

us. We got to prove what good Americans are so here come World War II and we're going to fight we are going to prove how good we are. Let us fight on the front lines. Let us stop this war. We must fight, we are good Americans, let us take Pork Chop Hill.. Let us fight in Poland to stop Hitler and our fathers gave their lives in Poland to stop Hitler from running over the Poles and in 1966 a Polish hunkey in Cicero will throw a rock at us and tell us get out of this neighborhood. Oh, but not us, we were good Americans, we were going to fight. And you ought to read MR. Langston Youths, Will Fight for Freedom, the History of the NAACP. He tells you in Texas there was a prison camp and black Americans soldiers who were going to Europe to fight for this country were bringing home Nazi Prisoners and they put them on a train in New York and when they get to Washington, D. C., the white Nazi who were enemies of this country sat in the front of the train and the niggers had to sit in the back. Oh but we wanted to prove what good Americans we are. May I remind you that in World War II we fought in segregated units. Oh but that wasn't enough, we wanted to be good Americans, so Mr. A. Philip Randolph in 1947 and 1948 mounts a campaign to integrate the troops and Truman get white enough and he integrates the troops and here comes our chance Korea, at last our chance to fight with our white brothers. Oh we must stop Communism at any price was the cry and it was our blood that paid the price. It was our blood that stopped Communism at any price. And our uncles came back to this country with one leg and one arm, only to walk into a store and have some foreigner slam the door in

his face and say get out my store, nigger. But we wanted to prove what good Americans we were in the Vietnamese war, let America prove something to us. We will not fight in their war. How could you let them destroy your humanity. How could you let them put you in a uniform and go fight people who have never done anything to you. How could you? When are we going to get the strength to tell this country we will not let her destroy us. You see that hunkey MacNamara on television. He ain't nothing but racist standing up there talking about Yes we're going to draft 30% of the negros in the Army. This is where they can have equal opportunities. Yes, Yes it's true that they're only 10% of the population but this is a better chance for them. When that Hunkey talk about drafting about drafting 30% of black people he is talking about Black Urban Removal. Nothing else. You have got to understand that that war on Vietnam is calculated to get rid of us. 35% of the people who die in Vietnam are us, by their figures. So you know what the true figures really are. You are to stand up like the greatest, the prettiest Muhamud Ali, and you are to tell them we are not going to fight your war. You get up on your feet and tell them that war is for the birds. Lynden Bird, Lady Bird and Lucy Bird. You tell them we are no longer going to kill people just because a hunkey says kill. You tell them when we decide to kill we will decide who we are going to kill. You have to recognize what they are doing. Dr. Martin Luther King was a great leader of his people until he came out against the war in Vietnam. Then all of a sudden he's not fitting to lead us anymore because the hunkey still think they are picking our leaders for us today. You stand back behind Dr. Martin Luther King, 1968

behind him. And you tell them that on the question of Vietnam he is nice to them on how we really feel about it. So you tell them they better be happy with Dr. King. Because when some of us get going we know who we are going to kill. So you tell them they better be happy Dr. King is as nice as he is about that war in Vietnam. OUR BLOOD HAS BEEN SPILLED INSIDE OUT FOR THIS COUNTRY, AND ALL WE GOT TO SHOW FOR IT IS SOME HUNKEY CALLING US NIGGER, RAT AND WRECHED AND SLUM, ALL OVER THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!!! OUR GUTS AND BLOOD HAVE BEEN SPILLED FOR THIS COUNTRY AND WE GO TO THE WORST SCHOOLS CAN PRODUCE. We who have spilled our guts and blood for this country. Our Guts and our blood have been spilled for this country. It's time we spill them for our people. Thank You.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON.

May 19, 1967

Seattle, Washington

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Why don't you all read an article with the depth of the Massachusetts Quarterly Review entitled Towards Black Liberation (unintelligible) paper and then we could have some discussion afterwards. I understand that the press has not been doing too good a job covering the activities of SNCC. I don't think they will be able to cover the lecture today because it is on an intellectual level. But since you are college students I know you'll be able to deal with the lecture. I'm sorry that Professor Hunt had to take so much time reaffirming free speech, I just assumed it was a natural thing, they taught it to me in school. One of the most pointed illustrations of the need for black power as a positive and redemptive force in a society degenerating into a form of totalitarianism is to be made by examining the history of distortion that the concept has received in the national media of publicity. This debate as in everything else that affects our lives black people are dependent on and at the discretion of forces and institutions within the white society which have little interest in representing us honestly. Our experience with the National Press has been that where they have managed to escape the most vicious special interests in "Get whity" sensationalism and race war mongering, individual reporters and commentators have been conditioned by the developing racism of the society to the point where they are incapable even of objective observations and reporting of racial incidents much less the analysis of ideas.

But this limitation of visions and deception is an inevitable consequence of the dictatorship of definition, interpretations and consciousness along with the censorship of history that the society has inflicted upon black people and consequently upon itself. Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to this problem. The necessity for black people to reclaim our history and our identity from the cultural terrorism and depravation of self justifying while guilt. To do this we shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define our selves and our relationship to the society and to have these terms recognized. This is the first necessity of a free people and the first right that any oppressor must suspend. Now we feel very strongly about that in SNCC, the right to define, the (unintelligible) philosophers feel that it is very important, the ability for man to define himself, (?) for example, on the first page of the Rebel tells us that when the slaves stop accepting the definition of slave imposed upon him by his master, then and only then does he begin to create a life for himself. That's very important, we see examples of that all the time. The trouble with the world today is that white western society as opposed to western civilization which has been a misnomer, white western society has named and defined everyone, and the people are trapped by those definitions. Let me give an example. We watch the television (idiot box) and we have the red man and the white man, and they are engaged in a battle, the white man is losing and he calls for the calvary and the calvary comes out and they

are riding very white and very proper and they get off their horses and they load their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men. They kill them all and then they ride back to the fort and there is a white woman standing at the door and she said, "what happened?" And they answered, "we had a victory, we killed all the Indians". And everyone applauds. Now when the reverse happens, when the red man beat up the white man and there is one man left hanging over a horse and she says, "what happened?" and he says, "those dirty Indians came and massacred us." You've got to understand that in your mind. What they are saying is that a massacre is less honorable than a victory so that the red man will never be able to match the white man, he will always have a massacre and I guess maybe they have something to that, because in a victory you shoot people to death and in a massacre you cut them to death, and I guess if we're going to die we'd rather be shot than cut. That's also very prevalent today on television in the news. I don't know if you ever watch the editorial twins of America, Huntley and Brinkley, but if you ever watch them, particularly when they talk about the war in Vietnam, one usually says those dirty, filthy communist Viet Cong Rebels, disgusting people, threw a molotov cocktail today and wounded 17 of our civilians. Then the other guy comes on and says, "In the mean time our good GIs have been bombing the hell out of North Vietnam. And the implication is that it is bad to throw molotov cocktails but it is ok if you bomb. The white fathers of American racism knew this instinctively it seems, as it is indicated by the continuous record of the distortion and the omission in their dealings with the red and black men. That is

also very clear with this cat called Christopher Columbus who discovered America even though there were people here when he got there. But because white Western society had the power to define, they had defined the red man as an Indian and they did that because Columbus was stupid, he died thinking he was in India, that's how dumb he was and he called red people Indians and because of that they're stuck with the name Indians and he didn't even know that he was in the United States of America. In the same way the Southerner apologises, for her Jim Crow society have so muddied, obscured and misrepresented the records of the reconstruction period until it is almost impossible to tell what really happened during that period. Their contemporary counter-parts are busy doing the same thing with the history of the civil rights movement.

Just one word about the gentlemen of the press.

They usually have names that they give to us like racists, reverse racists, and anti-whites and I have yet to see one black man among them when they come to report about SNCC. In 1964 for example, the National Democratic Party, lead by L. B. Johnson and boy wonder H. H. Humphreys. In SNCC we call them Batman and Robin because they run a (unintelligible) Government. In the black community H. H. Humphrey stands for Handkerchief Head Humphrey. Handkerchief Head is someone who is more (?) than an Uncle Tom, he's an unconditional yes man. I don't know if you dug Lyndon when he delivered his State of the Johnson message to the Union back in January or February, but if you were able to dig him, while he was speaking the cameras

were splashed on the back of Handkerchief Head and he was just (giggle, giggle) a just a himmen and a hawen. But anyway these two cats cynically undermine the efforts of Mississippi's black population to achieve some degree of political representation. We're speaking now of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge which took place in 1964, Atlantic City, at the National Democratic Party Convention. Yet (unintelligible) the events of that convention (unintelligible) one sees only that version fabricated by the press agents of the Democratic Party. A year later the house of representatives in an even more vulgar display of political racism made a mockery of the political rights of Mississippi's black when it failed to unseat the Mississippi delegation to the house which had been elected through a process which had systematically excluded over 450,000 voting age blacks, almost one half of the total electorates of that state. Yet that same house two years later was able to unseat Mr. Powell because he did the same thing that they did but with more style. Whenever this event is mentioned in (unintelligible) it is in terms which leaves one with the rather curious impression that somehow the oppressed black people of Mississippi are at fault. But confronting the Congress with the situation in which they had no alternative but to endorse Mississippi's racial political practices. I mention these two examples, because having been directly involved in them I can see very clearly the discrepancies between what has happened and the versions that are finding their way into general acceptance as a kind of popular mythology. Thus, the victimization of black people takes place in two phases. First it occurs in facts

