

LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
03	memo	M.J. Connell to M.C. Miskovsky	S	5	1/8/68	A
10	memo	Martin J. Connell to M.C. Miskovsky	S	4	12/21/67	A
10a	telegram	Bill Ware to James Forman <i>open 12/12/13 per NLJ/RAC 11-90</i>	S	1	2/14/67	A
10b	letter	Cleveland Sellers to Bill Ware <i>open 12/12/13 per NLJ/RAC 11-90</i>	S	1	2/3/67	A
10c	typescript	"Foreword [-] As many of you recall..."	S	1	n.d.	A
21a	report	RE: Negro American Labor Council, National Economic Conference, Hotel America, Washington, DC, May 27-28, 1967	C	4	6/1/67	A
21b	report	National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, May 26-28, 1967, Los Angeles, CA <i>open per FBI declassification guide</i>	C	1	6/13/67	A
21c	report	Communist Infiltration of Southern Christian Leadership Conference	S	5	8/16/67	A
21f	report	Communist Infiltration of Southern Christian Leadership Conference	S	1	8/16/67	A
21g	report	Communist Influence in Racial Matters	S	8	8/17/67	A

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Initials

LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Page 2 of 2

Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
21h	report	Communist Influence in Racial Matters	S	1	8/17/67	A
21i	report	Communist Infiltration of Southern Christian Leadership Conference	C	2	8/17/67	A
21j	report	Communist Infiltration of Southern Christian Leadership Conference	C	1	8/17/67	A
21k	report	Communist Influence in Racial Matters	S	14	8/28/67	A
21l	report	Communist Influence in Racial Matters	S	4	8/28/67	A
24	table	Report on Agitators	C	7	n.d.	A

open per RAC 7/20/22

open per RAC 7/24/22

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10/29/2007

Initials

Organizations

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DR
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has letter
as annex
to report
m

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 16, 1967

FROM : N. C. Rayford *NR*

SUBJECT: National Black Youth Conference in Chicago

As of 12-23-67, the undersigned sought to locate the meeting of the National Black Youth Conference in Chicago, Ill. This Conference was scheduled for December 24, 1967, as an adjunct to the Black Power Conference which was held in Newark in July of 1967. Preliminary inquiries in Milwaukee and Detroit met with little response. This was thought to be unusual in view of the fact that these cities would be likely to have had large representations at such a meeting.

It appears that the meeting was scrubbed because Captain Cotter, of the 1st District, Chicago Police Department, made a check and was not able to give any information about the conference. Mr. Yang, the F.B.I. duty officer, was not able to furnish any information either. They did say that there were rumors of such a meeting but nothing definite. There was also a rumor that Rap Brown was supposed to have given a speech in the 2d district but this proved to be just a rumor.

Attached is a letter from the Black Youth Conference concerning the Regional meeting which was held in Los Angeles, Calif. in November 1967.



5010-108

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THE BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE

SOUTHERN OFFICE

c/o BLACK CONGRESS
7228 S. Broadway
Los Angeles, Calif.

NORTHERN OFFICE

c/o B.S.U.
1600 Holloway Ave.
San Francisco, Calif.

Greetings Brothers and Sisters:

Initially, We like to say, "This time it's gonna be BLACK".....
We extend our darkest and most elevated gratitude to the people who attended The Black Youth Conference.

First of all we'd like an evaluation and analysis of the conference from your particular point of view (i.e. observations, commendments, shortcomings, suggestions, and/or alternatives,) . Secondly, we would like to form a Black Youth Conference Steering Committee, which will be responsible for the further promotion of the organization (Ideology and organization structure) and acquiring of equipment as well as financial income for the Black Youth Conference. The steering committee will be a decentralized body, our main concern will be to mobilize-organize-nationalize blackpeople in the Western Region. We are based on COMMUNICATION - UNIFORMITY - CREATIVITY in building the organization. All Black Youth interested in becoming members of the Black Youth Conference or allies in rebellion please notify us as soon as possible. The only qualification is be Black and willing to WORK.

The Black Youth Conf. shall focus our most intensive concern will be: Communication; Political Education. The lical office should begin to work in these areas: First Project: With the return of Stokely Carmichael to racist U.S.A. We want him to talk to as many Bros. and Sisters as possibly., therefore ,we are going to sponsor two tours. One will be of course Stokely Carmichael (the former chairman of S.N.C.C.) and the other is Bobby Seal (the chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence) . He will be explaining what is happening to Huey P. Ne wton , the Black freedom fighter who is accused of murdering a "racist dog" (Olkland policeman) . We want you to spread the word and send us a date when Stokely can come and when Bobby can come to your area. Also how much money can be raise in your area for the Huey P. Newton Defence Fund and fore S.N.C.C. We have to have some kind of estimate.

If you want a copy of the resolutions from the conference, would you please send \$1.00 to cover cost of duplication and mailing. THANK YOU

Yours in Blackness

JAHID

THE BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE

BLACK STUDENT UNION
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
1600 HOLLOMAN AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94132



Mr. Norbert C. Rayford
7020 Jeffery Boulevard
Chicago, Ill.

92

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

RR
file RAM 4

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 4, 1968

FROM : H. H. Hair HHH

SUBJECT: RAM

In the material I received from the Philadelphia Police Department is a mimeographed 14-page letter dated August 28, 1966, from Robert F. Williams to Fidel Castro. In brief, Williams complained of his treatment while in Cuba, by officials of the Cuban Government and others, which effectively sabotaged his "work for the Afro-American struggle." It is obvious that Williams fully expected complete cooperation from Cuba as well as some financial support, -- and got little of either.

In response to a request for dollars to subscribe to newspapers, magazines and other publications, Williams was allocated \$200 a month. The items were to be obtained by someone at UN and delivered through the diplomatic pouch. Williams complained that he never received the publications or the money.

He also claimed diversion of donations and contributions from supporters inside the U.S.

He had troubles with "The Crusader." He said: "Our publication, 'The Crusader,' had become popular throughout the world and was being used as a manual on armed self-defense by freedom fighters throughout the United States, however the more popular it became the more difficulty we experienced in getting it printed in Cuba." He claimed some copies were forgeries -- those that attacked the Soviet Union.

Williams complained bitterly about D. H. Mansur of Tanzania. Williams attempted to send \$1,550 through Mansur to some Afro-American people working in the struggle. Mansur is accused of stealing the money.



5010-108

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky
Stanley P. Hebert

FROM : Martin J. Connell *Mye*

SUBJECT: SNCC NEWSLETTER/JULIUS LESTER--Hate Schools

DATE: Jan 2, 1968

Marty: ① as part of your annotation. *QR*
② Make a list of things to do *5*
③ Can we get this from FBI

Attached are editorials on a recently published SNCC Newsletter which urged that President Johnson be spit upon. One edition is from the New York Times; the other is from the Washington Post.

*1002 report
4/2/68*
We will show that Lester has been in Moscow, Havana and Hanoi this year. I'm asking for an FBI report.

The Atlanta Police Department and the New York Police Department should also be able to provide information on Lester.

I suggest that someone could profitably talk to the Atlanta police and make a side trip to Nashville to obtain detailed information on the curriculum of a "hate school".

We need the latter for an item which we are supposed to produce for the report. The former would amend our statement that the SNCC Newsletter has been discontinued.

called Hays
left message
3 PM, 4 Jan
At a minimum, we should have a copy of the Newsletter. *←*

Attachments



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

LR.
✓
file - PLP
6

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 2, 1967

FROM : M. J. Connell

SUBJECT: Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

This is a self-admitted communist group which broke away from the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) in 1962. (Its founding members were expelled by CPUSA in December 1961.) It was known as the Progressive Labor Movement until April 1965 when its founding convention was held.

Headquarters: New York City. The "Progressive Labor" the organization magazine lists office addresses in Brooklyn, N.Y., Cambridge, Mass., Chicago, Illinois, Los Angeles, Calif., Rochester, N.Y., San Francisco, Calif., Greebelt, Md. (Washington, Baltimore), and London, England.

Officers: Milton Rosen - President
Mort Scheer - Vice President
William Epton - Vice President

There are seventeen other members of the National Committee, four of whom are not listed for security reasons.

Membership is estimated at about 300 (secret) less than 500 (conf.). Ideally clubs should be small, 3 or 4 members if possible. There are 8 clubs in New York City alone. (They usually have larger membership.) It has been estimated that PLP membership is more than 25% Negro.

Objective: To be vanguard of American working class in the violent revolution which is bound to occur in the U.S. They propose to work with college students and minority groups.



5010-106

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Finances: Members pay dues and are assessed for special funds but there is evidence that expenses for a given three month period in 1967, a draft on a foreign bank covered PLP expenses which were paid through bank account. The Chinese Communist Government orders large numbers of PLP publications. It has had some wealthy sponsors and at least one wealthy member.

Publications: PLP publishes "Progressive Labor" Magazine, bi-monthly, "Challenge: East Coast Monthly Newspaper," "Spark: West Coast Monthly Newspaper," "World Revolution: Digest From Revolutionary Centers Around The World."

In addition, PLP publishes and distributes pamphlets and booklets about the racial situation aimed at organizing Negroes and explaining the necessity of racial activity to white workers. A copy of "Black Liberation - Now" is attached. At least 40,000 copies of this booklet were printed.

Activities: In attempting to align workers, students and minorities, PLP renders assistance to the Negro militants. While eschewing violence now, PLP demonstrates in support of riots which have occurred.

It has a Black Liberation Commission, composed of Negro members.

William Epton was convicted for disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly in connection with the Harlem riots in 1964.

Influences: PLP has close ties to the governments of Cuba and Communist China. It exercises an influence on SDS. All PLP college students are SDS members. Through SDS it attempts an influence on Negro student organizations.

There is evidence that some Negro PLP members do not feel the National Board is militant enough, and a suggestion that at least in the Harlem Club as of August some members were either going to start a splinter group or join up with H. Rap Brown and SNCC.

SDS publicly resists PLP direction but welcomes its assistance.

PLP maintains a Puerto Rican Club, the PLP PRC, working closely with the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP), a Marxist - Leninist group which supports Cuba.

The PLP also controls the Liberation Bookstore, a store in New York City.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 2, 1968

FROM : M. J. Connell

SUBJECT: Stokely Carmichael

"...If you're really serious about it, it seems to me you're got to think about whether or not you're opportunistic. It bothers me a lot. If I see my name in the paper, I'm not sorry its there. When...you want to interview, I'm not sorry. I sort of feel good. That's one of the things you're got to be worried about. The trouble is you get an opportunist, and he becomes a rhetorician, he says things that are really going to appease people, he's not really looking for solutions."

Stokely Carmichael, quoted above from Robert Penn Warren's Who Speaks For The Negro (published Feb. 1965) told an all Negro audience in Los Angeles, May 1967 that he was talking quietly because he was talking seriously. He went on to say that it was necessary to create a legitimate political activity to cover the guerrilla warfare movement which is required.

In May 1967 when he was replaced as National Chairman of SNCC by H. Rap Brown, Carmichael said that he would be happy to return to his field work in Washington, D.C. Between the time of that statement and his departure for London, England, on 14 July, he spent three and a half days in Washington.

In the interview with Robert Penn Warren which was taped in 1964, Carmichael derided the Malcolm X position which excluded all whites from any role in Negro affairs. In May 1967 he proposed that SNCC cease accepting financial assistance from whites. In Havana, he was quoted



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as having said on 2 August "We accept with us only whites willing to pick up arms and destroy the capitalist system. The rest is talk."

In that same talk he also said "Our heroes are colored men: Malcolm X, W. E. B. DuBois, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, and Mao Tse tung..."

He went on to say "...For four hundred years black people of the United States have tried to peacefully co-exist within the boundaries of the United States, to no avail. We have no alternative but to pick up arms, to wage a struggle for liberation. "Black Power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary...joining hands with oppressed people outside the United States and fighting to smash the imperialist capitalistic structure of the United States..."

Carmichael's background is well known. Born in Trinidad in 1941, he was brought to this country at age 11 and became a citizen through his father's naturalization. He was educated at the Bronx High School of Science and at Howard University, receiving his BA in philosophy in 1964 and has been associated with SNCC since then. He had been active in civil rights activities during the latter part of his college years.

He was elected National Chairman of SNCC in 1966 and became famous for his chanting use of the phrase "Black Power." His demagogic ability and his verbal excesses coupled with frequent encounters with the police (among other arrests, he has been indicted for inciting a riot in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1966) and participation in disorders created a demand for his presence at rallies, meetings and conferences. He became a drawing card and began demanding large fees for speaking engagements.

As early as Feb. 1966 Carmichael was quoted in the San Rafeal, California "Independent Journal" (5 Feb. 66):

"Our country does not run to reason, it is run on violence. That's the reality of how things are done here.

"It is to my benefit to get the Negro out on the streets to stop the machine which is keeping me from my rights. Whether they do it by marching or singing or dancing or fighting is irrelevant...

"Being non-violent is a personal thing; I might be non-violent but I wouldn't try to push that on the people I am trying to organize. If the people were out there - ready to fight for their rights...I'd tell them to get what they deserve...

"This non-violence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up...the violence is inevitable...I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it."

On 29 August 1966 Carmichael said, in New York at a SNCC benefit, "By calling us stupid and uncivilized, they are right for if we were in power there would be an escalated war in which we would drop bombs on the U.S."

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION ROUTING SLIP											
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REMARKS <i>NOTE - THESE were NOT typed until today because I gave them to Sarah for the preparation of the report, in hand writing. The Carmichael thing is fragments! They are for the record</i> <div style="text-align: right;"><i>myc</i></div>											
FROM	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10
NAME/TITLE						CORR. SYMBOL		BUILDING, ROOM, ETC.			
						TELEPHONE		DATE			

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

82

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: January 2, 1968

FROM : M. J. Connell

SUBJECT: Organizations

There is a commonality of interest in racial discord among white dissident groups and Negro militant organizations that is a net advantage to the New Left.

Thus, Jerry Rubin, co-project director of the National Mobilization which resulted in the demonstration at the Pentagon on 21 October 1967 could write in the 16 November issue of the Village Voice on the goals of the New Left: ". . . it (the demonstration) marked the beginning of disruption as a leading strategy for the white peace movement. . . ."

". . . We're angry. We are angry like Che. There are thousands of young people in this country who want to get the "white man" out of us. Who choose the lot of the oppressed in the world. This system lives by murdering in Vietnam, exploiting the world and killing black people at home; and . . . we are going to screw up this society.

". . . The white rebellion is on. . . what we need is not a peace movement, but a movement for liberation . . .

