

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 3 - 108th MI Group, New York City (RM) ~~SECRET~~  
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Report of: THOMAS L. BECKWITH Office: New York, New York  
Date: 2/8/68

Field Office File #: 100-161569 Bureau File #:

Title: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
NEW YORK DIVISION

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - BLACK NATIONALIST

## Synopsis:

Current active Black Nationalist Groups in the New York City area include the Nation of Islam, American Mau Mau, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Revolutionary Action Movement and the Yoruba Temple. Information concerning the structure of these groups including membership and identities of leaders set forth. Teachings of these groups appear to stress dislike of the White man and the United States Government. There are frequent preachings as to the desirability of violence, but with some few exceptions (described in this report) little actual violence has been committed by these groups.

i Information concerning Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE) set forth which reflects they are no longer primarily civil rights organizations looking toward integration. A more militant stand, particularly by SNCC, is now the current program. SNCC leaders now speak of SNCC as a revolutionary force in America.

Sketches of other Black Nationalist extremists not primarily connected with the above groups set forth.

~~SECRET~~ - No Foreign Dissemination

Group 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ/2AC 12-411

By LUD NARA, Date 06-18-2014

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Policy of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) and other subversive groups such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) concerning the Black Nationalist Movement set forth. Information developed fails to show any substantial Communist Party (CP) influence in this movement, although CP leaders are aware of it and are willing to take advantage of this movement if possible.

Information concerning foreign connections of Black Nationalist groups set forth. The most active in this field is SNCC which has an international division. A press release from Cuba in August, 1967, by three SNCC leaders contained the quote, "We are moving toward urban guerilla warfare within the United States since there is no other way to obtain our homes, our land and our rights". Foreign influence is shown by a film from Cuba believed brought into the United States by the Third Secretary of the Cuban Mission to the United States, which shows brutalities against civil rights demonstrators.

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I. EXTREMIST BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Information concerning the following organizations appears in this section of this report:

American Mau Mau  
Mosque #7 of the Nation of Islam (NOI)  
Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)  
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)  
Yoruba Temple

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1.

AMERICAN MAU MAU

For a characterization see Appendix.

In August, 1966, CHARLES MORRIS advised that he was in the process of forming a group known as the American Mau Mau. He stated he was in the process of recruiting at that time.

NY T-1

August 5, 1966

On February 26, 1967, CHARLES MORRIS made a speech in the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) Hall, 2395 Eighth Avenue. He seemed to acquire some followers although the meeting was open to the public.

NY T-2

February 27, 1967

On August 5, 1966, CHARLES MORRIS stated that the purpose of his organization was to "put the cracker (white man) in his place".

NY T-1

August 5, 1966

CHARLES 37X (MORRIS), who also uses the name KENYATTA, stated on July 13, 1967, at a Mau Mau meeting, he plans to teach the members of his group how to take over a country and stated his group should take over the Congo today if they could. CHARLES 37X stated that his men would be trained from day to day on how to take over a country.

NY T-3

July 24, 1967

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2.

THEODORE SMITH, a member of the Mau Mau, advised at a Mau Mau meeting on August 9, 1967, that the purpose of the Mau Mau is to overthrow the government of the United States (US).

NY T- 3  
August 9, 1967

At a street corner rally in Harlem on July 29, 1967, some of the Mau Mau followers passed out leaflets regarding "Why Vietnam". Those present were urged to sign a petition and support a referendum calling for the immediate withdrawal of US troops in Vietnam.

NY T- 4  
September 25; 1967

Dr. JOHN MOORE, a Mau Mau member, spoke to the members in attendance at a Mau Mau meeting and stated that some members spoke openly against CHARLES 37X because he would not let the Mau Mau run into the streets with guns. He said Mau Mau members should remember the pen is mightier than the sword. CHARLES 37X then spoke and said that if revolt is going to come in this country, it will come through the colleges on the campuses, not in the streets. He said the actions of a lot of the black revolutionary leaders will cause many Negroes to be slaughtered in the streets.

NY T- 3  
December 18, 1967

A Mau Mau meeting was held at 1964 Seventh Avenue on October 2, 1967. Twelve or thirteen members in black uniforms, helmets, boots and wearing machetes were present.

NY T- 5  
October 2, 1967

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3.

A. Membership

1) Leaders

On January 10, 1968, Detective EDWIN COOPER, Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, (NYCPD), New York City, advised that the Mau Mau are a small group of 10 to 20 members who have taken the responsibility of protecting various black nationalist leaders. He said they are considered a dangerous group, in that they allegedly chased the photographers and white newsmen out of the Newark Black Power Conference, in July, 1967. He advised the group is unstable and fluctuates in its goals. The Mau Maus are the sole creation of CHARLES 37X MORRIS KENYATTA

CHARLES MORRIS is the leader and sole officer of the American Mau Mau. His followers, who are flexible in number, have not been designated as officers.

NY T-1

June 19, 1967

In the absence of CHARLES 37X MORRIS, no one directs the operation of the Mau Mau, because as of this date he is the only officer.

NY T-1

August 18, 1967

CHARLES 37X MORRIS addressed the members of the Mau Mau on September 14, 1967, at 1964 Seventh Avenue, New York City. He stated at some time in the future, there would be an election of officers for the organization.

NY T-3

September 22, 1967

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4.

CHARLES MORRIS, also known as Charles Kenyatta,  
Charles 37X

A review of the Military Personnel Records Center,  
St. Louis, Missouri, on February 27, 1967, provided the  
following background information on MORRIS:

Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	July 4, 1920, July 4, 1921, July 4, 1923, Durham, North Carolina
Education	Third Grade

CHARLES MORRIS was confined to Rockland State  
Hospital from August 31, 1961 to November,  
1961. He was described as "Psychoneurosis - mixed type,  
mildly depressed, but cooperative".

Mrs. BERNICE BALDWIN, active member of the  
Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA),  
from 1943 until 1951, and who testified before the House  
Committee on Un-American Activities, advised that CHARLES  
MORRIS was a member of the Oakland Club, Lower East Side Section,  
Detroit, Michigan, CP,USA, and that registration card  
72396 was issued to him on May 12, 1948.

## 2) Estimated Numbers of Members and Sympathizers

Reports from individuals who have attended the  
Hau Hau sponsored activities evaluate that the membership  
of the organization is extremely fluid, but is estimated

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between fifteen and twenty individuals at any given time.

NY T- 1  
June 19, 1967

The Mau Mau is a group of loosely knit members, ranging in membership between 15 and 20 members. The average member appears to be of limited education. KENYATTA claims to have contact with many young men ranging in age from 14 years and up. To date, all of his members are in their late 20's, 30's and a few appear to be in their 40's and 50's.

NY T- 1  
June 19, 1967

There are no more than 15 active members of the Mau Mau Organization. Many non-members wander in and out of meetings.

NY T- 3  
December 28, 1967

B. Terrorist or Revolutionary Activity

1) Acts of Violence or Plans to Commit Same

Members in attendance at an American Mau Mau meeting on August 29, 1967, at Mau Mau headquarters, 1964 Seventh Avenue, New York City, were instructed to prove their discipline to the orders of the American Mau Mau by setting fires in trash baskets in the Harlem area during the night and early morning following the meeting.

NY T- 3  
August 30, 1967

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6.

Captain MICHAEL WULLIS, Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD), advised on August 31, 1966, that no fires were set in trash cans or incendiary devices burned in Harlem on August 30, 1967.

CHARLES MORRIS, leader of the American Mau Mau and approximately 14 of his followers planned to travel to Newark, New Jersey, on July 13, 1967, to assist the Black Berets in causing further racial unrest.

NY T-1  
July 13, 1967

CHARLES 37X KENYATTA disrupted the news conference in which television cameras were broken or stolen at the Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey. When the Mau Maus came, the newsmen fled through the windows. The Mau Maus did not wish anyone at the conference to talk to white reporters.

NY T-6  
July 24, 1967

2) Possession of Weapons and Instruments of Destruction

During a Mau Mau meeting held on August 29, 1967, at 1964 Seventh Avenue, New York City, an incendiary device was constructed. It consisted of a cardboard tube filled with charcoal powder, saltpeter, and sulphur.

NY T-3  
August 30, 1967

The guards at a Mau Mau meeting on August 9, 1967, carried a loaded shotgun and a loaded carbine type rifle.

NY T-3  
August 9, 1967

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7.

A meeting of the Mau Mau was held at 1964 Seventh Avenue, New York City, on September 19, 1967, and CHARLES 37X MORRIS advised each member would have to have a cachete and a .303 caliber rifle.

NY T-3  
September 22, 1967

3) Typical Violent Statements

CHARLES 37X (MORRIS) who also uses the name KENYATTA stated on July 13, 1967, at a Mau Mau meeting he plans to teach the members of his group how to take over a country. CHARLES 37X stated that his men would be trained from day to day on how to take over a country. He further stated that if at some time the Mau Maus could take over this country, he would be the President and one of his members would be the Secretary of State.

NY T-3  
July 24, 1967

THEODORE SMITH, a member of the Mau Mau, advised those present at a Mau Mau meeting on August 9, 1967, that the purpose of the "Mau Mau" is to overthrow the government of the United States.

NY T-3  
July 24, 1967

4) Involvement in Racial Disturbances

CHARLES MORRIS, leader of the American Mau Maus and approximately 14 of his followers planned to travel to Newark, New Jersey, on July 13, 1967, to assist the Black Berets in causing further racial unrest.

NY T-1  
July 13, 1967

NY 100-16156  
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8.

C. Publications

1. The "Black Force" is published bi-weekly at the premises of the Black Press, 2157 Seventh Avenue between 127th and 128th Streets, New York City. The "Black Force" is the official publication of the American Mau Mau.  
NY T-4  
March 21, 1967

2. Principal Extremist Themes

NY T-2 provided on September 19, 1967, pamphlet entitled "Let Us Use Black Force Now! By Guerilla Warfare", published by CHARLES KENYATTA's Mau Mau. The publication was undated and the price is \$.25. The contents of the pamphlet included a discussion of "The only way that black people in the world order will get their freedom is by bloodshed". Also discussed in the pamphlet is the guerilla as a "street fighter" and his use of fire and fire bombs.

D. Funds

Each member of the Mau Mau organization is expected to contribute the following amounts to CHARLES 37X KENYATTA each month, for support of the Mau Maus:

Dues	\$10.00
Gas money for CHARLES 37X's car	5.00
Rent for 1964 Seventh Avenue	5.00

NY T-3  
December 28, 1967

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NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

Characterizations of the NOI as well as the Fruit of Islam (FOI), Muslim Girls Training (MGT) and NOI Mosque #7 (including Mosques 7B, 7C and 7D) will be found in the appendix.

Mosque #7 of the NOI has been in existence in New York City for over fifteen years, although the exact time it was established is not known. It was formerly known as Temple #7 and covers the area of New York City. At present there are three branches; at 105-03 Northern Boulevard, Queens (known as Mosque #7B); at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn (known as Mosque #7C); and at 878 Prospect Avenue, Bronx (known as Mosque #7D). The former location at 102 West 116th Street in Manhattan was destroyed by fire in February, 1965. This location has been purchased by the NOI and a new Mosque (to be known as Mosque #7) is being built and is expected to be completed in 1968.

Mosque #7 is part of the NOI, which is a national organization with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. The leader of the NOI is ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, who is referred to as "The Messenger."

Membership is open to any Negro who is willing to accept the teachings of MUHAMMAD. While there is no distinctive dress requirements for male members there is a uniform which some members wear. It consists of a dark blue suit with emblems on the shoulder and lapel, and a round navy blue hat with a crescent star on the front. The uniform for female members consists of an ankle length white dress with a white scarf-like head covering, which extends below the shoulders. This is generally for Sundays, and during the week there are several colored dresses (including red and beige), which members may wear. Women are not forced to wear this uniform, but are requested to do so.

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The teachings of the NOI are generally that the white man is the devil and will be punished for his sins against the Negro by Allah; that all Negroes should unite behind ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and separate from the white man; that intergration is not the answer to the problems of the Negro and that only by separating from the white society, can the Negro hope to obtain freedom, justice and equality.

The office for the Mosque as well as for the newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" is at 153 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

NY T-7  
January 5, 1968

A. Membership

1. The following information pertains to the three principal leaders of Mosque #7:

LOUIS EUGENE WALCOTT also known as  
Louis X, Louis Farrakhan

Records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Bronx, New York City, as checked March 25, 1957, by Special Agent (SA) ROBERT L. CARMON reflect LOUIS EUGENE WALCOTT was born May 11, 1933.

On March 29, 1957, Mrs. FRANCES CABLE, Registrar, Winston-Salem Teachers College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, advised SA CARMEN J. STUART that WALCOTT attended that college from September, 1951 to June, 1954. He was a graduate of English High School, Boston, Massachusetts and a resident of Massachusetts.

On February 8, 1957, NY T-8 advised that WALCOTT had never had any military service and would not be drafted as he was married and supported a family. Informant advised that WALCOTT had been employed in the past as an entertainer, and was a member of the Musicians Union.

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In September, 1956, NY T-9 advised that WALCOTT, who was a well-known calypso singer had given up his career to become a NOI Minister.