and deeds and then and this is equally sinister, it occurs in the recordings of those facts and deeds. The black power program and concepts which is being articulated by the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality and the hosts of community organizations in the ghettos of the north and the south has not escaped this process. The white press has been busy articulating their own analysis, their own interpretations, and criticisms of their own creations and we were very disturbed about that and all we said were two simple words, black power, and the white world came down against us and I couldn't figure out why, we hadn't even been given a chance to define it, but I was reading Mr. George Bernard Shaw a couple of weeks after and he has a phrase which I think is quite apropos for the press. This phrase is "All criticism is in fact an autobiography". For example while the press is giving wide and sensational dissertations to attacks made by figures in the civil rights movement, foremost among which are Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his counter part, Mr. Whitney Young of the National Urban League and to the hysterical rantings about black racism made by the political (?) that now serves as a Vice President. It has generally failed to give accounts of the reasonable and productive dialogue which is taking place in the black community and in certain important areas in the white religions and in the intellectual communities of this country. A national committee of influential black church men affiliated with the National Council of Churches despite their obvious respectability and responsibility had to resort to paid advertisements to articulate their positions while anyone

shouting the historical yappings of black racisms got ample space. Thus the American people have gotten at best a superficial and misleading account of the very terms and tenure of this debate. I wish to quote from a statement made by the National Committee of Churchmen which I expect the majority of Americans would not have seen. It appeared in the New York Times, last years July 31. The churchmen had to pay to get their views articulate in the three quarter section advertisement. I wanted to read this quite at length because I wanted to let you know that inside the black community there are some intelligent black people other than the ones you always see who are ignorant and usually denouncing black power, their only fame to claim. I wish to quote. "We, an informed group of negro churchmen in America are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about black power. What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new, but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619. The conscience of black men is corrupted because having no power to implement the demand of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggers. We are faced now with the situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power". I wish to repeat that phrase because I feel that it is axiomatic to race relatins in this country today. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscienceless power threatening the very foundations of our nation. We deplore the overt vpliance of

riots but we find it is more important to look on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be imbedded inside the Ghetto but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class Americans inflict upon the victims of the inner city. In short the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunities in life as well as law, this is the real problem and not the angry cry of black power. Without the capacity to participate with power, that is to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts, integration is not meaningful. America has asked its negro citizens to fight for opportunity as individuals whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the whole group, not just for selected and approved negroes. We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until we and America accept the need for negro Americans as well as the Jews, Italians, Poles and White Anglo Saxon Protestants among others to have and to wield group power. Traditionally for each new ethnic group the route to social and political integration in to America's pluristic society has been through the organization of their own institutions with which to represent their communal needs within the largest society. Simply stated, this is what the advocates of black power are talking about. This flagrant outcry, particularly from the liberal communities that has been evoked by this proposal can only be understood by examining the historic relationship between black people and the white power

structure in this country. Blacks are defined by two forces. Our blackness and our powerlessness. There have been traditionally two communities in America. The white community which is controlled and defines the forum that all institutions within the society would take. And the black community, which has been excluded from the participation in the power decisions that shaped the society and have traditionally been dependent upon and subservient to the white community. This has not been accidental. The history of every institution of this society indicates the major concern in the order and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the black community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of racism between individual whites against individual blacks but as total acts by the white community against the black community. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized but racist assumptions of white superiority have been so deeply engrained in the structure of this society that it infuses its entire function and is so much a part of the national subconscious that it is taken for granted and is frequently not even recognized. Let me give an example of the difference between individual racism and what we in SNCC call institutionalized racism and the societies response to both.

When unidentified white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism widely deplored by most segments of the society, both white and black. But when in that same city, Birmingham, Alabama, not five but 500 black babies die each year because of lack of proper

food, shelter and medical facilities and thousands more black people are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and educationally because of conditions of poverty and deprivation in the Ghetto, that is a function of institutionalized racism. But the society pretends either that it doesn't know of the situation or it is incapable of doing anything meaningful about it. And this resistance to doing anything meaningful about conditions in the Ghetto comes from the fact that the Ghetto is itself a product of a combination of forces and special interests inside the white community, and the groups who have access to the resources and power to change that situation, benefit politically, economically from the very Ghetto. It is more than a figure of speech to say then that the black community in America is the victim of white imperialism and colonial exploitations. This is in practical, economic and political terms true. For those of you who take philosophy it is called a truism. There are over 20,000,000 black people, comprising 10% of this nation. For the most part we live in well defined areas of the country in the shanty towns and rural black bug areas of the south, and increasingly in the slums of northern and western industrial cities. If one goes into any black community, whether it be Jackson, Mississippi; Los Angeles, California or Boston, Massachusetts, one will find that the same combination of political, economic and social forces are at work. The people in the black communities do not control the resources of that community, its political decisions, its law enforcement, its housing standards, even the physical

ownership of the land, houses and stores lie outside that community. It is white power that makes the laws. It is violent white power in the form of armed white cops that enforces those laws with guns and night sticks. The vast majority of black people in this country live in these communities and must endure these conditions of oppression because and only because we are black and powerless. I do not suppose there is any point when the men who control the power and resources of this country ever sat down and designed these black (unintelligible) and formerly articulated the terms of their colonial and dependent status as was done for example by the (unintelligible) government of South Africa which this country supports, yet one cannot distinguish between one Ghetto and another. As one moves from city to city it is as though some malignant racist planning unit has done precisely this, designed each one from the same master blueprint, and in deed if the Ghetto had been formally and deliberately planned instead of growing spontaneously and inevitably from the racist functioning of the various institutions that combine to make the society it would be somehow less frightening. The situation would be less frightening if these Ghettos were the result of design and conspiracy one could understand their similarity as being artificial and consciously imposed rather than the result of identical patterns of white racism which repeat themselves in cities as distant as Boston is to Watts. Without bothering to list the historic factors which contribute to this pattern, economic exploitation, political impotence, discrimination of employment and education, one can see that to correct this pattern will require far reaching changes in the power

relationships & the in-grown social pat . . . within the society. The question is, of course, what kind of changes are necessary and how is it possible to bring them about. In recent years the answer to these questions which have been given by most articulate groups of black people and their white allies, the liberals of all stripes have been in terms of something called integration.

According to the advocates of integration, social justice will be accomplished by, and I quote, "integrating the negro into the mainstream institutions of the societies for which he has been traditionally excluded". It is very significant that each time I've heard this formulation, it has been in terms of the negro, the individual negro, rather than in terms of the entire black community. This concept of integration had to be based on the assumption that there was nothing of value in the black community and that little of value could be created among black people. For the thing to do was to syphon off the acceptable black into the surrounding middle class white community. Thus the goals of the movement to integration was simply to loosen up the restrictions barring the entry of black into the white community. Goals around which the struggle took place, such as public accomodations, open housing, job opportunities on the executive level, are quite simply middle class goals articulated by a tiny group of black people who have middle class aspirations. Now I do believe that the press had quite a bit to do with that again because they were interpreting once again a movement for us in the early 1960s. You know you would see them on television and they would say black people have been marching in Selma,

Alabama today, Jim Clark has ridden over them with horses, he has beaten them up, he's (unintelligible), he's shot at them, he's whipped them, but still they are marching to integrate and on the next day they would say black people from the north have come to join their brothers in the south. They are marching in the streets again, Jim Clark has beaten them, rode his horses on them, saddle (unintelligible) them, horse whipped them, taken them to jail, but they are still marching to integrate. So I decided to carry that out to its logical conclusion. It appeared to me that what they were saying was that I left the north to go to Alabama to sit next to Jim Clark's daughter, sister or his mama. Obviously I never went there to sit next to Mr. Clark's daughter, sister, or his mama. I went to Alabama to render that hunky impotent over my life and there is a big difference. The difference is in the first you are fighting to sit next to Jim Clark so somehow you are going to civilize him. I don't think that it is possible. The other is and the most correct position is that you are fighting against white supremacy and that is where the fights have always been. Nobody wants to sit next to Jim Clark, he's uncivilized. But what people want to do is to render the white supremacists powerless. That is very important and I understand why the news reporters couldn't say that because for them to say that they would have to admit that in the land of the home and the free and the brave and all that other garbage there existed some white men who were white supremacists who had power and they used their power against black people whenever they felt like it but it should be crystal clear in your minds to day that black

people weren't fighting to sit next to anybody who was fighting against white supremacy because the concept of the forum was really bad you know, we've become Joe black, (Unintelligible). Such a limited class (unintelligible) was reflected not only in the programs and goals of the civil rights movement but in its tactics and organization. It is very significant that the two oldest and most respectable civil rights organizations have constitutronn (when I become five fifths I'll be able to say the whole word). Anyway they have these things which specifically prohibit partisan political activities. (Complete sentence unintelligible) But this is perfectly understandable in terms of the strategy and goals of the older organizations. But the civil rights movement serves a role as a kind of liaison between the powerful white community and the dependent black community. The dependent status of the black community apparently was unimportant since if the movement was successful it was going to belnd into the white community anyway. We made no pretense of organizing and developing institutions of community power in the black community but in appealing to the conscience of white institutions of power. The posture of the civil rights movement was that of the dependent, the suppliant. The theory was that without attempting to create any organized base of political strength itself the civil rights movement could by forming coalitions with various liberal pressure organizations in the white community liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic organizations and at times one or other of the major political parties influence national legislation and national social patterns. I believe we have all seen limitations

