



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535  
January 10, 1968

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper of Washington, D.C., in its issue of January 9, 1968, reported that Stokely Carmichael would hold a meeting of local Negro leaders on January 9, 1968, at the New School for Afro-American Thought, 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. According to the news account, Carmichael stated that the purpose of the meeting was to unite Negro organizations in Washington, D.C., into a solid united Black Front in connection with civil rights.

On January 9, 1968, H. Carl Hultzie, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the NAACP and a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, both advised they attended the above described meeting at the New School for Afro-American Thought which was held on January 9, 1968. They advised the meeting commenced at approximately 9:00 p.m. after the press and other individuals not invited to attend the meeting were excluded. These sources stated there were approximately twenty individuals present at the meeting representing civil rights organizations and about eighty other persons who were vouched for by officials of the New School of Afro-American Thought.

Stokely Carmichael was the Chairman of the meeting and the mentioned sources advised that Carmichael outlined the purpose of the meeting which was to formulate an organization to unite the black community in the Washington, D.C. area. Carmichael stated at the outset of the meeting he desired the meeting to be an orderly one with no name calling, bickering or laughing. He stated that further meetings are contemplated; the purpose of which would be to implement the plans of the new organization and these meetings would be scheduled in the future.

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**STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Following Carmichael's introductory remarks, various comments were then made from the individuals present. The names of the individuals who made comments were:

Marion Barry  
H. Carl Boulton  
Walter E. Fauntroy  
Sterling Tucker  
Charles Jones  
Boena Reed  
Mrs. Willie Hardy  
Reverend Channing Phillips  
A. Berry, Jr.  
Rufus Mayfield  
Dr. Nathan Kare

The substance of the talks by the above individuals dealt with the problems involved in forming a United Black Front as proposed by Carmichael. Questions were raised regarding the role each individual civil rights organization would play in the Black Front and who would be chosen and how they would be chosen to run the new organization. Comments were also made as to whether the represented civil rights organizations would be willing to participate in the Black Front.

The sources stated that a Steering Committee was then formed from nominations from the floor, whose immediate specific task was to check with their own organizations to determine as to their willingness to participate in the new organization. It was mentioned that a meeting of the Steering Committee would be held in mid-January of 1968. The following were nominated to the Steering Committee:

Stokely Carmichael, Walter E. Fauntroy, Vice Chairman of the Washington, D.C. City Council, Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League, Reverend Jefferson Rogers, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Reverend Channing

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STEWART CARMICHAEL

Phillips, President Housing Development Corporation, and Pastor Lincoln, Congregational Church, Mrs. Willie Harris of the Northeast Colored Community Council, Charles "Chuck" Stone, former aid to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Jones of Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs, Dave Eaton of Congregational Industrial Center and Ken Kennedy, Chairman of the Far Northeast Neighborhood Council. Mr. Konitz was asked to serve but refused.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 p.m. and the sources advised there were no incidents or disturbances.

Regarding the above described meeting, the "Washington Post and Times Herald" of Washington, D.C., on January 19, 1968, carried a news account of the meeting held on January 9, 1968, at the New School for Afro-American Thought. The newspaper account referred to the meeting as the "United Black Front" and stated it was the first meeting to advance Stokely Carmichael's announced quest for "black unity." The newspaper article stated that the meeting was held in secrecy and that leaders were also doubtful about what had happened. The newspaper account states that the purpose of the United Black Front "would be to bring together black militants and moderates in a no name-calling, no public fighting effort to enhance the position of Negroes here and elsewhere."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

January 5, 1968

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS  
SEDITION**

The following information has been supplied by confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past, unless otherwise identified.

Stokely Carmichael served as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC), for one year from May, 1966, to May, 1967. He reportedly received an annual salary of \$4,500.

Shortly after becoming the Chairman of SNCC, Carmichael began to travel throughout the United States on a speaking tour. Because he is a controversial figure, Carmichael has been a popular campus speaker and during the academic 1966-67 school year, he addressed student groups in all parts of the United States and Canada. These speaking engagements were extremely profitable to him. He would command a fee ranging from \$1,000 to as high as \$1,800.

A confidential source advised that on January 12, 1967, Carmichael met with individuals affiliated with the Coordinating Council for Black Power, a loose amalgamation of various Negro civil rights organizations in Chicago. In answer to a question as to why he was speaking before a predominately white audience at the University of Chicago rather than before a local Negro audience, Carmichael answered that he receives approximately \$1,000 to \$1,300 for each appearance and he is speaking three to four times a week. Carmichael stated that funds such as he is able to receive before white audiences would not be available from Negro audiences.

It is noted that on May 15, 1967, Carmichael spoke to a group of approximately 7,000 individuals at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. He reportedly was to receive \$1,800 for his appearance; however, he did not receive the full amount and publicly protested this fact.

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**STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

In addition to receiving fees for speaking on college campuses, an admission fee was charged or donations were accepted from the audience when Carmichael would speak off campus. For example, a second confidential source advised Carmichael was the principal speaker at the SNCC sponsored meeting held at the United Packinghouse Workers Hall, Chicago, Illinois, on July 28, 1966. The Hall was completely filled and those in attendance paid \$2 for admission.

A third confidential source advised that Carmichael spoke at the United Church of Christ, Detroit, Michigan, on September 27, 1966. There were approximately 900 persons in attendance and approximately \$1,200 was collected from those present.

In connection with his travels abroad, Carmichael is known to have received funds from various sources. A fourth confidential source advised that in January, 1967, while still Chairman of SNCC, Carmichael visited Puerto Rico where he participated in the activities of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR) after the MPIPR agreed to pay his expenses.

The MPIPR is the largest of the militant groups seeking independence for Puerto Rico.

Shortly after relinquishing his position as Chairman of SNCC, Carmichael made an extensive tour abroad. He departed from the United States July 14, 1967, for England. He spent ten days in England during which period he spoke several times under the auspices of the International Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation in London, England. A confidential source abroad advised that the students who attended the Congress had to pay an admission price. Also during the conference a call was made for a collection which reportedly was intended to finance the dispatch of delegates to the West Indies to establish "black power" groups there.

Carmichael traveled from London to Havana, Cuba, on July 26, 1967, as an "official guest" of the Cuban Government where he attended the Latin American Solidarity Conference (LASO).

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The avowed purpose of LASO is to overthrow United States "imperialism" in Latin America by revolutionary violence.

After a stay of several weeks in Cuba, Carmichael subsequently traveled to several countries including North Vietnam, Algeria, Syria, Guinea, Egypt, Tanzania, Denmark, Sweden, and France.

It is noted numerous press reports indicated that Carmichael would participate as a member of the "War Crimes Tribunal" held in Copenhagen, Denmark, and he did attend this "Tribunal" on November 29, 1967.

The "War Crimes Tribunal" in Denmark was the second tribunal sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London, England, to try to embarrass and shame the United States over Vietnam.

The confidential source abroad advised that the "War Crimes Tribunal" in Paris, France, was asked to issue Carmichael transportation to attend the "War Crimes Tribunal" in Denmark, travel to be arranged by Sweden. Travel documents were to be forwarded to Carmichael in care of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tanzania.

Another Government agency advised that airplane tickets from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to Sweden had been sent to Stokely Carmichael at Dar es Salaam on November 22, 1967, by Verdandi, a liberal student organization, Uppsala University, Sweden, and the "Tribunal."

Carmichael traveled from Tanzania to Uppsala University, Sweden, where he spoke under the auspices of Verdandi on November 28, 1967. On the evening of December 4, 1967, Carmichael gave a talk in a large concert hall in downtown Stockholm, Sweden. Tickets were sold for the "performance" according to the other Government agency.

When he arrived in Paris, France, December 5, 1967, Carmichael was detained at the airport and was reportedly without funds. It was necessary for three individuals who were accompanying him to go into downtown Paris in an effort to obtain necessary funds.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael returned to the United States on December 11, 1967. It is interesting to note that a fifth confidential source advised a representative of SNCC had approached a representative of a television station in New York City on December 15, 1967, and attempted to sell an exclusive interview of Stokely Carmichael to the news media for \$70,000. No information has been developed indicating the television station is interested.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

December 29, 1967

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NY file 100-160701

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5  
NLJ/RAC 08-38  
By isl NARA, Date 8-31-08

Hubert Geroid Brown  
Also Known As (aka)  
H. Rap Brown  
Internal Security -  
Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

On August 22, 1967, Stephen E. Kaufman, Assistant United States Attorney (AUSA), Southern District of New York (SDNY), advised that Brown was released from custody on this date at 5:30 p.m., after posting a \$15,000.00 bond, returnable United States District Court, SDNY.

Kaufman advised that the bond was produced by Jean Wiley, Information Officer, SNCC, and was broken down as follows:

\$6,000.00	in cash
5,500.00	SNCC check
1,000.00	SNCC check
2,500.00	Check from Robert Langston, 320 West 87th Street, New York City (NYC).
<u>\$15,000.00</u>	Total

On August 21, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Abe Weisburd had contacted Henry Winston requesting Winston the identity of people capable of making donations for Brown's bail bond, Winston replied that "We're on the job. There'll be definite commitments".

The June 28, 1966, issue of "The Worker" reported the election of Henry Winston as National Chairman of the Communist Party (CP), United States of America (USA), at its 18th National Convention held on June 26, 1966, in NYC.

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Hubert Geroid Brown

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

During June, 1948, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Abe Weisburd had been a member of the CP for 11 years and has held a position on the Executive Committee.

On July 27, 1967, a third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Weisburd was in attendance at the Executive meeting of the Trade Unionists for Peace on July 17, 1967, as the labor delegate to Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee having been active in Vietnam peace protests in 1965 and 1966.

A characterization of the Trade Unionists for Peace is attached hereto, as an appendix to this communication.

On August 21, 1967, a fourth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Abe Weisburd and Robert Langston of 320 West 87th Street, NYC, have donated \$2,500 each toward the bail fund for Brown.

On May 20, 1966, a fifth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Robert H. Langston, 320 West 87th Street, NYC, was accepted on that date as a member of the New York Local, Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

A characterization of the New York Local, SWP, is attached hereto as an appendix to this communication.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Hubert Geroid Brown

On August 23, 1967, the fourth source, previously mentioned, advised that on August 21, 1967, Herb Aptheker was sending a \$10,000.00 cashier's check made out to cash for Brown's bond to Brown's attorney's office.

On June 30, 1966, a sixth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22-26, 1966, in NYC.

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Hubert Geroid Brown

APPENDIX

1.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
- NEW YORK LOCAL

A source advised on August 25, 1960, that the Socialist Party (SWP) - New York Local (NYL) was founded in 1938, in New York City.

A second source stated on May 17, 1967, that the SWP-NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Hubert Geroid Brown

APPENDIX

1.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE (NEW YORK)  
Also Known As Labor For Peace

A source advised on August 16, 1965, that a meeting of 16 people was held on August 12, 1965, in Room 18K, Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York, New York. The chairman of the meeting stated the meeting was called to form an organization to be tentatively called "Labor For Peace" for the purpose of mobilizing the labor class for the cause of peace, particularly in Vietnam. The chairman stated that, "We as Party people are organizing this group, but we want it to broaden and expand to include workers who are not associated with the Party". He stated it was necessary to mobilize the rank and file union membership to the cause of peace to such an extent that the union membership will support "our organization".

A second source advised on August 20, 1965, that the name of the new group called "Labor For Peace" had been changed to Trade Unionists For Peace (TUFFP). This same source stated on September 17, 1965, that at a meeting of the TUFFP which was held on September 16, 1965, at the Hotel Woodstock, 137 West 43rd Street, New York City, it was stated that the aims and purposes of the organization were to organize trade unionists who are interested in peace and against United States intervention in Vietnam.

A third source advised on September 23, 1965, that at a meeting of Club 19 of the Communist Party (CP), United States of America (USA), which was held on September 22, 1965, in Brooklyn, New York, it was stated that since none of the organizations for peace in Vietnam have won the support of the workers, the CP had set up an organization in the trade union movement called the TUFFP.

A fourth source advised on December 14, 1965, that at a meeting of the CP, USA, New York District Trade Union Commission, which was held on December 12, 1965, in New York City, it was stated that the CP had set up a caucus of Party members in TUFFP which formulates the kind of policy to be carried out by this organization. It was also stated that it was up to the Party to involve workers in this organization and attempt

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Hubert Geroid Brown

APPENDIX

2.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE  
(NEW YORK) (CONTINUED)

to tie up the ideas of peace with economics.

A third source advised on April 17, 1967, that the TUPP is currently located in Room 408, at 857 Broadway, New York, New York.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The files of this Bureau reveal the following travels of Carmichael from January 1, 1967, to the present time:

- January 5 Cortland, New York ✓
- January 6 New York, New York
- January 9 Atlanta, Georgia
- January 10 Washington, D. C.
- January 12 Chicago, Illinois
- January 13 Chicago, Illinois, and Philadelphia, ✓  
Pennsylvania
- January 15 Washington, D. C.
- January 16 Baltimore, Maryland ✓
- ✓ January 18 Detroit, Michigan ✓
- ✓ January 19 Rochester, New York ✓
- January 22 Atlanta, Georgia
- January 24 San Juan, Puerto Rico ✓
- January 25 San Juan, Puerto Rico ✓
- ✓ January 26 San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Mayaguez, ✓  
Puerto Rico ✓
- January 27 New York, New York ✓
- January 29 San Francisco, California
- February 2 Atlanta, Georgia, and Lowndes County, ✓  
Alabama
- February 4 West Point, Mississippi, and Atlanta, ✓  
Georgia
- February 6 Madison, Wisconsin, and Whitewater, ✓  
Wisconsin
- February 7 Windsor, Ontario, Canada
- February 8 Detroit, Michigan ✓
- February 9 East Lansing, Michigan
- February 11 Greenville, Mississippi
- February 12 Greenville, Mississippi, Jackson, ✓  
Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia
- ✓ February 15 New York, New York, and Portland, ✓  
Oregon
- February 16 Portland, Oregon
- February 17 Berkeley, California, and Long Beach, ✓  
California
- February 18 Los Angeles, California
- February 22 New York, New York
- February 24 Montreal, Quebec, Canada

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

February 26 New York, New York  
February 27 Chicago, Illinois, and Elmhurst,  
Illinois  
February 28 Chicago, Illinois, and Ithaca,  
New York  
March 1 Ithaca, New York  
March 2 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
March 3 Latrobe, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh,  
Pennsylvania, and Atlanta, Georgia  
March 4 Atlanta, Georgia  
March 7 Atlanta, Georgia  
March 9 Chicago, Illinois, and Milwaukee,  
Wisconsin  
March 10 Bimini, The Bahamas  
March 11 Bimini, The Bahamas  
March 12 Lynchburg, Virginia ✓  
March 14 Easton, Pennsylvania  
March 15 Syracuse, New York  
March 16 Syracuse, New York, and New York,  
New York  
March 17 Durham, North Carolina  
March 21 Ettrick, Virginia, and Petersburg,  
Virginia  
✓ March 23 Nashville, Tennessee  
March 25 Nashville, Tennessee  
March 26 Nashville, Tennessee  
March 27 Nashville, Tennessee  
March 28 Nashville, Tennessee  
March 30 New Orleans, Louisiana  
March 31 Atlanta, Georgia, and Lowndes County,  
Alabama  
April 2 St. Louis, Missouri, and East St. Louis,  
Illinois  
April 4 Birmingham, Alabama  
April 5 Birmingham, Alabama, and Richmond,  
Virginia  
✓ April 6 Nashville, Tennessee  
✓ April 7 Nashville, Tennessee  
✓ April 8 Nashville, Tennessee  
April 9 Nashville, Tennessee, and Knoxville,  
Tennessee  
April 10 New Orleans, Louisiana  
✓ April 11 Jackson, Mississippi, and Tougaloo,  
Mississippi