On March 11, 1958, NY T-10 advised that WALCOTT known as Louis X, was devoting full time to being Minister of the NOI in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

In May, 1965, WALCOTT moved to New York City to become Minister of Mosque #7.

NY T-11  
May 19, 1965

On February 24, 1966, NY T-7 advised that WALCOTT had recently received his "Muslim name" of Louis Farrakhan.

LOUIS WALCOTT resides at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

NY T-7  
December 22, 1967

At a NOI meeting in Boston, Massachusetts on July 25, 1956, WALCOTT spoke and denounced the white man as a devil, and that the American flag was for the white man and the black man owed no allegiance to this flag.

NY T-12  
August 14, 1956

At an NOI meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, on September 12, 1956, WALCOTT spoke and said that the problem of school intergration in the South is an example indicating that the black man owes no allegiance to the United States. Pointing to the American flag WALCOTT stated "This is your enemy".

NY T-12  
September 13, 1956

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At the meeting of Mosque #7D, on May 16, 1965, WALCOTT spoke and stated it was foolish to remark that Negroes would never unite. They could unite behind ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, who is ABRAHAM, DAVID, MOSES, JESUS and JACOB all rolled into one. MUHAMMAD does not have the NOI participating in demonstrations with Molotov cocktails because God has relieved them of battle and will take care of the white man. MUHAMMAD by his teachings is fast putting an end to Christianity and the world of the white man.

NY T-13  
May 27, 1965

WALCOTT is described by NY T-7 as a male Negro, 5 feet 10 inches tall, 145 pounds, slender build, light complexion, black hair and brown eyes.

JOSEPH GRAVITT also known as  
Joseph X

b)6) Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Military Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, as checked November 22, 1955, by SE ROBERT J. TUBERSON reflect that JOSEPH GRAVITT, Army Serial Number 46 066 010 was inducted into the United States Army on March 18, 1946, from Detroit, Michigan. He was honorably discharged on October 15, 1947, as a Private First Class from Fort Benning, Georgia, by reason of expiration of term of service. He was born July 6, 1927, in Detroit, Michigan, and had eight years grammar school and two years of trade school in Detroit, Michigan. His Social Security Number is [REDACTED]

Federal Bureau of Investigation number 818-163B reflects an arrest on November 20, 1949 at Detroit, Michigan, (Detroit Police Department number 94929), for investigation of molesting women. He was sentenced to thirty days in jail and one year probation on December 14, 1949 on a charge of obscene conduct in a public place.

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As of March 28, 1955, JOSEPH GRAVITT was Captain of the FOI at Mosque #7, where he is known as Joseph X.

NY T-14  
May 11, 1955

On October 2, 1963, JACKIE AIKENS, 1200 Union Street, Brooklyn, New York, advised SAS ARTHUR B. FULTON and HENRY P. LATIN that he had been a member of the NOI in New York City, from about 1958 to 1962. During this time, when the Minister was away, Captain Joseph X actually operated and made all the decisions for Mosque #7.

Joseph X is employed full time as Captain of the FOI at Mosque #7.

NY T-7  
December 22, 1967

On August 1, 1966, NY T- advised that Joseph X was promoted to be the Captain in charge of the FOI from Maine to North Carolina.

Current New York City Telephone Directory lists GRAVITT is residing at 23-42 102nd Street, Corona, Queens, New York City, and he was observed at this address on June 12, 1967, by SA AUBREY C. LEWIS.

At the FOI meeting at Mosque #7C on October 2, 1966, Joseph X spoke on how the NOI could become an independent nation. He stated the NOI must fight but not with guns, because at the right time Allah will bring the devil down.

NY T-15  
October 17, 1966

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GRAVITT has been described by NY T-7 as a male Negro, 5 feet 8 inches tall, 200 pounds, heavy build, dark complexion, very short dark hair and brown eyes.

MACEO OWENS also known as  
Maceo X

Records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Cleveland, Ohio, as checked June 19, 1967, by SA EDWIN C. JONES reflect under number 16766 MACEO OWENS was born December 21, 1931.

On August 19, 1958, the First United States Army Headquarters in New York City, made available a "Personal History Statement" (PHS) dated November 12, 1957, concerning MACEO OWENS. This PHS reflected he was graduated in June, 1949, from Central Senior High School, Cleveland, Ohio, and attended the Manhattan School of Music, June through August, 1955. This PHS reflected he resided in Cleveland, Ohio, until 1952, when he entered the Army and from 1954 to the date of the PHS, he resided in New York City. His Social Security Number is [REDACTED]

On June 18, 1957, NY T-16 advised that OWENS was inducted into the United States Army, July 31, 1952, at Cleveland, Ohio, with serial number 52198377, and was honorably discharged July 30, 1954, being "released from active military service and transferred to the Army Reserve for completion of eight years service under the Universal Military Training and Service Act". By letter dated November 10, 1959, the Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., advised that OWENS had been discharged from the Army Reserve in the interests of national security.

of January, 1963, MACEO OWENS, who is known in the NOI as [REDACTED], was employed full time as Secretary of Mosque #77.

NY T-7  
January 19, 1963

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On December 22, 1967, NY T-7 advised that Maceo X continues to be full time Secretary of Mosque #7.

On January 31, 1963, NY T-13 advised Maceo X is responsible for all collections from NOI members and that his position as Secretary entails administration of NOI financial matters at Mosque #7.

On October 3, 1967, ERNESTINE GAINES, maid of OWENS, advised SA AUBREY C. LEWIS, that OWENS resides at 23-54 95th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York City.

OWENS has been described by NY T-7 as a male Negro, 5 feet 8 inches tall, 175 pounds, medium-heavy build, medium complexion, black hair and brown eyes.

## 2. Estimated Membership

On February 1, 1961, NY T-7 advised that based on attendance at meetings and other affairs, the estimated membership of Mosque #7 was about 600 males and 400 females, for a total of about 1,000.

On October 11, 1967, NY T-7 advised that the estimated membership for Mosque #7 is about 500 males and 350 females, for a total of about 850.

On October 9, 1967, NY T-13 advised that the estimated membership for the three branches is as follows:

	FOI	MGT
7B	110	70
7C	150	140
7D	140	135

for a total of 745. Informant stated that male members are automatically FOI members and female members are automatically MGT members.

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B. Terrorist or Revolutionary Activity

1. Acts of Violence or Plans to Commit Same

At a meeting of Mosque #7 on December 18, 1961, Minister Malcolm X, (former Minister of Mosque #7) spoke as follows:

The only time I will consent to the use of force is when there is no other choice. I would have sized up the situation five times, looked for any other way out possible before I would use force. The devil is trying to make us look like roughnecks, and the Negro press is behind him. They are just waiting for us to do something wrong. Never let a man lead you into battle. You should always choose your battleground.

NY T-17  
December 20, 1961

At the October 18, 1963, NOI meeting Minister Malcolm X spoke as follows:

Muslims should always avoid trouble. They should never get into fights with anyone unless they are ready to give their lives or to take lives. This is why a Muslim should never get himself involved in anything because all his brothers are to come to his rescue. If Muslims have to come to the rescue of another Muslim and then find out that the Muslim was wrong, he will have to be dealt with.

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When we are told to move on by a police officer, we should never question him. We should move on. If a police officer says that you are under arrest, a Muslim should submit.

NY T-7  
October 25, 1963

On February 21, 1965, Detective ROBERT MOLLER, Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD) advised that Malcolm X had been shot and killed that afternoon, while addressing a rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway, New York City.

On February 21, 1965, Inspector THOMAS C. RENAGHAN, NYCPD, advised that an autopsy of Malcolm X reflected that he had ten bullet wounds in his chest, thigh and ankle, plus four creases in in the chest and thigh. He advised that immediately after the shooting, THOMAS HAGEN (later identified as TALMAGE HAYER and characterized in 1965 by NY T-18 as one who had attended NOI meetings in New Jersey, during 1964), was arrested for this crime.

On February 26, 1965, Captain JOHN DELANEY, NYCPD, advised that on that date NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 661 Rosedale Avenue, Bronx, New York City, was arrested for the killing of Malcolm X.

On March 3, 1965, Lieutenant ROBERT PIRRO, NYCPD, advised that THOMAS 15X JOHNSON was being hold as a material witness in this killing.

On March 10, 1965, Sergeant GEORGE PORETTE, NYCPD, advised that on that date the New York County Grand Jury, handed down First Degree Murder Indictments in the killing of Malcolm X, against HAYER, BUTLER and JOHNSON.

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During 1964, NY T-7 characterized BUTLER and JOHNSON as members in good standing at NOI Mosque #7.

The "Crusader" in its issue of December 12, 1964, on page three, carried an article entitled "Nation of Islam Warns Malcom X". The article reflected as follows:

"The following open telegram was dispatched December 7, 1964, by Captain Raymond Sharrieff of the Fruit of Islam of the Nation of Islam in North America to the former Malcolm X, defected from the Muslim movement:

'Mr. Malcolm: We hereby officially warn you that the Nation of Islam shall no longer tolerate you scandalizing the name of our leader and teacher the Honorable Elijah Muhammad regardless of where such scandalizing has been.'

Signed: Captain Raymond Sharrieff, the Nation of Islam in North America.'

The "Crusader" is a weekly newspaper published at 6429 South Park, Chicago, Illinois. It regularly features articles by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Messenger of Allah, entitled "Mr. Muhammad Speaks".

On February 22, 1965, WALLACE MOHAMMED, son of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, advised SA JOSEPH R. SHEA that he doubted if his father gave any orders for Malcolm's assassination and stated he felt his father had nothing whatsoever to do with the assassination.

On March 17, 1966, Assistant District Attorney for New York County, VINCENT J. DERMODY, advised that after a jury trial in Supreme Court, New York County, the above three persons were found guilty of First Degree Murder on March 11, 1966, and face a mandatory life sentence.

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2. Possession of Weapons and Instruments of Destruction

At the March 22, 1961, NOI meeting, Minister Henry X spoke as follows:

Muslims are taught by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD to be submissive, patient, militant and obedient. Everyone including the white man should be treated with respect. Do not tell the white man that he is the devil. If you do, you will lose your job, and we are taught by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that all Muslims must work and must never be idle because idle people get into trouble. Treat the white man as he treats you. Be submissive and respectful. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you - even the white man, but do not "turn the other cheek." If someone slaps you, slap him back and all Muslims will back you up.

Muslims do not carry weapons. Allah is their God, not weapons. We are asked by the so-called black Negro how the Muslims will get rid of the white man without guns, etc. The answer is that God will get rid of him.

NY T-19  
April 7, 1961

The FOI meeting of February 17, 1964, included a karate lesson and a class in searching procedures. A talk by

NY 100-161569

Captain Joseph X followed. He stated some FOI members are known to smoke and carry knives. These persons should not be allowed to remain FOI members, as FOI members must live and do right in order to be followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

NY T-13  
February 26, 1964

On February 22 and 23, 1965, WESLEY SOUTH, moderator of the question-answer program "Hot Line" over Chicago radio station WVON, interviewed ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. In response to questions regarding the assassination of MALCOLM LITTLE and the NOI, MUHAMMAD stated as follows:

The murder of Malcolm X was a shock and surprise to us. We are investigating the charge all over the country to see if the NOI is responsible and to see if we can come up with the man's name in our records, but as of now we have no record. I have preached for thirty-four years we are against this type of thing. MALCOLM left and began teaching hate and the arming of his members. We in the NOI are against this position as it would be suicide to take up arms against this country. Allah teaches us not to carry guns and we do not carry any. We have no guns, bombs or artillery pieces to field. The Koran teaches that if one opposes the Messenger and repents he is forgiven, but if he does not repent he is subject to divine chastisement such as death or hell fire.

At an FOI meeting at Mosque #7C of July 11, 1966, Captain Joseph X stated that all persons becoming members of the FOI must get rid of weapons or the FOI would get rid of them.

NY T-13  
July 18, 1966

NY 100-161569

At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7B on August 6, 1967, Minister Henry X spoke as follows:

Muslims do not carry weapons. They are not necessary as Allah will protect the good. Negroes cannot fight the white man with weapons because the white man has all the weapons. It is absurd for Negroes to preach that they are going to burn everything because the white man will simply do away with the black man, which he has wanted to to anyway. The best weapon against the white man and against this Government is the truth. This is to be found in the teaching of MUHAMMAD.

NY T-20  
August 14, 1967

### 3. Typical Violent Statements

At an NOI meeting at Mosque #7 on August 5, 1962, during a question period someone asked Minister Malcolm X as to what would happen if a white man killed or hurt an NOI member. Malcolm X stated that if anyone ever kills or hurts an NOI member - especially a white devil - a few white devils will be killed for it. Maybe not the ones who did the killing, but someone else will die.

NY T-21  
August 9, 1962

At the NOI meeting of April 8, 1964, at Mosque #7C, Minister James 3X spoke as follows:

All black people need to unite together. Some people say that the NOI teaches hate, however, this is not true because the NOI simply tell the truth about the white man.