of this approach. We have repeatedly seen that political alliances based on appeal to conscience and decency are chancy things. Simply because institutions and political organizations have no consciences outside their own special interest. The political and social rights of black people have been and always will be negotiable and expendable the moment they conflict with the interest of our so called allies. If we do not learn from history the philosopher (?) reminds us then we are doomed to repeat it and this is precisely the lesson that black people must learn from the reconstruction period. In the south they come into being a party called the Populist Party. One of its major spokesmen was Tom Watson. Mr. Watson was running for office in a county in Georgia which had forty percent black people of voting age. In order for him to win the position he needed the black votes. So Mr. Watson like some liberal people who will need the black vote in 1972 to become President, went around Georgia articulating a liberal philosophy. Said Mr. Watson, "Poor black and poor white should come together and they should vote because they are fleeced and oppressed by rich white. Black people believed Mr. Watson and joined the Populist Party and organized as an independent force. That was a decision made by a white man, Mr. Watson. No blacks were asked about that decision. When Mr. Watson tried to make this party National, to bring it out of the south, he started to coalesce with the farmers in the west. His party was too weak to take on the Industrial East. When he tried to coalesce to the economic interests of the Farmers in the west

conflicted with the economic interest of the blacks. Mr. Watson became a vicious racist leading lynch mobs himself and driving black people out of the party. Just because black people had not organized themselves independently first Mr. Watson could make two major decisions affecting our lives and we could not even threaten any of those decisions. Today that is not going to happen again. We will first organize ourselves independently, if people become racist at least we can disrupt. Thus, at this point in the struggle blacks have no assurance save a kind of idiot optimism and faith in a society whose history is one of racism but if it is to become necessary even the painfully limited gains thrown to a civil rights movement by the congress will not be revoked as soon as a shift in political sentiment should occur. The major limitation of this approach was that it tended to maintain the traditional dependence of black and of the movement. We depended upon the good will and support of various groups within the white community whose interests were not always compatible with ours. To the extent that we depended upon their good will and support we were vulnerable to their influence and domination. Also the program that evolved out of this coalition was really limited and inadequate in the long term and one which affected only a small selected group of black people. Its goal was to make the white community accessible to qualified black people and presumably each year a few more black people armed with their passports, a couple of university degrees would escape into white middle class

America, adopt the attitudes and life styles of their group and one day the Harlems and the Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is simply neither realistic nor is it particularly desirable. You can integrate the communities but you assimilate individuals. Even if such a program was possible its results would be not to develop the black community as a functional and honorable segment of the total society with its own cultural identity, life patterns and institutions but to abolish it. The final solution to race problems in this country. Karl Marx reminds us that the working class is the first class of people that ever wished to abolish themselves. If one were to listen very closely to some of our moderate negro leaders, you would think that the black people were the first people that wished to abolish themselves. The fact is that what must be abolished is not the black community but the dependent colonial status that has been inflicted upon it. The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and the community must win its liberation while preserving its cultural integrity. This is the essential difference between integration as it is currently practiced and the concept of black power. And what has the movement for integration accomplished to date, that the black person graduating from MIT with a doctorate will have better job opportunities available to him than to Lynda Bird Johnson. But the rate of unemployment in the black community is steadily increasing, while that in the white community decreases. More educated black people hold executive jobs in major corporations and federal agencies than ever before but the gap between white income and black income has almost doubled in the last 20 years. More suburban

housing is available to black people if they can stand the rocks, but housing conditions in the Ghetto are still declining. While the infant mortality rates of New York City is at its lowest rate ever in the city's history the mortality rate of blacks in Harlem is steadily climbing. There has been an organized national resistance to the Supreme Court order to integrate the schools. Less than 6% of black children in the south attend so called integrated schools and 94% of our youth are still left in segregated schools which are increasingly decrepit, over crowded, under staffed, inadequately outfitted and under funded. It is time we turn our attention to the 94% of our youth. This explains why the rate of school drop outs is increasing among black teenagers who then express their bitterness, hopelessness and alienation by the only means they have through immitating this society, via violence. As long as people in the Ghettos of our large cities feel that we are the victims of the misuse of white power without any way to have our needs represented and these are frequently simple needs, we will continue to have rebellions. These are not the products of black power. But the absence of any organization capable of giving the community the power, the black power that it needs to deal with its problems. SNCC proposes that it is now time for the black liberation movement to stop pandering to the fears and anxieties of white middle class America in an attempt to earn its goodwill and to return to the Ghettos to organize these communities to control themselves. This organization must be attempted in northern and southern urban areas as well as in the rural black belt areas of the south. The chief

antagonists to this organization is in the south. The overly racists democratic party and in the north the equally racist and just as corrupt big city machines. The standard argument presented against independent political organization is that you are only 10%. I cannot see the relevance of this observation since no one is talking about taking over the country, God knows we wouldn't know what to do with this monster, but taking control over our very own communities. The fact is that the black population 10% or not, is very strategically placed ironically because of segregation. What is also true is that blacks have never been able to utilize the full voting potential of our numbers. Where we could vote, the case has always been that the white political machine stacks and gerrymanders the political sub division in the black community so that true voting strength is never reflected in political power. Would anyone for example looking at the distribution of political power in Manhattan ever think that black people represented 60% of the population there. Just as often the effective political organization in black communities is absorbed by tokenism and patronage, the time honored practice of giving certain offices to selected negroes. The machine does create a little machine which is subordinate and responsive to it in the black communities, the so called black political leaders are really vote deliverers more responsible to the white machine and the white power structure than to the community they allegedly represent, thus the white community is able to substitute patronage control for what Mr. Powell called audacious black power in the black community. This is precisely what Lynden Bains Johnson tried to do even before the voting rights act of 1965 was passed.

The National Democrats made it clear, crystal clear that the measure was intended to register Democrats, not black people. The President and top officials of the Democratic party called in almost 100 selected black leaders from the deep south. Nothing was said about changing the policies of the racist state parties. Nothing was said about repudiating such leadership figures as Eastlund and Ross Barnett in Mississippi or George and Lurleen Wallace in Alabama, but in SNCC we don't say anything about her because we have come to find out that the Governor of Alabama is a mother, and we are for motherhood. What was simply said, and I quote, was "Go home and organize your people into the local Democratic Party, then we will see about poverty money and appointments, mah fellow Americans". We must organize black community power to end these abuses and to give the black community a chance to have its needs expressed. A leadership which is truly responsible not to the white press and the white power structure, but to the community will be developed. Such leadership will recognize that its power lies in the unified and collective strength of the black community. This will make it difficult for the white leadership group to conduct its dialogue with individuals in terms of patronage and prestige and would force them to talk to the community representatives in terms of real black power. The single aspect then of the black power program that has encountered most criticism is this concept of independent political organization. This is presented as third partyism which has never worked or it would grow into black nationalism and black isolationism which leads to reverse racism. If such a program is developed it will not have

the effect of isolating the black community but the reverse. When the black community is able to control local offices and negotiate with other groups from a position of organized strength, the possibility of meaningful political alliances on specific issues will be increased. That is a rule of politics and there is no reason why it should not operate here. The only difference is that we will have the power to define the terms of these alliances. The revolution in Agricultural Technology in the south is displacing the rural black community into northern-western urban areas. Both Washington, D. C., and Newark, New Jersey have black majorities. One third of Philadelphia's population of two million people is already black. The inner city in most major urban areas is already predominately black, and with the white rush to suburbia blacks will in the next two decades, control the heart of our great cities. These areas can become either concentration camps with a bitter population whose only power is the power to destroy, or organized powerful communities, able to make constructive contributions to the total society. Without the power, the black power, to control our lives in our communities without effective political institutions through which to relate to the total society our communities will exist in a constant state of insurrection. This is a choice that white America will have to make. Thank you.

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DETAILS

I. BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH DATA

CARMICHAEL's file at the Central Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Washington, D. C., as reviewed on September 23, 1966, reflects that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was born June 29, 1941 at Trinidad, British West Indies. His father is reflected as ADOLPHUS S. CARMICHAEL, born February 1, 1913, Port of Spain; and his mother is identified as MABEL F. CHARLES, born March 24, 1919 in Panama City, Panama. ADOLPHUS CARMICHAEL became a United States citizen on April 27, 1953 in the Southern District Court of New York, and MABEL CHARLES CARMICHAEL was naturalized December 22, 1952 in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

A copy of birth certificate number 73227 issued by the Deputy Register General of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago on May 12, 1952, reflects a legitimate birth on June 29, 1941 in the Northeastern District, Port of Spain, for a sex, boy; father, ADOLPHUS CARMICHAEL, carpenter; mother, FLORENCE CARMICHAEL, formerly CHARLES. Other information appearing in this file reflects CARMICHAEL's mother's name to be MABEL FLORENCE CARMICHAEL.

B. CITIZENSHIP STATUS

INS file, mentioned above, reflects that STOKELY CARMICHAEL executed an Application for Citizenship of Derivative, Citizenship Number A 8327554 on April 17, 1958. CARMICHAEL stated he had arrived in the United States at New York City on June 15, 1952 and that his last permanent residence was Port of Spain, Trinidad. He claimed citizenship through his father and mother. Certificate of Citizenship Number A 338082 was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958, which sets forth that he became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953.

C. EDUCATION

The Dean of Students' file at Howard University, Washington, D. C., reflects that CARMICHAEL received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in philosophy from that university on June 5, 1964.