". . . The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with rebellions in the black communities, could seriously disrupt this country and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerillas overseas. Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries, and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions . . .



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" . . . The revolutionary movement in America cannot grow from speeches or pamphlets or messages of support.

"Symbolic actions are important. The dramatic burning of an American flag communicates our feeling that American nationalism is evil to the world . . ."

" . . . The best possibility for a mass revolutionary youth movement is a movement based on directness and honesty, on a total alienation from the system . . . identification and support for those revolutionaries in Vietnam, Bolivia and Detroit . . .

" . . . And the dissent will get more militant . . . radicals will no longer sit in, but will, through mobility, create disorders and disruption. As the movement expands, new definitions of the acceptable are reached. . .

" . . . Our goal is to transform the peace movement into a liberation movement, to aim at an alliance with black revolutionaries in America. Che's death means that we must all become Che's, not idolize him. . ."

(Suggest short description of Chambers' testimony)

Essentially this is the voice of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) with echoes of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and in different tones the Communist Party of the United States and its youth from the W.E. Dubois Clubs of America (DCA).

Violent Black Nationalists groups do not appear to be under the influence of any other domestic ideology.

The Communist Party had a long and sympathetic relationship with SNCC. The founding genius of the DCA, Bertha Aptheha the daughter of the Party theoretician Herbert Aptheha, had worked with SNCC. The first chairman of DCA was a SNCC member. However, in November of 1967 the Communist Party issued a long statement condemning racial violence. As far back as spring of 1967, CP officials had discussed the possible removal of Stokely Carmichael* (a separate report on Carmichael follows this section) because of his violent agitation. However, the CP urged the continuance of militance in the Negro community.

The DCA attempted to influence SDS and SNCC have been less than successful. An official of SDS openly derides Aptheha's personal appearance and naivete while she reports successful meetings with him. (Classified FBI Report).

As noted SOS activities complement and parallel SNCC's programs. But the evidence is that the violent Black Militants frightens most SDS whites, who are presently interested in confrontation and description. The Negroes realize and the whites acknowledge that SDS members can always, and usually do, depend on and go back to the security of the middle class.

Thomas Hayden, who wrote SDS' Port Huron statement was quoted in the New York Times - December 1967 as defending violence:

* Classified FBI Report

But Negro organizations refused to participate in the March on the Pentagon and in Oakland, California, Black Nationalists forced the SDS to hold its demonstration against induction away from the ghetto area in which it had first been planned. (Movement, a magazine associated with SDS and SNCC, November 1967 issue).

As noted in another section the PLP supports violence but does not think that the time for the revolution has come. The booklet "Black Liberation Now" makes this point in calling for organization among Negroes and appreciation and assistance from the white working class.

Foreign Control or Influence on the Violent Black Nationalist groups is difficult to delineate. In this area more than any other we have looked at, the short time allowed for investigation causes severe limitations on our ability to render judgment. The following facts suggest lines which we would have pursued.

1. We have been unable to uncover any domestic evidence to show that funds are coming from China, Algeria, Cuba, the USSR, or in fact any foreign government to any Black Nationalist organization, except for travel purposes. Queries were recently put to the CIA on this point.

2. Similarly, while Robert Williams directs RAM from China and while RAM has some intricate training guides and manuals, we have been unable to establish evidence that the Chinese provided this material. We have asked CIA about the alleged training of U.S. Nationals in a Cuban guerilla warfare camp.

3. Ho Chi Minh, Che' Guevara and the Viet Cong are more prominent in the Black Militant lexicon than even the late Malcolm X. We would have attempted an explanation of this "third world" phenomenon, given the time and the cooperation of the Department of State and the CIA. We believe that someone in government should present such an explanation of "third world" to the American people and place Black Militant violence and agitation in perspective in relation to it. As we will point out again in the report

on Carmichael each appears to try to use the other. (In this connection, SNCC's violent denunciation of Israel and its public acknowledgement of using Arab material is a case in point which is completely unrelated to the domestic problems of U.S. Negroes.)

4. William Worthy wrote in the November issue of "Esquire" that Floyd McKissick had established contact with the Viet Cong. Ernie Chambers in his appearance before the Commission suggested that he had a channel available. Worthy also wrote that American Negro servicemen were broadcasting for a Viet Cong radio propaganda outlet. We do not as yet have evidence on these matters. There is nothing to suggest any gain for American Negroes in their domestic problems in any of these reports.

One of the problems in making a categorical statement about foreign influences can be gleaned from the foreign travel in 1967 of at least some of the members of the Coordinating Committee of SNCC. Carmichael, Lester and Ware went to Cuba. Carmichael went on to Czechoslovakia, Hanoi, Algeria --- Ware who impressed an observer in Cuba as being the smartest of the three and who said "after Carmichael spoke that they had no personality cult" went to Moscow with Lester.

(Print SNCC foreign travel)

We raise these points to demonstrate that at least some of the militants have forged dangerous relationships but that there is no evidence of foreign financial assistance or direction of militant Negro activities.

We have been unable to confirm -- or disprove -- stories that there was \$1,000,000 in Red China available for RAM. Indeed, RAM activities were on a scale indicating they had not received any substantial financial assistance from any sources.

It is not possible to accurately categorize national organizations in terms of their originally announced goals and adequately explain their present positions on the activities of some of their local representatives, except in the case of RAM.

We have not considered the Urban League nor NAACP as Black Nationalist groups but pressures exerted in the name of Black Power have caused some members of these groups to move closer to militancy. It was recently reported in the Washington Post that Julius Hobson, the respected moderate leader of the Urban League in Washington, D.C., was shoved aside at a meeting because he was not militant enough.

Similarly, we have not considered the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) even as militant but news reports from the Chicago Conference of New Politics suggested that some Southern members of the NAACP were among the most violent participants of the conference, in which white liberals and Communists were severely humiliated by the Black Caucus representatives and were forced to accept sight unseen the resolutions passed at the Newark Black Power Conference.

Neither had we considered the Southern Conference of Christian Leadership (SCLC) as either Black Nationalist or Militant in the sense of violence or tension until Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced his intention of disrupting the activities of government in the Nation's Capitol in March of 1968. There has not been sufficient time to compile meaningful information on this project but an effort had been started prior to the announcement of the early Report.

The Commission is satisfied that Elijah Muhammad, the modern apostle of separatism and Black Nationalism has warned his followers against violence. There is no evidence that the organization has changed or ignored this policy on a national level.

On a national level in addition to the PLP and SDS agitation the Congress of Racial Equality seems to lag slightly behind SNCC and SNCC falls short of RAM in the approach through agitation to confrontation to actual violence.

On the record, SNCC is financial insolvent, and administratively disorganized with its remaining membership demoralized. But memoranda prepared by various members of the Coordinating Committee for presentation at the May meeting foresaw these developments. One member wrote "

Garmichael called for political development in local committees and said he was anxious to get back to field work in Washington, D.C., but almost immediately after the meeting, he participated in a number of civil disorders and continued his speeches around the country. His travel is detailed in a later section.

There is evidence to support the maintenance of the political action programs in the few rural areas where SNCC still operates, but subsequent events as indicated in the following partial analysis of known domestic travel by SNCC presence in disorder areas or in places where disturbances occurred later we have not had time to trace causability in the latter cases.

(Fill in SNCC domestic travel)

There is a school of thought which believes that all that is left of SNCC is its name and the prominence of Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, the national chairman, but we have seen an extension of George Ware's plans for campus activities at least in Wilberforce, Ohio at Central State University. Typically, while the planning for these activities parallel SDS campus aims, violence and threats marked the plans' implementation. Brown has announced that "you can forget about the non-violent" and Carmichael indicated in Cuba that he wants to change the name of the organization to "Black Liberation Movement."

In Philadelphia, the former SNCC Chairman and a former SNCC member were arrested in May 1967 for passing out "hate literature." They are actively associated with a RAM group in that city. A SNCC document lists the former Chairman, Fred Meeley as an accredited member of the SNCC Coordinating Committee at that time.

In New York, PLP officials feared that excessively militant dissident members of the Harlem Club of PLP could form their own group or join SNCC.

In San Francisco the SDS - SNCC paper The Movement actively supports the Oakland Black Panther leader, Huey Newton who recently shot two policemen. The Black Panther is a SNCC symbol.

In May George Ware wrote of SNCC's association with Leonard Ball in the campus activity program, and said Ball was working toward a summer school or campus activities. Ball is one of three men named by the Cincinnati police as having sponsored a meeting from which a group of angry people excited and began a disturbance which the police claim led directly to Cincinnati riot in June.

It was reported to the Commission, after the Central State riot (CSU is one of the schools with which Ball was working) that some of the participants in the riot had attended a school "in Canada" during summer 1967 where they were taught disruption tactics.

When Carmichael returned to the United States, he was met in New York by H. Rap Brown who is confined to the New York area by court order, and James Forman, executive secretary who has been described as one of SNCC's intellectuals and also as a "destructive" person (FBI source). Forman who resigned his position in 1966 to spend time analyzing the organization and its needs, is presently assigned to New York where a newspaper report has him in contact with UN representatives of underdeveloped countries. SNCC's most recent appeal for funds asks that they be sent to the New York office.

In the middle of December Carmichael appeared at a meeting on Howard University campus, where Ron Karenga was speaking and according to the Washington Post was cheered for five minutes.

SNCC provides the philosophy of third world and access to its practitioners. It supplies the rhetoric of Black Power and a haven for more militant members of other organizations. In turn, SNCC members show up in RAM activities

M. C. Miskovsky

January 2, 1968

M. J. Connell

Organizations

There is a commonality of interest in racial discord among white dissident groups and Negro militant organizations that is a net advantage to the New Left.

Thus, Jerry Rubin, co-project director of the National Mobilization which resulted in the demonstration at the Pentagon on 21 October 1967 could write in the 16 November issue of the Village Voice on the goals of the New Left: " . . . it (the demonstration) marked the beginning of disruption as a leading strategy for the white peace movement. . . ."

" . . . We're angry. We are angry like Che. There are thousands of young people in this country who want to get the "white man" out of us. Who choose the lot of the oppressed in the world. This system lives by murdering in Vietnam, exploiting the world and killing black people at home; and . . . we are going to screw up this society.

" . . . The white rebellion is on . . . what we need is not a peace movement, but a movement for liberation. . .

" . . . The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with rebellions in the black communities, could seriously disrupt this country and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerillas overseas. Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries, and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions . . .

" . . . The revolutionary movement in America cannot grow from speeches or pamphlets or messages of support.

"Symbolic actions are important. The dramatic burning of an American flag communicates our feeling that American nationalism is evil to the world . . ."

" . . . The best possibility for a mass revolutionary youth movement is a movement based on directness and honesty, on a total alienation from the system . . . identification and support for those revolutionaries in Vietnam, Bolivia and Detroit . . .

" . . . And the dissent will get more militant . . . radicals will no longer sit in, but will, through mobility, create disorders and disruption. As the movement expands, new definitions of the acceptable are reached. . .

" . . . Our goal is to transform the peace movement into a liberation movement, to aim at an alliance with black revolutionaries in America. Che's death means that we must all become Che's, not idolize him. . ."

(Suggest short description of Chambers' testimony)

Essentially this is the voice of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) with echoes of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and in different tones the Communist Party of the United States and its youth from the W.E. Dubois Clubs of America (DCA).

Violent Black Nationalists groups do not appear to be under the influence of any other domestic ideology.

The Communist Party had a long and sympathetic relationship with SNCC. The founding genius of the DCA, Bertha Aptheha the daughter of the Party theoretician Herbert Aptheha, had worked with SNCC. The first chairman of DCA was a SNCC member. However, in November of 1967 the Communist Party issued a long statement condemning racial violence. As far back as spring of 1967, CP officials had discussed the possible removal of Stokely Carmichael* (a separate report on Carmichael follows this section) because of his violent agitation. However, the CP urged the continuance of militance in the Negro community.

The DCA attempted to influence SDS and SNCC have been less than successful. An official of SDS openly derides Aptheha's personal appearance and naivete while she reports successful meetings with him: (Classified FBI Report).

As noted SDS activities complement and parallel SNCC's programs. But the evidence is that the violent Black Militants frightens most SDS whites, who are presently interested in confrontation and destruction. The Negroes realize and the whites acknowledge that SDS members can always, and usually do, depend on and go back to the security of the middle class.

Thomas Hayden, who wrote SDS' Port Huron statement was quoted in the New York Times - December 1967 as defending violence:

* Classified FBI Report

But Negro organizations refused to participate in the March on the Pentagon and in Oakland, California, Black Nationalists forced the SDS to hold its demonstration against induction away from the ghetto area in which it had first been planned. (Movement, a magazine associated with SDS and SNCC, November 1967 issue).

As noted in another section the PLP supports violence but does not think that the time for the revolution has come. The booklet "Black Liberation Now" makes this point in calling for organization among Negroes and appreciation and assistance from the white working class.

Foreign Control or Influence on the Violent Black Nationalist groups is difficult to delineate. In this area more than any other we have looked at, the short time allowed for investigation causes severe limitations on our ability to render judgment. The following facts suggest lines which we would have pursued.

1. We have been unable to uncover any domestic evidence to show that funds are coming from China, Algeria, Cuba, the USSR, or in fact any foreign government to any Black Nationalist organization, except for travel purposes. Queries were recently put to the CIA on this point.

2. Similarly, while Robert Williams directs RAM from China and while RAM has some intricate training guides and manuals, we have been unable to establish evidence that the Chinese provided this material. We have asked CIA about the alleged training of U.S. Nationals in a Cuban guerilla warfare camp.

3. Ho Chi Minh, Che' Guevara and the Viet Cong are more prominent in the Black Militant lexicon than even the late Malcolm X. We would have attempted an explanation of this "third world" phenomenon, given the time and the cooperation of the Department of State and the CIA. We believe that someone in government should present such an explanation of "third world" to the American people and place Black Militant violence and agitation in perspective in relation to it. As we will point out again in the report

on Carmichael each appears to try to use the other. (In this connection, SNCC's violent denunciation of Israel and its public acknowledgement of using Arab material is a case in point which is completely unrelated to the domestic problems of U.S. Negroes.)

4. William Worthy wrote in the November issue of "Esquire" that Floyd McKissick had established contact with the Viet Cong. Ernie Chambers in his appearance before the Commission suggested that he had a channel available. Worthy also wrote that American Negro servicemen were broadcasting for a Viet Cong radio propaganda outlet. We do not as yet have evidence on these matters. There is nothing to suggest any gain for American Negroes in their domestic problems in any of these reports.