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

✓ April 12 Tougaloo, Mississippi, and Jackson,  
Mississippi  
✓ April 13 Jackson, Mississippi, and Houston,  
Texas  
✓ April 14 Houston, Texas, and Austin, Texas  
April 15 New York, New York  
April 16 Tallahassee, Florida  
April 17 Tallahassee, Florida, and Atlanta,  
Georgia  
April 18 Atlanta, Georgia, Daytona Beach,  
Florida, and St. Petersburg, Florida  
✓ April 19 Tampa, Florida, Los Angeles, California  
and Seattle, Washington  
April 20 Ellensburg, Washington  
April 21 Ellensburg, Washington  
April 22 Seattle, Washington, and Los Angeles,  
California  
April 23 Los Angeles, California, and New York,  
New York  
April 24 Hampton, Virginia  
April 25 Selma, Alabama  
✓ April 29 Cincinnati, Ohio  
May 1 Atlanta, Georgia  
May 3 Atlanta, Georgia  
May 14 Chicago, Illinois, and Waukegan,  
Illinois  
✓ May 15 Minneapolis, Minnesota, and St. Paul,  
Minnesota  
May 16 Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Washington,  
D. C.  
May 17 Grand Rapids, Michigan  
✓ May 18 Grand Rapids, Michigan, Chicago,  
Illinois, Jackson, Mississippi, and  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana  
May 19 Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Jackson,  
Mississippi  
May 20 Baton Rouge, Louisiana, New Orleans  
Louisiana, and New York, New York  
May 21 New York, New York, and Kings Point,  
Long Island, New York  
May 23 Nashville, Tennessee  
May 24 Atlanta, Georgia, and Los Angeles,  
California  
May 25 San Francisco, California, and  
Berkeley, California

**STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

May 26 San Francisco, California, and  
Los Angeles, California  
May 27 Los Angeles, California  
May 28 Los Angeles, California, and Atlanta,  
Georgia  
May 31 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 2 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 6 Jackson, Mississippi, and Tougaloo,  
Mississippi  
June 7 Jackson, Mississippi  
June 9 Atlanta, Georgia, and Selma, Alabama  
✓ June 11 Prattville, Alabama  
✓ June 12 Prattville, Alabama  
June 13 Prattville, Alabama  
June 14 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 15 Atlanta, Georgia  
✓ June 17 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 18 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 19 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 22 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 24 Atlanta, Georgia  
✓ June 25 Boston, Massachusetts, and Roxbury,  
Massachusetts  
June 27 Atlanta, Georgia  
June 29 Atlanta, Georgia  
July 2 Washington, D. C.  
July 3 Washington, D. C.  
July 4 Newport, Rhode Island  
July 11 Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington, D. C.  
July 12 Washington, D. C.  
July 13 Washington, D. C., and New York,  
New York

~~On July 14, 1967, Carmichael left New York City  
for London, England, and was outside the United States  
until he returned to New York City on December 11, 1967.~~

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Report of:

EDWARD U. CRIM

Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Date:

November 16, 1967

Field Office File #:

100-6812

Bureau File #:

100-446080

Title:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

CARMICHAEL presently out of country and reportedly visited England, Tanzania, Algeria and Cuba, where he participated in OLAS meeting. He reportedly traveled to Cuba, Central and South America to obtain information regarding planning and organizing of racial riots and demonstrations. He was barred from re-entry to the United Kingdom because of statements advocating violence attributed to him while visiting there. He was not re-elected Chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, as, "I feel I would be more effective in organizational work with regard to large cities in the United States, particularly Washington, D. C." He remains close to SNCC and maintains an apartment at 850 West End Avenue, S. W., Apartment 12. Draft status 4F based on special psychiatrist's examination given him at request of Department of Defense. Association with activities of NOI, MPPR, CP of Puerto Rico, Southern California District of CP and endorsement by W.E.B. DU BOIS Clubs of America and SPS set forth. CARMICHAEL invited to attend International Youth Meeting in Leningrad, USSR. ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.6

NLJ/RAC 08-38

By id, NARA, Date 8.27.08

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I. RESIDENCE

On April 22, 1967, AT T-1 advised that the subject was reportedly staying with the family of one JEWEL WISE, who resided in the vicinity of Fairburn Road and Gordon Road, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. The source described WISE as a Senior at Harper High School, 535 Fairburn Road, N. W., Atlanta. The source later advised that the subject was no longer staying with this family and had established residence at 850 West End Avenue, S. W., Apartment 12, and was residing with STANLEY WISE, no relation to JEWEL WISE, mentioned previously. STANLEY WISE, according to the informant, was elected to the position of Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in May, 1967, by the Central Committee of that organization.

AT T-42 advised on July 3, 1967, that CARMICHAEL worked during the Summer of 1967 as a Field Representative of SNCC in Lowndes County, Alabama. While in this area, AT T-1 advised CARMICHAEL usually stays in what is known as "Tent City."

A. TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

The files of the Passport Office, Department of State, which were reviewed by a Special Agent of the FBI on January 13, 1967, disclosed that CARMICHAEL filed application for a passport at New York City on January 6, 1967, for proposed travel of six weeks to Europe and Africa "to visit other places for pleasure."

On a later review of these records, it was determined that CARMICHAEL was issued Passport No. H139577 at Washington, D. C., January 26, 1967. The passport was valid for three years travel to all countries except Albania, Cuba and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under Communist control.

AT 100-6812

An article appeared in the February 25, 1967 issue of the "Montreal Gazette", reflecting that in February, 1967, CARMICHAEL visited that City where he spoke at local universities and appeared as a guest on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's television program where he spoke on the U. S. civil rights movement and his concept of "Black Power."

On July 25, 1967, AT T-9 advised that CARMICHAEL would be traveling to Cuba, Central and South America, for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the planning and organizing of racial riots and demonstrations. His purpose for this in Cuba was to learn how that country has and is planning riots and demonstrations in Central and South American countries. The source added that after CARMICHAEL has completed this trip he intends to return to the United States where he will attempt to utilize the riot and demonstration techniques which he learned in a visit to these countries. He will attempt to utilize guerrilla warfare as used by the Cubans, in different parts of the United States.

On September 15, 1967, AT T-47 furnished information reflecting that on September 12, 1967, CARMICHAEL was in Oran, Algeria.

Information furnished by AT T-31, on October 16, 1967, reflects that CARMICHAEL was then visiting in Cuba and upon arrival there was completely astonished by the reception he received and he immediately responded by enthusiastically espousing many Cuban views on world crises, such as the Sino-Soviet split.

Articles appearing in various news media between the period of July - November, 1967, reflect that CARMICHAEL has visited such foreign countries as Czechoslovakia, Cuba and Algeria. An article appearing

in the July 26, 1967, issue of the "Atlanta Journal" reflects that CARMICHAEL had come to Havana, Cuba, for the purpose of attending the meeting of the Latin American Organization of Solidarity, which was to open on July 31, 1967. Included on the agenda are U. S. racial problems. The article continued that CARMICHAEL flew from London to Prague on the preceding Monday and then on to Havana. This meeting closed on August 8, 1967.

On September 19, 1967, AT T-48 advised that as a result of statements made by CARMICHAEL when he visited the United Kingdom during July, 1967, that the Government of the United Kingdom had issued a decision barring him from re-entering that country. Information received from the U. S. Department of State on October 31, 1967, reflects that local press releases appearing in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, reflected that as of October 31, 1967, CARMICHAEL was in that city, expecting to remain there for a "few weeks." Information received from AT T-1 on November 6, 1967, reflected that CARMICHAEL was expected to arrive in Atlanta, Georgia, on Friday, November 10, possibly to attend a fund raising endeavor believed sponsored by SNCC at the Magnolia Ballroom, Magnolia and Sunset Streets, S. W., Atlanta.

## II. EMPLOYMENT

The January 16, 1967, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" contained an article on page 4A indicating that "Carmichael To Quit as SNCC Chairman." Information received from AT T-1 on May 16, 1967, reflected that CARMICHAEL was not re-elected to the position of National Chairman by the Central Committee of SNCC in May, 1967, as he felt he would be more effective in organizational work with regard to large cities in the United States, particularly Washington, D. C.

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Information received from AT T-1 on November 6, 1967, reflects that CARMICHAEL continues to be very close to the SNCC and there is no indication that he has been employed by any other organization.

On October 11, 1967, AT T-49 advised that current talk among African delegations at the United Nations in New York City is to the effect that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is now in the employ of the CIA and because of this is no longer a force or a leader to be considered in the Black Nationalist Movement in the United States. The informant commented that whether the story is true or not it will certainly be of harm to CARMICHAEL's reputation and future leadership of the Black Nationalist Movement.

### III. MILITARY STATUS

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal" on October 28, 1966, reflecting that CARMICHAEL had undergone a second day of pre-induction physical examination at the St. Albans Naval Hospital on Friday, October 28, 1966. A hospital spokesman said the results of CARMICHAEL's tests would be sent to his draft board which then will decide whether he is fit to serve in the armed forces. The article reflected that CARMICHAEL was ruled not immediately eligible for service on the basis of a previous examination.

On November 1, 1966, AT T-4 said that on October 26, 1966, IVANHOE DONALDSON, a close associate of CARMICHAEL, said that the United States Government was attempting to railroad CARMICHAEL into the service. DONALDSON added that CARMICHAEL would refuse to go on the grounds that the United States Government had deprived him of his birthright and that southern justice took away his freedom.

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On page 104 of the November 16, 1966, issue of the "New Haven Register" a statement is attributed to CARMICHAEL to the effect, "ain't fighting for my country no more." The article reflected that CARMICHAEL had spoken to an audience of 1,100 at the Temple Mishkan Israel in Hamden, Connecticut. In the article CARMICHAEL declared he is opposed to the war in Viet Nam because, "The Viet Nam war is immoral."

Another statement attributed to CARMICHAEL was that he could not afford to be a black mercenary and that as a black man living under America's peace, freedom and democracy, he would not fight to give these to anyone."

On October 5, 1967, AT T-50 advised CARMICHAEL's draft status is 4F, based on special psychiatrist's examination given him at the request of the Department of Defense.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

On November 3, 1966, AT T-5 advised he had known the subject for the past 15 years. He said the subject was a member of the Westchester Methodist Church located on Tremont Avenue and Overing Street, Bronx, New York, and that he had been a member of this church for approximately 15 years. The informant said while growing up, CARMICHAEL was regular in his church attendance and was also a member of the Boy Scouts of America. The source believed CARMICHAEL to be a highly intelligent young man and after graduating from high school, he attended Howard University in Washington, D. C. CARMICHAEL was financed through Howard University by an uncle who is a physician in Yonkers, New York.

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The source advised that CARMICHAEL's father, ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, was a roofer by trade and died on January 21, 1962. CARMICHAEL's mother, FLORENCE, was employed as a stewardess for a steamship company, having been employed by this concern since the death of her husband. The source advised that a sister of CARMICHAEL, LYNETTE, was getting married on December 10, 1966, and that a sister, JUDITH, has been in England for about three years, and another sister, believed to be named UMILITA, is a mute and married, although her married name is unknown. CARMICHAEL has another sister named JANETH.

On December 20, 1966, AT T-18 advised that the sister of CARMICHAEL, LYNETTE, was married on December 10, 1966, to IRWIN IEE KELLY and that the wedding was attended by about 100 people, with a white minister officiating. About 25 percent of the people in attendance were white and CARMICHAEL accompanied his mother. After the wedding, a reception was held at the residence of CARMICHAEL's mother, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York, which was attended by approximately 50 to 75 people, both white and Negro. The wife of the Ambassador of Uganda, Mrs. APOLLO K. KIRRNDU was present at the wedding and at the reception "Life Magazine" photographer GORDON PARKS made pictures.

According to the records of the Drivers License Bureau, State of Georgia, CARMICHAEL filed application for a Georgia Driver's License on May 31, 1967, giving his date of birth as June 29, 1941, and indicating that he had held Washington, D. C. Driver's License No. 2252890, which was issued June 11, 1965. CARMICHAEL listed his address at that time as 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

#### V. IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The following is the Identification Record of CARMICHAEL as it appears in the Identification Records of the FBI under No. 853 121 D.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OCT 3 1967 4 0 2

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
 Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 853 121 D, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Jackson, Mississippi	Stokely Carmichael #20978.	June 8, 1961	breach of peace	City Crt \$200 & 4 mo last 2 r Susp. Co; Crt No1
Sheriff's Office Jackson, Mississippi	Stokeley Carmichael #40	June 15, 1961	breach of the peace	Contendere \$200 & C das susp \$200 fine and 4 months with 60 days suspended
St Hwy Pat Jackson Miss	Stokely Carmichael	10-18-64	disobeying an officer & blocking roadway	unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Selma Ala	Stockely Carmichael #19951	1-26-65	unlawful assembly	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das Hl Rol on Bond \$50 (Case believed have been disposed of be Federal Court)
PD Atlanta Ga	Stokely Carmichael #242521	9-8-66	1) DC inciting to riot 2) DC dist	unavailable per contr 3-22-67
PD Selma Ala.	Stokley Carmichael #11778	11-5-66	inciting to riot	\$100 & \$7 C & 60 das Hl
PD-Atlanta Ga	Stokley Carmichael #242521 Residence: 360 Nelson St	6-18-67	DC (failing to move on) Atlanta Ga	\$53 or 50 das

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Information shown on this Identification Record represents data from  
 Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge  
 contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files  
 as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

Concerning the arrest of CARMICHAEL in Selma, Alabama, on January 26, 1965, Captain FRANK LA PORTE, Selma, Alabama, Police Department, advised on November 29, 1966, the trial relating to the charge was over late in the afternoon and a \$300 appeal bond was set and CARMICHAEL made the bond.

VI. ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT

A. ASSOCIATION WITH NOI

A characterization of the Nation of Islam (NOI) appears in the Appendix of this report.

AT T-2 advised on October 3, 1966, that on September 25, 1966, CARMICHAEL had spoken at a meeting of Muhammad's Mosque 7D in New York on that date. He commented that "Black Power" was an expression that the Negroes could thrive on since it meant unity. He said the white man was strengthened in power and it was white power. According to informant, other notables in the NOI movement spoke during this meeting, which was held at 878 Prospect Avenue, Bronx, New York.

On November 22, 1966, CARMICHAEL appeared on NBC-TV Channel 4, San Francisco, California, at 7:10 P.M. He said he would speak on November 26, 1966, although he had been denied the use of a Los Angeles area public park by Los Angeles County officials. He indicated he would speak whenever and wherever the Negro people wanted him to speak, even if he had to ignore the ruling of the Los Angeles County Supervisors.

On November 23, 1966, AT T-4, AT T-7 and AT T-8 advised that CARMICHAEL would be in Los Angeles on November 24, and would speak at the Will Rogers Park, 103rd and Central Street, as the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors had relented and given a permit for CARMICHAEL.

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to hold his Black Power Conference in the park. On November 24, 1966, AT T-9 advised that CARMICHAEL arrived at the Los Angeles International Airport aboard United Airlines Flight 877, from Sacramento, California, at 12:45 P.M. He was accompanied by TOM JACQUETTE, Executive Director of Self Leadership For All Nationalists (SLANT).

AT T-10 advised on July 26, 1966, that SLANT is a militant Black Nationalist organization in Los Angeles that is striving for self determination for the Afro-American.

AT T-9 stated that CARMICHAEL was met at the airport by 15 Negro males, who were attired in MALCOLM X t-shirts. AT T-9 stated that MALCOLM X is deceased and was formerly a national leader and spokesman of the NOI prior to his death.

AT T-15 advised on November 29, 1966, that CARMICHAEL visited Los Angeles, California, on November 26, 1966, and that his appearance at the Will Rogers Park was supported by the Southern California District Communist Party, but that the organization took no active part in the affair and, in fact, very few members of the Communist Party were present.