D. RESIDENCE

On August 11, 1966, CLEVELAND SELLERS, who stated he is the Program Director for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), while being interviewed relative to another matter, said that when CARMICHAEL is in Atlanta, Georgia overnight, he usually stays with him at his apartment, Apartment 1, which is located at 2222 Telhurst Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. SELLERS said that when CARMICHAEL goes to Alabama to work with the Black Panther Party, he usually stays at "Tent City," which is located near State Highway Number 80 in Lowndes County, Alabama.

When STOKELY CARMICHAEL purchased a ticket from the Eastern Airlines counter at the Atlanta Municipal Airport on September 17, 1966, under the name of C. WELCHER, he presented as identification an Alabama 1966 driver's license number 2635110, which had been issued in the name of STOKELY CARMICHAEL with the address of 311 Gregory Place, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Sergeant EDWARD STALLWORTH, Tuskegee Police Department, advised on October 13, 1966, that his inquiry indicated that CARMICHAEL, while in Tuskegee, Alabama, recently, had stayed at 311 Gregory Place, which is the Tuskegee Institute owned apartment for faculty members. STALLWORTH stated that the present occupant of 311 Gregory Place is MARILYN MAGEE, a white female, Instructor in Arts and Sciences, at Tuskegee Institute. According to Sergeant STALLWORTH, the Gregory Apartments are supposed to be restricted to faculty members of the Tuskegee Institute.

E. MARITAL STATUS

On October 25, 1966, HORACE JULIAN BOND was interviewed relative to another matter. BOND said that he was formerly Communications Director for SNCC and is well acquainted with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to BOND, CARMICHAEL is single.

F. EMPLOYMENT

On May 18, 1966, AT T-1 advised that CARMICHAEL, who has been associated with SNCC for several years, was elected by the Central Committee of SNCC to the position of National Chairman, SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. This election took place at a staff meeting of SNCC, which was held in Pine Bluff, Tennessee.

On August 22, 1966, AT T-1 advised that it had been rumored around the SNCC organization that CARMICHAEL has submitted a letter of resignation to the Central Committee of SNCC to become effective October 21, 1966.

On October 24, 1966, AT T-1 advised that apparently there was no substance to this rumor, as no action had been taken on the above mentioned rumor that CARMICHAEL had submitted a letter of resignation.

G. MILITARY SERVICE

No information was available reflecting that CARMICHAEL has served in any of the armed forces of the United States.

H. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The following physical description of CARMICHAEL was taken from a review of his INS file and his identification record as maintained by the Atlanta Police Department.

Name	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Alias	C. Welcher
Born	June 29, 1941
Place of birth	Trinidad, British West Indies
Race	West Indian
Hair	Dark brown
Eyes	Black
Height	6 feet 2 inches
Weight	187 pounds
Complexion	Brown
Identification marks	None
Build	Medium
Mother	MABEL CARMICHAEL 1810 Amethyst Street Bronx, New York
Sister	JANETH CARMICHAEL Same address

I. CREDIT

On October 21, 1966, Mr. ROBERT EIDSON, Credit Bureau of Atlanta, made available the record of CARMICHAEL to IC MARION W. DAVIS, which reflected that CARMICHAEL established a file with that organization on December 28, 1964. He gave his address as Apartment 1-A, 2222 Telhurst Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, since April of 1966, and that he was renting these premises and had been employed by SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, S. W., at monthly salary of \$450.00.

The file reflected that in December, 1964, a claim was filed against CARMICHAEL by the Cambridge, Maryland Hospital in the amount of \$50.50, and that as of June 1, 1966, this obligation was still outstanding.

J. IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The record of the Identification Division, Atlanta Police Department, reflects that CARMICHAEL was arrested on September 8, 1966 and charged with disorderly conduct - inciting to riot and disorderly conduct - disturbance.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of September 14, 1966 reflects that CARMICHAEL's bond in connection with this charge had been reduced from \$10,000 to \$1,000. The article reflects that CARMICHAEL and fourteen other individuals were indicted by a Fulton County, Georgia Grand Jury for their alleged actions in a riot in the Capitol Avenue - Ormond Street area, Atlanta, on September 6, 1966.

K. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

On October 3, 1966, AT T-1 furnished a biographical sketch prepared by SNCC on CARMICHAEL, which is set forth below.

"SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, 24, was raised in the slums of Trinidad, The West Indies, New York City and Washington, D. C. where he attended Howard University. Toughened by his ghetto life, Carmichael was a militant leader of Howard University Student Government and gave direction and leadership to the Student Activist Group in Washington called the Nonviolent Action Group.

"Carmichael, a Howard Graduate, is one of five children put through school by Mrs. Mabel Carmichael. He graduated from the select Bronx High School of Science of New York in 1960.

"Arrested over 12 times while participating in Movement activities, Carmichael has seen action in Jackson, Mississippi, New Orleans, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, New York and Alabama. He has worked with SNCC since its inception. When asked why he joined the Movement and wanted to work for SNCC Carmichael said, 'I have worked with SNCC since its beginning. I believe that while most other organizations are working for reform, SNCC is trying to lay the foundation for a revolution. I do not feel that a reform movement will solve the socio-economic problems facing us. The best it can do is bring the problems to the public...'"

II. CONNECTION AND ASSOCIATION WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

AT T-2 advised on June 1, 1966 that CARMICHAEL had attempted to contact WILLIAM EPTON, Vice President of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), and Chairman of the PLP, Harlem Club, on that date. The source advised that although EPTON was not available at that time, CARMICHAEL said that he would be in New York City on the following Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and that EPTON could contact him at the New York SNCC Office or his home. It is noted that CARMICHAEL's mother and sister reside in Bronx, New York.

A characterization of PLP is included in the appendix of this report.

The April, May, June, 1966 issue of "Rights", a self-described publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), states that at the annual meeting of the National Council of the ECLC, which was held in New York on April 23, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, an organization executive, Atlanta, was elected a member of the National Committee of the ECLC.

A characterization of the ECLC is included in the appendix of this report.

AT T-20 advised on April 15, 1966 that on August 13, 1966, a Communist Party Youth Conference was held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During this conference, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was the guest speaker, who stated that he was in the midst of writing his book "Toward Black Power." During his speech, he said that since black power will never be possible in white America unless there is an atom bomb dropped and some Negroes in caves survive, he had entitled his book "Toward Black Power" with the assumed afterthought "In White America."

In regard to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, he said that CARMICHAEL is probably groping for answers to questions about the possibility of black supremacy or black power. He said that he admired CARMICHAEL, particularly since he is only age 24, but he believes CARMICHAEL is still in search of guidance in the form of answers to questions.

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On July 28, 1966, AT T-21 advised that on July 20, 1966, DICK GREGORY had mentioned that he would hold conference with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, BAYARD RUSTIN, ROY INNIS, and some others on black power. It seemed that RUSTIN is the one who had called for this meeting.

On August 19, 1966, AT T-22 advised that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is very interested in the development of the Black Panther Party and has gone on record as supporting it. According to the informant, JOHN BENSON of the SWP has already interviewed STOKELY CARMICHAEL for "The Militant", a publication of the SWP. The SWP is currently selling "Black Panther Party" buttons with proceeds going to the Black Panther Party.

With reference to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, he was to have spoken in recent SWP Forum but could not make it so will probably be scheduled for a later date. The source said that the SWP is particularly watchful of CARMICHAEL's political developments since he is a nationalist.

The SWP is interested in the Black Panther Party because it is comprised of workers; is nationalist; militant in character; revolutionary in scope; represents a break with the Democratic and Republican Parties; influenced by Malcolm X's ideas; espouses "Black Power"; and is very careful not to allow anything to jeopardize its potential relationship with the Black Panther Party.

The SWP is an organization that has been documented by the United States Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

AT T-23 advised on August 24, 1966 that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had invited CARMICHAEL to attend a Nation of Islam (NOI) rally scheduled to be held on August 28, 1966 at International Amphitheater, Chicago, Illinois, which rally was to feature a speech by MUHAMMAD. According to this source, CARMICHAEL had declined the invitation and advised MUHAMMAD that he has another engagement.

A characterization of NOI appears in the appendix of this report.

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AT T-21 advised that on July 21, 1966 a black power meeting was held that date at the St. Nicholas Park, West 135th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue at 3:30 p.m., NYC. According to informant, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, along with BILL EPTON of the PLP attended this meeting.

AT T-29 advised on August 4, 1966 that on August 3, 1966, CARMICHAEL had been invited to come to the University of Pittsburgh during September of 1966. According to the informant, several effective youth action groups had been formed to coordinate events of the Third International Days of Protest to be held August 6 through 9, 1966 and that the most effective among this group was the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

According to the informant, a group cooperating with the W. E. B. DuBois Club had extended the invitation to CARMICHAEL to come to the University of Pittsburgh during September, 1966.

A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Club appears in the appendix of this report.

On September 9, 1966, AT T-31 advised that MARTIN LUTHER KING, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON. During the meeting, they discussed the resignation of JULIAN BOND from SNCC, and KING remarked that BOND wanted to work for SCLC but would have to wait for things to cool down. BOND preferred to wait rather than give the impression that he was deserting SNCC. LEVISON said he had discussed CARMICHAEL with CLARENCE JONES recently, and JONES concluded that CARMICHAEL is a very dangerous man. JONES described CARMICHAEL as a black nationalist.

A characterization of CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON appears in the appendix of this report.

AT T-2 advised on September 15, 1966, that BILL MC ADOO, a member of the PLP in New York City, was in Atlanta, Georgia and had contacted BILL EPTON, Vice President of the PLP and Chairman of the PLP Harlem Club in New York City, in regard to helping the SNCC raise bail for STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC.