One of the problems in making a categorical statement about foreign influences can be gleaned from the foreign travel in 1967 of at least some of the members of the Coordinating Committee of SNCC. Carmichael, Lester and Ware went to Cuba. Carmichael went on to Czechoslovakia, Hanoi, Algeria --- Ware who impressed an observer in Cuba as being the smartest of the three and who said "after Carmichael spoke that they had no personality cult" went to Moscow with Lester.

(Print SNCC foreign travel)

We raise these points to demonstrate that at least some of the militants have forged dangerous relationships but that there is no evidence of foreign financial assistance or direction of militant Negro activities.

We have been unable to confirm -- or disprove -- stories that there was \$1,000,000 in Red China available for RAM. Indeed, RAM activities were on a scale indicating they had not received any substantial financial assistance from any sources.

It is not possible to accurately categorize national organizations in terms of their originally announced goals and adequately explain their present positions on the activities of some of their local representatives, except in the case of RAM.

We have not considered the Urban League nor NAACP as Black Nationalist groups but pressures exerted in the name of Black Power have caused some members of these groups to move closer to militancy. It was recently reported in the Washington Post that Julius Hobson, the respected moderate leader of the Urban League in Washington, D.C., was shoved aside at a meeting because he was not militant enough.

Similarly, we have not considered the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) even as militant but news reports from the Chicago Conference of New Politics suggested that some Southern members of the NAACP were among the most violent participants of the conference, in which white liberals and Communists were severely humiliated by the Black Caucus representatives and were forced to accept sight unseen the resolutions passed at the Newark Black Power Conference.

Neither had we considered the Southern Conference of Christian Leadership (SCLC) as either Black Nationalist or Militant in the sense of violence or tension until Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced his intention of disrupting the activities of government in the Nation's Capitol in March of 1968. There has not been sufficient time to compile meaningful information on this project but an effort had been started prior to the announcement of the early Report.

The Commission is satisfied that Elijah Muhammad, the modern apostle of separatism and Black Nationalism has warned his followers against violence. There is no evidence that the organization has changed or ignored this policy on a national level.

On a national level in addition to the PLP and SDS agitation the Congress of Racial Equality seems to lag slightly behind SNCC and SNCC falls short of RAM in the approach through agitation to confrontation to actual violence.

On the record, SNCC is financial insolvent, and administratively disorganized with its remaining membership demoralized. But memoranda prepared by various members of the Coordinating Committee for presentation at the May meeting foresaw these developments. One member wrote "

Samuel called for political development in local committees and said he was anxious to get back to field work in Washington, D.C., but almost immediately after the meeting, he participated in a number of civil disorders and continued his speeches around the country. His travel is detailed in a later section.

There is evidence to support the maintenance of the political action programs in the few rural areas where SNCC still operates, but subsequent events as indicated in the following partial analysis of known domestic travel by SNCC presence in disorder areas or in places where disturbances occurred later we have not had time to trace causability in the latter cases.

(Fill in SNCC domestic travel)

There is a school of thought which believes that all that is left of SNCC is its name and the prominence of Carmichael and H.Rap Brown, the national chairman, but we have seen an extension of George Ware's plans for campus activities at least in Wilberforce, Ohio at Central State University. Typically, while the planning for these activities parallel SDS campus aims, violence and threats marked the plans' implementation. Brown has announced that "you can forget about the non-violent" and Carmichael indicated in Cuba that he wants to change the name of the organization to "Black Liberation Movement."

In Philadelphia, the former SNCC Chairman and a former SNCC member were arrested in May 1967 for passing out "hate literature." They are actively associated with a RAM group in that city. A SNCC document lists the former Chairman, Fred Neeley as an accredited member of the SNCC Coordinating Committee at that time.

In New York, PLP officials feared that excessively militant dissident members of the Harlem Club of PLP could form their own group or join SNCC.

In San Francisco the SDS - SNCC paper The Movement actively supports the Oakland Black Panther leader, Huey Newton who recently shot two policemen. The Black Panther is a SNCC symbol.

In May George Ware wrote of SNCC's association with Leonard Ball in the campus activity program, and said Ball was working toward a summer school or campus activities. Ball is one of three men named by the Cincinnati police as having sponsored a meeting from which a group of angry people excited and began a disturbance which the police claim led directly to Cincinnati riot in June.

It was reported to the Commission, after the Central State riot (CSU is one of the schools with which Ball was working) that some of the participants in the riot had attended a school "in Canada" during summer 1967 where they were taught disruption tactics.

When Carmichael returned to the United States, he was met in New York by H. Rap Brown who is confined to the New York area by court order, and James Forman, executive secretary who has been described as one of SNCC's intellectuals and also as a "destructive" person (FBI source). Forman who resigned his position in 1966 to spend time analyzing the organization and its needs, is presently assigned to New York where a newspaper report has him in contact with UN representatives of underdeveloped countries. SNCC's most recent appeal for funds asks that they be sent to the New York office.

In the middle of December Carmichael appeared at a meeting on Howard University Campus, where Ron Karenga was speaking and according to the Washington Post was cheered for five minutes.

SNCC provides the philosophy of third world and access to its practitioners. It supplies the rhetoric of Black Power and a haven for more militant members of other organizations. In turn, SNCC members show up in RAM activities

MJC:aye 1/2/68
1-MJC
1-Organizations

Sawicki 2

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

December 22, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Milan Miskovsky

FROM: Harold Hair *XHX*

SUBJECT: Minutemen

C

In my visit on December 21, 1967 with Lt. George Fenil, Chief of the Civil Disobedience Squad, Philadelphia Police Department, I asked him about a newspaper report that members of the Minutemen had infiltrated the Philadelphia Police Department and had given tips to the police about riots planned in Philadelphia.

C

Lt. Fenil said he is aware of the story and does not believe there is any substance to it. He does not know of any Philadelphia police being members of the Minutemen. As for "tips", Fenil said he and his 30-man squad are on the streets in the potentially troublesome neighborhoods continually, talking with people, and getting more tips than they can run out. He does not know of any tips coming from Minutemen sources.

February 14, 1967

TELEGRAM SENT TO JAMES FORMAN IN NEW YORK:

James Forman:

Your hand-picked Chairman, the alleged hope of Black America in the calculated conspiracy to destroy the black ideology symbolized by the Atlanta Project has descended to the level of calling a racist henchman cop, of the white master Allen of Atlanta to settle an internal dispute between the supposedly black people of SNCC.

Beware of going to the man to deal with supposedly internal conflicts. It can work both ways. We have tapes and other information that could fall into black peoples hands across the country.

There are several magazines lined up to publish our writing.

How's the unborn baby coming along?

Bill Ware
Atlanta Project
Atlanta, Georgia

February 14, 1967

Mr. William Ware
Atlanta Project
142 Vine Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear MR. Ware:

You have just been fired from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Stokely Carmichael
Chairman of SNCC

SC/fdb

12

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ/RAC 11-90
By LUB NARA, Date 12-02-2013

106
February 3, 1967

Mr. William Ware
142 Vine Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

This letter is to inform you of some immediate changes that I see as being extremely necessary.

I have arrived at some conclusions after meeting with you personally, meeting with you in ad hoc committees, and examining the programmatic directions of SNCC's Atlanta Project. It is unfortunate that SNCC has allowed you, on two separate occasions, to commandeer its resources, i.e., a three-thousand dollar check and a 1965 Dodge Dart. I find this to be the most unwarranted act any true brother could commit. With this, and this alone, one could question where your loyalties and sincerities were.

I am not using this as a point of reference in arriving at my conclusion but only as a point of information. Please understand that my conclusion came solely from programmatic perspectives.

I hereby suspend the Atlanta Project as an official project of SNCC because of lack of programmatic approach, programmatic direction and programs. Your redress is the Central Committee which meets on February 24th through the 28th.

I would suggest that if you plan to make a presentation at the C. C. meeting that you have in writing a programmatic perspective that deals specifically with the Atlanta Project's program as I would prefer that we do not clog the organization with irrelevancies, i.e., personal problems.

Cleveland Sellers

P. S. The staff of the Atlanta Project (Bill Ware, Gwen Robinson, John Bell) has not been considered. They should attend all institute meetings.

+++++

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ / RAC 11-90

By LCB NARA, Date 12-2-2013

10

#1

RAM
- 11

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

RAM, in its 4 or 5 years of existence, has not developed a large following or base; and Max Stanford has not become a public figure like Carmichael or Brown. Still, he has drawn upon the violent writing of Robert Williams to produce literature of his own for dissemination among young Negroes with concentration in New York City and Philadelphia,--but not limited to those cities.

Stanford's efforts have led to the organization of gun clubs in at least two cities (New York and Detroit). Negro members or associates have acquired firearms and other destructive materials; they have engaged in firearms training, in physical training, and have read and discussed instructional material in devices for sabotage.

A large number of RAM members and associates have been formally charged with conspiracies to murder government officials and other public figures, and conspiracy to incite a riot. These prosecutions may take some individuals out of circulation--Stanford has been in jail since August 1967--but others will go underground and perhaps become even more prone to violence. RAM-type activities -- under whatever label -- will continue as potentially dangerous.

For example, five Negroes -- aged 25 to 31 -- were arrested by the New Haven, Conn., police on December 23, 1967, and charged with plotting to blow up a number of public buildings, including the police station. The alleged purpose was to "break the back of law and order" in New Haven. When arrested they were found in possession of explosives materials. We have no information connecting these individuals with RAM. Yet, their objective is a RAM-type objective.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

12

Dec 8

Mr. Moskowsky:

The attached summary
on Minutemen was
prepared from

(1) Testimony by J.E. Hoover
before House Appropriations
Committee

(2) Newspapers

We have no FBI Reports
on Minutemen.

Harold H. Harbo

Memo
To: HA.

9 Dec '67 122

1. Good reporting.

2. Two queries

a. Ethnic identity?

Are there Negro Minutemen

*no
definite
historical
evidence*

b. Can more be developed on
character of their riot
involvement.

Were they deputized, supplied
among, where used in city,
how many, who are they?

SPT

*2nd page
attached*

K
12/2

MINUTEMEN ← *File*

The Minutemen organization is a far right group which claims its primary purpose is to prepare members to overthrow the Government of the United States in the event the Government is taken over by communists. To accomplish this, the organization and its individual members have acquired large stores of arms and engaged in organized guerilla warfare training.

Robert DePugh, Norborne, Missouri, the head of the Minutemen, has estimated the membership at 25,000, but others state it has approximately 500 members. DePugh claims that the organization itself does not buy or store firearms, this being the responsibility of the individuals. However, stores of arms uncovered by authorities are too large and sophisticated for individual ownership.

Three events uncovered by investigative authorities illustrate the potential danger of this vigilante-type group. In June 1965, Virginia police seized a dynamite cache 25 miles southwest of Washington. The site had bullet-riddled evidence of extensive firearms activity. An Alexandria, Virginia judo instructor was a member of the 12 to 15 member Minutemen cell and taught guerilla warfare tactics to the group.

On October 30, 1966, New York police arrested 24 persons--said to be Minutemen--preparing to assault alleged left-wing camps in the three-state area. Large stores of arms were recovered by the police at the time of the arrests.

In August 1966, DePugh and four associates were charged with violation of the National Firearms Act, following recovery of a supply of automatic weapons and explosives buried by DePugh and others in Missouri. DePugh and two associates were convicted and given prison sentences, but are free on bond pending appeal.

Following his conviction, DePugh announced his resignation as leader of the Minutemen and said the organization would go underground and be run by a secret executive council. However, DePugh is believed to continue to be the dominant force of the Minutemen.

Earlier in 1966, DePugh got together a gathering of an estimated 400 persons at Kansas City, Missouri, and announced formation of the Patriotic Party, an ultraconservative political organization to rid the nation of what members called the communist conspiracy. DePugh nominated former Governor George C. Wallace as its Presidential candidate contingent on his approval of William Penn Patrick, a businessman of San Rafael, California, for Vice President. The Patriotic Party has received little attention from the press since the first announcement.

No information has been received indicating a connection between Minutemen and causes of riots. However, there is a newspaper report that one alleged member claimed infiltration by Minutemen into the Philadelphia Police Department, the Newark Police Department and the New Jersey National Guard. He is quoted as saying, "Some of our members took part in the Newark riot, either as police or as hastily sworn in special deputies."

Minutemen Hint City Police Role

Philadelphia Inquirer 9-29-67
The Philadelphia Police Department has been infiltrated by right-wing, gun-toting Minutemen, the group's New Jersey leader said Thursday. He said Minutemen gave Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo tips about riots planned for the city this summer.

According to Edward Haas, a 42-year-old Camden county resident, there are also Minutemen in the New Jersey National Guard and on the Newark Police Force, despite efforts to dislodge them.

TRAINING STEPPED UP

Haas, who refused to give his address, said the Minutemen have vastly expanded their training programs, especially in what he called "city resistance warfare," because of summer rioting.

He is currently attending training sessions in Independence, Mo., at headquarters of the Patriotic Party. It's a Minuteman group; the national leader is Robert B. dePugh, a Missouri drug manufacturer.

AIDED NEWARK POLICE

Haas said in a telephone interview from Independence that maneuvers by Minutemen groups were held throughout New Jersey this summer, especially in Salem county, and in Pennsylvania. He would not reveal the number of Minutemen involved.

"In fact," said Haas, "some of our members took part in the Newark riot, either as police or as hastily sworn in special deputies." He said New Jersey Minuteman cells had "survived" despite State-level attempts to root them out.

W.C.
INFILTRATION
INTO
POLICE
DEPT.

INSERTKU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

Although Ku Klux Klan organizations have not been directly cited as causing or participating in any of the 1967 riots, Klan-connected racial violence continues and could be considered a factor in keeping racial unrest at a high pitch.

Klans operate--today as in the past--as conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. ~~Klans~~ ~~however~~ have continued to rely on terrorism as an instrument for achieving so-called "white supremacy" and other objectives. ~~Klan involvement in kidnappings and beatings, arson, bombings, and outright murder in recent years compels the~~ *view of the* ~~klan as a vehicle for death, destruction, and fear.~~

Arrests of klan officers and members frequently have led to the uncovering of caches of arms. In addition to rifles, shotguns, and handguns in quantity, klansmen maintained stocks of explosive devices. Klan units have sponsored courses of instruction for their members in the use of firearms and the art of demolition. Robert M. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, has himself attended such a course. ~~A study of the evidence amassed during the committee's investigation leads to the conclusion that the committee on Un-American Activities concluded~~

~~that~~ klans and their leaders actually incite disrespect
for the law and encourage acts of violence, ~~but~~

~~no evidence has been~~
~~uncovered that shows~~ of
~~any direct connection of~~
~~klansmen with 1967 riots.~~

KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

Although Ku Klux Klan organizations have not been directly cited as causing or participating in any of the 1967 riots, Klan-connected racial violence continues and could be considered a factor in keeping racial unrest at a high pitch.