On February 23, 1967, Detective FRED GIBSON, Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD), advised that a Memorial March and Service Commemorating the Death of Malgcolm X took place at approximately 12 Noon on February 22, 1967, at the Audubon Ballroom, West 166th Street and Broadway, New York City.

Approximately 100 people marched in a parade down Broadway to 145th Street, and then crossed over to

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Seventh Avenue. At this point, they marched down to 125th Street, where they were joined by about another 100 people. Here a Memorial Service for Malcolm X was conducted and a small bust of Malcolm X was unveiled.

Speakers included STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Executive Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who stated that from now on they will no longer celebrate the death of MALCOLM X, but instead will celebrate his birthday.

On March 10, 1967, AT T-35 advised that on February 19, 1967, MALCOLM X Memorial Program was held at Faith Temple, 1763 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, and that a telegram was read received by the Memorial Program from STOKELY CARMICHAEL to recognize this occasion.

B. W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A characterization of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America is included in the Appendix of this report.

AT T-3 advised on September 26, and October 3, 1966, that the Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) National Coordinating Committee met at the Polonia Club in New York City from September 15, - September 17, 1966. During this meeting, a discussion was held on Black Power. This discussion was led by MARY SMITH. The DCA endeared the concept of Black Power as a revolutionary step forward in the struggle of the Negro people. The organization's position on Black Power is to be written by FRANKLIN ALEXANDER and CHUCK HARRIS in consultation with other Negro leaders of the DCA and is to be circulated nationally. The National Coordinating Committee sent a telegram to STOKELY CARMICHAEL pledging full support for his fight against the Police Department in Atlanta, Georgia.

C. MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE  
PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN  
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)

A characterization of the MPIPR appears in the Appendix of this report.

On October 17, 1966, AT T-11 advised that SNCC had indicated that CARMICHAEL would be available to visit Puerto Rico in January, 1967, to participate in activities of the MPIPR if the MPIPR would pay his expenses.

T-11 further advised that University of Puerto Rico Professor MANUEL MALDONADO DENIS had been in contact with JUAN MARI BRAS. MALDONADO indicated that the dates of 25, 26 and 27 (probably January) would be suitable for a planned visit of CARMICHAEL to Puerto Rico.

JUAN MARI BRAS is the self-admitted Interim Secretary General of the MPIPR.

On November 3, 1966, AT T-12 advised that on October 29, 1966, BRAS had stated that CARMICHAEL would visit Puerto Rico in the near future to assist the MPIPR in its campaign against the Selective Service System.

AT T-13 advised on December 17, 1966, that on January 25, 1967, a speech had been arranged for CARMICHAEL at the University of Puerto Rico and that the MPIPR would try to arrange another speech to be delivered by CARMICHAEL to the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI). According to the source, CARMICHAEL had accepted the MPIPR invitation to come to Puerto Rico and that CARMICHAEL and his Secretary would arrive in Puerto Rico on January 24, and leave on January 26. MALDONADO was given permission by BRAS to purchase two round trip tickets for CARMICHAEL and his Secretary. BRAS indicated, however, that he would buy the tickets in his own name, since he did not desire that anyone get the impression that the MPIPR was sponsoring CARMICHAEL's trip and speech.

A characterization of the FUPI is contained in the Appendix of this report.

On January 4, 1967, AT T-17 advised that ALBERTO PEREZ PEREZ was advised by an individual named RUAN that CARMICHAEL would arrive in Puerto Rico on January 24. RUAN stated that the invitation for CARMICHAEL to come there had been extended by the MPIPR. According to AT T-17, CARMICHAEL will start his activities on January 24, 1967, with a press conference and he would later attend a meeting sponsored by the FUPI in Rio Piedras at 8:00 P.M., January 24, 1967. The source further indicated on January 25, 1967, CARMICHAEL would participate in a march protesting compulsory military service, which would take place in the Metropolitan San Juan area to be concluded by 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. On January 26, 1967, CARMICHAEL would be scheduled to work with MPIPR members in making a movie. The source indicated that CARMICHAEL would be spending January 23, 1967, with the MPIPR in New York City. The source concluded that on January 25, 1967, CARMICHAEL's topic for a conference to be held by him at the University of Puerto Rico Amphitheater at 8:00 P.M., would be "Black Power and the Anti-Colonial Struggle."

On January 24, 1967, AT T-19 advised that CARMICHAEL arrived on schedule at the San Juan International Airport at 12:55 P.M. Approximately 200 sympathizers, including JUAN MARI BRAS, PEDRO BAIGES CHAPEL, Secretary of the MPIPR and JUAN ANGEL SILEN, leader of the Youth Group of the MPIPR were there.

On January 26, 1967, AT T-19 advised that CARMICHAEL traveled to Mayaguez, Puerto Rico on the early

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morning of January 26, in an automobile belonging to BRAS, Secretary General of the MPIPR. According to the informant, CARMICHAEL addressed an audience at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, consisting of approximately 500 individuals. His theme was Black Power and the struggle of Puerto Rico against the colonization of the island by the United States.

On January 16, 1967, AT T-20 advised that at a meeting of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico (PCP), held in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, on January 15, 1967, GILBERT GREEN described as the New York District Chairman of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) who was visiting Puerto Rico, had stated that relations between the MPIPR and Vita Mars Antonio Mission in New York City were excellent and that BRAS had been invited by the CP, USA to address a group of party leaders in New York City during the month of January, 1967.

A characterization of the PCP appears in the Appendix of this report.

On January 30, 1967, AT T-21 advised that he observed the march sponsored by the MPIPR Youth on Wednesday, January 25, 1967. The source stated that the group halted in front of the Armed Forces Entrance and Examination Station in front of Fort Brooke, San Juan, Puerto Rico and MPIPR member RAMON ARBONA introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL to the group. CARMICHAEL addressed the group and said pro-statehood students could volunteer for the Army if they liked the United States and "the Viet Cong would deal with them."

AT T-20 advised on January 31, 1967, that FELIX OJEDA, SR., had indicated that CARMICHAEL had been in contact with PCP member and the New York District Chairman of the CP, USA, GILBERT GREEN, during CARMICHAEL's visit to Puerto Rico.

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On January 27, 1967, AT T-23 advised that at a regular meeting of the MPIPR, which was held at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York City, on January 27, 1967, BRAS gave a short speech concerning the activities of CARMICHAEL in Puerto Rico recently and praised him in connection with these activities.

On July 27, 1967, AT T-45 advised that on July 24, 1967, PEDRO BAIGES CHAPEL and MANUEL DE JOTA had given a lecture at the MPIPR National Headquarters in New York and that during this lecture, it was mentioned that the MPIPR has liaison with many Latin American organizations as well as with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. It was indicated that the organization is in continuous contact with many of their friends around the world since their perspective is that the MPIPR can not take over the island government alone.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS FUNCTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

AT T-14 advised on November 23, 1966, that a meeting of the West Adams Club of the Moranda Smith Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party was held on Monday, November 21, 1966, at the home of BILL JONES, 2128 - 3rd Avenue, Los Angeles, California. At this meeting, it was announced that CARMICHAEL would speak in Los Angeles on Saturday, November 26, 1966, and that his talk was being sponsored by the "Black Congress." It was indicated that members of this Club should attend CARMICHAEL's speech.

On December 17, 1966, a Special Agent of the FBI obtained a flyer which was being passed out in Times Square, New York City, at a demonstration protesting United States intervention in Viet Nam.

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This flyer announced that SNCC was presenting STOKELY CARMICHAEL, MARION BROWN, JACKIE MC LEAN, ARCHIE SHEPP and A. B. SPELLMAN on Thursday, December 22nd, at 8:30 P.M., at the Village Theater, 105 Second Avenue (near 5th Street). This flyer also reflected that A. B. SPELLMAN would be the master-of-ceremonies at this affair and there would be a \$2.00 donation for those attending this affair. According to this flyer, reservations for this affair can be made at the Village Theater box office; SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue (YU 9-1313).

On December 7, 1962, AARON COHEN, a member of the CP from 1947 through 1957, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that ARCHIE SHEPP was elected to the Executive Committee of the Lower Manhattan Youth Club of the CP on November 29, 1962.

On January 21, 1963, COHEN advised a Special Agent of the FBI that ARCHIE SHEPP attended a meeting of the Lower Manhattan Youth Club of the CP at 317 East 4th Street on January 20, 1963.

On February 13, 1963, COHEN advised a Special Agent of the FBI that ARCHIE SHEPP attended a meeting of the Lower Manhattan Youth Club of the CP at 620 East 6th Street on February 3, 1963.

The February 20, 1965, issue of the "National Guardian," on page 8, column 1, sets forth an advertisement of the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE). A. B. SPELLMAN (who is ALFRED BENNETT SPELLMAN) is listed in this advertisement as one of the sponsors of CERGE.

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A characterization of the "National Guardian" is contained in the Appendix of this report.

A characterization of CERGE is attached in the Appendix of this report and sources mentioned therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

A characterization of the Jefferson Book Shop, Incorporated, 100 East 16th Street, New York City, is contained in the Appendix Section of this report and the sources mentioned therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

On December 27, 1966, Patrolman JOHN PRIBETICH, Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that on Thursday, December 22, 1966, SNCC sponsored a jazz concert at the Village Theater, 105 Second Avenue, New York City, the purpose of which was to raise funds for SNCC. Detective PRIBETICH further advised that a \$2.00 admission fee was charged per person for this concert. Detective PRIBETICH stated that performers at this concert included MARION BROWN, JACKIE MC LEAN, and ARCHIE SHEPP. Detective PRIBETICH further stated that A. B. SPELLMAN, jazz critic and poet, served as master-of-ceremonies for this concert.

Detective PRIBETICH added that STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an appearance at this concert at 10:15 P.M.; he remained on the stage for approximately five minutes; and he spoke briefly protesting United States intervention in Viet Nam.

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On November 28, 1966, AT T-16 advised that on November 20, 1966, a meeting of the Washington Park Forum was held at 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois. According to the informant, ARTHUR MONKFORD opened the meeting with clippings from papers, one about STOKLEY CARMICHAEL, who seemed to be asking for help from the Forum. Mr. MONKFORD said STOKELY CARMICHAEL is lost without the people and if the people turned their backs on him as they have on other Negroes, he is dead.

A characterization of the Washington Park Forum appears in the Appendix of this report.

On February 7, 1967, AT T-18 advised that on the evening of January 27, 1967, a dinner-dance was held at Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise, 2294 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which affair was held for the benefit of SNCC. This source further advised that Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise is owned by WILT CHAMBERLAIN of the Philadelphia 76ers National Basketball Association basketball team. This source stated that admission to this affair was \$10.00 per person and the affair lasted from approximately 10:00 P.M. on January 27, 1967, to 3:00 A.M., January 28, 1967. This source further stated that Mrs. HARRY BELAFONTE, wife of Negro singer HARRY BELAFONTE, was the chairlady of the committee which ran this affair and SIDNEY POITIER, a Negro actor, was the master-of-ceremonies of the affair. According to this source, among those in attendance at this affair, in addition to Mrs. HARRY BELAFONTE and SIDNEY POITIER, were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC; HARRY BELAFONTE and OSSIE DAVIS, a Negro actor. This source related that there were about 300 people in attendance at this affair and HARRY BELAFONTE was among those who entertained.

On January 30, 1967, AT T-24, advised that he heard from his Negro girl friend who was in attendance at this SNCC fund-raising dinner-dance held at Big Wilt's

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Smalls Paradise on January 27, 1967, that JULIE BELAFONTE, wife of HARRY BELAFONTE and SIDNEY POITIER chaired this dinner-dance. AT T-24 further advised that according to his Negro girl friend, entertainment at this affair was provided by both Negro and white performers, including HARRY BELAFONTE. AT T-24 stated that among those in attendance at this dinner-dance was VLADIMIR I. SHOKIN, who appeared to have had an enjoyable evening.

With respect to HARRY BELAFONTE, mentioned above, the following is noted:

On October 28, 1958, AT T-25 advised that according to JEAN SMITH, Secretary at CP Headquarters, New York City, before HARRY BALAFONTE came into prominence, he had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL).

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

With respect to SIDNEY POITIER, mentioned above, the following is noted:

Special Agents (SAS) of the FBI, on September 12, 1955, and again on September 14, 1955, observed SIDNEY POITIER entering 268 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which, at that time, was the address of the CP, USA Headquarters and the New York State CP Headquarters.

On December 29, 1954, SIDNEY POITIER was interviewed by Agents of the FBI. During the course of the interview, POITIER stated, "I am not now.

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a member of the CP and whether I have ever been would be a question of terminology," but he stated that he had never formally been a member of the CP; however, later in the interview, he stated that he had never been a member of the CP. He remarked that he had attended some affairs at which current events and politics were discussed, and he stated that these might have been construed by some individuals as CP meetings. POITIER also stated that he has associated with people whom he believed to be Communists. During the interview, POITIER said that he had received the "Daily Worker" for many months, although he neither personally subscribed to it nor rejected it. POITIER advised that he was acquainted with BEN DAVIS.

On May 7, 1962, AT T-26 advised that BEN DAVIS, on May 6, 1962, while addressing the Crown Heights Forum in Brooklyn, New York, stated that he is the National Secretary of the CP, USA.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

With respect to OSSIE DAVIS, mentioned above, the following is noted:

During the latter part of 1963, AT T-25 advised that he learned that OSSIE DAVIS was then a CP member.

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With respect to VLADIMIR I. SHOKIN, mentioned above, the following is noted:

VLADIMIR IVANOVICH SHOKIN is a Third Secretary to the Soviet Mission to the United States, 136 East 67th Street, New York City.

On April 3, 1967, AT T-28 advised the December, 1966 issue of "Rights" which is distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, identifies STOKELY CARMICHAEL as a member of the Executive Committee of that organization.

A characterization of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee appears in the Appendix of this report.

On April 11, 1967, AT T-29 advised that he had met with SHERRI FRANCES MYERS that day and she had told him that "her group" had planned the demonstration which preceded the riot of April 8, 1967, in the vicinity of the Fisk campus. MYERS said that she and others, including STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ED HAMLETT, DON and CAROL BONER, Mr. and Mrs. JOHN BEECHER, and others, had planned this demonstration in a meeting April 6, 1967, at Nashville. Source indicated that MYERS, HAMLETT, the BONERS and the BEECHERS all are connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), and MYERS, HAMLETT and the BONERS are all Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) members.

On April 4, 1967, AT T-30 advised that SCEF Board of Directors meeting will be held April 6-8, 1967, in Nashville, Tennessee, at the Methodist Board of Evangelism Building and that CARMICHAEL was to appear before that group.

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The April 7, 1967, edition of the "Nashville Banner," a Nashville daily newspaper, had on page one an article captioned "Stokely Involved in Secret Talk." The article in part indicated that CARMICHAEL spent almost one and a half hours in a secret meeting with the SCEF Board on April 7, 1967. The article indicated that a "Banner" reporter was ordered from the meeting by CARL BRADEN, SCEF Executive Director.

The article indicated a news release, designated as being from the SNCC, had said the meeting would be open to the press and gave the title of CARMICHAEL's address as "SNCC - Black Power for Communism." According to the article, BRADEN disclaimed knowledge of the release.

A characterization of SCEF, SSOC and CARL BRADEN appears in the Appendix of this report.

On April 17, 1967, AT T-32 furnished the following information:

STANLEY LEVISON and GLORIA CANTOR, the secretary to HARRY BELAFONTE, the well known entertainer, were in contact on that date concerning an affair which took place on Saturday afternoon, April 15, 1967, following the demonstration at the United Nations protesting the war in Viet Nam. The affair, which was held at BELAFONTE's house, was attended by CANTOR, LEVISON, MARTIN LUTHER KING, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and others.