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According to the source, MC ADOO advised EPTON that CARMICHAEL's bail had been reduced to \$1,000.00 and SNCC needed \$75.00 more to make this bail. EPTON advised MC ADOO to give SNCC the \$75.00 and EPTON would reimburse MC ADOO at a later date.

The source further advised on September 16, 1966 that BILL MC ADOO, who was then in Detroit, Michigan, had been in contact with BILL EPTON in New York City and advised EPTON that he had given the \$75.00 to STOKELY CARMICHAEL the previous night in Atlanta, Georgia. MC ADOO further stated that he had instructed "them" to send the bond receipt to EPTON in New York City.

MC ADOO further advised EPTON that EPTON should send the \$75.00 to reimburse him to his brother, LEONARD MC ADOO. MC ADOO stated that he had had a meeting in Detroit and everything turned out well and he was going to meet with "them" again Sunday; therefore, he would not be leaving for Cleveland, Ohio before Monday.

The source further advised that on September 17, 1966, BILL EPTON had made the statement that BILL MC ADOO's trip to Atlanta had been very good and "we" sent them "tons and tons of stuff" because "they" had requested a lot of literature as "they" want to set up study groups and things like that.

On September 22, 1966, AT T-33 advised that CARMICHAEL is to appear at the Michigan State University (MSU), East Lansing, Michigan, on the evening of October 3, 1966, under the sponsorship of the local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The source further advised that MSU authorities have granted permission for CARMICHAEL to speak on September 3, 1966.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix of this report.

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AT T-34 advised on September 23, 1966, that the Voice Political Party (VPP), University of Michigan (U of M), Campus Chapter of the SDS, has attempted to schedule a U of M appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL or other representative of SNCC and had been told that neither CARMICHAEL or other SNCC official was available in view of incarceration and local charges at Atlanta, Georgia. The source advised later, however, that word was received on September 23, 1966 at the U of M that CARMICHAEL would visit U of M on September 27, 1966.

The "Detroit Free Press" of September 26, 1966, contained an article to the effect that a race rally led by STOKELY CARMICHAEL was planned at Reverend ALBERT B. CLEAGE's church in Detroit, Michigan on September 27, 1966. According to the article, CARMICHAEL's topic will be "Who Is Afraid of Black Power."

On September 28, 1966, AT T-36 advised that CARMICHAEL spoke on September 27, 1966 at the United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Michigan.

According to the source, CARMICHAEL was observed on the platform with ALVIN HARRISON, MILTON HENRY, and DOROTHY DEWBERRY, local SNCC Coordinator. Detective Lieutenant GEORGE ROLLINS, Special Investigations Bureau, Detroit Police Department, advised that HARRISON was arrested during the Detroit lower east side racial disturbance during August of 1966 and charged with conspiring to incite a riot. According to Lieutenant ROLLINS, HARRISON is a leader of a local group known as the Adult Community Movement for Equality, which organization is composed predominantly of Negro youths and which organization has been a source of trouble to the Detroit Police Department.

AT T-37 advised on May 27, 1964 that MILTON HENRY on May 22, 1964, had spoken at a Friday Night Socialist Forum which had been sponsored by the SWP in Detroit.

Lieutenant ROLLINS advised on September 28, 1966 of the following information concerning STOKELY CARMICHAEL's appearance at the United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Michigan.

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CARMICHAEL stated that the white press is against black power all over the world wherever the whites oppress the blacks. He said that he is ready to end the whites' stepping on blacks. CARMICHAEL said that the whites have played god too long and that the play period is over. CARMICHAEL said that what we (Negroes) need is non-violence among ourselves and end the weekend fighting that occurs in our neighborhoods. The Negroes should learn to love each other but this does not mean to hate the white.

On October 3, 1966, AT T-45 advised that on September 25, 1966, a meeting of Muhammad's Mosque #7-D, NOI, was held in the Bronx, New York, and that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had spoken at this meeting.

On September 30, 1966, AT T-46 advised during CARMICHAEL's speech at the above mosque meeting, CARMICHAEL stated that sometime in the past, people would have frowned on a civil rights leader coming into a mosque but it is time for all black people to unite together in a common cause no matter what their religious beliefs may be. CARMICHAEL said that as long as they remain divided, they could be conquered and that they need a new education.

A. DISCUSSION OF CARMICHAEL BY
COMMUNIST PARTY

On June 2, 1966, AT T-3 advised that GEORGE MEYERS had remarked that he was somewhat upset with the turn of events at SNCC. MEYERS said that every time he had been in Atlanta, Georgia; CARMICHAEL has always "poor mouthed" him complaining that he, CARMICHAEL, had not eaten in a week, but then CARMICHAEL would show up in New York wearing his silk suit.

A characterization of GEORGE MEYERS appears in the appendix of this report.

On June 7, 1966, AT T-3 advised that on June 6, 1966, a Communist Party (CP) meeting was held in Washington, D. C., and among those in attendance was GEORGE MEYERS. MEYERS commented that at a recent national committee meeting of the CP, a decision was made to wait a period of two months before publicly attacking STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to the source, MEYERS described CARMICHAEL in profane terms but did not elaborate on the reason for his dislike of CARMICHAEL or the reason for which CARMICHAEL would be attacked by the CP.

On June 15, 1966, AT T-4 advised Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, SCLC, met on June 13, 1966, with several officers and advisors of SCLC for the purpose of discussing SCLC financial matters. At one point during this meeting Reverend KING deviated from the business at hand and briefly referred to the current march being conducted in Mississippi in regard to the recent shooting of JAMES H. MEREDITH. Reverend KING commented he was quite apprehensive that the technique of non-violence might well be "on trial" in Mississippi if the SNCC continues to participate in the aforementioned march.

Reverend KING said that on one occasion (date not specified) during the earlier period of this march, he observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman, SNCC, address a group of white spectators in a very derogatory manner (language not specified). Reverend KING said that on another occasion during the same period CARMICHAEL started to approach

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a group of white spectators addressing this group also in a very derogatory manner (language not specified). Reverend KING related that at this time he physically held CARMICHAEL to prevent him from actually approaching this group of persons and succeeded in changing CARMICHAEL's intentions. He said he restrained CARMICHAEL because he felt CARMICHAEL's attitude would surely have provoked violence.

AT T-5 advised on July 1, 1966 that the eighteenth National Convention of the Communist Party began in New York on June 22, 1966 at Webster Hall. The source advised that on the last day of the convention, Sunday morning, there was criticism from the floor of a statement which was reported in the "New York Times" to have been made by JAMES JACKSON regarding the symbol, a black panther, of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which Mr. JACKSON said he would have preferred to have been an American eagle with black and white feathers. Many of the younger communists felt this to be an attack on STOKELY CARMICHAEL and the Black Panther Party. CARL BLOICE moved from the floor that GUS HALL and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT call a conference to explain to the press the Party's position on the Black Panther Party. The motion was amended by ALVA BUXEMBAUM to add JACKSON to the conference. After strenuous opposition by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the motion was narrowly defeated by a vote of 69 to 64. The vote was almost an even split between younger and older delegates. JACKSON later, after conferring with CARL BLOICE, issued a public statement which said his statement regarding the eagle was merely a matter of personal preference and did not reflect a Party position.

B. ACTION AT DEMONSTRATIONS

On July 20, 1966, AT T-6 advised that individuals prominent in anti-war, civil rights, and community groups have formed the Cleveland Area Council for Peace in Viet Nam (CACPV) as an ad hoc coordinating body to plan and sponsor the events of the Third International Days of Protest to be held during August 6-9, 1966.

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The source stated that on Saturday, August 6, 1966, a parade is planned to begin at 12:00 noon at Euclid Avenue and East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio, ending in a rally. Among the scheduled speakers will be STOKELY CARMICHAEL, of the SNCC; RUTH GAGE COLBY of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); and BRONSON CLARK of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Further events will be planned by the ad hoc group and will be publicly announced at a later date.

According to the source, the above announcement was made by DANIEL ROSENSHINE, current member of the SWP and Chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (CCEWV). Source advised that ROSENSHINE is being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the anti-war movement and that the CCEWV, which he heads, is dominated and controlled by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

A characterization of the YSA is included in the appendix of this report.

Source further advised that listed among the sponsors of the parade and rally were Dr. SIDNEY PECK, Treasurer of CACPV; SALLY DAVIS; BEA LAIBMAN; Dr. PAUL OLYNYK; AUDA ROMINE; VIVIAN WILSON, and a representative from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

DR. SIDNEY PECK

AT T-7 advised on April 16, 1956, that SIDNEY PECK attended a State Committee meeting of the CP of Wisconsin, held April 15, 1956, and was at that time a member of that committee.

SALLY DAVIS

AT T-8 advised on March 27, 1950, that SALLY DAVIS' name appeared on a list believed to be a membership list of persons in the CP, Jacksonville, Florida.

AT T-9 advised on October 24, 1952, that a meeting was held October 22, 1952, in Cleveland, Ohio, at which there was discussion concerning the obtaining of subscriptions and donations to the "Daily Worker." SALLY DAVIS turned in \$30 which she had received from six people, and which represented collections for subscriptions to and donations to the "Daily Worker." The "Daily Worker" was at this time an East Coast Communist daily newspaper.

AT T-10 reported on May 20, 1966, that SALLY DAVIS in the past has been active in WILPF.

BEA LAIBMAN

AT T-11 advised in 1948 that he knew BEA LAIBMAN to be a member of the Inwood Victory Club of the CP in New York City from 1943 to 1946.