At Bridgeton, New Jersey, for example, a cross was burned approximately two hours before the riot took place. Responsibility for the cross burning has not been established. The Mayor said it was blamed on the Klan although he thought kids--not Klan members--may be responsible. The head of an Office of Economic Opportunity program in Bridgeton made the statement that there had been 18 cross burnings in the area in the winter of 1966-67.

There are an estimated 17 Ku Klux Klan organizations with approximately 15,000 members and thousands of additional sympathizers. Klan groups are located in 18 states, as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>Estimated active membership as of January 1967</u>
Alabama.....	40
Georgia.....	57
North Carolina.....	192
South Carolina.....	50
Florida.....	27
Virginia.....	32
Mississippi.....	76
Louisiana.....	30
Texas.....	14
Arkansas.....	10
Tennessee.....	10
Ohio.....	100
Pennsylvania.....	50
Delaware.....	100
Maryland.....	25
New York.....	25
New Jersey.....	negligible
Michigan.....	<u>200</u>
Total active members, 17 states.....	15,075

The secret manner in which most Klan organizations operate enables them to exert their influence, power, and terror without swift detection. Secrecy also permits small hard-core groups to act without their identities becoming known to the general membership or to the public.

Newspaper accounts of a series of five racial bombings in Mississippi since September 1967, attribute them to unidentified Klan members.

Another example of the Klan penchant for violence against Negroes was disclosed last December in Maryland in the trial of Klan members found guilty of setting fire to the home of a Laurel, Maryland, Negro. One of the men testified that shortly after getting KKK membership cards they decided the house-burning was "a sure way to get accepted by the Klan."

The report on the present-day Ku Klux Klan movement released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on December 11, 1967 contains the following comments:

"Committee investigations and hearings into the activities of the major klans demonstrated nevertheless that klans operate--today as in the past--as conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

"Klans moreover have continued to rely on terrorism as an instrument for achieving so-called "white supremacy" and other objectives. This terrorism runs the gamut from telephoned threats or intimidatory cross-burning to various forms of physical violence. Klan involvement in kidnappings and beatings, arson, bombings, and outright murder in recent years compels the committee to view a klan as a vehicle for death, destruction, and fear.

"Arrests of klan officers and members frequently have led to the uncovering of caches of arms. In addition to rifles, shotguns, and handguns in quantity, klansmen maintained stocks of explosive devices. Klan units have sponsored courses of instruction for their members in the use of fire-arms and the art of demolition. Robert M. Shelton, the imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, has himself attended such a course.

"Public disavowal of violent intent by klan officials are unworthy of credence in light of other statements by the same leaders and the actions of klansmen on both officer and rank-and-file levels. A study of the evidence amassed during the committee's investigation leads to the conclusion that klans and their leaders actually incite disrespect for the law and encourage acts of violence."

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

1. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is a broadly based, totally alienated group of mostly white American youth which is working with and supporting some of the most militant Negro organizations in this country.

Five members participated in a racial disorder in Boston on June 2, 1967.

2. Headquarters - 1608 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Illinois

3. Officers - National Secretary - Michael Spiegel
Educational Secretary - Robert Pardun
Inter-Organizational Secretary -
Carl Davidson
National Draft Resistance Coordinator -
Jeff Segal

Thomas Hayden was the founding spirit of SDS. A veteran of SNCC's activities in the early 1960's, he was a prime mover in the adoption of the Port Huron resolution. Now an SDS sponsored community worker in Newark, (there were reports prior to the Newark riot that he was observed agitating during local disturbances) Hayden has visited Hanoi and attended a meeting in Bratislavia, Czechoslovakia at which U.S. racial problems were discussed (there were 40 other Americans and Vietnamese, including Viet Cong in attendance). A short while after this meeting, he turned up at Pnom Penh and was ostensibly responsible for the release of four U. S. servicemen who had been held captive by the Viet Cong.

Hayden has written a book, Rebellion in Newark, Official Violence and Ghetto Response, his account of the pre-riot tensions, the riot itself and his conclusion that the riots are leading to revolutionary activity.

In the August 24 issue of "The New York Review," he published an eight-page article entitled, "The Occupation of Newark," a shorter version of his reflections on the Newark riot, including the book's conclusions. The article is attached.

What about
his book
on the
Newark
riot
Lynd

4. Members - The Students for a Democratic Society presently claims a membership of 30,000 with 250 chapters, mostly on college campuses. Actual membership was less than 7,000 in July 1967.

5. Publications - SDS owns and publishes New Left Notes, a weekly newsletter which carries news of the organization, its activities and its plans. The organization also publishes pamphlets on issues of interest, i.e., the draft, Vietnam and foreign policy matters, New Left Philosophy, and politics. It prints posters and leaflets. New Left Notes has recently joined the Underground Press Syndicate, a loosely federated group of New Left/Hippie publications "to facilitate news exchanges."

The paper published in Chicago lists regional offices in New York City, Rochester, N. Y., San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Cambridge, Massachusetts.

6. Objectives - SDS' announced intention is to put forth a radical, democratic program "counterposed to authoritarian movements, both communism and the domestic right." In fact, they are putting forth opposition, dissent and resistance. The objective is to take control of the universities and colleges of the country and from this base to form alliances with all of the radical elements of the society. SDS is immediately concerned with ending the war in Vietnam by complete withdrawal of U.S. forces and ending the Selective Service System. To achieve their purposes, while attempting to maintain organizational identity, they will join with any group, no matter how militant or subversive. Although members discuss and sometimes advocate violence, the organization has not passed from obstruction and provocation to the tactic of violence.

7. Statements by Officers of Objective - Its officers and publications have called for support for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and other militant, radical and revolutionary groups. During its June 1967 convention, the SDS adopted a resolution to support such groups regardless of the groups political ideology. Specifically mentioned were the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

8. Written Evidence of Organization--Bylaws, Constitution, etc. - The Students for a Democratic Society was, until 1965, a youth affiliate of the League of Industrial Democracy. (The League is the successor of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist which was founded in 1905 to mobilize college professors and students to teach socialism and collective ownership.)

The Students for a Democratic Society, as it presently exists was actually formed at a convention held in Port Huron, Michigan, in June 1962. A group of students, who described themselves as "liberals and radicals," attended this founding convention and drafted the "Port Huron Statement," the bible of the SDS. This statement covers a variety of subjects including peace, poverty, and civil rights. The preamble to the Students for a Democratic Society constitution states "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left."

9. Finances - The organization depends largely on members dues and voluntary work for its activities. Fund raising activities have interested a few wealthy donors but there are constant appeals for dues. There are also plans for parent-student donations and efforts to use publication sales for profit. There is no indication of unusual monies or assistance.

10. Programs - The Students for a Democratic Society's convention of June 1967 adopted a proposal that their group would consult with black groups to combat "divisive racist reactions" in white communities to ghetto rebellions by the following methods:

- a. By organizing poor and middle class whites to act as allies with the "Black Liberation Movement."
- b. By distributing literature in white communities during "rebellions" explaining the facts behind the rebellions.
- c. By organizing sympathy demonstrations at police stations and on campuses and using civil disobedience if necessary.

- d. By providing legal and financial aid.
- e. By researching the nature of police departments.

The same convention adopted a resolution that called for a national student strike in the spring of 1968 to be directed against the Vietnam War. Other groups will be invited but SDS will maintain full sponsor ship. One section reads:

" That SDS shall encourage SNCC and other radical black student groups on black campuses to join us in the spring strike as an independent caucus developing issues and tactics of their own . . . "

It also established a program at the Harvard Radcliffe Chapter to look into the possibilities of collaboration between "Labour" (sic) and SDS. This is to be known as the Labour Research and Action Program (LRAP).

A Teacher's Organizing Project was also formulated with the intention of recruiting teacher-training students so that the SDS educational concepts can be spread through the school systems and ultimately into the homes of workers.

SDS programs at the schools are aimed ultimately at student control of faculty, curriculum and campus activities. They propose that students grade teachers, student grades be abolished and that courses and content be arrived at through "participatory democracy."

The Radical Education Project (REP), founded in 1966, Ann Arbor, Michigan, was described in the New York Times as ". . . a network of 'scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerilla leaders, etc.,' to gather international intelligence on insurgent movements and foreign policy developments."

In 1967, REP had refused the National Office's request to move to Chicago, so the Radical Education Centre (sic), REC, was formed to be the "internal education arm of SDS." It is responsible for:

- a. Maintenance and provision of traveling teacher organizers.
- b. Provision of new and relevant literature with emphasis on analytical case studies as a basis for strategy planning.
- c. Establishing relations with radical research agencies such as REP . . . coordinate and expedite transmission of available data and resource information to Chapters and organizers who request assistance.

SDS operates the Newark Community Union Project in the Newark ghetto. Thomas Hayden, past president and founding spirit of SDS, is its director. He has written his account of the riot in the New York Book Review, and in a paperback, Rebellion in Newark, Official Violence and Ghetto Response, referred to on Page 1.

Join Community Union, formerly known as JOIN (Jobs or Income Now), another SDS ghetto project, is located at 4533 North Sheridan Road, Chicago. It is a community action program for poor and unemployed persons in the area.

11. Publicity - SDS generates most of its own publicity although it has advertised in Ramparts Magazine. The press has given it respectful attention until recently when its excesses both on and off campus have become a matter of concern to the entire spectrum of editorial opinion. The distasteful and frequently obscene methods of protesting appearances of high federal officials have long offended most sensibilities. But recent acts designed to prevent expression by government officials and attempts to obstruct government or business recruiting activities on campus have raised editorial questions about SDS' elemental appreciation or adherence to the democratic process. Staughton Lynd, a Yale Professor of History, has written extensively in national media in defense of SDS and SNCC, equating their goals and their methods.

12. Influences - SDS has attracted and been attracted to various groups by the similarity of goals. Churchmen and communist, militants and pacifists, find and derive benefit from the essentially negative and destructive character of the present SDS positions. Generally, these are not teenagers. The young men are draft age. Most of them would be officer material intellectually and by background and ability if they were in the Armed Forces. They talk seriously of revolution, reverse Che Guevara and use police texts on demonstration control as primers for demonstration preparation.

Christopher Jencks, in an article on the limitations of the New Left, in the October 21, 1967 issue of the New Republic, comments on the attitudes of a group which he accompanied to a meeting with Viet Cong representatives in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia: "To me the most striking fact about the new radicals was the extent to which they identified with the Viet Cong . . ." Stating that they would not be comfortable in post-revolutionary Vietnam, he says ". . . (their) admiration for the NLF stems from the fact that the NLF is resisting the Enemy successfully, whereas they are not." "The Enemy" is identified among other things as the "Liberals", who have "sold out", these are the "big organizations, and (there is) passive dependence on enormous numbers of remote experts, bureaucracies and commercial enterprises . . ." Ultimately, for these people, the "Enemy" is the United States.

SDS is making a concerted effort to align itself with the adherents of civil rights and in another direction with the labor movement in the U.S. But the violence espoused by the more militant Negro groups frightens them. Most of them do not see violence as the answer. Their solution is to confront the government and force it to take repressive actions, to provoke incidents with police authority, and to engender a popular reaction to government and its policing actions which will cause the government's fall. This is not an attack on an individual or a political party; it is an assault on "the system."

There is something pathetically naive about a domestic movement which seeks to effect a liaison with American "Labour", but this same group which by their own admission

"the blacks" mistrust possesses an excessive amount of energy and a respectable amount of intelligence. They offer their resources to militant groups, serve some of the purposes of the Communist Party and of the Progressive Labor Party, and magnify and distort the degree of legitimate dissent which exists in this nation.


M. J. Connell
Investigator

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ~~M. C. Miskovsky~~

DATE: Dec. 12, 1967

FROM : ~~Perry - Scales~~ - ~~Long~~
Harold H. Hair

SUBJECT: Allegations of Minutemen Infiltration of Philadelphia
and New Jersey Police

The attached newspaper item presents a challenge to us which must be met somehow.

I have drafted a requirement on the FBI concerning the claims, but it would appear essential that we make some independent investigations including personal interviews with Haas and officials of the police agencies claimed to have been infiltrated. Proving the negative of this situation may be impossible. It is hardly likely that Haas would identify his members, but the police officials should be given the opportunity to deny the allegations and describe whatever means they have for screening out such people.

If Mr. Perry and Mr. Scales go back to New Jersey, I suggest that they be asked to look into this story.

Attachment



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

(MORE ON CORE)

The attached New York Times article, October 7, 1967, indicates that McKissick was taking a six-week leave of absence from CORE to work out programs to help Negroes move into positions of power and responsibility in 14 major cities and some rural areas where Negroes predominate.

The programs and objectives described follow closely the programs adopted at the CORE National Convention in July, which McKissick said, add up to black power. He did not exclude help from whites in going after his objectives. He said the programs would seek funds from several sources, including Federal agencies, foundations, labor unions and private contributors, both Negro and white. He also said whites as well as blacks would be used to implement the programs.

McKissick listed the 14 cities selected for activity as follows:

New York	Cleveland
Chicago	Washington
Los Angeles	Dallas
Philadelphia	Milwaukee
Detroit	San Francisco
Houston	Atlanta
Baltimore	Charlotte, N. C.

Financing of McKissick's leave of absence was by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center with offices in mid-Manhattan. According to Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, its president, it was established during the summer by a Ford Foundation grant of \$500,000.

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Attachment

HHH/raf

12/21/67

Distribution:

- 1 - HHH Chron.
- 1 - Organizations

2

24

MAIN FILE COPY

M'KISSICK TAKING LEAVE FROM CORE

Wants to School Negroes on Control of Destinies

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, has taken a leave of absence to work on programs designed to help Negroes move into positions of power and responsibility in 14 major cities and some Southern rural areas.

Stating that the programs would implement CORE's "meaningful black power" concept, he said that there would be Negro voting majorities in these communities in a few years time and that the Negroes should help to "determine their own destinies."

"We spent a lot of time defending black power and defining black power and it's now time to stop all the talking and get down to programs," Mr. McKissick said in a recent interview.

Basically the same views were expressed when Mr. McKissick spoke before the opening session of the three-day Emergency Conference on the Unitarian Universalist Response to the Black Rebellion last night at the Biltmore Hotel.

Since mid-September Mr. McKissick has been working out of mid-Manhattan offices of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center while on a six-week leave from the Congress of Racial Equality. He was recently granted a work fellowship by the center.

