistant Editor, Chicago Star. The National Conference on American policy. . . was cited as Communist and "a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy" by the U. S. Attorney General (press release of July 25, 1949); the Committee for a Democratic Far. . . was also cited as Communist

ENCLOSURE

by the Attorney General (press release, April 27, 1949) and was redesignated April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

In 1941 Frank Marshall Davis signed a news release of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties dated December 26, 1941; he signed a statement of the organization opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes, as shown in an advertisement that appeared in the New York "Times" for April 1, 1946 (page 16); he also signed a statement of the organization hailing the War Department's order on commissions for Communists, as reported in the "Daily Worker" of March 18, 1945 (page 2).

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687); The U. S. Attorney General cited the Federation as subversive and Communist (press releases, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948 and it was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944, page 50; also cited in Reports of June 25, 1942 and January 2, 1943); the Committee on Un-American Activities reported that it was among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report of September 2, 1947, page 3).

The "Daily Worker" of August 12, 1936 (page 3) listed Frank M. Davis as a contributing editor of "The Spokesman," official organ of the Youth Section, National Negro Congress. Mr. Walter S. Steele testified before the Committee in public hearings on July 21, 1947, as follows: "According to Communist reports, police raided the meeting of the labor division of the (National Negro) congress at the (Tenth) convention, arresting 37 of its members. Listed among those it claims were taken to jail were . . . Frank M. Davis. . ." (Public Hearings, page 94).

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * *The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists." (Report of January 3, 1939, page 81; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). The organization was also cited as a Communist front by the U. S. Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688) and as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The organization was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

The "Daily People's World" of October 28, 1947 (page 4) named Frank Marshall Davis as one of the sponsors of a National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21-23, 1947; he signed a statement of the Congress in defense of Gerhart Eisler ("Daily Worker," February 28, 1947, page 2); a paid advertisement of the Congress that appeared in the Washington (D.C.) "Post" on May 20, 1947 (page 13) carried the name of Frank M. Davis as one of those who signed a statement of the Congress in defense of the Communist Party.

He signed a letter of the Congress, scoring the Subversive Control Act of 1948 ("Daily Worker," April 26, 1948, page 1). He also signed an Open Letter to Congress, endorsing the defeat of the Mundt Bill (H.R. 5852), as shown in a full-page advertisement in the Chicago "Sun-Times" on May 11, 1948 (page 37).

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. In the Committee's Report on the Civil Rights Congress, it was cited as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report 1115, September 2, 1947, pages 2 and 19). The organization was redesignated on April 27, 1953 by the U. S. Attorney General, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

Frank Marshall Davis was a member of the League of American Writers, as shown in "The Bulletin" of the League (page 6); the Summer (1938) issue of "The Bulletin" listed him as Treasurer of the Chicago Chapter of the League. He signed the "Call to the Fourth Congress, June 6-8, 1941, New York City," sponsored by the League. (See "New Masses," April 22, 1941, page 25; and a leaflet entitled "In Defense of Culture.")

In three of its Reports, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the League of American Writers as a Communist front (Reports dated January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). "The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. * * * The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control." (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686.) U. S. Attorney General, in his letters to the Loyalty Review Board, cited the League as subversive and Communist (press releases, June 1 and September 21, 1948) and it was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

The "Daily Worker" of July 23, 1948 (page 11) reported that Frank Marshall Davis attacked the arrest of Communist Party leaders; he was identified in this source as Executive Editor, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Reference to Frank Marshall Davis is found on page 10 of the Committee's Report on The Honolulu Record, released October 1, 1950, a copy of which is enclosed. A reference to him is also found on page 17 of the enclosed "Report on Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee."

International Labour Defence

BRITISH SECTION

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NINE NEGRO BOYS

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Exhibit 1

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Exhibit 2

LYNCHING NEGRO CHILDREN IN SOUTHERN COURTS



(THE SCOTTSBORO CASE)