It was LEVISON's opinion, in summing up the results of the discussion which took place at the affair, that progress was made since it was agreed not to argue and criticize each other (CARMICHAEL and KING) on matters

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not agreed to, but instead, to cooperate on common goals. LEVISON was of the opinion that CARMICHAEL made a conscious effort to be cooperative.

AT T-25 advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the 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 on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

On April 11, 1967, AT T-33 advised that on April 2, 1967, a conference was held at the Holiday Inn Motel in East St. Louis, Illinois, between HOMER RANDOLPH the East St. Louis Chairman of the Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), BILL BAILEY, Chairman of the St. Louis CORE, DONALD GAMMON, Treasurer of St. Louis CORE and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The group discussed a rally that was to be held in front of the Jefferson Bank. During the subsequent demonstration, which was held in front of the bank attended by approximately 700 persons, CARMICHAEL spoke for about 35 minutes, pointing out that Negro boys were being asked to fight in Viet Nam for freedom and democracy when they are denied these things at home. CARMICHAEL said the Negroes should refuse to fight in Viet Nam. CARMICHAEL said immediately following this demonstration he was going to the Homer Phillips Hospital where a demonstration would take place in protest of the treatment of JIM PEAKE, one of the defendants jailed there.

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AT T-36 advised on April 24, 1967, that on April 15, 1967, a march was held in Harlem, New York, in which STOKELY CARMICHAEL participated and spoke out protesting the war in Viet Nam and urging that the American Negro be brought back home and that the United States get out of Viet Nam. Along with CARMICHAEL, was BILL EPTON of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), PAUL BOUTELLE of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and other individuals.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the PLM is contained in the Appendix of this report.

On May 16, 1967, C. B. HANSCOM, Director of the University of Minnesota Police Department, advised that CARMICHAEL accompanied by a tall Negro female, had arrived at the Minneapolis Airport and after a party, went to the residence at 1653 S. Victoria Road, Mendota, Minnesota. According to Mr. HANSCOM, this is the residence of KENNETH and RACHAEL TILSEN. About 30 to 40 people attended this affair and at about 6:30 P.M., CARMICHAEL and his party left the area.

BARBARA ROEHRICH, self-admitted CP member, who has previously testified publicly, advised in March, 1952, that she knew RACHAEL TILSEN to be a CP member during 1949 and 1951, and KENNETH TILSEN to be a CP member during the period from 1946 to 1948.

On April 14, 1967, AT T-37 advised that on April 14, 1967, SALVADOR ORTIZ, Chairman of the W.E.B. DU BOIS Clubs of America Group in San Antonio, Texas, left San Antonio, Texas, and drove to Austin, Texas to hear CARMICHAEL. At this

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engagement, OTIS LEE JOHNSON appeared to act as Chairman and stated that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) had sponsored CARMICHAEL's appearance, however, they were not able to raise \$1,000 to pay for CARMICHAEL's speaking engagement, and it was necessary for them to pass the hat to obtain the extra funds.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the Appendix of this report.

The Oakland, California, Police Department, advised on June 5, 1967, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at the San Francisco International Airport at approximately 2:30 A.M., May 25, 1967.

The "Oakland Tribune" a dily newspaper published in Oakland, in its May 26, 1967, issue reported that CARMICHAEL in the afternoon (4:30 P.M.) May 25, 1967, talked to 600 spectators in the Concert Hall of Mills College.

E. DISCUSSION OF CARMICHAEL BY  
CP MEMBERS AND CP SUPPORT OF  
CARMICHAEL AND SNCC ACTIVITY

AT T-22 advised on February 16, 1967, that on January 16, 1967, JACOB GREEN, Chairman of the CP of Maryland, spoke with GEORGE MEYERS the CP District Organizer. MEYERS requested GREEN to go to the Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and also to a church in Baltimore later on in the evening and hear CARMICHAEL speak on matters of importance to the Negro. GREEN said he would attend both meetings.

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MEYERS asked GREEN what he thought about CARMICHAEL. GREEN said that in his opinion, CARMICHAEL was destroying the civil rights movement and causing the white people who are affiliated with SNCC to leave the movement.

AT T-22 advised on February 16, 1967, that on January 16, 1967, GREEN had gone to Morgan State Campus to hear CARMICHAEL speak and that CARMICHAEL was introduced as the leader of SNCC.

On March 15, 1967, AT T-27 advised that on Sunday, March 12, 1967, the third day of the National Executive Committee Meeting of the CP was held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City. During this meeting, the source said it was announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was proposing to call a Black Conference to discuss the refusal of the black youth to register. It was also announced that the National Executive Committee must support this because it is certainly a struggle for peace on the part of the Negro youths. It was further stressed that the National Executive Committee should struggle to build student power and it was said that student power means student unity between Negro, whites and laborers. According to the announcement, these remarks were made by one MIKE Z, whose identity was not further known to the source.

AT T-34 advised on March 9, 1967, that on February 21, 1967, the Southern California District of the CP held a meeting at the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Hall at Los Angeles, at which HENRY WINSTON

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gave a presentation on the question of Black Power. According to the source, WINSTON commented relative to the work STOKELY CARMICHAEL is doing in connection with the Black Power theme and left the impression that he should be supported in this endeavor.

AT T-38 advised on April 18, 1967, that on April 8, 1967, WILLIAM PATTERSON, CP leader of New York, welcomed CP members to his home in Brooklyn, including CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the National leader of the CP from Chicago, Illinois. LIGHTFOOT mentioned that there is a need for a more harmonious relationship between the African and American Negro in order to achieve complete freedom in the United States and Africa. He continued to tell of an Afro-American Conference being called for September 22 - 24, 1967, in New York City. He said that the National Initiating Committee is composed of such people as CHRISTINE JOHNSON, Head of Chicago's Afro-American Heritage Foundation, Dr. CALLIS of Washington, D. C., Dr. LAWRENCE REDDICK of Baltimore, Maryland, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC.

In describing the character of the conference as being left of center with open CP participation, LIGHTFOOT said that this would enable the party to play a major roll in the conference and the resulting organization which is to be formed, LIGHTFOOT suggested the formation of arrangements committees in each city which would work closely with the Initiating Committee and sponsor of the conference.

On May 4, 1967, AT T-39 advised that on April 30, 1967, the 77th National May Day Celebration sponsored by the May Day Committee, was held on Central Avenue in Los Angeles, California, and was attended by 300 to 350 persons. There were three speakers, BEN DOBBS,

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General Secretary of the CP, Southern California District; ARLYNE RICHARDS and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. According to the informant, LIGHTFOOT again made references to STOKELY CARMICHAEL and praised his actions regarding civil rights matters in the United States.

The Oakland, California, Police Department, advised on June 5, 1967, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrived at the San Francisco International Airport at approximately 2:30 A.M., May 25, 1967.

The "Oakland Tribune", a daily newspaper published in Oakland, in its May 26, 1967, issue reported that CARMICHAEL in the afternoon (4:30 P.M.) May 25, 1967, talked to 600 spectators in the Concert Hall of Mills College.

CARMICHAEL disclosed that SNCC and its people were investigating "war crimes" in Viet Nam and that he was privileged to be associated with BERTRAND RUSSELL's recent war time trial in Sweden which found the United States guilty of aggression.

According to the Oakland Police Department, at 7:00 P.M., May 25, 1967, CARMICHAEL was scheduled and did appear at a private dinner party held at the residence of BROWNLEE W. SHIREK, 2705 Walker Street, Berkeley, California.

BROWNLEE W. SHIREK was observed by Special Agents of the FBI when he attended the Alameda County Membership meeting of the CP held on January 30, 1944, at Danish Hall, Oakland, California. He

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was observed by Special Agents of the FBI attending the California State Convention of the CP held on May 7, 1944, at 121 Haight Street, San Francisco, California.

AT T-40 advised that BROWNLEE SHIREK, 2705 Walker Street, Berkeley, California, was the recipient of a yearly subscription to "People's World" (PW), which expired on August 11, 1966. The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

Among the approximately 35 people that attended this private dinner was MATT CRAWFORD.

BRUNETTA REID WOLFMAN, 754 Coventry Road, Berkeley, California, Program Director, University YWCA, Berkeley, advised on March 2, 1962, that she had been a member of the CP from the late Fall of 1951 to the Fall of 1956. She stated that MATT CRAWFORD was known to her to have been a member of the CP during the course of her membership. The first source mentioned that MATT CRAWFORD, 1399 Delaware Street, Berkeley, California, was the recipient of a yearly subscription to the PW, which is due to expire on May 22, 1968,

CARMICHAEL left the dinner and proceeded to a fund raising party which was scheduled to start at 9:00 P.M. and was held at 103 Alvarado Road, Berkeley, California. This is the residence of E. H. BAKER.

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ENNIS H. BAKER, JR., on January 14, 1952, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he was a member of the CP in San Diego, California, from 1942 to 1948 and was the Chairman of the San Diego County CP in 1947.

ENNIS H. BAKER, III, the son of ENNIS BAKER, JR., in a sworn signed statement executed at Keesler Air Force Base, Mississippi, on May 22, and 23, 1957, told that his father was believed to have been a member of the CP until approximately 7 years ago and that he believed his stepmother was once a member of the CP.

E. H. BAKER, III in conversation with the Oakland Police Department, advised on May 26, 1967, that his father frequently stays at 103 Alvarado Road, Berkeley, California.

It was estimated by ENNIS H. BAKER, III, that \$20,000 in pledges and donations were collected from the approximately 250 individuals in attendance at the fund raising party. Among those attending this affair was RAYMOND FREDERICK THOMPSON.

AT T-41 advised that RAYMOND FREDERICK THOMPSON was a CP member in April, 1962. A third source advised that THOMPSON was a Master-of-Ceremonies at a PW benefit held in April, 1966.

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Another individual attending this affair was ROSCOE PROCTOR.

ROSCOE PROCTOR is a current National Committeeman of the CP, USA. (Self-admitted)

Also in attendance was LEON WOFSY.

AT T-25 in 1947 reported that LEON WOFSY was in good standing with the CP and during a meeting between WOFSY and leaders of the CP it was agreed that a false report of his having quit the CP would be circulated in order that he might obtain a position in the Connecticut School System.

AT T-25 in mid-1961 reported that WOFSY was in contact with various CP leaders. ARNOLD JOHNSON, CP, USA Director of Publicity, referred to WOFSY as "an experienced communist who knows what to do at the right moment and no matter what he does it is always considered a victory for the CP."

CARMICHAEL left the fund raising party at 12:30 A.M., May 26, 1967.

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F. BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION

AT T-31, another Government agency which conducts intelligence and personnel investigations, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL's name appeared among a number of U. S. citizens who have become involved in the planning for the operations of International War Crimes Tribunal through the intermediary of the Bertrand Russell Foundation.

On June 16, 1967, an article appeared in the "Peace News", London, England, reflecting that in July, 1967, the International Congress of Dialectics of Liberation would be held in London and that numerous distinguished thinkers from all over the world, including the third world, and Eastern Europe, would be attending, as well as many students who are dissatisfied with what they are being taught in their own universities. The article reflected STOKELY CARMICHAEL, described as a political activist, will speak on Tuesday, July 18, 1967, at 10:30 A.M.

On June 30, 1967, AT T-1 advised that CARMICHAEL would be leaving the United States from Washington, D. C., on July 13, for London, where he will participate in the aforementioned International Congress.

According to information received from AT T-48, the Dialectics of Liberation contains leading individuals known to have Trotskyist or Anarchist connections and appear to be of no security interest. It is a body of intellectuals who seek to exchange views on the ills of current society.

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G. INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MEETING IN  
LENINGRAD, UNION OF SOVIET  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR)

During June and July, 1967, AT T-43 advised that invitations had been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to the International Youth Meeting in Leningrad, USSR, to plan activities for the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Students for a Democratic Society and SNCC were among the organizations receiving invitations. The invitations were issued by a Mr. YUROVOI (phonetic), who was President of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, USSR diplomatic personnel in the United States have not been informed of the details of the meeting. The invitations indicated, however, that the Soviet Union was paying the air fare of those invited. USSR diplomatic personnel thought it would be good for the people going to the meeting to come to Washington, D. C., en route to get acquainted, then go to Montreal, and fly to the USSR by Aeroflot, the Soviet State airline. The dates of the meeting were not definitely known to the Soviets in the United States.

AT T-44 advised on July 12, 1967, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former head of SNCC, and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, JR., have reservations on Pan American Airlines, Flight 104, departing John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, at 8:15 P.M., July 14, 1967, arriving London, England, 7:55 A.M., July 15, 1967. They have further reservations at London on Aeroflot Flight 32, departing London, 12:30 P.M., July 15, 1967, for Moscow, USSR, arriving Moscow at 6:15 P.M., July 15, 1967.

VII. STATEMENTS MADE BY CARMICHAEL

In an article appearing in the "Daily Telegraph", London, England, July 25, 1967, CARMICHAEL was reported as having said at the International Congress of Dialectics of Liberation that he would burn down British homes and factories if the British did not adopt his principles. He added that "it is time to let the whites know we are going to take over and if they don't like it we will stamp them out, using violence and any other means necessary."

According to information appearing in a publication issued in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, on October 31, 1967, CARMICHAEL, when interviewed, stated that "Black Power" has come to Africa to teach Africans to hate and kill all white men. He reportedly said, "let me send 200 Afro-Americans into the Congo and I'll wipe out thousands of mercenaries in no time." CARMICHAEL repeatedly said, "all the whites have to be killed."

VIII. PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION (OLAS)

On August 3, 1967, AT T-46 advised that on Monday, July 31, when the delegates to the OLAS Conference met in the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Hotel Havana Hilton to name the Presidents of the delegations to the Conference, the following appointments were made: On the proposal of the Dominican delegate, Major ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA was named Honorary Chairman. The acting chairmanship was given to Cuba, with HAYDEE SANTAMARIA as the Chairman. The assistant chairmanships were given to : FRANCISCO PRADA, delegate from Venezuela; RODNEY ARISMENDY, delegate from Uruguay; NESTOR VALLE, delegate from Guatemala, and GERARDO SANCHEZ, delegate from Santo Domingo.

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After the name of Major ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA had been proposed by GERARDO SANCHEZ, Dominican delegate to the Conference, GUEVARA was unanimously named Honorary Chairman.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Negro citizen of the United States, whom they call the leader of "Black Power" in the U. S., and who occupied one of the special places on the platform at the Conference was unanimously appointed "Honorary Delegate" to the OLAS Conference.

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as  
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known  
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program.

APPENDIX

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO  
(Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leader of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR has indicated that "the revolution" would soon begin and another source advised that another official of this organization has attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961 it adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

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FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO INDEPENDENCIA(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE)

Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) was organized in October, 1956, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, as a student organization, not affiliated with any political group, but working for independence for Puerto Rico through logical and peaceful means.

A source advised on May 28, 1962, FUPI was elected an integral member of the International Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October, 1960. Jose Rafael Varona Berrios, upon interview on April 8, 1966, stated he was the Secretary of International Affairs of FUPI, and met with various delegates of the IUS between November 27, 1965, and February 9, 1966. Varona Berrios advised that FUPI is affiliated with the IUS, and stated he believed in violence as a method of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico, if conditions indicated violence might succeed or aid in obtaining Puerto Rican independence.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as being among "international communist fronts functioning at the present time," and by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one of the "long-established Soviet controlled international organizations."

On April 5, 1966, a second source advised that Alberto Perez Perez was elected President of FUPI on that date. On May 16, 1966, it was learned that Alberto Perez Perez had received a one-way prepaid ticket to travel from San Juan, Puerto Rico, to Moscow, U.S.S.R., and departed San Juan for Moscow on that date.

A third source advised May 16, 1966, that Perez Perez was scheduled to attend a "communist youth conference" in Moscow as the FUPI representative.