AT T-12 advised on January 28, 1961, that BEA LAIBMAN and her husband were very anxious to contact ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, then Chairman of the Ohio CP.

DR. PAUL OLYNYK

AT T-13 advised on August 23, 1961, that PAUL OLYNYK addressed a group of college students in Cleveland, Ohio, and stated, "...Communism is more morally right than our pseudo-democracy-- than capitalism." OLYNYK related that to live or die for country is a fallacy of nationalism. He stated, "I am pro-Marxist and ideal communism"; he stressed the point that Russian Communism is not real communism, any more than we are a real democracy.

Information furnished by AT T-14 on November 9, 1964, reflects that Dr. PAUL OLYNYK was local chairman of the Cleveland Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE).

AUDA ROMINE

AT T-15 advised on June 14, 1966, that AUDA ROMINE is a current member of the Cleveland Branch of the SWP.

VIVIAN WILSON

AT T-16 advised on March 22, 1944, that VIVIAN WILSON belonged to the CP in Chicago, Illinois, but transferred her membership to the CP in Kansas City when the WILSONS moved to that city in January, 1944.

AT T-10 reported in April, 1966, that in the past VIVIAN WILSON has been active in WILPF.

On September 13, 1966, AT T-30 advised that at 5:30 p.m. on that date, the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) was holding a picket demonstration in Times Square, New York City, to protest the arrest of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, and to urge the defense of SNCC "from racist attack."

A characterization of the YAWF appears in the appendix of this report.

On September 13, 1966, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed approximately sixty persons gather at 43rd Street and Broadway, New York City, and proceed to conduct a picket demonstration at that location. The picket commenced at 5:30 p.m. with participants displaying signs reading "Free Stokely Carmichael", "Riot-Self Defense from Police Terror", "Defend SNCC From Racist Attack", and "Riot-Rebellion of the Poor". All placards displayed announced that the demonstration was being sponsored by the YAWF.

The demonstration ended at 6:30 p.m. No unusual incidents or arrests took place.

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On September 20, 1966, Detective WILLIAM TARASKA, Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department (BSS, NYCPD) advised that a Harlem parents group held a meeting on the evening of September 20, 1966 at 130 East 129th Street, New York City, for the purpose of discussing the New York City Board of Education's action in reinstating STANLEY LISSER, a white male and principal of Intermediate School (IS), 201 - 127th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City, a new five million dollar school. Detective TARASKA advised that the Harlem parents group wants a Negro or Puerto Rican principal in IS 201.

The above meeting was attended by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the SNCC, and by LIVINGSTON WINGATE, Executive Director of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited-Associated Community Teams (HARYOU-ACT), and it was decided at this meeting that 150 people would camp-out in front of IS 201 beginning at 12 midnight on September 21, 1966.

On September 21, 1966, Detective MARTIN DURKIN, BSS, NYCPD, advised that no camp-out had occurred at IS 201 on that date but a picketing demonstration had begun at 7:00 a.m. on September 21, 1966 in front of IS 201 with a peak number of 40 pickets participating.

Detective DURKIN advised that when the school doors opened at about 8:15 a.m. on September 21, 1966, five pickets, all Negro, attempted to rush past school principal LISSER and to block his entering the school. They were arrested by the NYCPD on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Detective DURKIN advised that the picketing demonstration at IS 201 terminated at 9:00 a.m.

On September 22, 1966, Detective RAYMOND J. CLARKE, BSS, NYCPD, stated that among those who participated in the picketing of IS 201 on September 21, 1966, was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of SNCC, who wore a sweatshirt emblazoned with a black panther emblem and the words "Freedom" and "Justice."

Detective CLARKE further advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, previously mentioned; FLOYD MC KISSICK, National Director of

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CORE, and LIVINGSTON WINGATE, Executive Director of HARYOU-ACT, were included among demonstrators at IS 201 on September 21, 1965, but did not participate in the skirmish against the NYCPD.

On September 22, 1966, Detective RAYMOND J. CLARKE, BSS, NYCPD, advised that at 7:40 a.m. on that date a picketing demonstration by Harlem parents began outside IS 201, 127th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City.

Detective CLARKE advised that at its peak, the number of pickets numbered 60 and included STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of SNCC; ROY INNIS, Leader of the New York City Chapter of CORE; LAWRENCE P. NEAL, affiliated with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Black Panther Party (BPP); LOUISE JEFFERS of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU); JOHN SILVERBUG, an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and ALICE KORNEGAY and RALPH BESS, both of whom had been arrested by the NYCPD on the previous day, September 21, 1966, while demonstrating at IS 201.

A characterization of RAM appears in the appendix of this report.

On September 9, 1966, AT T-35 made available a leaflet captioned "Organization of Afro-American Unity Inc. and the Harlem Community" indicating that a three-day block party festival would be held September 3, 4, and 5, 1966, on 127th Street between 7th and 8th Avenues, New York City, and identified speakers for a three-hour round table discussion to be held on Monday, September 5, 1966. According to this leaflet, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, identified as an outspoken SNCC leader, would be one of the individuals participating in the three-hour round table discussion.

A characterization of the Afro-American Unity, Inc. appears in the appendix of this report.

III. SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS MADE BY
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared on the National Broadcasting Company television program "Meet the Press" on Sunday, August 21, 1966.

During this appearance, CARMICHAEL was questioned by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK, the producer of the program. Set forth below are certain questions directed to CARMICHAEL and his replies thereto:

MR. SPIVAK: "Will you tell us exactly what you mean by that?" (black mercenaries)

MR. CARMICHAEL: "I certainly do. A mercenary is a hired killer, and I think that when this country says to black youths in the ghetto and to black youths in the rural south that their only chance for a decent living is to join the Army--and then they throw in all sorts of rationalizations about, you can get skills and there is a chance for them to advance, etcetera, etcetera--they are saying to that black man that his only chance for a decent life is to become a hired killer because that is the sole function of an Army."

MR. SPIVAK: "Since you have the right--you say you have the right to vote, since you have the right, would you yourself serve in Vietnam?"

MR. CARMICHAEL: "No, I would not fight in Vietnam, absolutely not, and I would urge every black man in this country not to fight in Vietnam."

MR. ROWAN: "Mr. Carmichael, do I detect that you agree with Mr. Meredith that the Negro may have to take arms?"

MR. CARMICHAEL: "I am here to answer Mr. Spivak directly that if in fact the law-- and let it remain crystal clear that in this country we are the only people who have to protect ourselves against our protection. We have to protect against state troopers, against police in Mississippi, against Jim Clark, against Bova in California, against policeman Rizzo in Philadelphia, and we have to protect ourselves against these, and if we do not protect ourselves, since the police forces of this country and the federal government and the law officials are not protecting us, then who is going to protect us? And I agree 150 percent that black people have to move to the position where they organize themselves and they are in fact a protection for each other and in fact of that 180 million people, because I am a little bit tired of that 90 percent theory. I want to talk about that just for two minutes if I may. While we may be ten percent inside the country, continental borders of the United States, we want to make it crystal clear that we are well located in cities across this country and that if in fact 180 million people just think they are going to turn on us and we are going to sit there, like the Nazis did to the Jews, they are wrong. We are going to go down together, all of us.

"And the second thing is that we want this country to be crystal clear to understand that its Army is integrated, and in Vietnam 40 percent of your fighting forces are black people, and if you think those black people are going to fight a war while 180 million people turn on its fellow black brothers inside this country and continue fighting that war, you are mistaken.

"And thirdly, while we may be ten percent inside the continental borders of the United States, outside the 180 are 10 percent. Understand that."

Listed below are some of CARMICHAEL's statements which appeared in the "Independent Journal" on February 5, 1966, a daily newspaper published in San Rafeal, California:

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

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

CARMICHAEL was quoted as stating: "Being non-violent is a personal thing; I might be non-violent but I wouldn't try to push that on to the people I am trying to organize. If the people were out there, ready to fight for their rights, I certainly wouldn't say that they should all be very nice and not hurt anybody. I'd tell them to get what they deserve."

When asked would he try to prevent the civil rights movement from breaking out into widespread violence, CARMICHAEL retorted, "Of course not. This nonviolence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up. I don't see why people keep thinking about that. The violence is inevitable. I don't try to stop the fight. I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it."

On July 28, 1966, AT T-17 advised that SNCC sponsored a meeting at United Packinghouse Workers Hall, 4859 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois, and that the meeting began at approximately 8:45 p.m., with a packed house who paid \$2.00 for admission. The audience was mostly Negro and included adults and youths.

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CARMICHAEL, the main speaker, proclaimed his pride in being black, and called for Chicago youths to end fighting among themselves. He praised "Black Muslims" and stated SNCC and the Muslims should become better acquainted. Concerning ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, CARMICHAEL lauded him as a leader of a black race of people, and his followers are true Muslims not "Black Muslims" as labeled by the white man. He stressed that he and SNCC would become better acquainted with the Muslims.

In summary, CARMICHAEL's speech and other speeches centered around an explanation of the term "black power," and why Negroes needed black power. CARMICHAEL pointed out the need for black power is generated by injustices and oppressions brought to bear on the black man by society.

AT T-18 advised on July 19, 1966, that on July 28, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL had a conversation with a Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago (YSA - C) member in which CARMICHAEL said he was very angry with the YSA and the way they were handling the Black Panther Party. CARMICHAEL said he does not want the YSA pushing for the development of the Black Panther Parties and does not want the YSA supporting his political development. CARMICHAEL feels the YSA is making money selling Black Power buttons and that SNCC is not getting any of this money. CARMICHAEL said he is going to New York City in the near future and he will then bring up the matter with the YSA National Office.