BY JOSEPH NORTH

ISSUED BY

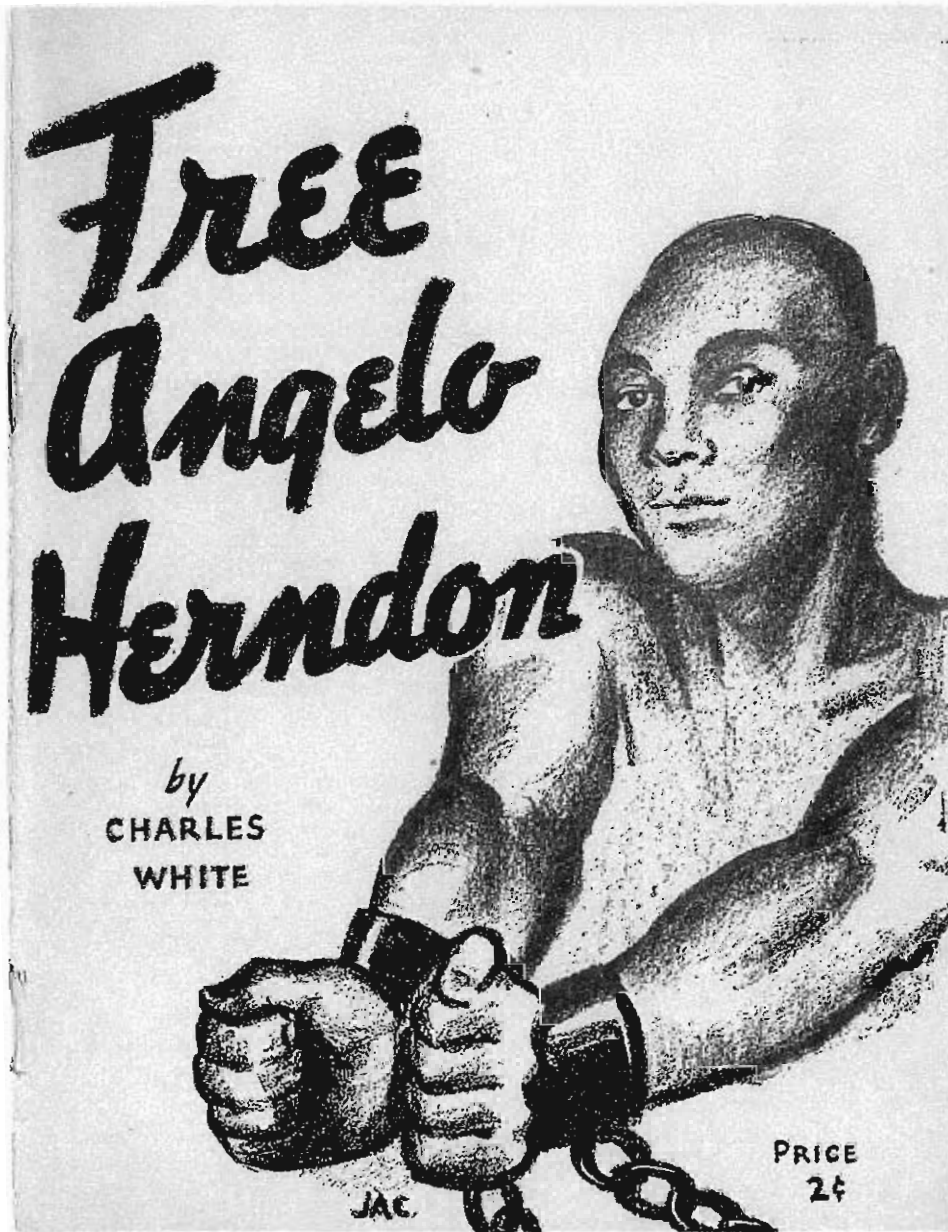
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Exhibit 3



in action that our program alone is the way out for all oppressed masses. You will follow the footsteps of Angelo Herndon and join *his organization*, the Young Communist League of America.

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Forward to a Soviet America and the complete liberation of the Negro people!

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Published June, 1934, by

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VICTORY

Exhibit 4

*Decision of the United States
Supreme Court in the Case of
Angelo Herndon, April 1937*

Full text of the majority decision setting aside the verdict in the Herndon case, by Justice Roberts; with the dissenting opinion of the minority, by Justice Van Devanter.

With an Introduction

by

ANNA DAMON

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

80 East 11th Street
New York City

PRICE TEN CENTS



С П Р А В К А.

ПАТЕРСОН ВИЛЬЯМ - кандидат в члены ЦК КП США. Член редколлегии "Майдуэст Дейли Рекорд".

Родился в 1891 г. в США, негр, подданство США, из рабочих, служащий-брист.

Член КП США с 1926-1929 г., с 1929 г. в ВКП(б) и с 1936 г. снова в КП США. Кандидат в члены ЦК КП США с 1934 г. Делегат У1-го конгресса и X-го Пленума КП, 1У-го и У-го Конгрессов Профинтерна. Был представителем КП во Франции.