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

- "1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. \*\*\* Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

APPENDIX1.COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE TO  
GHETTO LIFE (CERGE)

A source advised on February 3, 1965, that CERGE was formed on November 1, 1964, as a front of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), presently known as Progressive Labor Party (PLP). All personnel which comprise the committee are PLM members. CERGE was organized to raise funds for the PLM in order that the PLM will have money for bail when it becomes necessary. The people connected with CERGE hope to build it into a national organization.

A second source advised on March 5, 1965, that it is the plan of the PLM to recruit people into CERGE and use CERGE as a recruiting front for PLM members. The PLM plans to give instructions in Marxist philosophy and those who respond will be advanced from CERGE to PLM membership.

A third source advised on April 29, 1966, that CERGE maintains an office and receives mail at Room 627, One Union Square, New York, New York.

APPENDIX1.JEFFERSON BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

A source provided information in the spring of 1945 which indicated that the Jefferson Book Shop, Incorporated, (JBS) had officially opened on April 1, 1944.

The records of the New York County Supreme Court reflected that on December 3, 1946, papers were filed with the Department of State, State of New York, incorporating the JBS, Incorporated, to sell books and magazines at wholesale and retail among other purposes.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker," an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958, and a self-admitted member of the Communist Party (CP) until 1945, advised in March, 1947, that the JBS was one of a number of outlets for CP literature which had been set up by the CP.

A second source advised on February 14, 1961, that at a meeting of the New York District CP Staff held that date, DANIEL RUBEL gave a report on the operation of the JBS. He announced that it had shown a small profit in 1960 and that approximately 35 per cent of the sales was of Marxist - Progressive material. A number of suggestions were advanced by those present to improve the sales of CP literature at the JBS and it was announced that 63 young people, who had come into contact with the party through the JBS, were thinking about joining the party and some were recruits into the party.

A third source advised on February 1, 1961, that on that date HY LUMER, CP, USA, Educational Director, referred to DANIEL RUBEL as being in charge of literature distribution of the New York District of the CP, USA.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 14, 1966, lists the JBS as being located at 100 East 16th Street, New York City.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times," April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new part of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP published "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge," a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states, that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

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WASHINGTON PARK FORUM

A confidential source advised on June 11, 1954, that the Washington Park Forum (WPF) started in the 1930's as a spontaneous group of unemployed persons interested in discussing current events. In the late 1930's, the Communist Party (CP) penetrated and took over the WPF. From 1936 to 1940, the CP penetration was so great that it secured control that it still maintains in the WPF.

Another confidential informant advised in May, 1957, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana CP, had advised CP leaders that the CP in Illinois must make a concentrated effort to regain control of the WPF which recently had been "taken over by Trotskyists".

The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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**PARTIDO COMUNISTA PUERTORRIQUENO**  
**(COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO) (PCP)**

An article by JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the PCP, in the 2/19/44, issue of "Puerto Rico, Ayer, Hoy y Manana" (Puerto Rico, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) stated the Communist Party of Puerto Rico was founded in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1934.

A source advised in November, 1963, that JUAN SANTOS RIVERA was changing the name of the PCP and the new name would be Partido Obrero Liberador (POL).

In May, 1964, RIVERA publicly declared that the POL was the new name for the Communist Party of Puerto Rico.

On September 12, 1966, a second source advised that on September 8, 1966, RIVERA called a special meeting of the POL at which meeting the name of POL was changed to the original PCP.

The second source advised on September 12, 1966, that a communication had recently been received by the PCP, San Juan from the Communist Party in Prague, Czechoslovakia, to the effect that Puerto Rico is recognized as a nation and that, therefore, the PCP is a Communist Party in its own right and not a district organization of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA). This source stated that although the PCP is not a district of the CPUSA, it is based on the same Marxist-Leninist principles as the CPUSA.

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) with headquarters at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student", which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On September 27, 1966, a second source advised that Donald Boner of Nashville, Tennessee, while in attendance at a Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) Youth Conference, Camp Webatuck, New York, September 12, 13 and 14, 1966, gave a report regarding Nashville, saying that CP personnel were concentrating on organizing rent strikes, working with SSOC and SCEF and establishing a Socialist Study Group for students. He predicted future rioting, which, he said, the CP must take advantage of. He emphasized that more CP youth must be sent South.

On August 12, 1966, a third source advised that Donald Leslie Boner, white male, age 22, of 3105 Louise Drive, Nashville, Tennessee, had been in the CP about four months.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On September 27, 1966, and again on June 2, 1967, the second source advised that during the Summer of 1966 the CPUSA concentrated its youth cadre in organizing projects in several cities in an effort to recruit for and strengthen local CP youth organizations. Nashville, Tennessee, was included in this project. The youth placed in charge of the Nashville project was Donald Leslie Boner, with funds to be made available for three to five full-time organizers in Nashville. Jacqueline Saindon, also known as Jackie, of the CP in New York, New York, a Queens College student, came to Nashville in the Summer of 1966 for this purpose. At the CPUSA Youth Conference held at Camp Webatuck, New York, September 12, 13 and 14, 1966, Boner reported that effective liaison had been made with SSOC; that contact had also been made with black militants on Nashville Negro college campuses; and that a beginning had been made toward organizing in the Nashville Negro community. He said he thought a riot was possible in the near future in the Negro community and the CP must take advantage of same. He emphasized that some main efforts were to work with SSOC and SCEP. Following the conference, attendees Brian Heggen and Patricia Louise Rabbitt, also known as Patti Rabbitt, traveled to Nashville to join Boner's organizing efforts there.

On February 28, 1967, a fourth source advised that Patti Rabbitt of Seattle Washington, a member of the Northwest CP District, had gone to Nashville, Tennessee, to organize in connection with a CP assignment.

On June 8, 1967, source five advised that Patti Rabbitt, Brian Heggen, Donald Leslie Boner and wife Carol Stevens Boner are all active members of SSOC in Nashville and that Heggen is now editor of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student."

On July 7, 1967, source six advised that Donald Boner and wife Carol Boner attended a CPUSA Youth Conference at Camp Abelard, New York, July 1 through 4, 1967.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The masthead of the June, 1967, issue of "Southern Patriot", official publication of SCEF, lists Carol Stevens Boner and Anne Braden as Editors and lists Carl Braden as Executive Director.

The "Nashville Banner", Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper issue of May 5, 1967, reported that SSOC was preparing for the May 17, 1967, appearance of Mike Zagarell, National Youth Director, CPUSA, at Vanderbilt University; that Bill Doss, Press Agent for SSOC, on May 12, 1967, brought to the "Banner" office publicity material which the CP had sent to SSOC.

The April, 1967, issue, Volume IV, No. 4, of "New South Student", published each month, October through May, by SSOC, carried an article on page 22 entitled "CIA American Labor," by Donald Boner, a review of a book entitled, "The CIA and American Labor," authored by George Morris, Labor Editor of "The Worker," east coast Communist newspaper. Boner is described therein as an active member of the Nashville SSOC chapter.

1 SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1958 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party Functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 26, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of

the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A third source advised on May 28, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

CARL and ANNE BRADEN

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court, in a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE BRADEN, as having been known to her as members of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

The Courier - Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 3, 1959, reported that CARL BRADEN had been sentenced to one year in prison on a charge of contempt of Congress on February 2, 1959, in Atlanta, Georgia. The story noted that he had been convicted under this charge on January 21, 1959, and that the charge arose from his refusal to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Louisville Times, Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 27, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme Court had, on that date, affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction of BRADEN.

The Courier - Journal on May 2, 1961, reported that CARL BRADEN had surrendered to the United States Marshal at Atlanta, Georgia, on May 1, 1961, to begin serving a one-year prison sentence for contempt of Congress.

The Courier - Journal, on February 2, 1962, reported that CARL BRADEN had been released from the Federal Prison Camp at Allenwood, Pennsylvania, on February 1, 1962. BRADEN indicated that he would return to his home, Louisville, Kentucky.

On August 30, 1963, a confidential source advised that CARL BRADEN and his wife, ANNE BRADEN, continue to reside at 4403 Virginia Avenue and are still employed as Field Secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

A characterization of SCEF is attached hereto.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of the organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

100-6812 1

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, documents the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as follows:

"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 \*\*\*Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

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

A source advised December 21, 1957, and January 6, 1958, that LEONARD BOUDIN, constitutional lawyer and legal counsel for Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, made a speech December 20, 1957, accepting the Philadelphia Associates as a group to work with the national organization. This occurred at a Bill of Rights Day celebration sponsored by the Philadelphia Associates, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, at the Adolphia Hotel, Philadelphia.

A second source advised on May 23, 1962, that the Philadelphia Associates have not been active in the past two years, have no current active membership, and do not maintain a headquarters in Philadelphia.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia  
November 16, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
Reference	is made to report of Special Agent Edward U. Crim, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

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

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5  
NLJ/RAC 08-38  
By iol, NARA, Date 8-28-08



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

May 31, 1967

19

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

On May 24, 1967, source one advised that Stokely Carmichael arrived at Los Angeles International Airport at 9:53 a.m. May 24, 1967, and was met by three vehicles, two being registered to the State of California, license E 31898 and E 48832, and the third vehicle license FKR 108, was registered to Salitus S. Correia, 1644 West 62nd Street, Los Angeles.

The vehicles proceeded to Pauley Pavilion, University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), 405 North Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, where 3000 students were present. (less than ten per cent being colored) to hear Carmichael speak.

Carmichael's presentation commenced at 12:15 p.m. and concluded at 1:15 p.m. Carmichael lectured for 40 minutes and had a 35 minute session for questions in which he spoke against integration, the president and vice-president of the United States, and the war in Vietnam.

The "Los Angeles Times," a major metropolitan newspaper, on May 25, 1967, reported on Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

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GROUP 1

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downgrading and  
declassification

DECLASSIFIED.  
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5  
NLJ/RAC 08-38  
By isl, NARA, Date 8-27-08

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

(SNCC) and a militant Black Power advocate who spoke to 4000 students at Pauley Pavilion, UCLA, on May 24, 1967. According to the newspaper, Carmichael said that "with the white rush to the suburbs the Negroes will control the cities" and "the black people have a right to control their communities and without Black Power our cities will exist in a constant state of insurrection." He related that a Negro anti-draft movement will be started this year and he added, "I will decide who my enemy is and I will decide when to kill him."

The "Daily Bruin," the UCLA campus newspaper of May 25, 1967, reported that Carmichael spoke to 5000 students at Pauley Pavilion on May 24, 1967, and was accompanied by Rap Brown, new SNCC Chairman. According to the newspaper, Carmichael lectured to a responsive and orderly audience. He stated that he "deplores" riots and cited "corruption" and "violence" of white Americans as the cause of the riots.

During the course of his speech, Carmichael referred to President Johnson as "Lyndon Buffoon Johnson." He defined "Buffoon" as a "court jester who tells everybody things are okay, which is, in essence, to lie."

Carmichael called drafting of 30 per cent of the Negro male population as "black urban removal" and denounced the American role in Vietnam.

Source two advised May 27, 1967, that Stokely Carmichael gave the keynote address at the California Black Conference scheduled from May 26, to 28, 1967, on May 26, 1967, at Jefferson High School, 1319 East 41st Street, Los Angeles. Carmichael related that they were present to organize for a revolution, and to organize a legal political structure together with an underground corp of guerrillas. He urged Negroes to take control of educational systems in the community and that Negroes should take over housing in order to solve their housing problems.

Businessmen in the Negro areas must support the Negro community by giving jobs or by paying a percentage of profits to the community; and if they do not comply, a complete boycott of these businesses should be instituted.

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The tenor of this speech was a call to form a coalition of Negro organizations. An estimated 800 Negroes with approximately 50 per cent of them being youths were present.

Records of Delta Airlines, Los Angeles International Airport, as checked on May 29, 1967, indicated that Stokely Carmichael departed Los Angeles 11:40 a.m. May 28, 1967, via Delta Flight 826 to Atlanta, Georgia.

In addition, copies are being furnished to Region II, U. S. Army Pasadena; U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles; U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles; Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; and Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base.

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.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 24, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Inspector Thomas I. Herlihy, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), made available a tape recording of a speech by Stokely Carmichael made on May 16, 1967, at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, Eleventh and R Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., in connection with a program sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Inspector Herlihy advised that he obtained the tape recording from one of the major radio networks and that the network did not want to become involved in the matter, such as possibly having to testify as to its contents. Therefore, Inspector Herlihy advised that he did not obtain the name of the person who actually made the recording of the speech.

Below is a verbatim copy of the tape recording:

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.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Gotta figure out which one belongs to the CIA or all of them do. (laughs) I'm terribly sorry to be late, I'll be truthful, I missed my plane this afternoon and had to catch a later plane. (Someone asked Stokely to speak louder.) Sorry I was late this after -- late but I missed my plane, that's the truth. I want to say a special good evening though to my brothers from the Cardozo area. (applause and yelling) That's our new movement, we gonna build a black resistance movement in this country, it's our only hope. (applause) I want to talk a little about a couple of things tonight. The first thing I want to talk about is something called morality. I want to be able to do it real quicky cause this country ain't got none, period. (applause) And so, if we can do that, we can get it out of the way. There's no need for us to quibble about the questions of morality on the war in Vietnam or on the road that the people who run this country is trying to take. It should be crystal clear in all our mind they're trying to run the world and they're going to use young men to be their pawns to run the world. So the question we have to decide now is the question of love of humanity over what is called love of country, and that's what we have to deal with here tonight. You cannot be worried about your country, and you've got to be worried about human beings. That's what counts, that's what counts. (applause) To outline that, we want to be able to do about two things. We want to start off by telling the truth about this country and we just say very clearly-the United States is a nation of thieves---a nation of thieves. They started off by stealing this country from the red man. They didn't blink an eye while committing genocide against them. They now live on the reservations, they're human beings.