NY 100-161569

When the white man gets ready to hang a black man, all other black men should step forward and say that if they are going to hang one person they should hang everyone. If you do this, the white man will wind up by not hanging anyone. The black man should just tell the white man that if the white man wants to keep violence down, he must hang all black men. If the white man does not do this, there will be some bloodshed.

The black man should also go around and tell black preachers to straighten up and if they do not straighten up, they will be straightened out.

NY T- 21  
April 9, 1964

At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7B on June 11, 1967,  
Richard 8X spoke as follows:

If a devil cop slaps you or spits on you, think before you do anything. He may be setting you up to kill you. Pick your own time and get him later or get another devil for a devil is a devil.

NY T-  
June 20, 1967

At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7D on August 2, 1967,  
Minister Farrakhan spoke as follows:

The white man in America is in trouble. He has done so much evil to the black man that his deeds

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are catching up with him. The black man is awakening to find that the white man is the devil. The so-called Negro has suffered at the hands of the white man's injustice for 400 years and during this time, the white man has killed millions of black people. To give justice, you must have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The white man has not paid for the lives of the black people that he has taken, so justice has not been done. If we want freedom, we must be willing to pay the price. Many of us may have to give our lives for others to be free.

NY T-7  
August 13, 1967

At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7D on August 20, 1967, Minister Farrakhan spoke as follows:

In order for the Negro to achieve freedom, justice, and equality, we must be ready to pay the price with our blood. We must follow ELIJAH MUHAMMAD who teaches that the white man will never give equal justice to the Negro. Therefore, we must separate from the white man.

NY T-7  
September 14, 1967

#### 4. Involvement in Racial Disturbances

On August 31, 1960, NY T-7 advised that at an NOI meeting, August 20, 1960, Minister Malcolm X spoke as follows:

The sit-ins that were conducted at the Southern lunch counters were not instigated by MARTIN

NY 100-161569

LUTHER KING or any of the other Negro leaders. The white man knows that the seed of dissatisfaction was planted by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. When the Southern students started the sit-in it was not their intention to sit peacefully. They were determined to sit and if they were not allowed to, then they would go to war. It was at this point that the white man called in the other Negro leaders such as KING to channel this dissatisfaction by telling the students this should be done in a peaceful manner. Negro leaders are employed by the white man to channel any dissatisfaction that comes up among Negro people. The so-called Negroes in North America are a nation of people within another nation. It is not natural for a nation to be within another nation, so whenever this condition exists it is natural for these nations to find a way to separate.

At the FOI meeting of July 29, 1963, Minister Malcolm X spoke as follows:

The March on Washington is instigated primarily by the people and not by the leadership. The leaders like MARTIN LUTHER KING were called in by the authorities to stop this March, but the people had made the choice. The authorities did not want this March because the Negroes were in an explosive state. Afterwards when the plans for this March could not be stopped, like the white man always does, he welcomed a March but also urged Catholic groups and liberal white groups to come along also. This was done to cool the rage that the so-called Negroes were in at that time. Many NOI members are anxious to participate but they must await their time.

NY 100-161559

NOI members are not especially fond of being dragged into Police wagons; this is not their objective. When they demonstrate, they demonstrate all the way. Although it should not be stated publicly, violence should be used for defense.

NY T-7  
August 5, 1963

At the NOI meeting on August 14, 1963, it was announced that the NOI had no plans to participate in the March on Washington.

NY T-7  
August 15, 1963

On August 20, 1963, NY T-13 advised that the main speaker at an FOI meeting held at Muhammad's Mosque Number 7, New York City, on August 19, 1963, told those in attendance that any Muslim participating in the March on Washington would be "given 90 days out of the Mosque." The source stated that Muslims in attendance were told that if any member belongs to a union which requires members to participate in that March, those Muslims had better "get sick" that day. The source added that great emphasis has been placed on a lack of participation in this March since its inception and that the March has been ridiculed by Malcolm X, Minister of Mosque #7. The source has stated that Malcolm X repeatedly points out to Muslim members that trouble must occur with such a widespread grouping of Negroes and that the Muslims will be blamed for any trouble occurring.

NY 100-161559

At the NOI meeting of May 22, 1964, a letter was read from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, Sr., the Assistant Supreme Captain of the NOI. This letter stated that the long hot summer was beginning and that people tried to term the Muslims as ill-tempered. The Muslims should avoid the crowds, demonstrations or whatever things could be stirred up. Muslims do not participate in demonstrations of civil rights organizations and they don't incite any of them themselves.

NY T-7  
June 1, 1964

On March 27, 1967, NY T-7 advised that instructions to Mosque #7 members concerning demonstrations regarding civil rights and/or protesting American involvement in Viet Nam continued to be that NOI members should not participate in any way in any demonstration of this type. Informant stated he believed that any one found so participating would be given time out of the Mosque.

At the NOI meeting of Mosque 7D on July 16, 1967, Minister Farrakhan spoke as follows:

When a Government can't meet the needs of the people a change comes about. There is a change and an overthrow of the Government. The leaders of North Viet Nam and the Red Chinese were born to lead their people and so was ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. In speaking about the riots in New Jersey, Negroes should use their heads. The white man has all the weapons and Negroes should not fight.

NY T-7  
July 22, 1967

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At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7D on July 26, 1967,  
Minister Farrakhan spoke as follows:

Concerning the riots that are spreading around the country, you should know that MUHAMMAD taught that this would take place many years ago. Negro leaders are misleading our people. They are leading Negroes to destroy their own communities and now they have no food and no place to stay. What kind of leaders are these to follow? You should know that the white man has all the implements of war. Negroes should not engage in fighting white people and should not form gun clubs or otherwise arm themselves.

NY T-7  
August 2, 1967

At the FOI meeting at Mosque #7C on July 29, 1967,  
Minister Farrakhan spoke as follows:

NOI members are not to discuss riots and should not be giving their opinions concerning riots. NOI members have nothing to say to anyone concerning riots. Allah is making lost-foolish suffer for not accepting the teaching of MUHAMMAD.

NY T-22  
August 1, 1967

At the NOI meeting at Mosque #7B on August 23, 1967,  
Minister Henry X spoke as follows:

Concerning the riots, we will let Allah take care of the devil and we will just keep pushing on with our own program.

NY T-22  
August 31, 1967

NY 100-161569

C. Publications

The official publication of the NOI is "Muhammad Speaks". This is a weekly, published in Chicago, Illinois. It must be sold by all FOI members. Those in class "C" (over 50 years of age), are required to take about 50 copies per week, and all others are expected to take 170 copies per week, but it is estimated that the average taken by members is between 100 and 125 per week. Members pay \$.16 per paper, unless they are late in purchasing them in which case they are charged \$.18. Papers are sold for \$.20.

NY T-7  
October 11, 1967

D. Funds

Funds for Mosque #7 are obtained through contributions on the part of individual members, through profits from the operation of two restaurants owned in New York City and through the sale of "Muhammad Speaks". Speakers throughout the years have repeatedly stated that the NOI is supported by its own members and does not receive any money from sources outside the United States.

NY T-7  
January 5, 1968

Members are required to contribute \$16.50 to various charities of the Mosque and it is estimated that the average given by members is about \$10.00 per week.

NY T-7  
October 11, 1967

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1.

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED

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 the public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 165th Street, New York City, New York.

A printed and published statement of the basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of the African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters at the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established 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 that 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 that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and civil reform.

For characterizations of the OAAU  
and the MMI see appendix.

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2.

NY 100-161569

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.

NY T-1  
April 13, 1965

At the present time, there is no OAAU activity outside of the New York City area and no other chapters of the organization are known to be in existence.

NY T-17  
October 23, 1967

ELLA COLLINS, the head of the OAAU, has taken to wearing the African garb.

NY T-17  
February 28, 1966

A. Membership

1. Leaders

ELLA COLLINS, the President of the OAAU, is the only official of the organization. ELLA COLLINS is the half sister of the late MALCOLM X, founder of the OAAU. ELLA COLLINS resides at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, and has on occasion, traveled to Boston, Massachusetts, residing at 486 Massachusetts Avenue, in that city.

NY T-17  
October 23, 1967

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2. Estimated Numbers of Members  
and Sympathizers

There are presently 30-35 members of the OAAU in New York City, approximately ten working members and 4 or 5 individuals usually attend the meetings.

NY T-17  
October 23, 1967

NY T-24  
November 6, 1967

B. Terrorist or Revolutionary Activity

1. Acts of Violence or Plans to  
Commit Same

At a meeting of the American Mau Mau Organization in New York City on July 8, 1967, ELLA COLLINS and JOSH FISHBURN of the OAAU disclosed the possibility of having male members of the OAAU take some action against present officials in Boston, Massachusetts, because of the incarceration of RODNELL COLLINS, son of ELLA COLLINS. The purpose of the "action" would be to secure the release of RODNELL COLLINS.

NY T-3  
July 10, 1967

2. Possession of Weapons and  
Instruments of Destruction

The OAAU proposed a rifle club which was to be independent of the OAAU, however, membership therein was to be limited to OAAU members.

NY T-17  
August 31, 1965

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In connection with the proposed rifle club, each member has to purchase his own rifle and no effort is being made to purchase rifles of uniform style or caliber.

NY T- 17  
August 18, 1965

... The rifle club being formed by male OAAU members had not at this time been organized into a functioning club. However, the club as a whole had purchased a single rifle, a United States Army M-1 carbine.

NY T- 17  
September 20, 1965

On December 5, 1965, eight men assembled at the OAAU office in New York City for the purpose of driving to a rifle range for shooting practice. This group proceeded to the Nassau County Park rifle range, East Meadow, Long Island, New York. All of the members fired several shots with three rifles, a 22 caliber rifle and three 30 caliber rifles.

NY T-3  
December 8, 1965

The OAAU rifle club which had previously been formed is not now meeting on a regular basis nor holding any rifle practice.

NY T-17  
February 28, 1966

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Since an OAAU member was arrested for having a pistol in his home, the members of the OAAU rifle club have discontinued going to the range to shoot.

NY T- 25

March 28, 1966

### 3. Typical Violent Statements

At a meeting of the OAAU held on July 11, 1967, at 224 West 139th Street, New York City, a discussion of police informants ensued and ELLA COLLINS asked all present to take a pledge to kill any police informant who was found in their midst.

NY T-3

July 20, 1967

At a meeting of the OAAU on June 13, 1967, in New York City, ELLA COLLINS stated that she was against riots and looting. There were six people present at this meeting, including two visitors. The visitors commented that they personally favored a revolution in Harlem. It was COLLINS' opinion that economics is the answer, not violence.

NY T-17

June 20, 1967

### 4. Involvement in Racial Disturbances

On July 26, 1967, there was held a meeting of the OAAU in New York City. The meeting was held to discuss the recent riots. BONSU NECHI, former treasurer of the OAAU,

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and other members present mentioned that there are a lot of white men in the riots and the black man was taking the blame. The members present were told to be on the lookout for any white men who had anything to do with the riots and to hold these individuals until police could arrive.

NY T-24  
August 11, 1967

On May 19, 1967, MALCOLM X Day was held at the residence of ELLA COLLINS. COLLINS stated that the people of other organizations should not use MALCOLM X's name or image to incite riots for in his final days MALCOLM X desired peace and integration.

NY T-1  
May 31, 1967

On May 21, 1967, at a meeting of the OAAU held at 224 West 139th Street, New York City, in order to present the MALCOLM X award to Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, ELLA COLLINS spoke for about an hour on OAAU policies. During her speech, she stated that she was against riots and felt that they were planned by the white man in order to get Negroes killed.

NY T-1  
May 31, 1967

On August 11, 1967, a black power rally was held at the Prospect Hill shopping district, Spring Valley, New York. ELLA COLLINS of the OAAU was one of the speakers and she stated that the time spent rioting and destroying property should be spent by building a better community.

NY T-1  
August 31, 1967

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### C. Publications

The OAAU currently has no publication. The former publication which was known as the "OAAU Backlash" has not been published since late 1964. There is no longer an editorial staff set up to run this publication and the former editor, OAAU member PETER BAILEY, left the organization subsequent to the death of MALCOLM X.

NY T-17  
August 25, 1965

NY T-2  
August 26, 1965

NY T-25  
August 31, 1965

NY T-1  
August 31, 1965

On April 13, 1965, a brief copy of a proposed publication of the OAAU, which was to be known as "The Light" revealed that the publication was also subtitled as "The Life and Death of MALCOLM X, a Special Memorial Issue". The brief copy consisted only of the first and last page and the inside center page. The edition was to sell for \$2.50 per copy, however, this publication was never published.

NY T-1  
April 13, 1965

### D. Funds

In the past, the OAAU has received most of its money

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NY 100-161569

from a dues and rent tax on each member. However, at the present time, no dues or rent tax is being collected and it would appear that the organization is being entirely financed by ELLA COLLINS.

NY T-17  
October 23, 1967

As of August 1, 1966, there was no money in the treasury of the OAAU.

NY T-25  
August 31, 1966

As of February 28, 1966, the treasury of the OAAU reflected a balance of \$186.50.

NY T-25  
February 28, 1966

At an OAAU membership meeting held in New York City on November 30, 1964, a financial report was given which indicated that at the end of November, 1964, the balance of the OAAU treasury was \$36.72.