Во время фракционной борьбы был на позициях меньшинства, но во фракционной борьбе активного участия не принимал.

Начал работать с 14-ти летнего возраста на разных сезонных работах. Затем работал и учился. Работал поваром в 1914 и 1915 г.г. на почтовом пароходе, в 1919 г. на коммерческом судне, 8 года был в Нью-Йорке низшим служащим, несколько лет работал бристом. Был партфункционером, организатор негритянской работы в Нью-Йоркском округе, зав. Агитпропом в Цитсбургском округе, один из организаторов первой Интернациональной негритянской конференции. Проводил работу среди негров во Франции, работал для МОПР в СССР, в Германии после II-го конгресса антиимпериалистической Лиги.

Арестовывался много раз, но к суду не привлекался.

Пишет, что развелся с первой женой и в 1930 г. женился в Москве на Авроре Вильсон, беспартийной преподавательнице англ. языка. В деле имеется отношение тов. Рандольфа от 28.V.36 г. о том, что нужно просить Моссовет предоставить комнату жене отъезжающего в страну Патерсона, товарищу Ефремовой-Патерсон, Т.Д. и недавно получено заявление от 29.XII.37 г. из Ленинграда еще от одной жены Патерсона - Гороховской И.Д., которая просит оказать ей помощь в воспитании 2-х детей Патерсона - 6 лет и 6 мес.

29
173

- 2 -

17.1.38 г. т.т. Браудер, Фостер и Радан [✓] дают следующую характеристику Патерсону: "Надежный, энергичный и способный товарищ".

(ОСНОВАНИЕ: личное дело).

А. Белов
(БЕЛОВ).

Exhibit 6

WRITERS TAKE SIDES

*Letters about the war in Spain
from 418 American authors*

FIRST PRINTING, MAY, 1938
*Composed and printed in the United States of America by Union Labor
AT THE RUMFORD PRESS, CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Typography by Robert Josephy*

PUBLISHED BY
THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS
381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

February 1, 1938

TO THE WRITERS OF AMERICA: —

Fascism has appeared in the Western Hemisphere, not in the lurid imagination of alarmist prophets, but in the actual and openly acknowledged event. On Armistice Day the papers carried the news of the establishment in Brazil of a corporate state under dictatorial authority, and the abolition of parliamentary bodies elected by the people.

We know how German fascism has murdered and destroyed, how Italian fascism has conquered her place in the Abyssinian sun, how Japanese militarism fights in China her undeclared wars. We know how fascist countries everywhere destroy civil liberties within their borders and ignore international law beyond them. Today the struggle rages east of us and west of us. Tomorrow it may be in our midst. It is constantly drawing nearer.

But there are some who, despite the martyrdom of Durango and Guernica, the enduring agony of Madrid, of Bilbao, the shelling of Almeria and Lerida, of Barcelona and Valencia, are still in doubt, or who aver that it is possible that fascism may be what it proclaims it is: the savior of civilization.

We urge you to dispel the least shadow of that doubt. This is the question we would have you answer: "Are you for, or are you against Franco and fascism? Are you for, or are you against the legal government and the people of Republican Spain?" We desire to print your answers. We wish the whole country to know what is felt by the most sensitive instruments of the national life, you American writers. Your verdict has world importance.

Yours sincerely,

*Donald Ogden Stewart
President, League of American Writers*

FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS (Black Man's Verse; I Am the American Negro): . . . So for two reasons I am opposed to fascism: because it is contrary to the American principles of freedom and democratic government, and because Negroes would not only suffer the plight of white Americans but would also suffer especial terror aimed at minority groups.

SENATOR BROYLES: Will the witness stand and be sworn, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. THOMPSON: I do.

SENATOR BROYLES: Thank you.

DEAN JOHN B. THOMPSON

called as a witness by the Seditious Activities Investigating Commission, after being duly sworn, was examined by Dr. J. B. Matthews, and testified as follows:

DR. MATTHEWS: The witness, Mr. Chairman, is Dean John B. Thompson, Dean of Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago, and Professor of Christian Ethics. Dean Thompson, will you give me a few biographical details, please?

A. My name is John B. Thompson.

Q. What is your present position?

A. That of Social Professor of Christian Ethics within the school of the Chicago University, and Dean of the University Chapel.