"They weren't satisfied with stealing the country, they turn around and they stole black people from Africa. Everything they've gotten their hands on they've stolen. The country stands on the brink of being a nation of murderers in Vietnam and we have to stop it, that's our task. It's very simple. No questions to be asked. The question's how do we stop it. We do not have the power to stop the people who move

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the war in Vietnam. We have to build the power to give our young brothers around this country the strength to say hell no: to the draft, and to talk about spending five years in jail cause that's what the real talk is about. Seems to me a lot of people would refuse to go the draft but they get hung up on spending five years in jail. So our job now is begin to build heroes out of the brothers who go to jail. We going to start with Mr. Muhammed Ali. (loud applause and yelling)

"The heroes of this country are murderers. We need new type of heroes. We need heroes who are concerned with people. Mr. Muhammed Ali is concerned with people. He's going to be our hero. (applause) We're gonna get new heroes for the black people in this country. The heroes are going to be sixteen people in SNCC who've said hell no to the draft and gonna take five years in jail. That's gonna be our heroes from this day on. (applause and yelling) We have to begin to give them the strength and the courage to know that there's a high law than the law of the Hunky (phonetic) named Lyndon Baines Johnson. (applause) How people across the country get upset when we say dirty words about Johnson and his ilk but the words we say can't begin to match the acts that they commit and you ought to understand that in your minds. They laugh cause we call him a buffoon, they get upset, they said it was disrespectful, see they didn't understand what a buffoon is. A buffoon is a court jester, and his job is that when things are gone bad in the kingdom he's supposed to keep the people happy. He's supposed to tell them things are going OK. Have you ever dug Lyndon Buffoon Johnson on TV. (applause) Dig him. Every night before I go to bed I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace in the world. (applause) An then the paper comes out and said there's a credibility gap in the country, ain't no credibility gap, the hunky's (ph) lying, period. (applause) I wanna read some facts so we can begin to take a real approach to this Vietnam war. I want to read a quote, it comes from a very good book, it's called Vietnam, Vietnam by Mr. Felix (ph) Green (ph). I been readin it all over the country. I want to read this quote so you can begin to understand what the wars in this country are all about. As black people we know

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ain't no such thing as democracy in this country, so they can get another word for us. (applause) Get another word. But now some white youths are hung up with democracy cause they're deluded and they think there really is such a thing as democracy in this country and so they begin to stop the war on questions of morality, that it ain't right to kill. Now that's a lot of junk. It's not either right or wrong to kill. Killing is. The question is who has the power to kill, that's all. A policeman in the black community is a licensed killer --- is a licensed killer. A black man attacking a policeman is a rioter, Yeh (applause) That's cause the black man don't have the license to kill. That's what you got to talk about. Now let us read this quote to you. It was made on August 4, 1953. We weren't fighting the war in Vietnam then, the French were fighting it. We were paying 60 per cent of the budget for 'em. The quote was made August 4, 1953, before the United States Governors in Seattle, Washington. It says ---- Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China. The tin and the tungsten that we so greatly valued from that area would cease coming. So, when the United States votes \$400,000,000 to help that war, we're not voting a give away program. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the richest of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia. That quote was made by Dwight D. Eisenhower while he was President of this country. (applause) But now you know people said -- well you know you shouldn't really read Dwight cause he wasn't really smart, he was dumb. (applause) He couldn't talk (imitates guttural sounds). In my community we use to call him the white Joe Louis, (huh huh huh) glad I win - I be right hose na. (applause) So we wouldn't want to use him, and after all that was in 1953 so we would want to be more up to date. So we want to take a quote from the former Ambassador to Saigon was was tall, sophisticated, intelligent, blond head, blue eyed, Henry Cabot Lodge. This is his quote ---- Geographically (Carmichael states-this was made last year) Vietnam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world, Southeast Asia. An area with a population of 249,000,000

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persons. He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can effect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Vietnam just does not exist in a geographic vacuum. From it's large store houses of wealth, the population can be influenced and undermined. That's what the war is all about and you've got to understand that, and the trouble is that the people who make the money don't give us none, all we get is the death rolls for fighting the war in Vietnam. I wanna read one other quote, which I think is very important for us. It has to do with the Nuremberg Trials. Now the Nuremberg Trials were conducted after Hitler went on his rampage and he told his soldiers to follow him because they should have love for their country. (laughter by Carmichael which starts audience to laughing) and they had love for their country, and they never reasoned why, theirs was but to do and die. We gonna change it. Ours is to reason why, not to do and die. Yes. (loud applause and yelling)

"Now the United States was one of the main people coined the Nuremberg Trials and I wanna read a quote right out of the Nuremberg Trials for what you can be tried for. The following acts or any of them are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be an individual responsibility. Listen to the acts: Ill treatment of civilian population. Murder or ill treatment of prisoners of war. Wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages. Inhumane acts committed against any civilian population. You're gonna be held individually responsible if you commit any of those acts. The only way you can get away from that is to stay to hell away from Vietnam. That's all. Now then that's what we have to talk about. A man's individual responsibility to humanity, not to his country.

"There are some people who would have us believe that there is nothing more important than a plot of earth, a country and that all the advertisements that appear in editorial sections of newspapers around this country say that

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it's our country, right or wrong and that even if we're wrong we should go ahead and fight. I would have to be a German living today who fought in World War II to get up and find out that the Nazis were committing genocide against the Jews. I would have to be a Frenchman living today who woke up to find out that his country was fighting to conquer Vietnam five years ago. I would hate to be a Frenchman who would be awake today and having fought in the Algerian War, find out that my country was fighting to suppress other people. I would have to be a Frenchman to wake up tomorrow to find out that my country is fighting to suppress Szechuan and not talk about democracy. And I would have to be a blackman living in this country to wake up five years from today having to lose an arm or leg in Vietnam to find out that I was fighting to suppress other colored people while I thought I was fighting for freedom, democracy and ----- (last word drowned out by loud applause and yelling).

"There can be no turning back from the course that this country has decided to move on. The man's getting ready to go into China. The question is who are gonna be his pawns. You should note that in Vietnam the NLF does not have a draft program, people volunteer. Understand that. I understand that very clearly. This country has to draft people because if they didn't draft them people really wouldn't know what to fight for. I want to go one step further. You know when they call guerilla warfare and they keep saying the country can't engage in guerilla warfare, that's really hand to hand combat. That's what they call guerilla warfare. But the people don't have the guts to have hand to hand combat with people in Vietnam. So the solution - that's very important because this is a cowardly country, it is a cowardly country because what it does is then fly planes over and just drop bombs, just drop bombs (applause) because they can't look a man in the eye when they kill 'em, because you don't kill a man just because he's a communist, you got to kill him because he's done something to you and the Vietnamese ain't never done

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nothing to an American, never. (applause) So that the way they get you to kill Vietnamese is to say to you he is your enemy my fellow Americans (mimicing LBJ) (laughter), he is a communist my fellow Americans, he's trying to rule the world my fellow Americans and so we must conquer his country first my fellow Americans. We are fighting a preventive war. That's a lot of crap. That a lot of crap. (applause) They are fighting to conquer Vietnam so they can move into China, dat's what it's all about. The Vietnamese ain't done nothing to America, they ain't agressed in this country, ain't bombed no villages, ain't shot nobody, ain't napalmed nobody. All they want is the right to run their country. Five years ago Vietnam was the world's leading export in rice, today she buys rice from the United States of America. Dat's what that war is all about. (applause)

"The question now then is divided it seems to me in terms of black youth and white youth. White youth have to begin to build a resistance movement in this country and stop talking about morality and talk about their survival because black people ain't gonna go, we gonna build a resistance movement in this country or we gonna die trying and we gonna take something (applause and yelling). The question is can white youth begin to move into their communities and get new leaders. The leaders of white western society are sickening. They run a sorry side from Westmoreland to Lyndon Baines Johnson. That's their heroes. They can't find one hero who can stand up and draw a crowd who presents and talks about peace or humanity, as a matter of fact they have to cling to Dr. King and that is an indictment against white western society and they ought to understand that clearly. White youth in this country must begin to build a resistance movement against a murder and genocide that the people who run this country are trying to commit against the people in Vietnam.

"Now for my black brothers, it's a different question see because we know where the man is at before

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we start. (laughter) The first man in this country to die for the War of Independence was a black man named Cristofus Adams (both ph), a black man. (applause) He was a fool. (laughter) He got out there and got shot for white folks while his brothers were enslaved all over this country. He should have been getting his brothers together to take care of natural business. (yelling and applause) Black people couldn't fight in the American Revolution, they said we weren't good enough. So we went out and we trained ourselves, walked up and down and begged the white folk to come look at us and they came and they saw us training and they said very good now you can fight and they gave us guns and had us fight the Indians. Like fools, we should have been teasing up with the Indians. (laughter) After the American Revolution was over and the white folk got the Independence, they topped the black people who fought on the head and gave them a medal and said good work nigger now get back to where you belong. Yes. (applause) But we weren't satisfied. We went out, we gonna show America what good Americans we are cause we want to show them how much we love this country. So along came the Civil War and the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War cause he said we weren't fitten to fight. Oh, but we wanted to prove to America how good we were. Please let us fight Mr. White Man. We wanna kill them white folk in the South who been our slave masters. Just give us some guns, we sho nuff take care of business. They wouldn't let us fight. Frederick Douglass had to go and tell Lincoln to let us fight and they only started to let us fight when the South was winning, in segregated units and we fought in the back. We weren't satisfied. Weran't satisfied, no. Along came World War I and they started to draft people and they weren't drafting us so our organization spoke up. Draft us, we wanna fight we good Americans, yes. (yelling) The crisis (ph) ran editorial after editorial begging white people to draft us. The slogan was we're gonna make the world safe for democracy and while grandfathers and our fathers lined up to make the world safe for democracy and we didn't even know how to

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spell the word. (applause) Didn't know how to spell the word. We went all over the world fighting for democracy, shedding our blood for white folk. We came back to this country and we had our uniforms on and didn't even get a chance to get them off and they hung an entire regiment of us in Texas with our uniforms on, (applause and yelling). With our on. But we wanted to prove to this country what good Americans we were so we were waiting for the chance. Please let us fight. We will do anything for this country cause we love it. We will prove to you what good Americans we were. And along came World War II and our uncles went to Poland to fight in Poland, died trying to stop Hitler from killing white Polish people and last summer when we walked into Cicero young Polish punks gon' throw rocks at us and call us niggers. (applause) Call us niggers.

"We weren't satisfied, we were going to prove to America what good Americans we were. We just wanted to prove to them how good we were. We captured Seoul. Nazi prisoners in Germany and we were bringing them back to this country. We were taking them to a prison camp in Texas. We had on uniforms, our blood was shed for this country. Here come some punkie Nazi who's fighting against this country and when you put 'em on the train and get to D.C. the white folk had to ride in the front and the niggers rode in the back. (applause) Rode in the back. But we weren't satisfied, we were going to prove to dis country what good Americans we were so our brother, A. Phillip Randolph, got up and said intergrate the troops Mr. President, intergrate the troops (mimicing Randolph) (laughter) yes. And in 1948, Truman got white and intergrated the troops. Let me remind you in World War II we fought in segregated units and Pork Chop Hill was taken by a black regiment. (applause) Black regiment. We weren't satisfied, no sir, we gon' prove what good Americans we were. So the Korean War came along and communism must be stopped at any price and it was our blood that paid dat price, and our uncles and brothers came back with one legs and one arms to walk into a store and have some foreign siss the door in 'his face and say nigger get

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out of my store. Yes suh, in the Vietnam war America is gon' prove something to us. We ain't fightin'. (long applause and cheers)

"There ain't no need for us to go and bomb schools in Vietnam, we need to build schools in our ghettos. That's where we goin' be working, that's where we goin' be working. (applause). There is no need for us to bomb villages in Vietnam, we're goin' build houses in the capitol of this nation, with all the rats that they have, they ought to be napaing the rats and leave the brown babies in Vietnam alone, alone, alone. (applause and cheers) There is no need to go to Vietnam and shoot somebody who a hunkie (ph) says is your enemy, we are goin' to shoot the cops who are shooting our black brothers in the back in this country. That's where we goin'. (loud cheers and applause)

"There is no need for us to go anywhere and fight for democracy. We working for our liberation and it's goin' be in this country, it's goin' be in this country, and if nobody else has got the power to stop this country, then black people will stand up and fight to save our humanity, cause that's what this fight is about. (applause)

"We have got to save our humanity. If we do not, white America will destroy it. It's not just a question of the Vietnam War, cause they spend 70 per cent of their taxes to build guns. Dat means they always goin' be at war. They spending 70 cents out of your dollar to build guns, what they going do with it? The question is for black people is what's going happen when they get ready to go into Mozambique (ph) and South Africa, that's the question. (applause) Are we goin' pick up guns and go in Santo Domingo again and shoot down black people in Santo Domingo because the hunkies says shoot 'em? (shouts of no from audience) What are we gonna do? We have picked up guns and we have shed our blood everywhere around this world because some white man said nigger shoot. We have said yes suh, and saluted and shined our shoes. We're 'bout

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building a draft movement in this country and we starting with high school students, high school students, (ripple of applause) and the reason we're goin' do it with high school students is cause they getting ready draft kids eighteen and nineteen, da minute they get out of school. Dat's what they talking about over at that (illegible) so they won't even have a chance to think. Can you figger out what a pathetic 18 year old kid in this country go to Vietnam to fight for. He don't even know what he doing with a gun. But they taking it and you know who goin' do all that fighting. Us. Yeh, cause we got more anger in this country than anybody else and they channeling our anger from where it ought not to be, that's what they doing. (laughter and applause)

"We have to talk about going to jail. The jails of this country are filled with black men and the courts are white with hate. Big Daddy. All the jails in dis country are filled with black men. We got to go to jail and organize our brothers. (applause) We goin' to jail to organize our brothers. We're religious people. Jesus Christ said it is more honorable to suffer than to inflict suffering. When you're called to go to Vietnam you have the choice of either going to jail or kill somebody. We're goin' to jail. We're goin' to jail if we have to stay there for five years and we're goin' to show 'em while we're ten per cent the jails can't hold ten per cent of us. (cheers and applause) We're goin' jail and we're going to eat their food and tell them better fed than dead. (cheers and applause)

"In the District of Columbia they train our young boys in high school to be hired killers in their ROTC junk nonsense when our mothers are sending our children to school to learn to read, write and spell, they teach 'em how to kill other people around the world. We goin' put a stop to that junk. (applause) Our black colleges across this country are loaded with compulsory ROTC programs, you don't even have

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a choice. You've got to learn how to be a hired killer. They train you young so when you're old you can't depart from it. (laughter by Carmichael and audience) Got to give them credit, they know the Bible, they got the power to enforce it. We have no choice. We have to begin to give them the strength, I'm talking about our young brothers, to say we not going and to be able to say it and stand up and be proud of it. Yeh, that's what we have to do. How to do that you got to contra (ph) out all that junk about Joe American. See those people who march to support the boys in Vietnam. They ain't got to march. If they love the war in Vietnam, let them go volunteer, go on over there, they take 'em. (applause) If they want to be killers, they have the right, but we don't want to be killers, we want to decide who we want to kill. (applause) That's very very important, because if your mind is off killing somebody else you never get a chance to recognize who you are. The people in Vietnam are a poor people. The black people in America are a poor people. The people in Vietnam are fighting to dominate the resources and to control those resources in the area where we live. Black people in this country are beginning to wage a fight to control the resources and institutions inside our communities. The people who shoot down the people in Vietnam are white people from America who have that power. The people who shoot us down in the street are white people. We ought to recognize who our friends are and who our enemies. (applause)

Finally, before I sit down, it's gonna mean a lot of work it's gonna mean a lot of us gonna go to jail, it's gonna mean a lot of us gonna get shot. But when I die I'm gonna die with my boots on and it's gonna be in this country. It's gonna be fighting for what I know is right, the liberation of black people, nothing else, nothing else, and we gonna encourage all our black brothers to do the same. We want the white community to begin to build an anti-draft movement and stop talking about morality. This is not a question of morality. It's a question of the United States trying to rule the world and they are willing to commit

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genocide against brown people in Vietnam to do that and the only way they can do it if they have people who are stupid enough to jump when they say jump. If they don't have those people they can't fight the war. If Johnson, if Westmoreland, if Mc Namara, if Rusk think the war is good tell them go pick up guns and shoot it out. (applause)

"Tomorrow people are going to march to see the President, yeh (laughter) (Carmichael appears to address following to someone other than audience - Are you going to be seeing the people there? and it is belived someone says Yes in low voice) At eleven o'clock. At eleven they are going to meet here at the church and march to see the President. Unfortunately I won't be able to be there. There'll be some people from SNCC. er our new chairman, Mr. Rat Brown (ph) (applause) will be unable to be there too. He has to be in Selma, Alabama. He's got a case down there they arrested him for. So he's gon' face his trial there. He ain't going either. Ain't nobody in SNCC going. And what we're going say across this country from Mohammed Ali to the little black boy in Cardozo High School, Hell, no, we won't go. (applause and cheers)

"Audience then starts chant of Hell No we won't go."

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STOCKELY CARMICHAEL at GARFIELD HIGH SCHOOL  
May 19, 1967 - Seattle, Washington

Good Evening, It's good to be here.

You know what usually happens is that in the newspapers they call us racists and anti-whites and say we hate white folk and all that irrelevant nonsense, and they do that because they use white people as the measuring stick. But I want you to look clear before you and you notice that in all their beautiful liberal press media, there isn't one black man. So when the honkeys talk tomorrow about violence and anti-white and hating white people, tell them they ought to have a black man reporting it because they don't understand because we are talking to black folk anyhow.