The center was established during the summer by a Ford Foundation grant of \$500,000. Its president, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the psychologist, has said it would seek "to influence social and political decisions by governmental officials and agencies on behalf of the poor." The center is situated at 330 West 58th Street.

The Major Problem

"Powerlessness," Mr. McKissick contended, is the major problem of Negroes in this country. He said that although whites had, in many cases, moved to the suburbs from the cities they had not given up control of the economies of the politics of these cities.

"They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only—and, occasionally, one or two 'good Negroes,'" he said.

Programs Mr. McKissick is currently working on would "transfer power from whites to blacks" through projects stressing Negro education and participation in politics, economics, the strict enforcement of existing laws, leadership training, consumer cooperatives and the building of positive self-image.

"This is black power," he said.

The 14 cities where Mr. McKissick said he would like to initiate these programs are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Houston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Washington, Dallas, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Atlanta and Charlotte, N. C. Rural areas would include those where Negroes predominate.

Securing Funds

These programs would involve "many millions" of dollars, the CORE leader asserted. "We're trying now to put a price tag on them," he said.

The programs would seek funds from several sources, including the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, foundations, labor unions and private contributors, both Negro and white.

Both salaried and volunteer workers, black and white and all "committed," would be used to implement the programs.

The whole stress would be on self-help, Mr. McKissick said.

"For instance," he explained, "we would meet that migrant brother and sister when they got off the bus, get him a job, an apartment, registered to vote and active in his community so he can help with the next family getting off the bus. We won't leave them to the welfare and a hundred other groups that complicate the problem."

On the topic of building a strong Negro self-image, Mr. McKissick said:

"White people want black people to say they're Ameri-

cans and to forget their ties to Africa. On Sunday there was an Israeli festival in Central Park and a Polish-American parade on Fifth Avenue. The Germans march on Steuben Day and the Chinese-

Americans celebrate their own New Year and the Italian-Americans let out a big yell when somebody said a Viking beat Columbus to America. The black man here has an 'identity gap' that has led in many cases to his self-hatred."

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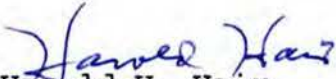
15

December 6, 1967

Mr. Miskovsky:

The attached draft report on RAM follows the specific outline on groups attached to Mr. Hebert's briefing memo to the Investigative staff.

Most of the information was obtained from FBI material and is classified.


Harold H. Hair
Investigator

HHH:acc

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

1. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) is a highly-secret all Negro Chinese Communist oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals.
2. RAM has no formal headquarters or organization. It functions at the homes of its leaders--mainly in Philadelphia, New York, and Detroit.
3. The leadership of RAM consists of the following:
 - Maxwell Curtis Stanford, Jr.,
Philadelphia, Pa.
 - General Gordon Baker, Jr.,
Detroit, Michigan.
 - Donald Freeman, Cleveland Ohio.
 - Robert Franklin Williams,
Peking, China.

The only indication of a formal organizational structure was a "Statement of Organization" found in a search of the Philadelphia residence of Stanford on August 3, 1967, by the Philadelphia Police Department.

The statement showed the following:

Executive Chairman	-	Don Freeman
Field Chairman	-	Maxwell Stanford
Executive Treasurer	-	Paul Brooks
Finance Committee	-	Paul Brooks
		Milton Henry
		Bill Tucker
Ideological Chairman	-	James Boggs
Editor of Black America	-	Maxwell Stanford
Managing Editor of		
Black America	-	Grace Lee Boggs
International Chairman	-	Robert F. Williams
Legal Advisors	-	Milton Henry
		Art Earlly
Chairman of Student		
Committee	-	SALADIN

4. The total membership of RAM is estimated at not more than 50. The following are reported at various times to be active RAM members or associates of RAM members:

New York City area

Albert Haynes
Roland Snellings
Mark McKinley
John Anderson
George Ellis
Don Duncan
Lloyd Weaver
McKinley Welsh
Maxwell Stanford
Lawrence Neal
Constance Mackie
Curtis Gordon
Frank Mabry, Jr.
Helen Neal
Ted Wilson
Dave White
Herman Ferguson
Edward Howlette
Yousseff Ben Johannan
John Clark
Albert Johnson
Donald Washington
Jeff Wood
John Farris
Merle Stewart
Michelle Kourouma
Morike Kourouma
Mandola McPherson
Harriett Noel
Arthur Harris
Hampton Rookand
Ursula West
Milton Ellis
Abraham Taylor
Raymond Smith
George Samuels
Fred Fernandez
Charles 37X Morris
Gerri Baines

New York City area (Continued)

Ann Gardiner
Walter Ricks
John Shabazz

Philadelphia

Maxwell Stanford
Stanley Daniels
Playthell Benjamin
Ethel Johnson
James Alderman
George Anderson
Catherine Blunt
Rufus Harley
J. Hamiter
L. Hamiter
M. Holloway
Len Hansford
Kalama
Lahom Lee
Sylvia Ruffin
Morris Ruffin
Andea Taborne
Tommy Warner
Bob Wright
Ida Yussef
Reuben Butler
Jessie Claude Ross
Roxanne Smith
Fred Meeley

Stanley Branche

Cleveland

Donald Freeman
Hanif Wahab

Detroit

General Gordon Baker, Jr.
Paul Brooks
Charles Simmons

Oakland

Ernest Allen

5. The principal publication associated with RAM is "The Crusader," a pamphlet produced by Robert Franklin Williams--sometimes described as the RAM leader-in-exile. Williams wrote The Crusader first in Monroe, N. C., then in Cuba and later in Peking, China. Distribution in this country has been by members of RAM, and mostly in ghetto areas. On August 29, 1967, the Post Office Department banned The Crusader from the U. S. mails on the basis that it is nonmailable under Title 18, U.S. Code Sections 1717 and 1461. The contents of the May 1967 issue urged American Negroes not to fight in Vietnam, but to eliminate as many of their real enemies as they can so that "these racists will not be able to return home and intensify the brutalization and extermination of black people." The issue also gave advice on how to sabotage urban facilities--sewer lines, electrical power stations and highways--without getting caught.

Allied publications are reported as "Black America," "Afro-World," "Soulbook," "Black Vanguard," "The Razor," "People Get Ready," and "The Liberator." A RAM member was said to be on the staff of "The Liberator" and in contact with Max Stanford. "The Liberator" is published by Afro-American Research Institute, Inc., 244 East 46th Street, New York City and described itself as the voice of the Afro-American Protest Movement in the United States.

6. The objective of RAM is the revolutionary overthrow of the U.S. Government and the subsequent rule by Negroes along Chinese Communist lines. To achieve this goal, RAM advocates urban guerrilla warfare.
7. The "Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto" states that RAM was organized in 1963 by Afro-Americans supporting the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams for organized violence to achieve liberation of the Afro-American people of the United States. RAM's program was directed to education and political revolution by a black political party that would seize power from the white people. It would involve

struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

8. RAM, being a clandestine group, has no known formal constitution, by-laws or other organizational documents. The only evidence of this nature is the list of officers found by the Philadelphia Police Department.
9. RAM has no known legal status.
10. The source of the finances of the RAM leaders is not known. It does not have a dues-paying membership. There are various references to finances by RAM leaders. Many members and associates had jobs and presumably financed their own activities. Unverified information has been received indicating that money--amount not disclosed--was available to Max Stanford in Paris. Another unverified report was that Robert F. Williams, in Peking, had \$1,000,000 available for RAM's use. The only known travel involving significant expenses was a flight by Hanif Wahab to Czechoslovakia in December 1965 and return.
11. RAM is composed of young black militants. They deliberately direct their activities toward recruiting Negro youths. This is done by street meetings and attempts to interest college students. For example, when Philadelphia Police investigated Max Stanford in June 1967, at least six students from Howard University were found at Stanford's residence.
12. In broad terms, RAM has a three stage program. First, education and recruitment, second will be steps to secure funds for the organization, and third, will be the action to replace the present U.S. Government with a Chinese Communist type of society ruled by Negroes.

Activities to date include education and recruitment efforts, the establishment of gun clubs to gain shooting proficiency, and involvement in New York and Philadelphia in charges of conspiracy to commit anarchy and plotting the murder of selected moderate civil rights leaders and public officials.

Distribution of The Crusader and the inflammatory writings of Robert F. Williams have been a continuing activity of RAM leaders.

An example of RAM activity was the announcement in Philadelphia on September 1, 1967, that five militant Negro groups would hold three street rallies to urge the city's Negroes to refuse to salute the American Flag or sing the National Anthem "until the black man is freed"; to organize a Black Guard; non-cooperation with the school system; refusal to vote for white politicians; and refuse to serve in the armed services. At the same time the RAM representative, Stanley Branche, announced that Black Power advocate H. Rap Brown had accepted an offer to speak in Philadelphia.

In furtherance of its objectives RAM members formed the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club (JRPC) in the New York area in 1966 and engaged in regular firearms practice at three different sites. The principals in JRPC were reported to be RAM members or associates of RAM members. On June 21, 1967, 15 persons identified as members of RAM and/or JRPC were arrested in the New York area (and Stanford was arrested in Philadelphia) on charges of advocating of criminal anarchy. Some were also charged with possession of dangerous weapons, and two, Herman Benjamin Ferguson and Arthur Harris, were charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young were identified as the intended victims. Ferguson was the leader of JRPC and an assistant principal in a Queens junior high school.

On September 27 and 28, 1967, charges were filed against seven RAM members by the District Attorney, Philadelphia, Pa., alleging two plots by RAM. One was to poison Philadelphia policemen responding to riots in Philadelphia. The second was to murder high federal and city officials and dynamite public buildings. The officials selected for assassination were President Johnson, FBI Director Hoover, Philadelphia Mayor Tate, District Attorney Specter, and Police Commissioner Rizzo. Informants to the District Attorney reported they were recruited by RAM members.

13. RAM, being a secret clandestine group, has not indulged in the usual type of publicity campaign. One exception noted was the participation of a RAM representative in a joint press conference in Philadelphia on September 1, 1967, announcing an invitation to H. Rap Brown to speak in Philadelphia.
14. It is difficult to make a meaningful evaluation of the influence exerted by RAM. (See additional comments in items 20 and 21 on page 10.)

15. There has been no evidence of any advertising by RAM.
16. Philadelphia and New York City are the two cities where RAM has been most active. Maxwell Stanford, the dominant figure, has lived in both of these cities in the last couple of years. Detroit and Cleveland have also been reported as having active RAM members, but little activity has been reported there.
17. Ties with other groups have been evident from time to time. The joint press conference in Philadelphia on September 1, 1967, disclosed a cooperation with CORE, SNCC, Black People's Unity Movement, the Young Militants and a Freedom Now group of Chester, Pa.

FBI Director Hoover advised the House Appropriations Committee that Max Stanford has been in frequent contact with Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC, and received his assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

On one occasion Max Stanford remarked that the RAM members were working for SNCC, under the banner of SNCC, but eventually RAM would take over SNCC.

Apparent attempts by Stanford to consolidate or cooperate the activities of RAM and the Organization for Black Power in Detroit were rebuffed as leaders of OBP disagreed with RAM's paramilitary action concept as the way to solve Negro problems.

Stanford and Ernest Thomas, leader of Deacons of Defense and Justice, Bogolusa, La., another militant Negro group, have had contacts to consider joining forces and helping each other, but are not known to have gone beyond the talking stage.

18. Travel by RAM leaders or members has largely been between Philadelphia, New York and Detroit. Maxwell Stanford has visited all these places. In addition he is reported to have been in Jonesboro, La., to meet with Ernest Thomas, head of the Deacons of Defense and Justice.

Robert Williams--sometimes described as the RAM leader-in-exile--was in Cuba until December 1964, when he travelled to Peking, China, and continued producing the "Crusader" from that point. Stanford claims to have visited with Williams in Cuba in the summer of 1964.

Consideration was given for sending some RAM members to Africa for "training" in the summer of 1966, but apparently this did not materialize.

It is also reported that Hanif Wahab, a Cleveland member, flew to Czechoslovakia in December 1965, enroute to Cuba, but was not given a visa to Cuba and had to return to the United States.

In January 1967, Stanford was planning to fly to Paris, Cario and then to Peking to meet Robert Williams. There is no indication that he actually left the country.

19. The only information coming to our attention thus far connecting any RAM members with 1967 riot activity was the arrest of General Gordon Baker, Jr., and Glanton Dowdell, an associate, on July 24, 1967, for a curfew violation during the Detroit riot. The same two individuals were also arrested during a disturbance in Detroit in 1966. On that occasion they were enroute to the disturbance area with weapons. Both were sentenced to five year's probation for the 1966 violations.

20. At this point in time, it would appear that RAM has had limited success although its potential for trouble is great. After four years of existence it has a small membership and no indication of financial ability to carry on extensive operations. On the other hand, it has succeeded in getting members to train in firearms in anticipation of their revolution. And the charges pending against the New York and Philadelphia members indicate success in motivating some to revolutionary action. RAM recruiters have developed some interest among Negro youths in the Black Guard of RAM.
21. RAM could be extremely dangerous in connection with riots. All members who have read "The Crusader" and other material distributed by Stanford and his associates have received detailed suggestions on how to sabotage urban utilities and facilities. Some have had firearms training. A riot--even if started by others--could be seized upon as their opportunity for revolution.

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12/7

Mike -

Re first line on pager,

The FBI Report has the
number arrested at 15.

I can't find 19 anywhere.

H R 18

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) is an all-Negro black nationalist group. Its ultimate goal is the revolutionary overthrow of the U. S. Government and subsequent rule by Negroes along Chinese Communist lines. It advocates guerrilla warfare as a means of attaining this goal and has organized firearms training by some members. RAM is a clandestine group with an estimated membership of 50 and has no known formal organization.

Leadership

Robert Franklin Williams is billed as RAM's "leader-in-exile." Williams fled to Cuba in 1961 to avoid prosecution in North Carolina, and subsequently went to Peking, China, where he is now located. He has published the "CRUSADER" for distribution in the United States by RAM, urging Negroes to riot and revolt. In fact, Williams may be more a figurehead than a leader.

The actual leader of RAM is Maxwell Stanford, of Philadelphia. Stanford (aged 25) divides his time between Philadelphia and New York. In Detroit a 26-year-old automobile assembly worker named General Gordon Baker, Jr., was the acknowledged leader. Donald Freeman, a 28-year-old former school teacher in Cleveland, was largely responsible for the founding of RAM in 1963 but did not retain the initiative of leadership.

The RAM organization consists of cells in the traditional revolutionary sense.