NY T-25  
December 24, 1964

NY 100-161569

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

A characterization of RAM is contained in the Appendix section of this report.

RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963, by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This manifesto disclosed 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.

NY T-26  
November 3, 1964

A description of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of RAM in the Appendix section of this report.

There is no RAM headquarters or special meeting place in the New York City area. However, one can make a strong assumption that members of RAM believe they are affiliated with RAM, although there is no official headquarters inasmuch as the principles and philosophy of RAM is discussed at meetings held in the homes of known RAM members.

MAX STANFORD, a RAM leader, residing in Philadelphia, has traveled to New York City from time to time to meet with RAM members from the New York City area. RAM members from the New York City area are known, in the past, to have traveled to Philadelphia to meet with STANFORD.

NY T-27  
June 16, 1967

NY 100-161569

RAM members from New York City usually attend meetings at the residence of its members or will travel to Philadelphia to meet at the residence of MAX STANFORD. STANFORD, as an acknowledged leader of RAM, does control RAM activities in New York from his residence in Philadelphia.

NY T-6  
July 10, 1967

RAM is active in the Harlem area of New York City and the Jamaica, Long Island area of New York. NY T-2 on November 28, 1966, made available a pamphlet captioned "On Organization" which dealt with recruitment into RAM. This pamphlet was made available by MAX STANFORD at a meeting held in Philadelphia on November 19 - 20, 1966.

This pamphlet in part stated:

"All recruitment is made by personal contact. The recruiter is responsible for the new recruitment."

As to rules and regulations of RAM members, the pamphlet also states that:

"As revolutionary nationalists, we are dedicated to the liberation of our people at all costs. In order for us to function properly as revolutionary nationalists, we must discipline ourselves to those actions that are in accord with that which we believe and that which we have dedicated our lives to."

RAM members are not required to wear a distinctive costume, uniform or hair style, but a number of known RAM members have African style hair cuts.

NY T-2  
February 1, 1968

AL HAYNES a RAM in New York City is known to have traveled to Philadelphia to meet with MAX STANFORD, a RAM leader, for the purpose of receiving instructions as to the activities of RAM in the New York City area.

NY 100-161569

NY T-6  
July 10, 1967

A. Membership

The following individuals are believed to be active members of RAM in the New York City area:

AL HAYNES  
JOHN ANDERSON  
MC KINLEY WELSH  
GEORGE ELLIS  
DON DUNCAN  
MICHELLE KOUROUMA

NY T-2  
April 17, 1967

As of December 8, 1966, LLOYD WEAVER was reported to be a RAM member.

NY T-6  
December 8, 1966

EDDIE ELLIS, as of July 13, 1967, was known to be a RAM member.

NY T-1  
July 13, 1967

The following are known as RAM members:

AL HAYNES  
JOHN ANDERSON  
LARRY NEAL  
MAX STANFORD of Philadelphia

NY T-6  
July 10, 1967

HERMAN FERGUSON is a member of RAM.

NY 100-161069

NY T-27  
December 2, 1966

ROLAND SNELLINGS, on November 30, 1966, acknowledged that RAM is still active but that he himself has been inactive in RAM.

NY T-1  
December 1, 1966

WALTER RICKS is a RAM member.

NY T-1  
November 18, 1966

GEORGE ELLIS and AKMER (SHELTON BYRON DUNCAN) are RAM members in New York City.

NY T-2  
December 7, 1966

Ram Sympathizers

The following individuals are associated with RAM members and are considered to be sympathizers of RAM:

MORIKE KOUROUMA  
CHARLES 3 X MORRIS  
HARRIET NOEL  
GENE BAINES  
ANN GARDINER

NY T-2  
April 17, 1967

LLOYD WEAVER was once active in RAM but is now in sympathy with the RAM cause, although inactive.

NY T-2  
December 7, 1966

NY 100-161569

JESSE GRAY is a good friend of MAX STANFORD. At a RAM meeting held on August 12, 1965, STANFORD stated RAM would be backed by JESSE GRAY and RAM would back JESSE GRAY.

NY T-2  
August 16, 1965

ROBERT COLLIER had indicated to a New York City Police Department (NYCPD) undercover agent prior to his arrest in February, 1965, that he was a RAM member but left the organization because it was not militant enough for him.

NY T-28  
December, 1964  
NY T-1 advised on June 2, 1966, that DONALD WASHINGTON was associated with RAM members.

WILLIE MAE MALLORY is considered a supporter of RAM. On August 20, 1965, MAX STANFORD contacted another RAM member to drive WILLIE MAE MALLORY to Syracuse, New York, on August 21, 1965. STANFORD remarked that MALLORY has to get to Syracuse as soon as possible because ROBERT WILLIAMS, in Cuba, was in trouble and had to leave that country.

NY T-2  
August 23, 1965

MARY KCCHIYAMA is known to be a financial supporter of RAM. She is a supporter of almost anything dealing with black nationalist groups in the New York City area. She is acquainted with a number of persons associated with RAM and is familiar with the RAM philosophy.

NY T-6  
July 10, 1967

AUDLEY MOORE WARREN also known as "Queen Mother" is a supporter of RAM. On March 21, 1966, MAX STANFORD remarked that if it became necessary for any of their "brothers" to go into hiding, they could go to the "Queen Mother's residence, and she would take care of the matter."

NY 100-161569

NY T-2  
March 21, 1966

B. Terrorist or Revolutionary Activity

1. Acts of violence or plans to commit same:

MAX STANFORD made available on August 7, 1966, a two page leaflet captioned "Community Self-Defense." Page one of this leaflet contained drawings and directions on how to short-circuit high tension wires. Page two contained drawings and instructions on how to use a shotgun as a grenade launcher to fire Molotov Cocktails to a distance of about 325 feet.

NY T-2  
August 7, 1966

MAX STANFORD had in his possession a July, 1965, literature concerning firearms silencers, in addition to diagrams of a .22 caliber target pistol with a telescope sight, a proposed shot gun-rifle, a shaving cream can bomb, pipe bombs, a pencil bomb, a tin can bomb, and a time bomb. STANFORD also had in his possession a classified ad page from a 1964 issue of "Guns Magazine." There were pencil markings on this ad page besides ads pertaining to scope mounts, literature on guerrilla warfare, state pistol laws, silencer information, wholesale guns, electronic listening devices and information on becoming an arms dealer.

NY T-2  
July 27, 1965

MAX STANFORD in December, 1965, made available a pamphlet captioned "Firearms Silencers" which included diagrams on how to make guns, gun silencers and booby traps and remarked that the leaflet was very important, should be read by all and "guard it closely."

NY T-2  
December 7, 1965

NY 100-161569

2. Possession of weapons and instruments of destruction:

On August 22, 1966, MAX STANFORD stated that he can contact his uncle in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of obtaining firearms.

NY T-2  
August 22, 1966

On June 24, 1966, AL HAYNES, RAM member at New York, was observed in possession of a small green German made pistol which he concealed in his handkerchief. He was later observed putting the gun in his briefcase.

NY T-6  
June 27, 1966

MAX STANFORD indicated on September 15, 1966, that a white man, woman and child would depart from an unknown address on North Dearborn Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the same date or the next, with firearms destined for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (a black nationalist organization) at Atlanta, Georgia.

According to the source, STANFORD stated that a portion of the firearms and ammunition were to be unloaded at Atlanta, Georgia, and the remainder of the shipment was to be transported to Montgomery, Alabama; Bogalusa and Monroe, Louisiana, at an unknown time.

NY T-29  
September 15, 1966

At a meeting held at New York City, attended by MAX STANFORD, it was learned that a RAM member was interested in purchasing three or four six inch barrel magnums with scopes and 30/06 caliber rifle with sniper-scope.

NY T-29  
August 18, 1966

NY 100-161569

In September, 1965, MAX STANFORD had a Carbine rifle in his possession and AL HAYNES had a Russian Mauser rifle in his possession.

NY T-2  
September 8, 1965

On August 8, 1965, MAX STANFORD instructed some RAM members to purchase an Italian Beretta rifle and ammunition. STANFORD indicated that all RAM members should get either a machete or some other special kind of knife.

NY T-2  
August 12, 1965

3. Typical violent statements:

MAX STANFORD as one of the speakers at a SNCC sponsored rally held on August 29, 1966, was introduced as a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (now defunct). STANFORD stated that with a disciplined movement, dynamite could be moved around the United States particularly in Chicago and Cleveland; and the BPP has also moved dynamite into Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

He told the audience there should be a revolution and on September 12, 1966, they should support a "non-violent movement" in its school boycott. STANFORD said he wants physical support on the street. He said "don't be afraid to let the blood flow if we have to, for this is the only way you will achieve our purpose."

NY T-30  
August 30, 1966

NY 100-161569

An article appearing in the "New York Post" a New York City daily newspaper dated August 30, 1966, contained an article captioned "Carmichael, Epton Hail At 'Panther' Rally". This article in part quoted MAX STANFORD as saying at this rally that "the United States could be brought down with 'a rag and some gasoline and a bottle' - the ingredients of a firebomb".

On September 4, 1965, MAX STANFORD was heard to comment that the RAM's primary concern was for money and if the RAM is to do anything, it must achieve more money. STANFORD also stated that he was thinking of setting up a program whereby the RAM would get money from middle-class Negroes by force or extortion, if necessary. STANFORD further stated that RAM might possibly attempt to appeal to store keepers and business people, whereby if they did not contribute to the RAM cause, they might expect that they would be subject to some sort of reprisal.

NY T-31  
September 7, 1965

4. Involvement in racial disturbances:

At a RAM meeting on September 13, 1965, STANFORD passed out leaflets to be distributed in the Harlem Section of New York City. One of the leaflets pertains to the riots in the Watts Section of Los Angeles, California, and contained the caption "Burn Baby Burn."

NY 100-161569

The second leaflet which carried a picture of ROBERT WILLIAMS told Negroes they should arm themselves for their own protection.

NY T-2  
September 15, 1965

C. Publications

1. "Afro-World"

MAX STANFORD said one of the reasons RAM was not putting out copies of its publication "Afro-World" and "Black America" as of June 18, 1965, was because the RAM could not find anyone who could operate a varitype machine, used in the printing of these publications, whom they can trust.

STANFORD stated that the RAM has other necessary machinery and equipment for putting out these publications. STANFORD advised that it costs the RAM \$200.00 to print 5,000 copies of the "Afro-World" and \$250.00 to distribute it.

NY T-1  
June 21, 1965

"Black America"

The Sun Publishing Corporation, 59 East Broadway, New York City, printed "Black America."

NY T-2  
July 15, 1965

The Afro-American was a RAM publication as of August, 1965.

NY T-2  
August 16, 1965

The "Black America" magazine un3ated, reviewed in

NY 100-161569

August, 1965, lists the address of the "Black America" as Post Office Box 359, New York, New York, 10025, on page 19. This magazine on page 19 also lists the address of the "Crusader" as Post Office Box 359, New York City, New York. On page 20 of the magazine the address of "Afro World" magazine is listed as Post Office Box 359, New York, New York, 10025.

NY T-32 advised on January 17, 1966, that Post Office Box 359, New York, New York, 10025, was rented on January 1, 1965 to "Black America" magazine effective January 17, 1965. The renter of this post office box was LARRY NEAL.

2. Publications published abroad:

RAM handles the distribution of "The Crusader" in the New York City area.

NY T-1  
June 21, 1965

"The Crusader" mentioned above is described in the characterization of RAM.

D. Funds

BILL EPTON, PAUL BOUTELLE, LARRY NEAL and CHARLES MORRIS were scheduled to hold a meeting on July 1 or 2, 1967, at NEAL's residence for the purpose of discussing ways to raise money for RAM members arrested on June 21, 1967, by the NYCPD.

NY T-2  
June 29, 1967

BILL EPTON

NY T-33 advised that WILLIAM LEO EPTON, also known as BILL EPTON, was elected Vice-President of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) on April 18, 1965.

NY 100-161569

A characterization of the PLP is attached to the Appendix section of this report.

PAUL BOUTELLE

NY T-34 advised on November 19, 1965, that PAUL BOUTELLE was known to be a member of the Socialist Worker's Party, New York Local (SWP, NYL).

A characterization of the SWP, NYL is contained in the Appendix section of this report.

STANFORD on July 13, 1966, attended a "Forum '66" conference in Detroit, Michigan, consisting of black nationalist groups. STANFORD indicated that while at the conference, he met other "brothers" and they held a separate meeting to discuss how the "brothers" could obtain money.

STANFORD indicated the "brothers" decided robbery would probably be the solution, however, he, STANFORD, did not further elaborate concerning this or offer any other details.

STANFORD indicated that when he returned from Detroit to Philadelphia, to contact his uncle about getting some financial support. STANFORD indicated that he apparently talked to his uncle about committing some robberies since he said his uncle indicated he could obtain some .38s (.38 caliber pistols with silencers.

NY T-2  
July 13, 1966

At a meeting held on August 14, 1966, MAX STANFORD mentioned that ROBERT WILLIAMS allegedly has one million dollars available for the use of RAM.