Tonight we want to do several things. We want to talk about some of the basic assumptions from which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) moves and then move into an area of pragmatics and what in fact black people will have to do if we are going to survive in this country and live as human beings. The first thing we want to talk about is the theory of self condemnation, and we want to move on and talk about denying one one's freedom as opposed to giving one one's freedom and we want to talk about the importance of definition and the need for black people to define themselves as they see fit in this society and to have those definitions recognized by our press's white society. And we want to talk about violence because it is going to be important, because I don't know why everybody is so scared about it and they are going to draft you all and send you all to Vietnam, I guess you are going to go over there and make love to the Vietnamese. Then we want to talk about

the lies that this country has told about our people to make us ashamed of ourselves and want to move on and talk about developing a concept of people which we desperately need in this country today and we want to instill among our people, particularly among the young in our generation, the will to fight back when messed over by anybody.

We want to talk about self condemnation. Self condemnation is impossible. No body can condemn themselves or no people can condemn themselves. If they do they have to punish themselves. If I did something wrong and I admitted that I did it wrong then I have to punish myself, but if I can keep that in line so I can rationalize away my guilt then I never feel guilty. Let me give you some examples:

The Nazis who were brought to trial after Hitler was, after the Hitler regime was brought down, they said, the ones who allowed themselves to live, they said that they killed Jews but the Jews weren't human beings, they were inferior so they didn't really commit a crime or they said they didn't know what was going on in Germany at the time that Hitler was killing all the Jews or they say what most white Americans are saying today we were just following law and order. If they said they rationalized away their guilt they just served their sentences and waited until they got out. But now the ones who admitted that they killed human beings had to commit suicide. You've got to understand that. For us in this country a clear example of that would be in Neshoba County in Philadelphia, Mississippi. A honkey by the name of Rainey (sp) decides with 18 other honkeys to kill three people. Now the entire county of Neshoba

cannot indict Rainey because they elected him to do just what he was doing, to kill anybody who troubled with the status quo. If they indicted him then all of them would be guilty and they can't do that, they cannot admit that they are guilty and in SNCC we say that white America, the total community, cannot condemn herself for the acts of brutality and beastiality that she has heaped upon us as a race, black people, It's impossible for her to do it. She must rationalize away her guilt. She must blame us or blame everybody else but herself because if she were to blame herself, she would have to commit suicide. MY brother LEROY JONES reminds me that wouldn't be a bad idea.

Now we want to move from there into the concept of denying one one's freedom, and this is very, very important because white people have assumed that they are gods, that they can give somebody their freedom, and so if they don't like the way you act they won't give you your freedom. But now what you have to get crystal clear in your minds is that no-body gives anybody their freedom, people can only deny somebody their freedom. This is very important. We are all born free. We are enslaved by the institutions of racism that white America produces. Our job is to stop America from being racist, not to give us our freedom, so in reality our fight is to civilize white America. Now then if you take that to its logical conclusion you would say that any civil rights bill that was passed in this country would have eased the struggle for black people but it helped civilize white America. Let me give you an example:

I'm black, I know that I'm black. I know that I am a human being and I know that with that comes certain dignities that all human beings have. One of those is that I am able to enter a public place.. But now there are some dumb hunkeys who don't know that so that every time I try to enter a store the hunkey gets in my way, shoots at me, bombs my church, kills my children or beats me up because he doesn't know that I'm a human being so the white folk in Washington, D. C., got to write a Civil Rights Bill to tell this hunkey, when I come, get out of my way. So that what they have done is they have civilized this hunkey because I'm the same man I was, I still go into the store. The only trouble is that he is not forced to recognize my humanity. That is very important. It is the same thing that is true about the voting rights act. We're black, we know we should be able to vote, but everytime we try to vote some hunkey stops us, so they got to pass a civil rights bill to stop them from denying us our rights. They don't give us anything. You've got to get that clear in your mind.

Now then we want to talk about definitions because they are very, very important. You see White Western Society and you should use the word Western Society never Western Civilization, because they don't know nothing about it. White Western Society has been able to define everybody and they just define them and put them in places, and when they define, they can't get out those definitions and people just stay there. Let me give you some examples so you can understand better:

You watch the red man and the white man on fighting each other. If the red man is winning then the white man calls for the calvary and here come the calvary, and they are riding very white and very proper, and when they get up to where the battle is they all get out their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men, you know, kill them dead. They get back on their horses and they ride back to the fort, and at the fort there is a white woman standing there, and she says, "What happened?" and there is always this Lieutenant who says, "We had a victory, we killed all the Indians!" This is very good. Now the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beats the hell out of the white man and there is one of them left dragging on the horse and she says, "What happened?" "Those dirty Indians, they massacred us." There was a feeling in there that a massacre is not as good as a victory. A victory is much better. She says "red people who all there lives are going to fight and they are never going to have a victory. Here is Sittin Bull, the greatest strategist you have in the world, he has won all these wars, but he ain't never going to win a victory, he's always going to win a massacre. And a massacre is dirty. You've got to understand that in your mind: You see that on television all the time, even today about the Vietnam war. Do you ever hear, "Those dirty, filthy, rotten, Communist, rebels, they threw a Molotov cocktail and killed civilians?" And then the other guy comes back and says, "In the mean time our good GI boys have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam." Or even better would be a group

of students at Nashville decide to take care of some hunkey cops because they are picking on them, and its Fish Students Riot and in Fort Lauderdale hunkeys go and throw bottles and beers at policemen, they are going to say College Students go on a spree. So the white people have been defining us all our lives and we have been forced to react to those definitions and see they call us negroes, so I guess you all came from negro land. You have allowed white people to name you. When we were in Puerto Rico a couple of months ago we were speaking in spanish, I looked through the dictionary to find a word for negro in Puerto Rican. There is no such word. The closest word is negro, it means black. In french there is no word for negro. In german there is no word for negro. In Swahili there is no word for negro. You wouldn't want me to leave out Swahili, it's what's happening. So that they have defined that, and with the word negro comes dumb, stupid, apathetic, love water melon, and got good rhythm. But now they do something even more insidious with definitions. Let me give you an example, so then we can get into black power and the definitions of black power.

Now you remember, especially from my generation when this whole thing broke out with integration, and we used to sit glued to the TV set, you know and our black leader would get up and say "We want to integrate" and in our minds we knew the cat was talking about good schools, good houses, good jobs, and a good way of life. That was in the minds of all black people, but some dumb hunkeys going to jump up and say "You want to marry my daughter, don't you?" And then instead of our black leaders being aggressive and saying later for you hunkey, at that time

they would react to the hunkey, see they would let him define their own term, integration and he would say "Uh Uh we don't want to be your brother, we want to be your brother". And they just go to sweaten and puffin and "we don't want to sleep in your bedroom, we just want to live next door to you". An so they were doing what ever the hunkey who defined their term, and they were reacting to his definition. They don't pull that junk with us in SNCC because we tell them right out when they come with that nonsense about marrying their daughter, your daughter, your sister, your mama, we tell them. We tell them crystal clear the white woman is not the queen of the world she's not the virgin Mary, she can be made like any other woman. Let's move over to something important, so that we will not be caught in a bind about reaction to their definitions and the same thing happens. We say black power, and some hunkey going to jump up and say "Oh you mean violence" and he wants us to say "Oh no boss man, we don't mean violence". Later for the hunkey, it's our term, we know what it means. Later for them. Black power is the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary. Now we want to talk about violence. Because I understand that some of your so called negro leaders have been saying that we violence. I won't deny it, yea I'm violent, somebody touch me I'll break their arm. But the problem isn't one of violence see, the problem is one of hitting back white people when they hit you, that's the real problem, because we've never done that all of our lives. They have been able to walk over us, bomb our churches, beat us up, shoot into our houses, lynch us, and do everything they wanted to do and we

would just sit there and whisper about it behind closed door. It's a new day today. But what really upsets me is these people who talk about violence and not concerned about black people because there is more violence in our neighborhood on Friday and Saturday night then there is anyplace else. We cut and we shoot each other more than we touch anybody in the world and don't nobody talk out against that violence. And the reason they don't do it is because they don't give a damn about us, they are only concerned about white folks. If they were against violence they would be preaching non violence in the black community because that's where we need it most. We need it there. We need it to learn to love and respect each other and stop cutting and shooting each other but they don't care about us. The only time you hear these preachers talk about non violence is when a hunkie hits you and you're getting ready to take care of business. Then you see them on television. The only rule they have is to condemn their own people or we don't believe in violence those vagabonds throwing rocks and bottles, oh yes, we believe in the war in Vietnam, we think our boys should go over there and shoot, but we don't believe in violence at all, what is that junk. They're going to put you in a uniform and send you 8,000 miles to shoot a man who ain't never called you a nigger, get out of here. And you get cats like Lyndon Bains Johnson get up on TV and say "Ma fellow Americans every night before I go to sleep, I ask myself what have I done to preserve peace for this country". And here he is talking about preserving peace and dropping bombs all over Hanoi, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb, bomb. And then he get up

before national TV and he says violence never accomplishes anything. Well if the hunkey believes that then tell him to use non violence in Vietnam. What they are saying is violence is OK against everybody except the white man, that's what they are saying, and you ought not to get fooled by it, you ought to understand that in the world there exists, especially in this country, a victim and executioner relationship. We are the victims and white people are the executioners, and they have kept us down by force and by violence and that if we're violent, it's just that we have learned well from our teachers. They have bombed our churches, they have shot us in the streets, they have lynched us, they have cattle prodded us, they have thrown lye over us, they have dragged our children out in the night, we have been the recipients of violence for 400 years. We have just learned well how to use it today. Don't you ever condemn people for using violence, and those black Preachers get up, you tell them to get the guts to condemn white folks for the violence they heap on us. If they can't do that, if they can't condemn the white folks, tell them to keep their mouth shut. So don't you get caught up in no discussion about violence, we're just making it crystal clear to the hunkey today that if you try to shoot us, we're going to kill them, so God get the noose. Now if he doesn't want to get shot, tell them to stay home because they leave their beds and their wives at 3:00 in the morning and come to our community and going to work out their frustrations by shooting into our community. If they got frustrations, tell them to go see a psychiatrist. So you've got to understand that

one in your mind and don't get carried away with that nonsense about riots, you ought to understand, you ought to be proud of your black brothers in Nashville, you ought to be proud, because what happened was on Friday night two hunkey policemen go walk into the middle of the neighborhood, and go startin to beat upon a black brother, and when the others brothers told them they didn't have to, they go and turn on them, but they forgot: it's a new day. See they didn't recognize that this generation is saying if you wear a sheet at night or a badge in the day, if you put your filthy white hands on our beautiful black skin we're going to TCB. So you just dismiss that nonsense about violence when they tell you about violence, you tell them yea we dig your non violence in Vietnam. We've dug your non violence in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. You tell them we've dug it, yea. We ain't going to forget the Congo baby, we dig it there too. We dug the tried violence in Cuba, but Castro took care of them. Now we want to talk then pragmatically about how these things affect our lives as black people. What white America has done in order to rationalize away guilt for what she has done to us is that she's told a number of lies about us that she believes. Now that's expected. Hitler said if you tell a lie long enough and hard enough, everybody will think it's the truth and white America has done that. But what is pathetic and what is bad, is that some black people believe those lies about themselves. And so what we have to do tonight is begin to clarify those lies for ourselves: (You all don't mind if I take off my jacket do you?) (Us draw heat you know). Now the first lie that white America told about us is that we are a lazy people. Are

you hep to tat. And here goes some of us down the street. "Uh, Uh we're just lazy, we, we just like white folk, they're always working hard and trying to get somwhere but we're so lazy". You got to get it in your mind, We're not lazy, we're hard workin, white people are lazy. Look here, they were so lazy they came to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. We're not lazy, we are the hardest working people in this country, we are. The trouble is that we are the lowest paid, and the most oppressed and the most exploited people in this country. We're not lazy. If you ride up and down the delta in the south today, you'll see black people chopping and picking cotten for \$2.00 per day, while white folks sit on the porch, drink scotch, and talk about us. We're not a lazy people its our mothers who take care of their own family and then go across town to take care of Miss Ann's family. So that you should get that out of your mind. We're not lazy we are hard working industrious people, always have been. Our sweat builds this country.

Now the next lie she tells is what she tells our kids in school. If you work hard you will succeed. Now you all know that's a lot of junk. Because if that were true, black people would own this country, lock, stock and barrel. It's not a question of hard working, it is a question of he who has power and he who has control. That's all, that's all it's about, because we are the people who really build this country. We are the domestics, we are the share croppers, we are the fruit pickers, we are the janitors, we are the elevator men, we are the garbage

men, we are the hardest working people in the country. If it were true that you have to work hard to succeed, then the contrary of that would be true. That people who didn't work hard would be poor, and Bobby Kennedy would be the poorest Hunkey in this country. So then we must begin to get it crystal clear in our minds, it is simply a question of he who has power and we don't have that, we've got everything else but that and the white man ain't got nothing but that. We got love, we got non violence, we got morality, we got christianity, we got rhythm, we got everything you need, but we ain't got power. The hunkeys don't have love, can't spell non violence, they don't know what religion is all about, you know they ain't got rhythm, but (unintelligible). But they have power, that's what they have, power over our lives, so we got to get it clear the thing we need is power.

The next lie they tell us is this thing about education. You go to school and get a degree, you're going to make it. All of our college students, when they get out of college, with a college degree, make less money than a hunkey with a high school degree. Not only that, the education system that they teach us is riddled with racism, filled with racism. We can't see ourselves projected anywhere, they show us as a stupid people to let us keep thinking we're stupid, they start out with their elementary books about Tom, Dick and Jane. Tom is white, Dick is white, Jane is white, even their dog Spot is white. And the only time we see ourselves is Little Black Sambo on the last page eaten water melon. But not only is it

riddled with out right racism it is riddled with subtle racism and the history books just lie, lie. And they have to lie because white people have got to lie because white people have to lie to themselves, they cannot tell the truth about themselves. And what happens is they fill our minds with all those lies and have us accept them as truths. Let me give you an example of one that's very hard but you don't dig it.