Activities

In furtherance of the RAM goal of violent overthrow of the U.S. Government by Negroes, RAM leaders have endeavored to gain the participation of Negro youth in "the struggle" by recruiting and holding group meetings with young Negroes. Literature has been distributed advocating urban guerrilla warfare and giving instructions in the construction of fire bombs and other weapons useful in a campaign of sabotage. In addition RAM leaders have organized rifle and gun clubs to train members in shooting.

In June, 1967, 19 RAM members were arrested by the New York City Police Department on charges of conspiracy to commit anarchy. The police seized large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and literature advocating violence. Two of the arrested persons--Herman Benjamin Ferguson an Assistant Principal of a NYC school, and Arthur Harris--were charged with plotting to murder NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins and National Urban League Executive Director Whitney Young, Jr.

In September 1967, the Philadelphia Police Department charged seven RAM members with conspiring to murder President Johnson, FBI Director Hoover, and Philadelphia officials, Mayor Tate, District Attorney Arlen Specter and Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo. Also alleged were plans to dynamite public buildings and poison police in the event of a Negro riot.

There is no evidence to date of actual participation in any 1967 riots by RAM members, with the possible exception of the arrest of General Baker and an associate for a curfew violation on July 24, 1967, during the Detroit riot.

It is difficult to assess the attraction and influence of RAM at this time. It is known that RAM members work with and try to influence other black nationalist groups. The FBI characterizes RAM as one of the most extreme and potentially dangerous of these groups.

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20

Dec 19, 1967

Mr. Mishoushy:

Re: CORE

Attached is a report on the
CORE national conference,
July 1967. I had previously
submitted a short item on
CORE, based mostly on
newspaper articles. Still
to come and be reviewed
is an FBI "summary"
report on CORE dated
June 8, 1967. After it
is received, a new draft
will be prepared putting

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*all the information in
one logical report.*

Harold Hare

-fx
202

CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
JUNE 30 - JULY 4, 1967

FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)

The 24th National Convention of CORE was held in Oakland, California, from June 30 to July 4, 1967. The convention theme was: "Black Power: Blueprint for Survival."

FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)

Attendance was smaller than expected. Only 65 voting delegates, compared with an expected 400. National Officers chosen were:

Floyd Bixler McKissick, New York City,
National Director

Wilfred Tibbs Ussery, San Francisco,
National Chairman

Arthur Evans, Jr., Cleveland, First
Vice Chairman

Roy Ennis, New York, Second Vice
Chairman

Marlene Wilson, Columbus, Ohio,
Secretary

Elijah Turner, Oakland, California
Treasurer

FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)

The entire slate of officers is said to be favorable to McKissick, assuring him of strong support. The CORE National Action Committee gave him a two-year contract of employment.

FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)

Workshop sessions, with the press barred, were held on the following subjects:

1. Building a Chapter Base.
2. Building Black Political Power*
3. Building Black Economic Power.*
4. Improvement of Black Self-Image.*
5. Development of Black Leadership.*
6. Better Enforcement of Federal Law.*
7. Mobilization of Black Consumer Power.*
8. Vietnam and Anti-Draft Activity.
9. Cultural Ties with Black Africa.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67 &
FBI-CHI
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 3

*These programs were reported by the press to have received convention approval. Also McKissick stated that CORE will spend more time building chapters "to serve as on-going organizations." This was interpreted as meaning the chapters would be better organized to carry out national programs rather than concentrating on single local issues.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67

Statements by McKissick as the convention adjourned disclosed that actions taken and general discussions were in keeping with the theme of Black Power, and CORE had already severed its ties with the civil rights movement. The word "multi-racial" was stricken from the section of the organization's constitution that describes its membership. This was described as not necessarily a bar to white membership and support, but a definite phasing out of white participation.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67

McKissick made it plain that he does not consider CORE a conventional civil rights organization; it has become "an effective revolutionary movement, the common front for black people." He referred to an anti-Vietnam resolution drafted by the convention which declared that black people with 400 years of oppression had learned to view with skepticism, official pronouncements of benevolent intentions and they recognize the racist and colonial character of the war.

N.Y.
TIMES
7-6-67

Wilfred Ussery reported the convention was not restricted to CORE members, but was open for all black people and organizations. Muslims, black nationalists, young militant activists, politicians and Negro intellectuals participated. Non-CORE participants included:

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 1

Cassius Clay, who stressed strong black power, pro-black nationalism and lauded the ideology of the Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Muhammad.

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 2

Dick Gregory, who declared his intention to make a world tour and ask all countries receiving foreign aid from the United States to return a portion of the funds for distribution to the poor people of the United States.

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 2

Michael Lukumbuzya, Tanzanian Ambassador to the United States, who called for blacks and whites to work together to solve the poverty problem.

FBI-
CLEVE.
MEMO

Ron Karenga, the founder of "US".

Lerone Bennett, editor of Ebony Magazine.

LeRoi Jones, playwright and poet.

7 - 19-67

Livingstone Wingate, former assistant to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

FBI-
CLEVELAND
MEMO
7-19-67
Page 2

H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, who was the only speaker who advocated overt violence to change society to meet Negro demands. Although the delegates received Brown's remarks warmly, the Convention did not take up implementation of them.

John O. Killens, author.

Rupiah Banda, Ambassador to the United States from Zambia.

N.Y.
TIMES
7-6-67

As the convention adjourned McKissick said he considered CORE "an effective revolutionary movement" and "the common front for all black people to unite in." And he repeated his statement that the civil rights movement was "dead" and a "black revolution" had emerged.

**CORE NATIONAL CONVENTION
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
JUNE 30 - JULY 4, 1967**

**FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)**

The 24th National Convention of CORE was held in Oakland, California, from June 30 to July 4, 1967. The convention theme was: "Black Power: Blueprint for Survival."

**FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)**

Attendance was smaller than expected. Only 65 voting delegates, compared with an expected 400. National Officers chosen were:

Floyd Bixler McKissick, New York City,
National Director

Wilfred Tibbs Ussery, San Francisco,
National Chairman

Arthur Evans, Jr., Cleveland, First
Vice Chairman

Roy Ennis, New York, Second Vice
Chairman

Marlene Wilson, Columbus, Ohio,
Secretary

Elijah Turner, Oakland, California
Treasurer

**FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)**

The entire slate of officers is said to be favorable to McKissick, assuring him of strong support. The CORE National Action Committee gave him a two-year contract of employment.

FBI-SF
MEMO
7-12-67
(CONF.)

Workshop sessions, with the press barred, were held on the following subjects:

1. Building a Chapter Base.
2. Building Black Political Power*
3. Building Black Economic Power.*
4. Improvement of Black Self-Image.*
5. Development of Black Leadership.*
6. Better Enforcement of Federal Law.*
7. Mobilization of Black Consumer Power.*
8. Vietnam and Anti-Draft Activity.
9. Cultural Ties with Black Africa.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67 &
FBI-CHI
MEMO
7-17-67
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*These programs were reported by the press to have received convention approval. Also McKissick stated that CORE will spend more time building chapters "to serve as on-going organizations." This was interpreted as meaning the chapters would be better organized to carry out national programs rather than concentrating on single local issues.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67

Statements by McKissick as the convention adjourned disclosed that actions taken and general discussions were in keeping with the theme of Black Power, and CORE had already severed its ties with the civil rights movement. The word "multi-racial" was stricken from the section of the organization's constitution that describes its membership. This was described as not necessarily a bar to white membership and support, but a definite phasing out of white participation.

OAKLAND
TRIBUNE
7-5-67
Per FBI-
SF MEMO
7-12-67

McKissick made it plain that he does not consider CORE a conventional civil rights organization; it has become "an effective revolutionary movement, the common front for black people." He referred to an anti-Vietnam resolution drafted by the convention which declared that black people with 400 years of oppression had learned to view with skepticism, official pronouncements of benevolent intentions and they recognize the racist and colonial character of the war.

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TIMES
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Wilfred Ussery reported the convention was not restricted to CORE members, but was open for all black people and organizations. Muslims, black nationalists, young militant activists, politicians and Negro intellectuals participated. Non-CORE participants included:

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
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Page 1

Cassius Clay, who stressed strong black power, pre-black nationalism and lauded the ideology of the Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Muhammad.

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 2

Dick Gregory, who declared his intention to make a world tour and ask all countries receiving foreign aid from the United States to return a portion of the funds for distribution to the poor people of the United States.

FBI-CHI.
MEMO
7-17-67
Page 2

Michael Lukumbuzya, Tanzanian Ambassador to the United States, who called for blacks and whites to work together to solve the poverty problem.

FBI-
CLEVE.
MEMO

^A
Ron Karenga, the founder of "US".

Lerone Bennett, editor of Ebony Magazine.

LeRoi Jones, playwright and poet.

7 - 19-67

Livingstone Wingate, former assistant to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

FBI-
CLEVELAND
MEMO
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Page 2

H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, who was the only speaker who advocated overt violence to change society to meet Negro demands. Although the delegates received Brown's remarks warmly, the Convention did not take up implementation of them.

John O. Killens, author.

Rupiah Banda, Ambassador to the United States from Zambia.

N.Y.
TIMES
7-6-67

As the convention adjourned McKissick said he considered CORE "an effective revolutionary movement" and "the common front for all black people to unite in." And he repeated his statement that the civil rights movement was "dead" and a "black revolution" had emerged.

HHH:acc
1 - HHH Chron.
1 - Organization

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has changed in the last four years from a moderate interracial civil rights organization into one of the more militant black groups. Floyd Bixler McKissick is National Director of CORE, with headquarters at 200 West 135th Street, New York City. Membership estimates range from 80,000 to 120,000. There are more than 200 Core chapters in the United States, compared with approximately 140 chapters in 1963 when McKissick succeeded James Farmer as National Director. McKissick's principal lieutenants are Wilfred Ussery, National Chairman, Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director, and Roy Innis, Chairman of the Harlem Chapter of CORE.

Prior to 1963, CORE derived considerable support from white members and had some white officers, with its principal objective being integration. Its philosophy has shifted to Black Power and the role of the remaining white members is minimal. CORE has been described as no longer a civil rights organization in the accepted sense, but is "animated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places little faith in normal procedures."

CORE announced a 15-point program for 1967. In brief, it would implement Black Power philosophy through (1) the development of economic power of black people, (2) the development of black cultural activities, (3) promotion of Negro candidates for public office, (4) organizing community groups to deal with specific ghetto problems, (5) cementing ties with Africa, including the teaching of an African language, and (6) a program to raise funds for the operations of CORE and the construction of a new headquarters building.

The militant Black Power philosophy of CORE is illustrated by recent statements of McKissick and other CORE leaders.

McKissick was one of the prominent leaders at the National Conference on Black Power in Newark, N. J., in July 1967. In a speech entitled "Genocide", he is quoted as saying "Would America systematically destroy 22 million blacks? My answer is: Look at the record. More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will."

In commenting on responsibility for preventing racial violence in Negro ghettos, he said that white people control the government, the money and the ghettos, and are responsible for preventing racial violence. He said, "No sane person could say we are not due for more violence. You will have violence as long as you have black people suppressed." McKissick was asked if he thought his statement would encourage more violence. He replied that it would not make any difference because the conditions creating violence already exist. Later, he was asked by another journalist if he really believes that white Americans may commit genocide against 22 million black people and he replied: "Hell, yes, I believe it. Look at what you whites did to the Indians."

On August 27, 1967, Lincoln O. Lynch, CORE Associate Director, told a SNCC rally in Chicago: "If America doesn't come around, we're gonna burn it down. If there isn't a place in America for the Negro, then there won't be any America."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: December 18, 1967

FROM : H. H. Hair

HHH

SUBJECT: National Conferences of Negro Organizations

The FBI, in response to a requirement for information on all National Negro Conferences, included the attached material on:

1. Negro American Labor Council, National Economic Conference, Hotel America, Washington, D. C., May 27 - 28, 1967.
2. National Conference of Negro Elected Officials May 26-28, 1967, Los Angeles, California.
3. National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, Approximately October 1, 1967, Chicago, Illinois.
4. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, August 14-17, 1967, Atlanta, Georgia.

Obviously the FBI interest in these conferences was the extent of possible Communist Party, USA participation or influence. Therefore the information is not complete. What we do have does not appear pertinent to our report. Nor would I recommend more work on these four conferences.



5010-108

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. SD 157-293

San Diego, California
June 13, 1967

DECLASSIFIED
Authority FBI 2/21/00 Auto declass
By CTS, NARA, Date 9/24/94

(2)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
NEGRO ELECTED OFFICIALS
MAY 26-28, 1967
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The Thursday, June 1, 1967, issue of "The Voice", a weekly San Diego, California Negro newspaper reflected that 150 persons from San Diego attended the National Conference of Negro Elected Officials held in Los Angeles, May 26-28, 1967. The article reflected that California State Senator MERVYN DYMALLY and California State Assemblyman BILL GREEN, were the originators of the Conference and that CLARENCE IRVING, Editor of "The Voice", San Diego, was the Southern California Co-chairman of the Conference along with another San Diegan, AMBROSE BRODUS, who served on the Planning Committee. Among those attending the Conference from San Diego were:

CP USA

MARTHA ROBERTS
CARRIE CRAWFORD
CLARK G. WARREN
LOUISE FOSTER
VERSALEAN CRAWFORD
NORMA JOHNSON
DOLORES A. GRANT
ANDIE L. HENDERSON
SONJA SHAW
DWIGHT W. HACKLEY
ELAINE MC FADDEN
DELORES HESTER
WALTER KIMBLE
RONALD FOUNTAIN
MILLEE TURNER
CHARLES HENDERSON
JOE JINSON
MR. AND MRS. FRED WINSTON
AMBROSE BRODUS
VIVIAN AND ROGER DUNCAN
FRANCES JACKSON
WALTER MEANS

JANICE BROWN
ANDERSON BERRY II
BILL ARNOLD
SHIRLEY CLAY
HAROLD AND PAT NOTTAGE
GEORGE STEVENS
RUBY L. HUBERT
VEEDELL M. ALEXANDER
RANDLE MC FADDEN
ALBERT FULTON
WILLIAM HEDE
SHIRLEY PARGO
FRANCISE FOLEII
JO ANN JACKSON
JAMES SISSON
ALBERT HEISSER
CAROL C. WINSTON
TOM JOHNSON
HAL BROWN
PEGGY MEANS
GLORIA VINSON.

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ENCLOSURE

FACTIONALISM MARKS NEGRO CONFERENCE

Elected Officials Split Into Three Groups

BY BOB GIBSON
The National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, whose purpose was partly to unite Negro officials thruout the nation on one political stand, ended yesterday with at least three factions unable to agree in back-room maneuvering.