NY T-2  
August 19, 1966

MAX STANFORD prior to moving to Philadelphia on September 18, 1966, discussed RAM and ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

NY 100-161569

STANFORD remarked that WILLIAMS has money available for RAM.

STANFORD said the contact man between RAM in the United States and ROBERT WILLIAMS is one RICHARD GIBSON in Paris, France. He said GIBSON passes on messages from WILLIAMS and will be the man contacted by whoever is designated as a courier to go to China to get the money.

NY T-29  
September 26, 1966

DONALD WASHINGTON, an associate of RAM members, had applied to HARYOU (an anti-poverty program in the Harlem Section of New York City) for \$60,000.00 from the government to assist a cultural group which he is suppose to be organizing. According to the source, WASHINGTON would not reveal the group's name but indicated he expected to receive \$25,000.00 of the \$60,000.00 requested. It is the opinion of the source that this money would have acutally gone to RAM.

NY T-1  
June 2, 1966

NY T-1 advised on November 12, 1965, that the Black Arts Repertory Theatre (now defunct, and which was connected with HARYOU) had been using the money allotted to them through HARYOU to support RAM members. Some of the members of the "Black Arts" complained that they had not been paid and demanded their money. It was then learned that the money for the Black Arts was being used to support hate groups, including RAM.

MAX STANFORD went to the Guinea Mission to the United Nations at New York City, on December 1, 1965, where he met with a Guinea representative. Upon leaving the Guinea Mission, STANFORD remarked that he had to go to the bank and went directly to a bank in the Harlem area of New York City.

NY T-2  
December 1, 1965

NY 100-161569

MAX STANFORD received an envelope from M. MAMI KOUYATE, a representative of the Guinea Mission to the United Nations at New York City, several months ago when he visited the Guinea Mission. This envelope contained an unknown quantity of money. STANFORD at that time took \$5.00 to \$15.00 from this envelope and gave it to a known RAM member for no specific reason.

STANFORD remarked at this time that he had received money in the past in the same manner from KOUYATE. He then implied that the money he received from KOUYATE was coming from ROBERT WILLIAMS then in Cuba, although STANFORD had not specifically stated it as a fact since very little is said about this contact which is considered to be extremely confidential by STANFORD.

NY T-2  
May 11, 1966

NY 100-161569  
LFU:sc  
(1)

YORUBA TEMPLE

The Yoruba Temple (YT) first came into existence in New York City in August, 1959, for the purposes of promoting and teaching African culture, paralleling the Yoruba Society of the Eighteenth Century, which had its origin in upper Egypt and subsequently spread from there to West Africa.

NY T-35  
January 23, 1968

The purposes of the YT are to teach African culture and the Orishi Vudu religion to the Negroes in the Harlem area of New York City.

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

Orishi Vudu is one of the oldest known African religions, originating from the West Coast of Africa. Today it is known as Voodoo. However, unlike today's Voodoo worshippers, the members of the YT do not believe in zombies. They do believe the spirits of the dead still walk the earth and that these spirits have mystic powers.

NY T-1  
June 2, 1966

During the month of June, 1966, the YT announced it would hold outdoor rallies at Mount Morris Park, located in the Harlem section of New York City on each Sunday beginning at 1:00 P.M. The rallies would be held under the name of the Harlem People's Parliament, a branch of the YT.

NY 100-161569

MFU:sc

(2)

On June 1, 1966, the Harlem People's Parliament issued a statement advising that the Parliament had voted for Ujamaa, described as a Three Year Plan of African socialism for the political, educational, economic, cultural and social development of Harlem. According to this source, six points of the Ujamaa Plan are as follows:

1. African socialism is a system invented by Africans in which housing, land, education, industry, transit, public utilities and all natural resources are owned and controlled by the community, the city and the state rather than by private families and companies of exploiters.

2. In public education of Afro-American children, African history must be included.

3. Absentee landlordism must be abolished in order to liberate our people from exploitation.

4. Light industries and retail businesses would be begun in lofts and stores by pooling the resources of the people through our representative community government, the Harlem People's Parliament.

5. A Neighborhood Patrol Plan which calls for the police who patrol a particular community to be drawn from policemen who actually live in that community.

6. The United States Government should pay reparations in money and land to the Afro-American people for the genocide, atrocities, suppression, exploitation and brainwashing imposed upon persons of African origin from the year 1776 to the present.

NY T-1

June 14, 1966

NY 100-161569  
MFU:sc  
(3)

As of January, 1968, the YT was only known to be active in the New York City area.

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-35  
January 23, 1968

There are no complicated membership requirements for the YT. In order for a Negro to join, he must merely have his fortune read by the high priest. At this time, the high priest gives an African name to the applicant. The fee for this name is \$1.05, and the receipt of the African name signifies membership in the YT.

NY T-17  
January 23, 1967

Members are urged, but it is not an absolute requirement, to wear African style haircuts and African style clothing.

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

NY 100-161569

LFU:sc

(4)

The African style dress of the YT is identical with existing African societies and cultures and is described as follows:

Male

Agbada - a large flowing decorative robe  
Shokoto - wide legged trousers  
Ewu - shirt  
Lanshiki - short sleeveless decorative robe  
Togo - sleeveless robe  
Fila - cloth cap  
Ziki - brimless felt cap  
Bata - sandals

Female

Buba - blouse  
Iro or Lappa - wrap around skirt  
Gele - large decorative turban  
Arójushe - eye makeup to reduce sun glare  
Salu Bata - sandals

NY T-35  
January 23, 1968

a. Membership

Leaders

BABA OSEIJEMAN ADLFUMI is the founder and the high priest of the YT. As such, he is the spiritual leader and conducts all religious ceremonies. He is in

NY 100-161569

LFU:sc

(5)

complete control of the YT. Although there are several minor priests, ADEFUMI is considered to be the only individual exercising leadership.

NY T-17

January 23, 1968

Concerning BABA ADEFUMI, records of the Bureau of Special Services (BSS), New York City Police Department (NYCPD), as reviewed by Special Agent AUGUST J. MICLEK on February 14, 1967, reflected that ADEFUMI, also known as Serg King, Serge Ahingh, Latunji Ginzenga, was born in Detroit, Michigan, on October 5, 1928. He came to New York City in 1950. He formerly owned and operated the Part d'Afrique Afro-Asian Coffee Room, at 310 East 6th Street, New York, New York. As of February, 1967, he was directing the activities of the YT at 28 West 116th Street, New York, New York.

BABA ADEFUMI, spiritual leader of the YT, was born under the name WALTER KING and was raised in the Chicago or Detroit area. As an adult, he worked as a commercial artist. He is considered to be a good speaker and can hold the attention of the audience.

NY T-1

August 31, 1966

Estimated Numbers of Members  
and Sympathizers

As of January, 1968, the membership of the YT was from 15-25 members. In addition, there are approx-

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LFU:sc

(6)

imately 15 individuals who are considered sympathetic to the YT and attend at least some of its affairs.

NY T-1

January 19, 1968

As of January, 1968, the YT had an estimated 20-30 members and an additional 10-15 individuals considered sympathetic.

NY T-17

January 23, 1968

B. Terrorist or Revolutionary Activity

Acts of Violence or Plans to Commit Same

As of January, 1968, the YT was not known to be involved in any acts of violence or planning to commit such acts. The YT believes in the Orishi Vudu religion which does not condone personal violence, but rather advocates belief in medical, social, therapeutic and metaphysical sciences.

NY T-35

January 23, 1968

On October 7, 1966, several black nationalists came to the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) Marxist - Leninist (M-L) bookstore at 135 Street and Lighth Avenue, New York, New York, and issued a warning to the

NY 100-161569

LFU:sc

(7)

effect that the CP, USA, M-L, should get out of Harlem or become black nationalists.

This source further advised that on October 8, 1966, at approximately 3:30 A.M., three male Negroes appeared at the bookstore and one of the Negroes apparently threw a firebomb, causing a small fire to start in the bookstore. The three Negro males then disappeared and damage to the bookstore was estimated at approximately \$50.

NY T-36

October 8, 1966

This same source further advised that he had seen a poster published by the Harlem People's Parliament, which poster contained photographs and names of some of the ministers of the Parliament. According to this source, he recognized one of the photographs as being identical with the individual he had observed at the CP, USA, M-L bookstore on October 8, 1966. This individual had been observed pouring liquid on the floor and setting the liquid on fire with a match. The source stated that a name under this photograph was ADEYEMI OYEILUMI. In addition, this source also recognized the photograph of OBAFUNMI ADEFEMI as being similar to one of the individuals who had come into the bookstore on October 7, 1966, and warned them to get out of Harlem. According to the source, the other two men who had accompanied OYEILUMI at the time of the fire also wore hats with emblems similar to those worn by all the individuals appearing in the poster.

NY 100-161569  
EFU:sc  
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NY T-36  
October 11, 1966

A characterization of the CP, USA, M-L is set forth in the appendix.

Possession of weapons and Instruments of Destruction

As of January, 1968, the YI was not known to possess any weapons or instruments of destruction.

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

On May 19, 1966, a MALCOLM X Day was sponsored by the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) in tribute to MALCOLM X, founder and former leader of the OAAU, who was assassinated February 21, 1965, at a press conference held at the Hotel Theresa, 125 Street and Seventh Avenue, New York, New York. Three encased rifles and four hand weapons were observed. Two of these hand weapons were in possession of unidentified members of YI. These weapons were for the protection of ELLA COLLINS, the then current leader of the OAAU. One of these YI members stayed close to ELLA COLLINS at all times.

NY T-1  
June 2, 1966

NY 100-161569

LFU:sc

(9)

Typical Violent Statements

On the afternoon of September 3, 1967, an outdoor rally was held by the Harlem People's Parliament in front of a private residence at 252 West 121st Street, New York, New York. The Parliament had decided to take over the house because they felt they deserved it. The first speaker for the YT stated that the house was being written off by some rich Jew as a tax loss. This individual then introduced ADEFUMI, leader of the YT, who explained to the audience what they were attempting to do. He stated that he did not expect to win the battle to keep the house, but at least they tried to take it. He stated to those in attendance that they could not call themselves revolutionaries unless they were willing to break every law in the "white man's" books.

NY T-17

September 5, 1967

On October 16, 1966, there was a program commemorating the opening of the "New School For Afro-American Thought" located at 2208 14th Street, Northwest, Washington D. C. BAB, ADEFUMI, the leader of the YT in New York City, spoke briefly about his religion and its origin and several entertainers from the YT entertained. Subsequently, that same evening, ADEFUMI stated to one of the other guests that the Harlem People's Parliament had prepared a Three Year Plan. He stated to this individual that the YT also has a Twenty-five Year Plan in connection with which they expect to buy 100 acres in South Carolina and build an African nation there. According to ADEFUMI, one of

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LFU:sc  
(10)

the aims of this 25 year program is to weaken the United States politically and economically, and thus bring the United States to its knees.

NY T-37  
October 17, 1966

On September 3, 1966, the OAAU held a street festival on 127th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenue, New York, New York. An unidentified individual who is known to be a member of the YT spoke to those in attendance about how he hates the white man. He stated the black people would be involved in a revolution whether they liked it or not.

NY T-3  
September 5, 1966

On August 31, 1966, DEFUMI, while discussing the YT, stated that overcrowding was one of the main problems in Harlem. He stated he would encourage his members to leave Harlem and set up "tribes" in other parts of the country. When asked if he felt that Harlem would explode in another riot, he replied that it was necessary for the ghettos in New York City to explode. This is the only way at present for the white man to know he cannot control the black man. DEFUMI further stated that the riots will continue to take place in Harlem and Brooklyn until the power structure gives in and gives to them, the YT, Harlem as their country to rule. When asked if he encouraged riots, DEFUMI stated he encourages anything that benefits the black man. When asked if he would send his people out to

NY 100-161569  
LFU:sc  
(11)

riot, he answered in the affirmative, provided it would remove the white power structure from Harlem forever.

NY T-1  
August 31, 1966

On August 14, 1966, a black power rally was held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th Street, New York, New York. This rally was sponsored by the New York Harlem Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). BABA ADEFUMI of the YI was one of the speakers. He stated that his organization was planning to take over unoccupied buildings in the Harlem area of New York City in 1967 and pay no rent.

NY T-38  
August 17, 1966

Involvement in racial  
Disturbances

The YI is not known to have involved itself in any racial disturbances. Their activities in this regard would be limited to such things as picketing of public schools in order to obtain better teachers or standards for Negro schools or in support of particular teachers.

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

NY 100-161569

LFU:sc

(12)

On September 12, 1966, the YI together with several other black nationalist and civil rights groups joined in a boycott of Public School 139 at 140th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York, New York. At a picketing and demonstration in connection with this boycott, representatives of the YI demanded complete control of the school and an all Negro teaching staff.

NY T-1

September 15, 1966

On June 27, 1966, a demonstration was held at Public School 175, 134th Street between Seventh Avenue and Lexington Avenue, New York, New York. This demonstration was in support of RALPH POYNTER, a former teacher at the school who was released by the Board of Education because POYNTER had previously led a protest picket line claiming the teaching standards were poor in Harlem and other Negro areas of New York City. The protest was conducted by several members of the YI together with a number of parents and students.