If I said to you that MR. Quami Enkruma, (who is a brilliant black man, he is out of sight, he should be your hero, don't let them white folk fool you, he's out of sight). Now if I said to you that Mr. Quam (you wouldn't know about him because he is the leader in Africa, or was until the CIA overthrew him) Now if I said to you that Mr. Quami Enkruma discovered England in 1961, you'd laugh, but if that was the first time that that black man had set foot on England and if we as black people did not recognize the existence of non black people, he would have discovered England. If I said to you that Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492 you say that's right, if you were my teacher you would give me an A, all right, now dig. Here comes this hunkey from Europe, steps foot on this country, there are red people here but they don't exist so he discovers it. And this has been the history of white society. They have never recognized anybody who is non white, so nothing happens until they come and find you. But now you've got to dig this thing about Columbus real deep because you hate telling you that he discovered America and he was a dumb hunkey, I mean he was stupid, he died thinking he was in India. That's how dumb he was. And because he was stupid he titled the red man Indians and to this day they have the name because some dumb Hunkey thought he was

in India. So we've got to understand that. That's how riddled with racism it is that you can't even recognize it. They don't even recognize how racist it is to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America and they never will admit it. They can't, They can't. Not only that if you wrote the rehistory of this country we would say that this country is a nation of thieves. It started off by stealing the country from the red men and committing genocide against him. Not only did it steal the country from the red man, it wasn't satisfied, it turned around and it stole us from Africa. You've got to understand that this country has been a nation of thieves, and is moving to become a nation of murders in Vietnam and we've got to stop this. Because we have to save our humanity. Let white America do as she will, but as black people we will save our humanity. This is very, very important. They start our kids off with the Roman Empire, with the Greek Empire, they never teach you about Africa, they make you ashamed of Africa. You ask kids, where are you from, I'm from Seattle, where is your grandmother from, from Kansas, and where is your great grandmother from, from Texas, and where your great great grandmother from ~~manhattan~~. SHE IS FROM AFRICA!!!!!! But you don't know anything about Africa because you have let white people define Africans as savages. You let them define them for you and you don't want to be a savage. You want to be white. You want to be so white that you don't want to be part of your brothers in Africa, you want to be so white that you'll go to the movies to watch Tarzan. You want to be so white that you sit up on that movie seat and yell for Tarzan to beat up your black brother, that's how white you want to be. You should recognize what they are doing to you. Here you

are jumping up there, identifying with a white man, when he is dumb, he is dumb, he can't even speak, all he says is (Tarzan's war hoop). And your over there identifying with this white man because what they're telling you is here comes a hunkey from Europe, and because he's so smart and so intelligent and we're black and stupid he comes over to Africa and he knows the jungle better than us and we've been living there all of our lives. And when ever we get into trouble with the elephants we got to go to the great white father to talk to the elephants for us. Ain't that (something). What you have to recognize is what they have done is brain washed us. When you see Tarzan on TV you yell for your black brothers to come together and beat the hell out of that white man. But see that has been calculated by white America, that we will never find out about ourselves, because a people without its roots or people without its history is like a tree without its roots and we've been floating for 400 years. Disgustin. They didn't tell you that the first University in the world was the University of Timbuktu in Africa did they? They couldn't tell you that because you would begin to identify with Africa and feel proud with other black people. They tell you about the Roman Empire conquering the world. Did they tell you that Hannibal, a black man caught the (something) and beat the living day lights out of the Romans. That's right, Hannibal did it. And when they get ready to put Hannibal in the movies they put a hunkey like Victor Mateur playing Hannibal. Because they don't want you to know that Hannibal was black, but I'm here to tell you that he was a full black man. And clear up the alps and went into Italy and smashed the Romans, you

ever see those Italian hunkeys running around here with dark complexion and brown eyes. Hannibal did that. The next time some Italian hunkey call you a nigger, tell him get away from my face, I'm your daddy. But they can't afford to tell you about the things that black people did because you would identify with them. They tell you about Napoleon Bonapart, did they tell you the little black man who was a slave named Tousad, in Haiti, beat him up and sent him back to France crying like a baby. They leave that out of your history books because they want you to be ashamed and when Napoleon got back to France his wife was Pregnant for a Pygmy. And when Napoleon looked at his wife he asked her what happens when the baby was born black, she said the little man was staring at me, and he said he must have had an awful penetrating stare, my dear. But they won't give you that in the history books, they give you white heroes to identify with, they mesmerize our minds, they give you George Washington, he's supposed to be a hero, here is a man who had you enslaved, sold a black woman for a barrel of molasses, and he's supposed to be my hero? Later for him. They can't tell you about Ned Turners and the Denmark Bessies can they. They can't tell you about them because they were fighters who beat up all kinds of white folk who were trying to make them slaves, that's why they won't tell because they want you to keep on being slaves, they want to define your very actions, it ain't going to happen today. All of those things in the schools are calculated to make us ashamed of ourselves. The most insidious things they could have done to us is to make us believe as a people that we are ugly. The criteria for beauty in this society is set

by white folk, in the books you read, in the television programs you see, the movies, the magazines, the newspaper. If she is beautiful she's got thin nose, thin lips, skinny hair and white skin, and that's beauty. And they have made you believe that beauty so much that our women run around here bathing in (something) from morning til night. They have got us believing that so that our young men go out and 'conk' their hair so they can have straight hair to look beautiful. I hope you can take the truth, because they have mesmerized our women's minds so that they process their hair every Friday night. And the rest of them get their \$50.00 and buy wigs. We have to as a people, gather strength to stand up on our feet and say our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy, we are black and beautiful. So that we don't have to be any longer ashamed of our selves and make our children think that they are ashamed so our parents won't tell us don't drink coffee because it makes you black. Bite in your lips because it's too thick. And I was surprised when I was at college to find a young man who wore a nose clip on his nose every night, but that's how they have messed up our minds. They have messed it up so much that every time you get ready to pick somebody who is beautiful, you'd pick somebody who is light, bright and damned near white. And our mother's keep telling us when you marry somebody make sure there hair is straight because I want to be (blank). That's how much they have messed up our minds, we are ashamed of ourselves and of our color of our skin. If you want to start a fight, call somebody black. YOU ARE BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL, STOP BEING ASHAMED OF WHAT YOU ARE!!!!

Once we stop being ashamed, we can move on because we can then begin to develop a concept of people hood. Are we so ashamed of each other, yea I'm going to (something), we'll stand here and here she come, she going to stand next to us. We're so Clanish won't go stand anywhere else, we always got to be together. We're so ashamed, we don't even want to see each other in a group. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we walk down the street and see a hunkey cop beating up one of us and know the hunkey cop is beating him up because he's black and keep walking right on by. We are so ashamed of ourselves that we watch our brothers and sisters get put out of their houses, put their furnitures on the street and we wait till night time to go and steal what we want.

We are so ashamed of ourselves that we're raping, plundering and murdering each other. That's how much ashamed we are. We have to build a concept of people hood where we recognize that we are all the same people, the same brothers and sisters so that we can move to the strength to tell them when you touch one of us you got to touch all of us. And when we can begin to move to that position, ain't none of them going to mess with any of us. But the reason is they know that they can come into our communities, beat us up, take our women, and we won't do nothing because we don't even want to associate with them. You better wake up, the rest of your brothers and sisters are coming together, They're not letting them come in there and pick on one anymore. That's what we've got to do. If they

touch one they got to touch all. That is the only way we are going to survive as a people. You've got to understand that. Now I'm going to point out something to the older folk who get upset about this thing called law and order. They say well the trouble with that nigger and SNCC is they're going around there and they're stirring up trouble and breaking law and order and they talk so bad and so mean. Let me tell you. All the harsh words that we say in SNCC, we can never begin to match the treatment that white America has heaped upon us and continues to heap upon us. We can call them hunkeys until they turn red, we ain't even begun to match what they have done to us, so don't you get disturbed about the words. It's about time somebody spoke up. But you see our older folk talk about law and order because they don't recognize that you can have law and order and have injustice. This country has law and order, it don't have justice for black people. This land has the most efficient system of law and order, he couldn't spell justice. So what we are saying to them is that you may have law and order, but if you ain't got justice you ain't going to have no law and order. We tell them like Jesus Christ told them, I've come to bring the sword not the shield. I have come to turn son against father, mother against daughter, nation against nation, for where there is injustice there shall be no peace. And wherever the hunkeys are heaping injustices upon us in every city, we are going to tear it up. If they want peace in their country, they had better learn how to administer justice, if they don't know how we will teach them how. So you just explain to them law and order without justice ain't nothing but facism. Understand that, because we have to understand that these folks ain't playing

with us. You see a lot of folk out there thinking they're playing. You remember Noah, he told the place, come on, everybody better get in this ark, you all come on and build this ark, the man's going to rain on you all for forty days and forty nights. UnUn we ain't going, the man's good to us, he ain't going to rain on, un un, I know the man, I worked for him all my life. He give me his old clothes, he's good to me. Noah went on and built the ark, and he rained on them for forty days and forty nights. And don't you all forget Moses, he told all them Uncle Toms you all better come on and leave this Pharo. Un Un this Pharo's good to me, Un Un he's good to me, yes sir, he pat me on the head, I could speak to him any time I wanted to speak to him. I go through his back door and have tea and cookies with him. And Moses said you all better come on with me through this Red Sea, because this Pharo is a mean man. Un Un, you're just a trouble maker, Pharo, You're just a trouble maker Moses, Pharo ain't done nothing to us, and Noses just went on through the Red Sea, he left them behind. When we walk on through today, we're leaving a whole lot of Uncle Toms behind. We have to begin to instill in our young people the right and the will to fight back. We don't have it. Did you ever see our young kids, ask them what there name is, mumble mumble mumble. What's your name? Mumble, mumble, mumble. You shouldn't laugh, it's very serious. You ask a white boy what his name is. MY NAME IS RICHARD!! We are so ashamed of ourselves that kids won't even hold their heads up high. They learn to bow down before white folks by the time they are nine years old and out there those people call themselves Christians. Did they forget the first commandment. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

They have taught us to bow down before white folk as if they were god and white people believe they are god. And that has been the fault of black folk because we let them believe they were God, we let them play god, but they don't understand when we tell them that play period is over and they better come on home. They think that everybody was put on this earth to benefit them and they use us against each other. Now I want to say two things before I sit down, I want to develop this concept to fight back and then I want to talk about Vietnam.

Now see, the only people that our children can identify with in school, in a school like this, is George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington was a super Tom and George Washington Carver was an ignorant Super Tom. Now the reason they teach our kids about Booker T. Washington was because he used his mouth to do two things. Eat and to say yea sir. And they want our kids to do the same thing, but I guess the reason they teach us about George Washington Carver, is because if white folk didn't have him they would eat Jelly Sandwiches for the rest of their lives. He was so stupid that every peanut butter factory in this country today is owned by white folk and he invented over one hundred uses for the peanut, and white folk got it all. He was so nice to them, did you see him? He used to go around and teach them, how to use the peanut and wouldn't come to his own people because we were too dumb and stupid and weren't cultured enough. Before I name our heroes for you I want to talk about this thing called culture. Cause the hunkeys are still the finest today. Did you ever hear them?

They are culturally deprived children. Are you up to that, and here you send you kids to school and they write in a paper "The cultural deprivation of the black race" Ain't that some junk? They say that we are culturally deprived. You all better let them in because they are going to charge me with inciting a riot. They wouldn't let us have the gymnasium and they are going to charge us with inciting to riot. Now let me tell you. Don't you ever let anybody say you are culturally deprived. Because what white folk are talking about is that they don't recognize our culture until they legitimize it. Here they were teaching you in schools way down upon the Swannee River and My Old Kentucky Home was written by Stephen Foster. Ain't that some junk. They're going to tell you some hunkey wrote music like that about us and for us. He stole it, that's all he did. How could he know how to write it. The trouble is that they steal our music from us and then give it back and call it culture. Here come the Beatles singing our music they can't even harmonize and they are going to talk about (unintelligible). Here they come taking our kids to school talking about Music Appreciation. They teach them Bach, Grigaldi, Ragmonakov and all those others. And they say now lets bring it down to Modern Music and they play Gerschwin and they say and now we want to talk about Jazz. Kids here's the man who has led Jazz in America more than any other man. Benny Goodman. Brothers and Sisters. Do you know that Benny Goodman cannot carry the empty trumpet case of Miles Davis. They say we are culturally deprived. Culture is anything man made. If they say we are culturally deprived, they are denying our very existence. Don't let them do this to you. We've got

culture, we've got Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. We've got County Coolin, we've got Loby Jones, we've got Mahalia Jackson we've got (unintelligible). We've got the Stable Singers, we've got the mighty clouds of joy, we've got James Brown, we've got (unintelligible). And to put the icing on the cake we've got Rev. C. L. Franklin and his soulful daughter, Aretha Franklin. Sock it to me, Sock it to me, etc... The problem is that our culture is not legitimized. They have made us ashamed of it. Forget it. They have never had any culture, they have always stolen ours. That's a fact. The blues ain't theirs. Common be serious. We might let them get away with Bach, Beethoven was black, they won't even tell you that in school. He was a Spanish Moor, black as you and I. But they don't tell us that. It's calculated. It's calculated. We need for our kids, when they go to our school, to learn a number of things. They need to learn about Africa. It should be included in their curriculum. We don't want them teaching our kids German, they should teach them Swahili. You should learn Swahili so you can talk to your African brothers and the white man won't know what you are talking about. We need to know who our heroes are. Our books must have Frederick Douglas, they must have Denmark Bessie, they must have Nat Turner, they must have Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, they must have Richard Wright, they must have J. A. Rodgers, they must have Lerone Bennett, they must have County Collon, they must have Lane Lock, they must have Leroy George, and when you get the Judge, tell them you want to know about Malcom X. But you don't know anything about Malcom X, what do you know except what the hunkeys tell you. He preached hatred, he hated white folks, and white folk, right in the paper, they put black people

on the last page on a special sheet, call you niggers and describe you every time you rape somebody and they got the nerve to tell you that one of your own hates white folk. And you believe them. You ought to get your copy of Malcom X Speaks or the Autobiography of Malcom X and read it yourself. And then when you read it you will stand up when you hear his name called. But you ought to know that. The history is that white people never let any black man who is speaking for you speak to you they always castrate, they always lynch him, they always kill him or today they kick him out of congress. You ought to know that anything they are against you should automatically be for. That's how come we knew black power was so good, we said the word and the whole white world came out against it, and we said that's it, we got it, black power. Now finally, about the war in Vietnam. Oh before we do that black people also have to learn how to support their movement. They give money to religion but we don't give money to our movements. So we will pass the collection plate during this and you should give some money to support what you believe in. You can't have nobody else pay for the Music they are going to call the tune. If you want to call the tune you've got to pay for the Music. Oh yes, somebody reminded me to use Paul Robson, I apologize for leaving him out, a great black man. MARCUS GARVEY, got to do it, got to do it. We know all the rest, we don't want to talk about the Senators from Massachusetts. Bomb Hanoi. We have more bombs in Hanoi. Look how white we are. Don't call me a negro, call me a man first. Have you ever heard somebody Jewish

get up and say change my name, don't call me Goldberg, call me Smith because they're ashamed of their name, they're ashamed of their heritage. Have you ever heard a black man get up and say don't call me black, I'm a man. For me American first. That's what we want to talk about. American First. Because that has been the dilemma of the black man in this country. We have always tried to be Americans first and black people all the way down the end, and that's why we're catching hell, the way we are catching it today. You ask anybody in this country what they are and they say Polish American, Jewish American, etc. Hey what are you little boy? American Negro. Wants to be American first because he is so ashamed of himself. The very first man to die for the war of independence in this country was a black man named Christus Addis. The very first man. He was a fool. He died for white folk country while the rest of us black brothers were enslaved in this country. He should have been fighting white folk instead of dying for white folk but that has been the history of black people. We've always been dying for white folk. In the American Revolutionary War, they wouldn't let us fight because we were black and stupid and ignorant. Oh but we wanted to be Americans, brothers and sister, we wanted to be American so bad that we got out in our bare feet and tramped up and down the Eastern Shores of this country, training with wooden rifles, begging white folk to let us fight, and finally they came and they said good you can fight. And they had us fight, and we went out and fought the Indians in the war for independence like fools we should have teamed up with the Indians. But that was alright, we fought and we won the war.

Our blood was shed and they gave us a purple heart and patted us on the head and said that's a good nigger. The rest of our brothers was still in slavery, but we were fighting because we were good Americans. We wanted to prove to America how good we was to her. The Mexican - American War came and they were yelling about remember the Alamo. They never told you the Alamo was on Mexican territory but that's ok we went out there and we begged to fight. Here we were again fighting non white people, dying for the white man. The war wasn't even over and we were still in slavery. Then came the civil war. Our great white father, Abraham Lincoln was supposed to free us. Started the war in 1861 and didn't sign the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 because the south was beating the living day lights out of the north and wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War. He said we wern't fitting to fight. And Frederick Douglas, a great black man had to go to him and urge him to let us fight. And when the south was still winning he let us fight, but in segregated units. Said Mr. Lincoln, we wern't fitting to fight next to white men. Oh but we wanted to prove to America how good we were so we went out and fought in the Civil War. Then came World War I and they were drafting white people and they wouldn't draft us and we were ashamed. Oh draft us we cried. Please draft us. The NAACP begged them to draft us. Our forfathers ran to the draft table, we are good Americans, let us fight and they sent us over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy and we couldn't even spell the word democracy. That was in World War I. We didn't even come back. We didn't have a chance to take our uniforms off after World War I when they hung an entire platoon in Texas with our uniforms on our backs. Oh but we wern't, Oh not.