Q. Do you wish to make an opening statement, Dean Thompson?

A. Yes, a brief one. This statement is in response to the form and content of the subpoena which I received. I am not a Communist. I have never been a Communist. I have a profound philosophical criticism for Communism, and I have expressed that on many occasions. The subpoena which was served me asked me to bring copies of all personal correspondence pertaining to the American Peace Mobilization organization which has been in which has not been in existence since January of 1942. I do not know if any correspondence files still exist or not. My own obsolete files are in storage in Oklahoma, and I do not know if they contain any APM correspondence, but if the Commission wishes, I will have them shipped to Chicago; but this has been impossible in the short time given to me. The American Peace Mobilization was organized in 1940 by citizens from every walk of life, and the main objective was to keep the United States from war. At that time this was keenly felt by all kinds of organizations and also by Senator Vandenberg and Taft, and the Chicago Tribune. And that concludes my introductory statement, sir.

DR. MATTHEWS: Dean Thompson, in November of 1948, the Dean of Canterbury, the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, came to the United States; and among other places, delivered an address in Chicago, is that correct?

A. That's right.

- Q. Do you recall the date of his address in Chicago?
- A. No, I don't precisely. I don't have that information with me.
- Q. Do you recall where it was held? The meeting?
- A. In the Civic Opera House.
- Q. Will you please recount your connections with the appearance of the Dean of Canterbury on that occasion?
- A. After a national committee had been organized by Professor Hocking of Harvard to welcome the Dean. . . . that is, after his being admitted by the State Department, a large group of churchmen, and other citizens in Chicago, invited me and many others to join the committee simply to provide hospitalities for this distinguished churchman. They made it very clear in the invitation that this would not involve us with him in any way. Some of the committee was in agreement with him, while some were not. This committee was organized for the sole purpose of welcoming one of the greatest and most famous churchmen in the world; and the name of that committee was the Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury, November, 1948. I shall list their names. . . .

Prof. Edith Abbott, University of Chicago.
 Prof. James Luther Adams, Meadville Theological School.
 Edward Ahrens, Education Chairman, A.F. of L.
 Nelson Algren, Author.
 Harland H. Allen, Investment Counsellor.
 Rev. J. C. Austin, Pilgrim Baptist Church.
 Rev. William T. Baird, Essex Community Church.
 Russell W. Ballard, Director, Hull House.
 Prof. Albert E. Barnett, Garrett Biblical Institute.
 Dean Bernard Berelson, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago.
 Rev. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Executive Secretary, Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.
 Oscar Brown, Jr., Radio Commentator.
 Rev. Edwin T. Buehrer, Third Unitarian Church.
 Prof. Leon Carnovsky, University of Chicago.
 President Serge Chermayeff, Institute of Design.
 Dorothy Bushnell Cole, League of Women Voters.
 Rev. Harold E. Craw, Chicago Congregational Union.
 Rev. R. H. Davis, Indiana Avenue Christian Church.
 Frank Marshall Davis, Executive Director, Associated Negro Press.
 Prof. Alfred E. Emerson, University of Chicago.
 Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Metropolitan Community Church.
 Irving H. Flamm, Past President, Chicago Lawyers' Guild.
 Irene McCoy Gaines, President, Chicago Council of Negro Organizations.

Institute of Social Sciences

Social Psychology and Propaganda



Progress Publishers
Moscow, 1985

and suggests is in their interests and therefore true. Thus the propagandist may induce the audience to behave in a certain manner by appealing to their material interests, the feeling of their dignity, prestige, fear, justice, their desire to protect health, altruism, etc.

Situations sometimes arise in practical propaganda in which the logical mode (arguments ad rem) do not produce the necessary effect, despite the convincingness of the arguments and correctness of the propagandist's propositions. The psychological mode (arguments ad hominem) prove to be more effective, for the propagandist takes into account the usual course of reasoning and conclusions to which the listener resorts proceeding from his interests and convictions. Psychological arguments make the propagandist's words more convincing, comprehensible, and clear. It is not accidental that Marx pointed out: "Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates ad hominem..."¹

The above does not mean at all that the logic of propaganda messages is something secondary. Logical arguments constitute the basis of proving the proposition. The more weighty they are, the more stable the results of propaganda action. Besides, logical arguments often have a great attractive force, particularly in a conscious and well-prepared audience. Therefore everything which a propagandist can communicate must be tested in terms of logic.