NY T-1

June 27, 1966

records of BSS, NYCPD as reviewed on February 14, 1967, by Special Agent AUGUST J. NICEK, reflected that OSWALD W. ADLFUMI headed a group of his YI followers on May 18, 1966, in a protest demonstration against the firing of school teacher RALPH POYNTER. This demonstration took place in front of Public School 192, 500 West 138th Street, New York, New York.

NY 100-161569  
EFU:sc  
(13)

C. Publications

With the exception of leaflets and pamphlets occasionally distributed in the New York City area, in order to announce festivals, meetings, or the history of the Yoruba religion, the YT has no other official publications.

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

As of October, 1965, the YT, 28 West 116th Street, New York, New York, was then, or had been, one of the organizations receiving bundles of "The Crusader". Whether or not these copies of "The Crusader" were solicited by the YT or subsequently distributed by them was not known to this source.

NY T-2  
October 14, 1965

"The Crusader" is mentioned in the characterization of RAM in the Appendix.

D. Funds

The YT derives its funds from operating the Ujamaa Market, 1979 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where African style clothes and jewelry are sold and a coffee and sandwich shop is operated. In addition donations

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LFU:sc  
(14)

of \$2.00 per person are required at meetings held. Some income is also derived from new members who pay \$1.05 upon joining the YT.

NY T-1  
January 19, 1968

NY T-17  
January 23, 1968

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**II. BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS IN WHICH  
EXTREMISTS ARE ACTIVE**

Information concerning the following organizations  
appears in this section of this report:

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)  
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

COMMISSION OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

Locality in Which Active

The New York Post, a daily newspaper published in New York City, issue of June 19, 1967, page 16, reported that LINCOLN LEMCH, CORE's Associate Director, said that National CORE has only an office staff which coordinates funds and communications between the 211 chapters throughout the country". LEMCH said that 21 of these chapters are in New York State and eight in New York City.

It is estimated that there are approximately 300 members of CORE, at the most, in New York City itself.

NY T-39  
September 11, 1967

Stated Purposes

The Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, issue of July 3, 1967, reported that winding up its National Convention in Oakland, CORE voted to amend Article III, Section III, of the present constitution. It had read CORE as a national multi-racial organization. It was changed to read CORE as a mass membership organization for implementing black power for black people. JACOB WESSNER, National Director, made it plain that he does not consider CORE a conventional civil rights organization. At a press conference following the convention's closing, WESSNER called CORE an effective revolutionary movement, the common front for black people.

The New York Times, issue of July 6, 1967, page one, in an article reporting on the National Convention of CORE in

2.

NY 100-15135

Orland, California, held June 30 through July 4, 1967, reported that FLOYD B. MC KISSICK, National Director of CORE, said that the convention had approved six programs for implementing black power. He said these programs were designed to develop political and economic power, build militant young leadership, develop consumer blocs, bring about better enforcement of Federal laws, improve the Negro's image of himself and give Negroes the right of self determination.

The article also stated that CORE's move to become a front for unifying Negroes was evident throughout the convention.

#### Extremist Members

#### FLOYD MC KISSICK National Director of CORE

The New York Times, a daily newspaper published in New York City, issue of January 4, 1966, page 581, contains an article pertaining to FLOYD MC KISSICK, the National Director of CORE. This article reflected that MC KISSICK, a successful lawyer in Durham, North Carolina, was named on January 3, 1966, to become National Director of CORE. According to this article, MC KISSICK was born on March 9, 1922, in Asheville, North Carolina, the son of FREDERICK DOUGLAS MC KISSICK. This article also reflected that MC KISSICK did his undergraduate work at Morehouse College and North Carolina Law School. According to this article, MC KISSICK was a Sergeant in Europe during World War II. This article reflected that MC KISSICK married HELEN WILLIAMS on September 1, 1944, and the couple have four children: Mrs. JOCKEY DOUGLAS, 22, ANDERSON, 18, FLOYD, Jr., 15 and CARRIE, 11.

The New York Times, issue of October 1, 1965, Section 5, page 1, contains an article concerning FLOYD B. MC KISSICK, National Director of CORE, stated that MC KISSICK resides in a four-story brownstone that he brought on 18th Street just off Saint Nicholas Avenue in Harlem, New York.

3.

NY 100-161,60

An article in 'The Plain Dealer', a Cleveland, Ohio daily newspaper, issue of August 3, 1967, stated that while in Cleveland, on August 2, 1967, MC KISSICK met with newsmen and read a black manifesto to them which contained six demands on President JOHNSON and the Congress. The article set forth the six demands and also reported the following remarks by MC KISSICK:

"If these demands are ignored! MC KISSICK said, 'It will be reaffirmed that white America has no interest in the black population. It will be further evidence that the only cure is revolution.'

MC KISSICK called the explosions of this summer 'the beginning of the black revolution' and blasted statements by civil rights leaders that condemned Negroes for resorting to violence.

'We believe it is unfortunate that our brothers felt it necessary to condemn black men for rebelling against that which oppresses - that they found it opportune to decry the violence of the victim,' he said.

ROY DENNIS  
Associate National Director of CORE

The New York Times, issue of December 21, 1967, page 21, contains an article captioned 'Militant Named No. 2 CORE Leader'. This article reflects that ROY DENNIS, chairman of Harlem CORE, who is a militant black nationalist, was named associate national director of CORE yesterday. The article states that DENNIS replaces LINCOLN O. LYONS, who has served as CORE's second-ranking officer since March, 1964.

On November 17, 1966, Detective GEORGE MADON, Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department (NCCD), advised SA JAMES D. BRODY that his records reflect that ROY DENNIS was born June 6, 1934, in the Virgin Islands, and resides in Apartment 2-B, 375 West End Avenue, New York, New York.

NY 100-151 50

A Regional Action Conference (RAC) of the North Central Region of CORE, was held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 12, to August 13, 1967. During this conference, a workshop was held on Black Nationalism at which ROY JAMES was one of the speakers. JAMES was a militant individual who recommended that Negroes educate themselves in combat tactics and that they should join the National Guard in order to do this if such instruction could not be obtained otherwise. He recommended that CORE form a security force to check the background and activity of CORE members so that the organization could deal with possible informants in its ranks.

NY 100-40  
August, 1967

NY 100-161569

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINA-  
TING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

1. Locality in which active

The New York Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located in rooms 802 and 803 at 100 5th Avenue, New York City (NYC).

NY T-41  
August 28, 1967

The New York Office of SNCC is active in an area comprising generally with Greater Metropolitan area of NYC.

NY T-42  
September 18, 1967

NY T-1  
October 3, 1967

2. Stated Purposes of SNCC

An article by ROY WILKINS, Head of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) appears in the "New York Post", June 4, 1966, page 37. The article is entitled, "SNCC's New Road". In it, ROY WILKINS discusses SNCC's changed position. He stated that SNCC had declared that it was "no longer interested in integration." A "new gang" took over in SNCC and the "whites have been booted out." WILKINS stated that "SNCC had formally chosen a racist course, that is, black racist."

A press release dated December 5, 1967, entitled, "An Open Letter to Black Athletes" states that "SNCC proclaimed itself a human rights organization early in 1967..... It made public its recognition of two things: that racism and colonialism are indivisible and that they must be exposed and fought

NY 100-161569

and destroyed on all fronts both here in the United States and abroad." The press release was issued by SNCC.

A statement by JOHN WILSON of SNCC at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, is addressed to "Vietnamese Brothers and Sisters" and is entitled, "Conference-talks between Vietnamese and Americans." In this statement, WILSON says:

"We in SNCC see the black militants as the true revolutionary force in America. The government must visualize them as being so and have stepped up attempts to dissolve their ranks and to discredit them by calling them Communists. The militants are led by Stokely Carmichael, who recently visited Hanoi, and H. Rap Brown, the present chairman of SNCC. There are many other local militant leaders. The ranks of the militants are growing in number with every passing day. They are made up of the black poor, the black students, and many black intellectuals who are coming to accept the program.

"Their program is self-determination for black people in the USA. The analysis holds that there is no other serious alternative for black people but a struggle for self-determination. SNCC has a program for implementing this idea, beginning with political education and moving by steps to a true struggle for national liberation. The exact form of this national liberation struggle must be determined by the black people and the oppressive conditions under which they live."

NY T- 43  
January 15, 1968

### 3. Extremist Members in SNCC

#### JAMES FORMAN

JAMES FORMAN served as Office Manager of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, as of November, 1967.

NY T- 44  
November 1, 1967

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A circular issued by the New York Office of SNCC dated July, 1967, and entitled "An Urgent Message From New York SNCC" was signed by JAMES FORMAN as Director, New York Office.

The "New York Courier", November 18, 1967, page five, contained an article on SNCC which described JAMES FORMAN as Director of the International Affairs Division of SNCC and of its New York Office.

On June 13, 1967, JAMES FORMAN of SNCC, New York, made the statement that he had recently taken over the New York SNCC Office as its International Director and that he was seeking to establish contact with other militant civil rights groups for summer projects.

NY T-45  
June 23, 1967

Captain JOHN D. ELLIOT, Monroe, North Carolina Police Department, on August 27, 1961, advised that JAMES FORMAN, a Negro, male, age 31, then residing at 8259 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, a freedom fighter, was among those arrested on that date for inciting a riot.

A reprint from the "Times of Zambia", Africa, Thursday, August 3, 1967, quoted an article entitled, "Non-violence is not a total philosophy." This article describes JAMES FORMAN as follows:

"ONE OF the most vigorous and outspoken participants at the U.N. seminar on apartheid being held in Kitwe is a stocky American Negro called James Forman.

"He is director of International Affairs for the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee-the Civil Rights organization headed by controversial Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael."

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The following is quoted from the article:

"Forman's presence at the seminar as an observer is significant as a new development within the Civil Rights movement-that is, taking the struggle out of a purely American context and aligning it with liberation struggles being waged elsewhere in the world, but particularly in southern Africa.

"Forman constantly refers to himself in his seminar presentations as an "Afro-American," and when he walks into a shop at Buchi he greets people there as "brother."

"Is the SNCC non-violent?"

"Forman doesn't believe that non-violence can be what he calls a total philosophy. If it doesn't work, he says, you have to try something else. And he points out that even Mahatma Gandhi did not see non-violence as a total philosophy."

IC JAMES F. MC CAFFREY on October 25, 1961, caused a search to be made of the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of Cook County, Illinois at which time it was determined that JAMES FORMAN, a male, Negro, was born October 4, 1928, in Cook County Hospital, Chicago, Illinois. His parents were listed as JACKSON FORMAN, age 24, born in Mississippi, and employed as a porter, and OCTAVIA ALLEN, age 23, born in Moscow, Tennessee. Records reflected that on November 27, 1935, the father filed a Certificate of Correction showing the family name to be FOURMAN instead of FORMAN.

Special Employee JAMES W. ESTEP on February 23, 1962, reviewed the Military Service Record of JAMES FORMAN, SN 16273905 at the Military Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri. These records reflected that JAMES FORMAN enlisted in the United States Air Force on September 24, 1947, and was discharged

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September 23, 1951. He received an honorable discharge due to expiration of his term of service. It was indicated FORMAN was convicted by a Summary Court Martial on February 3, 1948, for failure to obey a lawful order from a non-commissioned officer. He was sentenced to forfeiture of \$25 of his pay.

The records of the Camarillo State Hospital, Los Angeles, California, were reviewed by Special Agent (SA) JOHN E. KEANE on April 27, 1962, and reflected that JAMES FORMAN, born October 4, 1928, was admitted to Camarillo State Hospital on February 26, 1953. On March 11, 1953, his condition was diagnosed as "dementia praecox catatonic type." He was discharged June 11, 1953, to the Veterans Administration Hospital at Sawtelle, California, as unimproved. His summary sheet reflects that throughout his hospitalization he was badly disturbed, delusional, confused, noisy, kicking, and fighting.

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON, as of September, 1967, was serving as fund-raising chairman of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, NYC.

NY T-46  
September 1, 1967

JOHN WILSON resides at 520 East 12th Street, NYC. JOHN WILSON was alleged as of October, 1967, to have taken over some of H. RAP BROWN's speaking engagements. H. RAP BROWN is National Chairman of the SNCC.

NY T-1  
October 19, 1967

On February 21, 1967, NY T-47 furnished a flyer printed by the Militant Labor Forum (MLF) which indicated that the MLF would sponsor a MALCOLM X Memorial meeting on February 24, 1967. One of the speakers listed on

NY 100-161569

the flyer was JOHN WILSON, described as SNCC Field Secretary.

The MLF held the above Memorial meeting at 873 Broadway, NYC, on February 24, 1967. JOHN WILSON of SNCC was the second speaker and stated that MALCOLM X had made an immeasurable contribution to civil rights.

NY T-45

March 1, 1967

MALCOLM X is characterized under  
Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

JULIUS LESTER was described as a Negro organizer for SNCC as of September, 1966.

NY T-48

September 28, 1966

JULIUS LESTER was reported as a key-man in photography work for SNCC as of July, 1967.