Each faction stood behind one of the three organizers of the conference—Mervlyn Dymally, California state senator representing Watts, Los Angeles; James Del Rio, Detroit representative in the Michigan legislature; and Percy Sutton, president of the borough of Manhattan in New York. All are Democrats.

Want Political Action

According to sources who were in on the closed-door sessions at the center for continuing education of the University of Chicago, Del Rio and his faction were pushing for conference delegates to take action on political lines, including a stand on Viet Nam.

On the opposite end was Sutton, who had been instrumental in securing a Ford Foundation grant for the conference because of its educational level. Dymally, the sources said, who has bucked President Johnson on Viet Nam and who has advocated the formation of a third political force of Negroes, was caught in the middle.

The two main opposing



Hippies, Prostitutes Are His Constituents

Willie L. Brown Jr., a Negro California assemblyman whose district includes the hippie area of San Francisco, thrives on controversial issues which usually cause other politicians to run for shelter.

During an interview at the National Conference of Negro Elected Officials at the University of Chicago, Brown said that as far as he knows, he is the only politician who can

that the hippies are causing the values of property in the area to go down, that they do not take care of their homes, and generally are a bad influence.

"I quietly try to remind them that these were the same arguments made by whites to contain Negroes, and that they as Negroes were not pleased to be on the receiving end . . . but they don't buy it."

Brown lives in the Haight-Ashbury district which has

'We will rehabilitate Tom politicians,' Sutton tells meet

CHICAGO — "What few black Uncle Tom politicians remain we won't exterminate them, or put them out of the race. We'll just psychologically rehabilitate them."

Thus pointing up the educational nature of the week-end session of the National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, New York's Percy E. Sutton, Borough president of Manhattan and one of the conference co-chairman, denied that the assembly of more than 350 Democrat and Republican officeholders harbored any intention of setting in motion the groundwork for a third political force within the nation.

Serving as co-chairman of the unusual three-day conference was California State Senator Mervyn Dymally. Des Moines, Iowa Representative A. June Franklin was conference secretary, and Rep. Woodrow Wilson, of Las Vegas, Nevada, acted as conference coordinator.

THE BIPARTISAN session, held at the University of Chicago's Center for Continuing Education, sought to seek answers and methods on how the colored person could best participate in the total economic and political life of the nation.

Delegates and invitees shared their views and experiences in the hope that they enrich each other with how better to improve their respective communities and upgrade their own status.

In his keynote address at the banquet Sutton pointed out that such a gathering would've been impossible not too many years ago.

"We gather here for self-examination and self-education," he said.

"We do not gather as a Civil Rights group; —though many of us come from the civil rights movement."

In defining the conference's idea of "Black Power," the municipal official termed it as a "force not run wild, power is not sound," but as the "potential to move things in a positive and constructive manner."

In a clear warning to the political bosses of each majority party, Sutton declared that the colored voters of cities across the nation are saying: "We no longer want tokens which will only take us on a subway or bus ride. We want some bread, some meat and a slice of the pie. We want what all other groups receive under our political system."

IN THE making for the past six months the conference at its conclusion was heralded by those in attendance as the most "significant" gathering of colored elected officeholders ever held in the nation. They considered their week-end residence in political education in helping them to better prepare to represent all constituents in their districts regardless of race, creed or color.

Among the host of distinguished speakers and workshop leaders were Dr. Kenneth Clark, professor, City University of New York, and President of the Metropolitan Applied Resources Center; Chicago Alderman A. A. Rayner Jr.; Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; Congressman John Conyers, Jr., Detroit, Mich., and Berkeley Burrell, president, National Business League.

A CROSS section of delegates attending the conference included: Councilman Stanley Smith, Tuskegee, Ala.; Sheriff Lucius B. Amereson, Tuskegee, Ala.; Borough Assemblyman Pete Aileus, Fairbanks, Alaska; T. E. Patterson, member of Board of Education, Little Rock, Ark.; Stephen E. Ross, vice mayor, Seaside, Calif.;

Also, Commissioner Boisy Walters, Dania, Fla.; State Senator Leroy R. Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.; Rep. Julian

Bond, Atlanta, Ga.; Councilman Richard Hatcher, Gary, Ind.; Human Rights, Commissioner Perry Hooks, Des Moines, Iowa; William C. Fletcher, member Board of Education, Kansas City, Kansas; State Delegate Victorine Adams, Baltimore, Md.; State Senator Verda F. Welcome, Baltimore, Md.;

Also School Committeeman Gustave M. Solomons, Cambridge, Mass.; City Commissioner Virgil May, Benton Harbor, Mich.; Judge Steve Maxwell, St. Paul, Minn.; State Rep. Johnnie S. Aikens, St. Louis, Mo.; Councilman Ben Jones, Orange, N.J.; State Senator Basil A. Patereson, New York City, N.Y.;

Also C. C. Ross, alderman, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Municipal Court Judge Robert V. Franklin, Toledo, Ohio; County Commissioner Paul Murray, Satters, S.C.; State Senator Barbara C. Jordan, Houston, Texas; and State Senator Ivan Warner, Bronx, N.Y.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
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Atlanta, Georgia
August 16, 1967

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

The "Atlanta Constitution", daily Atlanta, Georgia, newspaper, on August 16, 1967, published on page one an article by-lined Marion Gaines entitled "King Calls for a New Drive Of Massive Civil Disobedience."

This article pointed out that on August 15, 1967, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), addressed the Tenth Anniversary SCLC Convention being held in Atlanta, August 14-17, 1967. This address by Reverend King took the place of a scheduled panel discussion on the "Crisis in America's Cities" which was cancelled when two panelists Dr. Kenneth Clark (not further identified) and Bayard Rustin were unable to attend.

In his address Reverend King accused the Congress of the United States as "running wild with racism" and said that in light of Congress's declination to affirmatively act on pertinent legislative measures it must bear a large portion of the blame for the riots which have recently occurred in many cities. He stated "our real problem is that there is no disposition by the Administration nor Congress to seek fundamental remedies beyond police measures."

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GROUP 1

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NLJ 1522-3-18
By CTS NARA, Date 7/10/12

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COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

Reverend King proposed a campaign of "massive civil disobedience" by urban Negroes as a "constructive alternative to riots." He said SCLC will organize and assist this campaign possibly including general strikes, school boycotts, and a camp-in at Washington, D.C., to induce Congress to take action. So far as such a campaign alienating white sympathy, Reverend King explained he felt it would rather encourage white people to offer support to the civil rights cause.

While discussing his proposed campaign Reverend King referred to the labor movement in the United States claiming that it "grew up on civil disobedience" and said "there are some labor unions which strongly support us."

He denounced people who presently caution against "rewarding the rioters." The question involved, he explained, "is not one of rewarding the rioters" but is "one of justice." Reverend King, however, warned that armed insurrection on the part of Negroes would not obtain the goals desired and declared "we reject both armed insurrection, either for shock value or conquest, along with weak pleas to insensitive government." He observed however, that "mass civil disobedience can use rage as a constructive and creative force."

This newspaper article revealed that following his address Reverend King held a news conference during which he said he was unable to furnish details concerning target cities for his proposed civil disobedience campaign. He said the SCLC staff would map out this campaign within three weeks and stated "I think we've got to do something before Congress adjourns."

Reverend King in referring to his proposed campaign declared "I am convinced civil disobedience can curtail riots."

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COMMONIST INFILTRATION OF
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

According to the newspaper article Reverend King in his address also referred to the Vietnam war stating "I am unalterably opposed to the war in Vietnam." He alleged that recent riots in the United States were "directly related" to the Vietnam war because "when you develop a climate of violence, it becomes contagious."

Reverend King claimed that the United States had never throughout history participated in a war which was opposed by so many people stating "opposition has now ascended to a clear majority of Americans and merges with the overwhelming majority of the world. The immoral, insane pursuit of conquest against the will of the people has to diminish respect for government."

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BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11 - 18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2; reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9 - 12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "RUSTIN calls me constantly--openly."

A confidential source advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

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BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

A confidential source advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times," August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
August 16, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
	MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C SECURITY MATTER - C
Reference	Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated and captioned as above.

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

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NLJ 152R-3-1-9
By CTS NARA, Date 7/20/22



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SECRET

Atlanta, Georgia
August 17, 1967

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On August 16, 1967, a confidential source advised the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was being held in Atlanta, Georgia, August 14 through 17, 1967. This convention commenced on August 14, 1967 and was scheduled to conclude on August 17, 1967.

Source advised that STANLEY LEVISON, HARRY WACHTEL and his wife LEONORA WACHTEL from New York City and CORDY T. VIVIAN, former SCLC officer and currently connected with the Urban Training Center for Christian Missions, Chicago, Illinois, attended portions of this convention.

On August 15, 1967, as part of the convention proceedings a meeting was held of the SCLC Executive Board and the SCLC Executive Staff. LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL attended this meeting but did not significantly participate therein.

This meeting considered the desirability of making SCLC a membership organization and charging a nominal fee for individual membership. This was considered from the standpoint of making available to SCLC additional funds and also imparting a spirit of unity among individuals who are interested in SCLC. This meeting also discussed the feasibility of the SCLC Executive Board

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GROUP I

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NLJ 1522-3-1-10

By CTS

NARA, Date 7/20/22

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COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

assuming a more active role in the operations of SCLC.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, did not indicate any particular interest in SCLC becoming a membership organization or having the Executive Board assume a more active role in SCLC operations. As a consequence no final decision on either of these matters was reached. Reverend King, however, stated both matters would again be considered during a joint meeting of an Executive Committee of the SCLC Executive Board and the SCLC Executive Staff which would be held in the near future during a SCLC retreat.

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STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

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HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York.

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

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C. T. VIVIAN

A confidential source in November, 1947, advised that C. T. VIVIAN was a member of the Community Section of the Communist Party in Peoria, Illinois. On June 24, 1948, this source advised that C. T. VIVIAN had not been active in Communist Party affairs in the Peoria area for some time and advised he had not been in the area for a long period of time.

On January 14, 1965, a confidential source advised that Reverend C. T. VIVIAN of SCLC was in contact with GEORGE MEYERS of Baltimore, Maryland, and agreed to see MEYERS on that date. The purpose of this meeting is not known.

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GEORGE MEYERS

A confidential source on January 28, 1965, said he knows MEYERS to be a member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, National Executive Committee, and also knows him to be the CP organizer for the Southern Region of the CP.

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GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

SECRET

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild":

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions," and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents". (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91).



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

214

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
August 17, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated and captioned as above.

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By CTS NARA, Date 7/20/22



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

216

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Atlanta, Georgia
August 17, 1967

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On August 17, 1967, Mr. David Riggs, National Broadcasting Company Reporter, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that Dr. Benjamin Spock, noted baby care specialist, on the afternoon of that date delivered a short summary address to the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) during the closing of this convention which had convened in Atlanta on August 14, 1967. Dr. SPOCK spoke at the Ebenezer Baptist Church which was utilized for convention headquarters and is also the church of which Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, serves as Assistant Pastor.

The essential theme of Dr. Spock's comments was to the effect that he clearly saw the great current need for a third party for peace in the United States. He strongly advocated the development of such a third party.

James Bevel also spoke very briefly during the closing session of the SCLC convention. Bevel said he opposed the participation of the United States in the Vietnam War and declared that he would not pay Federal Income Tax as long as such tax money was channeled to assist continuation of this war.

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GROUP I

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Downgrading and Declassification

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 1522-3-1-R
By CTS NARA, Date 7/20/22

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

A confidential source advised on July 20, 1967, that Bevel, former Director of Direct Action, SCLC, early in 1967 left SCLC in order to become active with the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam. During July 1967 Bevel was re-employed by SCLC. Source was unable to advise the capacity in which Bevel would serve SCLC.

On August 17, 1967, Mr. Hal Suit, Assistant News Director, WSB-Television, Atlanta, advised that following the aforementioned comments by Dr. Spock, Reverend King and Dr. Spock held a news conference. During this news conference Dr. Spock declared he was wholeheartedly in agreement with the campaign of Civil Disobedience which Reverend King proposed on August 15, 1967. Dr. Spock said he was not against all war per se but was most definitely opposed to participation of the United States in the Vietnam War. Reverend King referred to the present United States bombing along the Red China border. He said he had a feeling that this bombing might easily draw the United States and Red China into conflict. This he pointed out might possibly have the effect of unifying the position of people in the United States and said he also had a feeling this might perhaps be the intention of the current administration in Washington, D.C.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
August 17, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum dated and captioned as above.

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

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 1522-3-1-B
By CTS NARA, Date 7/20/12

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
August 28, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
 MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Atlanta Letterhead Memorandum
 dated and captioned as above.

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

Source furnishing information regarding C. K.
STEELE has furnished reliable and unreliable information.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 1922-3-1-15
By CTS NARA, Date 7/20/22

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

SNCC was established in 1960 to work towards integration through education, voter registration and a nonviolent challenge to segregation.

Since early 1965, the organization has become progressively more militant; the present Chairman has said "you can forget the nonviolent." It is now almost exclusively black, adopting as well as popularizing "Black Power."

Its headquarters are in Atlanta. There are offices throughout the country. The principle officers are H. Rap Brown, Chairman; Stanley Leroy Wise, Executive Secretary; Esther Minor, Communications Director, and Ralph Edward Featherstone, Program Director. Stokely Carmichael is immediate past Chairman and James Forman, past Executive Secretary, is the New York representative, and is reportedly in charge of developing SNCC's foreign ties.

SNCC which has always been loosely organized and administered now claims to be and is reported to be in financial straits. Carmichael's travels to Puerto Rica and later to Havana were financed by the sponsoring organizations. He and Brown collected large speaking fees but that channel has dried up.

SNCC membership has been estimated at about 50 as of mid-August. The same observer had used figures of 135 in 1966, when a former senior SNCC executive had reported in confidence, the figure of 130.

SNCC has consistently maintained contact with all major Negro groups. It has been especially close to SCLC and CORE. There is evidence of close working relationship with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and DuBois Club of America (DCA), through attendance at schools, classes and workshops, and joint participation in protest demonstrations directed against draft registration and Vietnam.