Logical and psychological conclusions are the instruments through which the propagandist can produce the necessary response in the audience. As a rule, they are interconnected in propaganda, the logical arguments being supported by devices affecting desires and feelings. Since men endeavour to find a logical substantiation of their emotion, the propagandist has to adduce corresponding logical arguments.

The effectiveness of persuasion may be greatly affected by an appeal to the feelings of the audience (ad populum). The goal of these appeals is exciting the emotions of the audience,

¹ Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 3, p. 182.

distinctive features in the mentality of each stratum, calling, etc., of these masses".¹

Knowing the audience, one can consciously "portion out" the rational and emotional elements in propaganda activity. It is of course a difficult task, determining the correlation between these elements in each concrete instance. A great deal depends here on the experiences and professional skill of the propagandist. Success will be determined here first and foremost by the knowledge of the socio-psychological features of the audience in all its parameters and aspects.

Seventh, to increase the positive emotional effect in propaganda work, it is important to take into account the extent of the audience's emotional predisposition. The mood of the audience before the event largely colours the perception and behaviour of its members. An optimistic mood of the readers, spectators, and listeners can arouse them to extra activity, increasing their interest in the materials perceived and the degree of unity of attitudes, in other words, it can create a more favourable situation for successful assimilation of the message being communicated. Contrariwise, a negative emotional frame of the audience (depression, dissatisfaction, apathy, indifference) is an obstacle in the way of propaganda action and can bring the propagandist's work to nought.

Particularly great is the significance of the emotional predisposition in youth audiences.

Creating a favourable emotional mood in the audience is one of the essential conditions for raising the effectiveness of propaganda actions.

The rational and the emotional factors work in close interaction with each other, and it would therefore be wrong to exaggerate the role of one factor at the expense of the other. For example, undue emphasis on emotions can result in subjective and superficial elucidation of certain events. Excessive emotional influence obscures the main content of the message resulting in incorrect, distorted comprehension of the propa-

¹ V.I. Lenin, "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International", Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 192.

Exhibit 9



For
FREEDOM
and
PEACE

ADDRESS by PAUL ROBESON at WELCOME HOME RALLY

NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1949

surd the solemn pronouncements that it will take several generations, maybe hundreds of years, before we Negro people in the West Indies, Africa and America can have any real control over our own destiny.

Here is a whole nation which is now doing honor to our poet Pushkin—one of the greatest poets in history—the Soviet people's and our proud world possession. Could

I find a monument to Pushkin in a public square of Birmingham or Atlanta or Memphis, as one stands in the center of Moscow? No. One perhaps to Goethe, but not to the dark-skinned Pushkin.

Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation, because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world.

The Negro People Oppose Anti-Soviet War

At the Paris Peace Conference I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people of America or elsewhere in the world could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union. I repeat it with hundred-fold emphasis. **THEY WILL NOT.**

And don't ask a few intellectuals who are jealous of their comfort. Ask the sugar workers whom I saw starving in Louisiana, the workers in the cotton lands and the tobacco belts in the South. Ask the sugar workers in Jamaica. Ask the Africans in Malan's South Africa. Ask *them* if they will struggle for peace and friendship with the Soviet people, with the peoples of China and the new democracies, or if they will help their imperialist oppressors to return them to an even worse slavery. The answer lies there in the millions of my struggling people, not only the 14 million in America, but the 40 million in the Caribbean and Latin America and the 150 million in Africa. No wonder all the excitement! For one day this mighty mass will strike for freedom, and a new

strength like that of gallant China will add its decisive weight to insuring a world where all men can be free and equal.

I am born and bred in this America of ours. I want to love it. I love a part of it. But it's up to the rest of America when I shall love it with the same intensity that I love the Negro people from whom I spring, — in the way that I love progressives in the Caribbean, the black and Indian peoples of South and Central America, the peoples of China and Southeast Asia, yes suffering people the world over, — and in the way that I deeply and intensely love the Soviet Union. That burden of proof rests upon America.

Now these peoples of the Soviet Union, of the new Eastern Democracies, of progressive Western Europe, and the representatives of the Chinese people whom I met in Prague and Moscow, were in great part Communists. They were the first to die for our freedom and for the freedom of all mankind. So I'm not afraid of Communists;



Frank Marshall Davis



Six famous men tell how they changed their minds about Communism

The GOD THAT FAILED



Richard Wright



Arthur Koestler



Ignazio Silone



Louis Fischer



Stephen Spender



André Gide