NY T-49

July 6, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER's application for United States Passport facilities dated March 8, 1967, reflected his permanent address as 329 West 21st Street, NYC. He was last married on December 22, 1962 to JOAN BRINKWORTH STEIN. His occupation was listed as writer and photographer

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service reported on April 10, 1967, a broadcast from Hanoi, North Vietnam, on April 8, 1967, which read as follows: "The 4th Investigative Delegation of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal has arrived in Hanoi to continue the work of the first three delegations in investigating the United States War crimes in

NY 100-161569

Vietnam. The delegation included, among others, American Negro, JULIUS LESTER, writer, cameraman and compositor in charge of SNCC Photograph Service."

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

The head of the New York Office of SNCC, as of April, 1966, was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND.

NY T-41  
April 5, 1966

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News," July 23, 1966, page three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND formerly held the office of Director, New York office, SNCC, until about July, 1966. It was narrated that she no longer held this position but did remain on the New York staff as Writer and Coordinator of Public Information Projects.

On December 18, 1961, Investigative Clerk (IC) ROBERT E. LEGG caused a review to be made of the records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C. The following information was obtained concerning ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND. ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND MARTINEZ, on June 14, 1961, filed an application at New York, for Passport facilities. Passport number B406878 was issued to her on June 14, 1961. The passport was valid for one trip to Cuba, not to extend beyond September 10, 1961. The purpose of this trip to Cuba, according to Miss SUTHERLAND, was to write an article on the Cuban film industry. She listed her name as ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND MARTINEZ, born December 12, 1925, at Washington, D.C. She gave her residence as 10 East 92nd Street, NYC. She gave her occupation as editor of a book publishing company, and listed her parents as MANUEL G. MARTINEZ and RUTH PHILLIPS.

The November 11, 1963 issue of "The Militant" page five, column three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, a book editor, was

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treasurer of the Emergency Committee  
for Disaster Relief to Cuba at that  
time. (See Appendix for "The Militant").

WILLIAM HALL

A rally billed as a benefit for SNCC was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, 1 West 122nd Street, New York City, on August 29, 1966. This was attended by approximately 190 persons. WILLIAM HALL, identified as a SNCC Field Secretary, was a speaker at this rally.

Detective RAYMOND J.  
CLARKE  
Bureau of Special Services  
NYC Police Department  
August 30, 1966

A field worker in Alabama for SNCC made the statement in September, 1965, that WILLIAM HALL, a former Project Director for SNCC for the Third Congressional District of Alabama, had gone to NYC, where he was expected to engage in SNCC work in Harlem.

NY T-50  
September 18, 1965

"The New York World Telegram and Sun," a former New York City daily newspaper, on page one of this issue of March 22, 1966, contained an article entitled, "BELAFONTE Bails Out Five Rights Leaders." The article related that HARRY BELAFONTE, singer and SIDNEY POITIER, actor, appeared in the night court on March 21, 1966, and provided bail money for five SNCC officers who had been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for staging a sit-in at the South African Consulate, 655 Madison Avenue, NYC. The five SNCC officers were identified as follows in the newspaper article:

NY 100-161559

"JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary  
"JOHN LEWIS, National Chairman  
"WILLIAM HALL, New York Director of SNCC  
"CLEVELAND SELLERS, Program Director  
"WILLIAM RICKS, SNCC Staff Member"

(It should be noted that JAMES FORMAN is currently serving as Director of New York SNCC.)

A picket demonstration was conducted at Intermediate School 201 in Harlem, NYC, at 7:00 a.m. on September 21, 1966. SNCC members participated in this demonstration, the purpose of which was to protest the action of the Board of Education in reinstating STANLEY LESSER, white male, as Principal of Intermediate School 201 located at 127th Street and Madison Avenue, NYC. When the school doors opened at about 8:15 a.m. on September 21, 1966, five pickets attempted to rush past school Principal LESSER and block his entrance to the school. They were arrested by the NYC Police Department on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Included among those arrested was WILLIAM HALL, male Negro, 100 Fifth Avenue, NYC.

Detective MARTIN DURKIN,  
Bureau of Special Services  
New York City Police  
Department (NYCPD)

It is to be noted that 100 Fifth Avenue is the address of SNCC New York Office.

On September 12, 1967, WILLIAM HALL of SNCC with approximately 20 supporters attempted to push their way at 9:10 a.m. through the police guard toward ten white teachers who were conducting peaceful picketing at Intermediate School 201, Harlem, NYC. WILLIAM HALL pushed past the police guard and was arrested for obstruction, harassment, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. H. RAP BROWN of SNCC appeared at the

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above demonstration at 9:40 a.m. He talked to spectators and reporters but did not participate in the demonstration.

Lieutenant FRANK MENDYK  
25th Precinct, New York  
City Police Department  
September 2, 1967

A review of Passport records at United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., in 1966, reflected that WILLIAM HALL was born September 2, 1936 at New York; that he is male Negro, single, 6 feet tall and claimed to be employed as Field Secretary of SNCC. His father was listed as HENRY L. HALL and his mother as Mrs. DOROTHY KELLY, 626 Riverside Drive, NYC.

ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH was described as being on the Staff of the New York Office of SNCC as of December 6, 1967.

NY T-2  
December 6, 1967

A court hearing concerning reduction of bail for H. RAP BROWN was held at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, NYC, on August 22, 1967 at 10:00 a.m. JAMES FORMAN and other SNCC representatives were present in the courtroom. An outburst came from the spectators when JAMES FORMAN insisted that the United States Marshals readmit ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC representative, into the courtroom. FORMAN stated that he had reserved SMITH's seat in the courtroom. As FORMAN continued to be boisterous, the Judge ordered him to be removed from the courtroom. A pushing and shoving incident followed and FORMAN was removed to a detention cell. However, JAMES FORMAN was subsequently readmitted to the courtroom upon the insistence of H. RAP BROWN's attorney.

NY T-1  
August 31, 1967

NY 100-161569

III. INDEPENDENT BLACK NATIONALIST EXTREMISTS

Individuals about whom information is set forth in this section are those who, although they may have some relationship, are not primarily active in the organizations mentioned heretofore in this report.

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TLB:kmm

1.

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN, Negro male, was born on August 2, 1924, in New York, New York. BALDWIN was the oldest of nine children and his birth data is not supported by birth records.

Wilson Library Bulletin  
February, 1959  
Page 392

An article appearing in the June 3, 1963 issue of the "New York Times," reflected that BALDWIN was graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School, Bronx, New York, in 1942.

BALDWIN is publicly well known as a Negro author and playwright who has written several books, essays and plays.

In the past, BALDWIN has been known to associate with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, National Lawyers Guild (NLG), and the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC).

NY T-51  
May 21, 1961  
NY T-52  
October 25, 1963  
"National Guardian"  
April 7, 1961, Page 4  
October 3, 7, 1963, Pages 8  
and 4, respectively  
November 7, 1963, Page 11

Characterizations of the ECLC, FPCC, Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, NLG, NYCAHUAC, and National Guardian can be found in the appendix.

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TLB:kmm

2.

The June 21, 1963 issue of the "New York Times", carried an article reporting that the subject, on June 20, 1963, spoke in Harlem, New York, stating that "this is the first time in the history of the country that it is confronted with 22,000,000 black people who can't be negotiated with anymore."

A June 3, 1963 issue of "Newsweek" carried an article captioned, "Kennedy and Baldwin; the Gulf," which article in part stated that BALDWIN advised when interviewed, "He (Attorney General Kennedy) was surprised to hear there were Negroes who wouldn't fight for their country." BALDWIN further commented, "How many Negroes would fight to free Cuba when they can't be freed themselves."

The above article, which referred to a meeting in New York City between KENNEDY and BALDWIN, further stated that after the meeting, BALDWIN reportedly told the Attorney General that he would not think of fighting for the United States if the United States got into a war and that he was thinking of getting guns and starting to shoot white people.

The November 6, 1963 issue of the "Washington Daily News," a daily newspaper in Washington, D.C., carried an article concerning remarks made by JAMES BALDWIN at Howard University on November 11, 1963. BALDWIN reportedly stated, "I wonder how long we can endure--stand by and not fight back." At another point, BALDWIN stated, "Many, even members of my own family, would think nothing of picking up arms tomorrow."

The Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Edition of the Playbill on July 15, 1964, "Curtain Call," dated July, 1964, on page 36, published an article of an interview with JAMES BALDWIN, characterizing BALDWIN as a "brilliant burning tiger who is probably the monarch of the current literary jungle, (who) has won international acclaim as both a major writer and as the angry conscience of a nation." The characterization continues stating, "This blunt, lonely, perceptive, forty year old bachelor has created three novels, three books of essays, and the two plays. His latest work may be seen on Broadway in the Actor's Studio explosive production of 'Blues for Mr. Charlie.'"

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TLB:kmm

3.

This same article continued and further quoted BALDWIN during the interview as stating, "I have a long article to do on the FBI and how it treats Negroes. It will be called 'The Blood Counters,' which is the Negroes' nickname for the FBI."

By means of a pretext on December 27, 1967, by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), it was revealed that BALDWIN is currently residing in London, England, and is writing a book about the life of MALCOLM X, the deceased founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU).

NY 100-161569

PAUL BENJAMIN BOUTELLE

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Number 123 712D for BOUTELLE reflects he was born on October 13, 1934, at New York City, and was arrested by the New York City Police Department (NYCPD), August 3, 1952, for possession of a gun. He was adjudged a youthful offender.

Records of the Bureau of Special Services (BSS), NYCPD, as checked on August 8, 1964, by SA AUGUST J. MICEK reflect he was arrested on August 8, 1964, for disorderly conduct.

BOUTELLE was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as of March, 1961.

NY T-53  
March 30, 1961

A characterization of the YSA will be found in the Appendix.

As of June, 1964, BOUTELLE was the director of Freedomways Book Service, which is connected with Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

NY T-54  
June 14, 1964

A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, will be found in the Appendix.

BOUTELLE was the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Borough President of Manhattan in the 1965 New York City elections and ran for Attorney General of New York State on the SWP slate in the 1966 elections.

NY T-55  
May 19, 1965  
October 12, 1966

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BOUELLE has been nominated as Vice-Presidential candidate for the SWP for the 1968 elections.

NY T-56  
October 31, 1967

As of June 26, 1967, BOUELLE was Secretary of the Black United Action Front (engaging primarily in protesting United States policy in Vietnam).

NY T-55  
June 26, 1967

BOUELLE has stated that he felt LEON TROTSKY was the greatest man who ever lived and that he, BOUELLE, believes in national socialism.

NY T-1  
March 17, 1965

BOUELLE stated that the SWP was the only organization having a program to lead the Negro people and the proletariat to a successful revolution in the United States.

NY T-57  
August 19, 1965

BOUELLE in the "Lexington Leader", a newspaper published in Lexington, Kentucky, in its issue of November 17, 1967, contained an article which quoted BOUELLE as saying he advocated the overthrow of the American Government "by any means possible".

BOUELLE in the "San Francisco Examiner", a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, in its issue of November 29, 1967, quoted BOUELLE as saying "I am a Black Nationalist but politically and economically I am a socialist".

NY 100-161569  
TLB:cas

WILLIAM LEO EPTON, JR

Records of the Manhattan Bureau of Vital Statistics (BVS), as checked July 23, 1959, reflected that EPTON was born January 17, 1932, New York City.

Records of Yardney Laboratories, Incorporated, New York City, as checked in 1963, reflected EPTON was employed there from 1955 to 1963, as an electrical testor.

Records of the Department of Defense, Military Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, as checked September 22, 1959, revealed EPTON entered active duty with the United States Army with Serial Number 51-178-278, on September 26, 1952, at New York City. He was honorably discharged on July 21, 1954.

BVS records checked on August 27, 1959, reflected EPTON was married to BERYL E. BAILEY on June 28, 1952.

As of April 29, 1964, EPTON was employed as a member of the Editorial Board of "Progressive Labor", self-described as an official monthly publication of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

NY T-58  
April 29, 1964

By means of a pretext by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on August 14, 1967, it was ascertained that EPTON resided at 1470 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City, and was employed as Vice President of the PLP in New York City.

On July 25, 1964, Assistant Chief Inspector, SANFORD P. GARELIK, New York City Police Department (NYCPD), filed an affidavit for injunction prohibiting EPTON to commit illegal acts, to disturb the public peace and to incite to riot. A copy of transcript of excerpts of statements made by EPTON on July 18, 1964, at Lenox Avenue and 115th Street, New York City, was attached to this affidavit and reflects the following:

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TLB:cas

"If we're going to be free and we will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally, and in that process of smashing this state we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and will have to go up against their army. So I tell him now and I tell my black brother on my right that they had better choose their side."

Detective FRITZ BEHR, Bureau of Special Services (BSS), NYCPD, advised on June 8, 1965, that EPTON was arrested on June 7, 1965, on a bench warrant issued by the New York Supreme Court. He was charged with riot, conspiracy to riot, advocating criminal anarchy and conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy in connection with the Harlem Riots of 1964.