The Communist Party (CPUSA) has cultivated SNCC since its formation. John Lewis, a former Chairman of SNCC who has broken over present policy is reported to be favorably regarded in CPUSA circles. He is now residing in Atlanta where he has been reported to be attached to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Fred Brooks, a SNCC Field Worker in Nashville, is accused of operating a "hate" school for children. At a riot by 1,000 Students at Jackson State College in Mississippi. Willie Richs, another SNCC worker, told the crowd "an eye for an eye, an arm for an arm, a head for a head and a life for a life." (Richs was later arrested during a riot in Atlanta on June 20)

There was SNCC personnel involvement in more than fourteen major disorders during 1967. Carmichael, who has been charged with inciting a 1966 riot in Atlanta, took part in a demonstration in Puerto Rico during January where he was a guest of the Puerto Rican Independent Movement (MPIPR), an organization which has formally expressed its solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. He was involved in disorders in Prattville, Alabama, Atlanta again, Nashville and had spoken at Houston prior to the disturbance there before his departure for a Cuban financed trip to Havana.

H. Rap Brown was present at riots in Prattville, Dayton, Ohio; Cincinnati, and Atlanta, prior to his talk at Cambridge, Maryland, for which he is under indictment. He is under a federal indictment for possession of a weapon on a flight from New Orleans to New York. In Houston, Texas, he delivered a talk to an all Negro group on riot techniques. After his arrest in Alexandria, Virginia on a Maryland warrant, he issued a statement which read "we stand on the eve of the black revolution..." A week later he said at Camden, New Jersey "...We're at war so accept the fact and fight the hunky (whiteman)."

SNCC headquarters, which owns an expensive press, and its field offices publish position papers, instructional material, news notes and speeches. Its Chicago office reportedly printed and circulated a paper which used the word "extermination" in connection with white and black middle classes. The Headquarters recently published a booklet extolling the utility of "rock throwing," as well as a newsletter containing a book review by Len. Holt, a SNCC staffer, Carmichael's Havana speech, a poem by the "Saigon Student's Union" and a flyer for Carmichael's book listing Charles V. Hamilton as a coauthor.

SNCC has adopted a "foreign policy" and an international program described as "third world." Earlier travel by SNCC members included a number of trips to the USSR and Bulgaria. Carmichael's present trip was to Cuba, Hanoi, Algeria and Tanzania. The guerilla tactics of Franz Fanon, the black Algerian Psychiatrist who wrote on the Algerian Revolution and Che Guevera, have been adopted as a technique. Carmichael speaking in Cuba, promised "guerilla war" in this country.

The organization which has alienated many of its former supporters and members by its positions on black exclusiveness, militancy and foreign policy seems to be looking to new sponsors. It is actively engaged in working toward the announced goals of the "new left."

The Wilberforce University incident in November of 1967 was caused by two SNCC members who had formed a group called "Unity for Unity." The techniques were similar to those of SDS groups on white integrated campuses.

A SNCC member from Princeton University is presently attempting to form a SNCC Chapter in Newark. (December 1967)

It appears that SNCC is continuing to use members of at least college level but is now also sending them into Northern urban areas. In early November 1967 the local SNCC leader described SNCC's Washington goals in an informal conversation, as including a liberation school.

On October 9, 1967, Brown spoke to 700 Negro students at the City College of New York in a meeting from which whites were barred. He opposed selective service, Vietnam and said that Negroes should not go to Vietnam. He also advised that if anyone present did not know how to make a Molotov cocktail, he had only to ask.

On October 27, 1967, Brown spoke to a meeting, composed mostly of whites, sponsored by the "National Guardian" a generally regarded pro Soviet newspaper. He said he was not anti-white but against those who were anti-black.

On November 5, Brown spoke at a rally for Adam Clayton Powell in New York and said that if someone gave him a gun with authority to shoot, he would start with the Johnsons.

On November 10, Brown spoke to 250 members of MDIPR and talked of Puerto Rican and Blacks uniting, of East Harlem and Black Harlem burning, said people should get themselves guns and referred to Che Guevara as a great leader whose teachings on guerrilla warfare should be followed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

✓ *LR*
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TO : M. C. Miskovsky

DATE: Nov. 27, 1967

FROM : Martin J. Connell

SUBJECT: Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Material for the Interim Report

The attached report, which is written in narrative form as requested, follows the outline developed for information on organizations. It contains references to classified material, but I am not sure of how it will be disseminated. There are no references to particular documents, nor has there been time to incorporate the information meaningfully in chart form; we can, however, append the Hoover city reports, if you wish, if they aren't going to be printed by the Commission itself.

I am not sure of how the FBI caveat applies to the Commission, the staff, and to this Office, and we are still to receive the documents mentioned in Mr. Hoover's testimony before the Commission and a reply to the request for the identity, location and affiliations of the field secretaries.

I have a feeling that the attachment might be too long or too short. Perhaps it may be satisfactory, but it does have two definite weaknesses in my estimation:

1. To put the development of SNCC's attitudes in proper perspective. A future report should enlarge on the difficulties, the arrests, beatings, and threats which undoubtedly led to the frustrations that preceded the talk of violence and ultimately led Brown to say, "You can forget about the non-violent."
2. The decision to look into SDS followed logically on a suggestion of mine made because I think SDS represents a present danger, but I suspect that the decision had been made at higher levels without reference to my thinking. In any event, it is not mentioned in



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the report since SDS activities do not often fall into the areas within the purview of the Commission. I believe that this decision should be made a formal part of this Office's responsibility and that the authenticity of our interest be indicated by the Commission. Reference to the subject of Vietnam would be almost inescapable in such a study.

Martin J. Connell
Investigator

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

Date of Information: To 24 November 1967

[This is a tentative report based on openly published material and official information, some of which is classified. Those sections derived from classified sources are indicated. Throughout the text, the organization is referred to as SNCC.]

SNCC's headquarters are located at 360 Nelson Street Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. On 22 November 1967, a staff member of this Commission reported that the telephone company had been unable to complete a call to the SNCC headquarters because the phone had been "shut off." The amount of SNCC's phone bill and the organization's use of long distance telephone facilities have been noted frequently by authors writing about SNCC. Its frequent financial troubles have also been reported.

The present officers are: H. Rap Brown, National Chairman; Stanley Leroy Wise, Executive Secretary; Ethel Minor, Communications Director, and Ralph Edward Featherstone, Program Director. (Separate reports are being compiled on BROWN, WISE and FEATHERSTONE.) These individuals were elected to office in May 1967. SNCC, which had previously identified its Executive Board, decided this year to maintain secrecy on this matter.

New York Times reporter, Gene Roberts, who has reported extensively on SNCC, wrote on 19 August 1967 that "some former committee members and workers in the civil rights organizations put the . . . strength at fewer than 25 organizers and about an equal number of officer workers." Roberts further wrote that present committee members put the figure at 60-80, including part-time volunteers. In 1964, estimates of membership ranged from 250-300, but by September of 1966, Roberts was using the figure of 135.

Field organizers are located around the country, engaged in fund raising as well as community action. There are known to be offices in San Francisco, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cambridge, Mass., New York, and Washington, D. C.

James Forman, former Executive Secretary, is located in New York where he is said to be responsible for SNCC's international relationships through delegates to the United Nations.

The Christian Science Monitor reported in August 1967 that sources close to SNCC estimated membership at 150 members. It was noted that SNCC does not release membership figures, that "they are not for public information."

On 25 October 1966, a former spokesman for the committee told representatives of another Government investigative office that SNCC does not have a "membership" as such and that only paid persons are officially affiliated. He estimated the number at 130 across the country.

SNCC, which once published "The Student Voice," discontinued that paper and now issues a "SNCC Newsletter." It also publishes in Atlanta and some field offices a variety of exhortatory documents. The organization denied authorizing a document put out under the name of its Chicago branch, which used the word "exterminate" in reference to a revolution which would be directed against the black middle class as well as the whites. (Attached, as an example of what is authorized, is a copy of a publication produced in Atlanta which extols the activity of "rockthrowing.")

SNCC was founded in Raleigh, North Carolina at a meeting held at Shaw University on 15, 17 April 1960. The founding spirit was Ella Baker, executive secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) office in Atlanta. It obtained \$800 from SCLC to form the group which was composed of veterans of various sit-ins in the southern part of the United States. Marion Barry, who now resides in the District of Columbia where he is on the payroll of a federally-financed project, was elected chairman. A statement of the organization's purpose began:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non violence as the foundation of our purpose, the pre-supposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the first step towards such a society...."

Through 1964, SNCC devoted its efforts to education, voter registration, and a challenge to segregation in parts of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. These activities culminated in the "Mississippi Summer" of 1964, an effort to concentrate the view of the entire world on the racial situation in that state.

At its inception SNCC was committed to non-violence and to integration. The summer of 1964 marked the beginning of changes in both of these attitudes. Splits began to appear, overt hostility towards the whites who came to Mississippi was evident, and some of the Negroes were talking in terms of accomplishing their ends by any means. It was during this period that Stokely Carmichael (a separate report is being compiled on Carmichael) emerged as a force in SNCC. John Lewis had become National Chairman. (He has since resigned because of policy differences with Carmichael who succeeded him.)

In 1965, SNCC joined Students for Democratic Society (SDS) and other radical groups in protest against the war in Vietnam. The same year Julian Bond, now a member of the Georgia Legislature, began to protest the draft. Bond has since resigned from SNCC.

In January 1966, the SNCC Executive Committee issued a statement condemning the United States for "pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law ..." in Vietnam. The statement urged Americans to work for civil rights in the United States as "... a valid alternative to the draft ..."

In May 1966, Carmichael was elected National Chairman. Shortly thereafter, he electrified the nation and deeply influenced the rest of the civil rights movement with his chant of "Black Power." On 5 August 1966, the New York Times printed a long excerpt of the SNCC "Black Power" position paper which attacked white liberals, equated the racial conditions in the U.S. with neo-colonialism in Latin America and Africa, called for a reevaluation and identification of black people to "America and the World." A decision had been made that all positions of responsibility in SNCC would be held by black people.

During Carmichael's administration, SNCC continued its educational and publications programs while it sought to act as a goal to other civil rights groups. There was a consistent

call for unity on all levels by civil rights adherents. Concurrently, there was an increasing identification and fascination with the "Third World," the writings of Franz Fanon, the Algerian psychiatrist, and Che Guevera. Earlier this year, Carmichael was declared Personna Non Grata in the United Kingdom after a visit to London which was claimed to have resulted in serious racial disturbances and the emergence of a Black Panther group.

On 18 November 1967, Carmichael was reported to be returning to the United States from Tanzania where he had arrived after a lengthy tour which included stops in Havana, Hanoi and Algeria. In each of these places he attacked U.S. Foreign Policy and domestic racism.

H. Rap Brown, who succeeded Carmichael in May 1967, stated at a press conference held on 20 June 1967 after a disturbance in Atlanta in which he, Carmichael and others were involved, that the disturbance was a prelude of what would happen in cities all over the country in the Summer of 1967.

Brown had just returned from a riot in Cincinnati where he had gone from a riot in Dayton which he is alleged to have ignited. On the 24th of July, he spoke at a meeting in Cambridge, Md. Following his speech, a riot ensued which required State Police and the National Guard's presence before order was restored five days later. He is currently under indictment in the State of Maryland as well as under Federal indictment for transporting arms.

In 1967, members of SNCC have been present at meetings in more than a dozen cities which later suffered disturbances. The time element varies from more than a month to situations such as that in Cambridge, Maryland. A determination of probable causality is being conducted by the Commission.

In the summer of 1967, SNCC publicly identified with the Arab side against Israel and on August 15, delivered an attack on Zionism. This document claims that Zionism is a tool of United States interests in the Middle East and Africa while proclaiming SNCC's appreciation of the problems of the Jewish people, the murder of six million Jews in the German concentration camps and goes on to^{state} "... we black people possibly face the same fate."

Concentration camps set up for the Japanese during World War I (sic) in California are now being cleaned and fixed up for the detention of black militants as are camps in Pennsylvania, Arizona, Oklahoma and across the nation ..."

In October 1967, Assistant Secretary of State William B. Macomber wrote to Representative Bob Wilson (R. Cal.) that the Department of Justice was looking into a specific case involving SNCC Program Director Ralph Featherstone's public acknowledgement that "the source of some of SNCC's material was the Arab Embassies" as Representative Wilson had pointed out.

In November 1967, members of SNCC were leaders in a disruptive movement under the auspices of a group called Unity for Unity which caused suspension of classes at Central State University, a school of 2700 students with about 80% Negro enrollment, in Wilberforce, Ohio. This activity was similar in content and direction to eruptions which have taken place at integrated colleges and universities and which were led by SDS.

Also, in November 1967, Fred Brooks, a SNCC worker in Nashville testifying before a committee of the United States Senate discussed shooting Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, identifying her as "the wife of my enemy." Brooks, who has been accused of teaching Negro children to hate whites in a Nashville school which is purported to teach identity and Negro culture to the children, has since been arrested for refusing to report for induction into the United States Army.


This organization's financial condition is reported to be precarious at present. Originally funded by SCLC and then CORE, it later received contributions from students, foundations, religious and fraternal groups and reportedly a number of wealthy liberals. The Commission has unsubstantiated information that one such sponsor has given over \$100. However, the positions on Black Power, white exclusion, Vietnam, identification with Cuba and the Middle Eastern Countries have alienated an increasing number of supporters. Further reporting will be done on this subject.

Within the civil rights movement, SNCC's position appears to be anomalous. In its earlier days, the commitment to non-violence attracted the sympathy and respect of a large segment of Americans. Even when non-violence was explained as a tactic

rather than a commitment by some of its leaders and the phrase "Black Power" became current, the articulate members of the leadership seemed to be able to force other rights leaders to positions from which they might formerly held back. By the time of the Black Power Conference in Newark during July 1967, other leaders had moved forward to direct confrontation with some aspects of the society. Carmichael was on his way to Cuba, Brown went to Cambridge, Maryland, and the delicate and recurring balance of rhetoric and action remained. SNCC announced Carmichael's presence in Hanoi and in a pamphlet entitled, "Aframerican Notes for You, November 1967," published the text of Carmichael's speech in Havana.

Frequent references have appeared in the public print to the Marxist-Leninist reading material in SNCC offices and to SNCC leaders' familiarity with Communist literature. There is evidence of repeated efforts by identified Communists to influence the organization and to participate in its activities. The Commission has in its files classified documentation on this matter. The Commission is also in possession of a statement by another U. S. Government Department that in the summer of 1967, there is no evidence of Communist domination of the National Board.

However, a disturbing factor in the present focus of SNCC's activities is that in many respects they appear to parallel and complement the activities of SDS which is displaying an increasingly sophisticated methodology. SDS is composed mainly of whites. In a recent article outlining the manner in which dissidents can attack the structure of this nation, a leading white activist refers separately to white and black organizational activity. SNCC is the only youthful Negro militant organization that possesses the geographic structure for such a role. In such a role, its potential is difficult to assess with the information presently available to the Commission.


Martin J. Connell
Investigator