On August 9, 1966, AT T-19 advised that on Saturday, August 6, 1966, at 12:35 p.m., the Committee to End the War in Viet Nam held a rally at the Manger Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio. One of the main speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and during his speech, he spoke briefly on the decay of Western civilization and that the United States must be brought to its knees. CARMICHAEL said that he opposes the draft, particularly that of black men. ✓

On August 18, 1966, Deputy EDWARD BLAKE advised that at 2:00 p.m. on that date, the New England Grass Roots Organization (NEGRO), 366 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, held a press conference on the sidewalk in front of its office for STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of the SNCC. There were less than 100 persons present, which included newsmen and

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television cameramen. Many of those present were apparently curiosity seekers who stopped on their way by to see what was happening.

CARMICHAEL spoke into an amplifying system which broke down intermittently so that much of what CARMICHAEL said could not be heard except by those standing immediately around him. Questions put to him could not be readily heard since no microphone was supplied for the questioner. The nature of the question had to be judged by the answer furnished by CARMICHAEL.

CARMICHAEL was asked if it were true, as reported, that he has stated he had never known a white man who could be trusted. He replied he had been misquoted and he had actually said he had never known a white politician who could be trusted.

On July 29, 1966, AT T-24 advised that a rally featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL was held at the Times Square Ballroom, 4859 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, at 8:30 p.m. on July 28, 1966. Approximately 300 people were in attendance. CARMICHAEL was the principal speaker and spoke on the subject of "Black Power." He stated that the Negro should join hands with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. He said black power for the Negro should be obtained by using political and economic power. He stated that black power is not related to violence as some individuals might think. He said that the oppressed were not the ones that were violent but that it was the oppressors. The oppressors were referred to as those being members of the controlling political machine of Mayor DALEY.

On August 30, and September 1, 1966, a representative of the Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department, advised a rally billed as a benefit for the SNCC was held at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church, 1 West 122nd Street, New York, New York, on August 29, 1966, which was attended by approximately 190 persons including representatives of the news media.

The rally began at 8:20 p.m., when the meeting was called to order by JAMES HAUGHTON (identified in BSS records as the former labor chairman of the uptown branch, New York Chapter, NAACP), who introduced a Negro female singer, who sang a song calling for the black men to break the shackles of the white men.

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HAUGHTON then censored BAYARD RUSTIN, who appeared on the program, for saying the CORE is dead and SNCC is dying.

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

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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

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

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

On February 19, 20, 1964, AT T-26 advised BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends, who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

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On January 21, 1964, AT 1-47 advised that as of that date, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary, CP, USA.

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

During his comment, HOUGHTON stated the black man must take it upon himself to obtain improvements and freedom.

He then introduced BILL EPTON, whom he described as "Brother Epton."

"On April 19, 1965, AT T-27 advised that at the PLP National Convention which was held April 15-18, 1965, at the Hotel Albert, New York City, WILLIAM EPTON was elected a Vice President of the PLP.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the SNCC, then spoke. He stated "By calling us stupid and uncivilized they are right for if we were in power there would be an escalated war in which we would drop bombs on the US." He stated he had to return to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to face charges of transporting dynamite into Philadelphia.

An article appearing in the "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, afternoon edition of August 30, 1966, page 20, "Carmichael, Epton Hailed at 'Panther' Rally" reflects, in part, that STANFORD, flanked by members of the Black Panther group said "'black men' must unite in overthrowing their white oppressors, but must do it 'like panthers - smiling, cunning, scientifically...striking by night and sparing no one.'" STANFORD said the "US could be brought down with a rag and some gasoline and a bottle -- the ingredients of a fire bomb."

"Stokely Carmichael criticized the war in Viet Nam which urged 'black people' to unite with non-whites all over the world."

On August 5, 1966, AT T-28 advised that on August 9, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Cory Church, Cleveland, Ohio, on August 5, 1966, being sponsored by the Cleveland Council on Racial Equality. CARMICHAEL spoke on the needs of black power in the United States and said that the Negro must bring this country to its knees to achieve these aims. He added that the day of the white liberal is over in the civil rights movement.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal" of September 18, 1966 under date-line of Columbus, Ohio, September 17, 1966. This article reflects STOKELY CARMICHAEL had said on Saturday that he is not opposed to violence nor has ever been. Non-violence has always been a tactic with us, not a way of life; I am 150 per cent American and America has never opposed violence. CARMICHAEL made the statement in a speech while he was being sponsored by the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice. He also said that they were going to spend their time organizing black people in the ghetto in every major city in the country, North and South, and then we will begin to solve our problems. He explained that the solution he had in mind was increased political power for Negroes.

The "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, issue of August 30, 1966, page 20, contained an article which reflected that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was "hailed at a 'Panther' rally," which was held in the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem, New York, on August 29, 1966, and billed as a fund-raising benefit for SNCC.

The article stated:

"Militant Negro leaders hammered at the themes of black unity and alleged white oppression last night from a Harlem speaker's platform guarded by uniformed members of the city's new Black Panther Party."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke from a platform in the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem at this rally held on August 29, 1966, at which six members of the Black Panther Party, each wearing black shirts, black pants, and black panther emblems guarded the platform. In his speech, CARMICHAEL criticized the war in Viet Nam and urged "black people" to unite with nonwhites all over the world.

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He also said, "We can't talk about freedom any longer. We have to talk about liberation. . . ."

"In Cleveland they're building stores with no windows. All brick. I don't know what they think they will accomplish. It just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite."

On September 17, 1966, Officer RICHARD SHAW, Intelligence Unit, Columbus Police Department, Columbus, Ohio, advised a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (SA of FBI) that CLINTON WALLBANK, Vice Chairman of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice, had telephonically furnished the Columbus Police Department on the morning of that date with the following itinerary for STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

2:21 P. M.	CARMICHAEL arriving at Port Columbus Airport
3:30 P.M.	News conference by CARMICHAEL at Seneca Hotel, Columbus, Ohio
5:30 P.M.	Dinner at Jai-Lai Restaurant, Columbus
8:00 P.M.	Speech by CARMICHAEL at Chittenden Hotel, Columbus

Later, on September 17, 1966, Officer SHAW advised that a source of his had learned that OSCAR SMILACK had been involved in handling arrangements for the activities of STOKELY CARMICHAEL with respect to the press conference and speech by that individual on that date; and SMILACK had been disappointed in the publicity received.

On September 19, 1966, AT T-38 provided the following information relating to the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the evening of September 17, 1966:

The gathering to hear STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Fellowship Hall in the Chittenden Hotel, Columbus, Ohio, got underway at approximately 8:30 p.m., September 17, 1966, with the introduction of OSCAR SMILACK as the Chairman of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice. SMILACK, in turn, introduced Reverend J. FRANKLIN CHIDSEY as the minister of the First Unitarian Church, Columbus, Ohio, and remarked that Reverend CHIDSEY had served as a Unitarian minister formerly in Toronto, Canada, for eight years.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL began his speech by claiming that white people cannot define "Black Power," and they should leave it to the black people. CARMICHAEL remarked that "Black people no longer want to imitate your corrupt society - leave us alone!" CARMICHAEL claimed he was not a racist, and stated the black people did not invent racism, but the white people did so.

CARMICHAEL asserted that "SNCC reaffirms the right of blacks everywhere to arm themselves when threatened or attacked."

CARMICHAEL stated that he would talk on law and order because "I have seen so much of it lately." He said it is time the black people get together and beat the white racists, and our "black brothers" must be encouraged to unite and "beat the daylights out" of those racists.

According to CARMICHAEL, SNCC believed it should organize among the black people because only the black people in a community could form the basis for "Black Power," and the black people must do things for themselves. He said he did not want the white liberal person, unless such a person could prove he was a friend of the black man; and, "We want to be able to determine whether a white person is our friend." He contended that SNCC is working toward uniting the poor whites and poor blacks.

CARMICHAEL concluded his speech by stating, "We want to see cooperative practices."

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On September 19, 1966, AT T-39 advised that following the speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Chittenden Hotel, Columbus, Ohio, on September 17, 1966, a party was held for CARMICHAEL at 84½ East Frambes Avenue, Columbus. AT T-39 advised that still later on September 17, 1966, a critique was held on the CARMICHAEL speech at the home of OSCAR SMILACK, 290 East South Street, Worthington, Ohio. AT T-39 said that at the critique at SMILACK's home, which was not attended by CARMICHAEL, complaints were registered by SMILACK and others.

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The September 18, 1966, edition of the "Columbus Sunday Dispatch," a newspaper in general circulation in the Columbus, Ohio, area, contained an article captioned "300 Hear Carmichael Speak Here."

The article concluded by stating as follows:

"Sharing the platform with Carmichael was UUFJSJ Chairman Oscar Smilack, Columbus scrap metal dealer who became a controversial figure in the early 1950's during Ohio investigations on communism. SMILACK, at that time, refused to answer questions bearing on his affiliation with the Communist Party and was found guilty of nine counts of contempt by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission."

OSCAR SMILACK

AT T-40 advised in October, 1944, that OSCAR SMILACK was a member of the Communist Political Association (CPA) in 1944.

AT T-41 advised in March, 1945, that SMILACK was a member of the CPA in 1945. That same source advised in October, 1946, that SMILACK had been a member of the CP since 1938. He attended meetings of the CP and CPA from 1944 to 1949, and contributed large amounts of money to the CP and CPA from 1945 to 1951.

OSCAR SMILACK paid a fine of \$300.00 and costs in Franklin County, Ohio, Common Pleas Court in May, 1954, for contempt for refusal to answer questions of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission in May, 1953.

On October 7, 1966, AT T-1 made available a typewritten page captioned "Statement by Stokely Carmichael, September 8, 1966." This statement is set forth below and relates to persons arrested by the Atlanta Police Department as the result of racial disturbance in Atlanta on September 6 and 7, 1966:

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"Statement by Stokely Carmichael

"September 8, 1966

"This is a message that my Black brothers and sisters will understand better than anyone else and that is as it should be.

"Racist Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta is framing the Black people of this city and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNICK. Allen is saying that we're responsible for the revolt of the black community.

"The revolt was -- and is -- against the beastality of a racist mayor and his corrupt police department. The cop who shot Harold Prather in the back has neither been fired nor placed on trial. Mayor Allen has refused to deal with the rats, roaches and unemployment in the black community. Racist Allen has said that SNCC has run out of the black community.

"We are here. Here, Baby!

"We will stay . . . and shall keep on fighting racism, including the racism of Mayor Allen and his lies. Ivan Allen is not a white king and we are not his black subjects.

"WE SHALL HELP THE PEOPLE ARRESTED. PLEASE CALL OUR OFFICE AND GIVE THE NAME OF THOSE ARRESTED OR INJURED. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A DEFENSE COMMITTEE TO AID OUR BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS NOW IN JAIL.

"Ivan 'Racist' Mayor Allen has gotten his white power structure to start a fight and is fighting. Black people serve notice that he who fights us . . . shall be fought.

"SNCC CHAIRMAN STOKELY CARMICHAEL WAS ARRESTED LAST NIGHT AND TAKEN TO JAIL. HE IS CHARGED WITH

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'DISTURBANCE', AND 'INCITING TO RIOT.' LIKE THE 72 OTHER PEOPLE IN JAIL, THIS ARREST IS ILLEGAL. MAYOR ALLEN IS TRYING TO BLAME SNCC FOR THE ANGER THAT NEGROES FEEL BECAUSE:

"HE KEEPS US IN BAD HOUSES

"KEEPS OUR CHILDREN IN BAD SCHOOLS

"WE'RE LAST HIRED AND FIRST FIRED

"HIS POLICEMEN SHOOT US FOR NO REASON

"SNCC GIVES 'BACK TALK' TO MAYOR IVAN ALLEN. MAYOR ALLEN WANTS TO KEEP US QUIET, AND AHS LEARNED THAT HE CAN'T, SO NOW HE WANTS TO DESTROY US.

"HE HAS ARRESTED OVER 70 OTHER NEGROES IN ORDER TO TEACH ALL ATLANTA NEGROES TO KEEP QUIET, AND THAT WHITE IS RIGHT. THAT'S WHY HE BROKE INTO HOMES TO ARREST PEOPLE.

"WE CANNOT LET THIS HAPPEN ANYMORE!!!
BY SPREADING LIES ABOUT SNCC, MAYOR ALLEN IS TRYING TO KEEP NEGROES FROM STICKING TOGETHER.

- "1. HELP DEFEND THE MANY PEOPLE ARRESTED ON TUESDAY AND EVERY DAY SINCE THEN. SUPPORT THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE. CALL 688-0331. GIVE MONEY FOR LEGAL HELP.
- "2. CALL THE MAYOR, AT HIS HOME, AT HIS OFFICE. DEMAND THE PEOPLE ARRESTED BE RELEASED, AND THE CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST THEM.
- "3. COME TO THE TRIALS AT THE CITY COURTHOUSE ON SEPT. 15. COME TO GIVE SUPPORT TO ALL OF OUR PEOPLE WRONGLY ARRESTED.

"WE MUST NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE DIVIDED BY MAYOR ALLEN AND HIS 'WHITE POWER'. OUR FREEDOM DEPENDS ON BEING ABLE TO STICK TOGETHER!"

IV. ASSOCIATES OF CARMICHAEL

On September 24, 1963, JAMES J. LEE and ARNOLD CANELL, teachers at the Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, advised that there were some individuals at the high school, who in recent years seemed to be unusually devoted to "left wing" activities. They included in this group STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York, a graduate of the class of 1960. CARMICHAEL was a close friend of EUGENE DENNIS, JR., son of the former General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, EUGENE DENNIS (now deceased). According to LEE and CANELL, while at the high school and since his departure, CARMICHAEL has returned to say he has been active on freedom rights and other progress movements.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The "National Guardian" (NG) issue of August 27, 1966, page 3, contained an article which stated that SNCC had been reported incorrectly in that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Chairman, planned to go to North Viet Nam and had agreed to participate in the "International Tribunal on United States War Crimes in Vietnam."

The article reads as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said that it has been incorrectly reported that SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael (1) plans to go to Vietnam; (2) has agreed to participate in the International Tribunal on U. S. War Crimes in Vietnam, to be held in France in November. SNCC said Carmichael has no plans at this time to go to North Vietnam. It has been asked to send a representative to the Russell tribunal and is considering doing so, but the representative will not be Carmichael."

A characterization of the "NG" is contained in the appendix of this report.

It was determined during a pretext made by a Special Agent of the FBI on September 28, 1966, to ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, Administrator of the New York Office of SNCC, that CARMICHAEL, had been misquoted in the press concerning his plans to travel to North Viet Nam and also attend the War Crimes Tribunal in Paris, France. She said a retraction of these facts had been printed in some newspapers at the request of SNCC.

SUTHERLAND stated SNCC does not plan to send any representative to North Viet Nam. She said a representative from SNCC might go to the "War Crimes Tribunal" in Paris.

She advised that the original date set for the "Tribunal" was November, 1966, but it is now scheduled for February, 1967. It is such a long way off, SNCC has not formulated any plans, and does not know at this time who might be selected to represent SNCC at the "Tribunal."

SUTHERLAND stated that CARMICHAEL would definitely not be the SNCC representative to the "Tribunal" as it is expected to last about three months, and CARMICHAEL is too busy and would be unable to leave his work here with SNCC.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of October 10, 1966, reflecting that Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL accused civil rights leader CARMICHAEL of using the phrase "Black Power" to incite violence. POWELL charged that CARMICHAEL uses black power "as a fuse to set off rebellion in the streets of America." POWELL refused to repudiate CARMICHAEL, saying he merely disagrees with the SNCC leader's advocacy of violence.

AT T-1 advised subsequent to the appearance of this in the newspaper that it is questionable at this time if CARMICHAEL or any SNCC representative will participate in any sort of a "black conference" that Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL may plan to hold in Washington, D. C.

On September 19, 1966, Miss VIRGINIA RECTOR, Ticket Agent for Eastern Airlines, Atlanta, advised that on Saturday, September 17, 1966, a young Negro male, whom she later determined to be STOKELY CARMICHAEL, purchased an airline ticket for travel from Columbus to New York City and presented as payment for the ticket an \$85.00 check in the name, Sojourner Motor Fleet, Inc., 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta. The check was made payable to Eastern Airlines. Miss RECTOR said that she requested identification from this young Negro male, and he presented an Alabama 1966 driver's license number 2635110 issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 311 Gregory Place, Tuskegee, Alabama. This individual stated that in fact he was STOKELY CARMICHAEL but was traveling under the assumed name of C. WELCHER.

APPENDIX

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1

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.

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 Adelphia 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.

NATION OF ISLAM

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

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, 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; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that 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 that 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 that Muhammad had, early in 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 programs.

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CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A confidential source advised on February 26, 1957, that he had identified a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of, and in a position of leadership in, the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

AT 100-6812

STANLEY LEVISON

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

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source advised on February 22, 1964, that at a meeting of the Portland (Oregon) Communist Party Youth Club held on February 20, 1964, a report was given by JAMES R. BERLAND of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club concerning a meeting of the National Party Youth Commission (Communist Party) previously held in New York City. BERLAND reported that one of the four main points taken up in the New York City meeting concerned the SDS and its problems. BERLAND indicated that SDS was weak nationally but some local chapters were strong. It was noted that the SDS has an incorrect political orientation, being too far left on some issues and not far enough on others, and that the SDS does not follow the Marxist theory for the most part. One speaker said that the Party could work through SDS to achieve the aims of the Communist Party.

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.

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GEORGE MEYERS

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

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known also as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the Summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and, thereby, gain recruits for the organization.

A second source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on May 9, 1966, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, now residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto indicated that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, above, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the Crime of Kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he now publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader," from Havana.

This source, in September, 1964, advised that RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world, rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization was begun in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

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Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM chairman with Maxwell Stanford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On March 18, 1966, a third source advised that Hanif Abdul Wahab of Cleveland, Ohio, occupies a position in the RAM only one or two places removed from the top RAM leadership.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM. This source further advised that so far as is known, Freeman, Stanford, and Wahab still occupy positions of leadership in RAM.

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY,
INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims the Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On February 28, 1966, a confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Boston, Massachusetts.

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2

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On April 12, 1966, the same confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

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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.)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
November 4, 1966

FD-323

Title	STOKELY CARMICHAEL, also known as C. Welcher
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS
Reference	Report of SA EDWARD U. CRIM dated and captioned as above, prepared at Atlanta, Georgia

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

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By isl, NARA, Date 8-27-08