On December 21, 1965, Lieutenant ANTHONY BOZA, BSS, NYCPD, advised that on December 20, 1965, EPTON was convicted in the New York Supreme Court on the above charges.

NY 100-161569

JESSE WILLARD GRAY

Records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., as checked February 6, 1951, by Special Employee (SE) LEO N. MURPHY reflect GRAY was born May 14, 1923, Tunica, Louisiana, was married to ROSA LEE BROWN on May 2, 1947, and his permanent address was apartment 4C, 1809 7th Avenue, New York City, with a former address of 3511 Broadway Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

In 1949, a check of the records of the Merchant Marine Personnel Records and Welfare Division, Washington, D. C., reflected GRAY was issued a Seaman's Certificate of Identification on July 9, 1943, (Z Number 277852) and that he had previously sailed.

Mr. WILLIAM OTT, Clerk, Personnel Department, United States Lines, New York City, advised in 1949, that during 1946 and 1947, GRAY shipped on that line a number of voyages as a porter or bellboy.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Number 277 307B reflects an arrest of GRAY on June 23, 1957, by the Durham, North Carolina Police Department for trespassing. He was fined \$25.00 and costs in Superior Court on July 14, 1958.

GRAY was Director of Community Council on Housing, 300 West 121st Street, New York City. He also listed his occupation as free-lance consultant and free-lance lecturer. He resided at 41-15 Vernon Boulevard, Long Island City, New York, and was estranged from his wife.

NY T-59  
January 31, 1957

GRAY attended a secret meeting of the New York State - Harlem Regional Staff of the Communist Party (CP) on July 6, 1955.

NY T-60  
July 7, 1955

NY 100-161569

At a meeting of the New York County CP (NYCCP) Committee on April 17, 1958, at 40 East 7th Street, New York City, it was announced that GRAY, the organizer from Harlem was one of the two full-time workers in the NYCCP, and that he had been on the payroll for ten months.

**ETHEL KLEIN NEWTON**, a CP member  
from 1946-1949 and September, 1955-September, 1963

According to **WILLIAM PATTERSON**, Chairman of the New York District CP, GRAY was no longer a CP member but was friendly to the CP.

**NY T-61**  
January 24, 1964

An article in the "New York Times," a New York City daily newspaper, of December 31, 1963, Page 30, described GRAY as the leader of the Harlem rent strikes and the head of the Community Council on Housing, 6 East 117th Street, New York City.

On July 13, 1965, **JULIUS W. HOBSON**, Chairman, Washington, D. C. Chapter of Associated Community Teams (ACT) advised Special Agent (SA) **HILMER H. KREBS** that the Organization for Black Power (OBP) was formed at conferences of "militant Negro radicals" held in Washington, D. C., May 30 - 31, 1965, and at Chicago, Illinois on July 3, 1965. One of the leading organizers of the OBP and its present Chairman is **JESSE GRAY**. Mr. **HOBSON** furnished a circular issued by the OBP dated July 4, 1965, which stated the objectives of the OBP will be to build the kind of organization that will move people in struggle and who will be agitators to mobilize people to determine their own destiny. It would be part of a revolutionary struggle of people all over the world to liberate themselves from the United States.

There was a rally of the OBP conducted by GRAY on August 7, 1965, at 129th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. He spoke and described himself as an agitator who would encourage people in the black ghetto to organize

NY 100-161569

for black political power. He stated the Negroes in Vietnam should turn their guns on the white man instead of the Vietnamese.

NY T-62  
August 8, 1965

The "Philadelphia Tribune," a bi-weekly Negro-oriented newspaper, of September 14, 1965, Page 1, carried a story headlined "Rain, Cops, Stymie 'Militants' Seeking A Foothold in Philadelphia," which related that GRAY spoke at three locations in Philadelphia stating "the only solution to our problem is to run every white man out of our community." Lieutenant GEORGE FENCE, Philadelphia Police Department advised on September 16, 1965, that GRAY and others had been detained for questioning by the Philadelphia Police Department on September 11, 1965, as a result of activity in the Negro communities in Philadelphia.

During 1966 and 1967, GRAY participated in (and for the most part led) a number of demonstrations in New York City, for various causes such as better and more jobs for people in Harlem, to get more money for poverty programs, to get better housing for people in Harlem, to improve the position of the youths of Harlem as to jobs, and to support ousted Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

NY T-5, NY T-2, NY T-1  
1966 - 1967

NY 100-161569

FLORENCE RAE KENNEDY

FLORENCE RAE KENNEDY a Negro female, was born on February 11, 1916, at Kansas City, Missouri; attended the Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri; obtained her Bachelor of Science Degree from Columbia University, New York City, in 1948; and her Bachelor of Laws Degree from Columbia University, in 1951. She was admitted to the New York State Bar in May, 1952. As of November, 1967, she was single, never having been married. She is a self-employed lawyer maintaining her office at her residence, Apartment 3-C, 8 East 48th Street, New York, New York, Between 1944-1957, she resided at 48 St. Nicholas Place, New York City.

NY T-63  
November 8, 1967

As of November, 1967, KENNEDY was a self-employed attorney from her residence, and is also associated in the practice of law with one WALLACE MC CREGOR, 1015 North Carolina Avenue, Southeast, Washington, D.C.

NY T-64  
November 7, 1967

At a Vietnam and Black America Rally held during August, 1967, in New York City, she was described as a legal representative for H. RAP BROWN. At this rally, she made a "Collection Speech" at which time she stated she was surprised that an attempt to set H. RAP BROWN out of jail, had not been made. In response to a question from the audience regarding guns, she stated "who needs guns, all you need is a rag, a coca cola bottle, and some gasoline".

NY T-65  
September 8, 1967

In July, 1967, KENNEDY was among a group of individuals composed mainly of members of the Revolutionary Contingent, who travelled to Montreal, Canada, in connection with "Cuba Week", at Expo 67.

NY T-66  
July 31, 1967

NY 100-161569

On October 3, 1967, NY T-67 advised that the Revolutionary Contingent is a coalition of radical groups in New York City formed in April, 1967, to support Anti-war activity, recruit Americans to aid guerrilla warfare anywhere in the world, and support National Liberation Fronts, and also to stem the tide of United States Imperialism all over the world by whatever means possible.

A partial list of the membership of the Freedom Road Club of the Manhattan, New York District of the Communist Party, United States of America, dated December, 1944, contained the name and address of FLORENCE KENNEDY, 48 St. Nicholas Place, New York City.

NY T-68  
March 12, 1967

The name and address of FLO KENNEDY, 8 East 48th Street, New York, New York appeared on the current mailing list of "The Worker".

NY T-69  
July 22, 1967

"The Worker" is an  
East Coast Communist  
newspaper.

KENNEDY was arrested on August 9, 1965 at New York City, and was charged with Resisting Arrest - Fire line. She received a suspended sentence, and on April 21, 1967, she was again arrested with others in connection with a demonstration at the General Offices of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) New York, City at which place she protested the hiring practices of CBS. The charge of disorderly conduct was dismissed on November 15, 1967.

NY T-63  
November 20, 1967

NY 100-161569

KENNEDY attended a Vietnam demonstration and march protesting black involvement in the Vietnam War, during May, 1966 in New York City.

NY T-70  
May 30, 1966

KENNEDY stated on May 9, 1967 that she would be in attendance at a National Conference in Washington, D.C., the purpose of which would be to evaluate recent Anti-Vietnam demonstrations, improve coordination and communication between various sections of this movement, and exchange ideas for future programs.

NY T-4  
May 17, 1967

NY 100-161569

TLB: kmm

1.

CONRAD JOSEPH LYNN

A letter dated November 14, 1945, from G-2, United States Army, New York City, contained the following information on LYNN: He was born November 4, 1908, Newport, Rhode Island. He attended Malverne High School, Malverne, New York, from 1922-1926; Syracuse University, 1926-1929, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree; and Syracuse University from 1929-1936, receiving a Bachelor of Laws degree. He was inducted into the United States Army on January 15, 1943, through Local Board 261, Jamaica, New York, and was honorably discharged on September 31, 1945.

By means of a pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on July 11, 1967, it was ascertained that LYNN resides at Dogwood Lane, Skyview Acres, Pomona, New York, and is an attorney with offices at 401 Broadway, New York City.

On March 9, 1954, LYNN was interviewed by Special Agents (SA) LAWRENCE W. SPILLANE and RAPHAEL J. WIK, JR. and he advised he was recruited into the Young Communist League (YCL) while at Syracuse University, but in 1931, he defected, not because he changed his views but because he had been suspended from law school for pro-Communist speeches. He joined the Communist Party (CP) in 1934, and was expelled in 1937, but was not completely free of CP beliefs until 1939. He advised he had defended numerous Communists (on his own terms), and will continue to do so as it is his responsibility as a lawyer.

He advised he had attended many functions of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) as a spectator and speaker. His interest in the NPPR is political and financial but he does not adhere to the principles of the NPPR.

The YCL and NPPR have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

During 1964 and 1965, LYNN was an active participant

NY 100-161569

RLB:kmm

2.

in the affairs of the NPPR in New York City, as well as the Progressive Labor Movement (see Appendix).

NY T-1  
NY T-71  
1965-1966

During 1966, LYNN participated in a number of activities protesting United States involvement in Vietnam.

NY T-55  
NY T-42  
During 1966

A rally sponsored by the Black Unionization Front was held at West 111th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, on June 25, 1966, to protest Negro youths being drafted to fight in Vietnam. LYNN was one of the speakers and he stated that the United States policy in Vietnam is wrong and that Negro youths should be fighting for freedom in the United States. He stated in referring to Negroes in Mississippi, that Negroes must arm themselves and fight back.

#### SAS of the FBI

"The Evening News", a Newburgh, New York, daily newspaper, of August 22, 1966, page 2, related that LYNN gave a speech at a draft protest picnic at Stoney Point, New York. In this speech, he stated, "we are going to use our training against the white man," which, according to the article, referred to trained Negro deserters from the United States Army. LYNN stated, "we are going to use our own training against the white man - we are prepared to die fighting him in the black ghettos."

The April 4, 1967 issue of the "New York Times" reported that LYNN had just spent three weeks in North Vietnam and had talked with legal advisors of the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry.

NY 100-161569

TLB:kmm

1.

WILLIE MAE MALLORY

Records of New York City Department of Welfare, as checked on May 8, 1957, by Special Agent (SA) PAUL J. NEUMANN, reflect MALLORY was born June 9, 1927, to WILLIAM RANGE and WILLIE LEE BROWN, Macon, Georgia; attended Girls Commercial High School (city not shown), for two years and as of March, 1952, was attending Central High School, Brooklyn, New York; was divorced from KEEFER MALLORY (whom she married in 1944), on September 12, 1953, on grounds of adultery; resided at Apartment 5N; 27 Morningside Avenue, New York City; and was unemployed.

As of November 17, 1967, MALLORY resided at 212 West 194th Street, New York City, and was employed as a free-lance writer and speaker from her residence.

NY T-72

November 17, 1967

The "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly newspaper published in New York City, in its issue of June 29, 1957, contained an article which related that MALLORY was continued in \$1000 bail in Brooklyn Felony Court the preceeding Thursday for the Grand Jury on a charge that she accepted \$1040 in Welfare checks between July, 1952 and March, 1953, while she worked under an assumed name.

Records of the Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York City Police Department (NYCPD), as checked in May, 1959, by SA AUGUST J. MICEK, reflect that MALLORY was found guilty in Brooklyn County Court on January 30, 1958. She received a suspended sentence and was placed on probation.

On May 5, 1960, Mr. FRED GANGEL, Legal Department, New York City Department of Welfare, advised SA ROBERT V. WALKER that MALLORY had received a 30 day sentence in the workhouse during 1959, for obtaining \$218.85 fraudulently from that Department.

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2.

MALLORY was arrested by the NYCPD on December 1, 1964, during a picket demonstration at the United Nations.

Detective FRED JENOURE  
Bureau of Special Services  
NYCPD,  
December 1, 1964. to  
SA HENRY P. LATTI-F

Records of Manhattan Criminal Court, as checked on December 9, 1964, by SA A. LEWIS BARNETT, reflect MALLORY was arrested on December 1, 1964, and charged with felonious assault. She was arraigned on December 2, 1964 and held in lieu of \$3500 bond on December 8, 1964. This bond was paid by the Stuyvesant Insurance Company.

*The "Worker World" of May 13, 1965, contained an article entitled, "Mrs. Mallory Judged Not Guilty In Congo Lines Arrest." The article stated that MALLORY was acquitted in New York City Court on May 3, 1965, on charges of disorderly conduct during a picket line at the United States Mission to the United Nations in the fall of 1964.*

Chief of Police, A.A. MAUNEY, Monroe, North Carolina, advised SA ROGER E. SCHULTZ in August, 1961, that true bills of indictment were returned by a Union County Grand Jury, Monroe, North Carolina, on August 28, 1961, against, among others, MALLORY, charging two counts of violation of the North Carolina Kidnaping Statute in connection with the kidnaping of Mr. and Mrs. G. BRUCE STEGALL at Monroe on August 27, 1961, following a race riot at Monroe on August 27, 1961. Chief MAUNEY advised that MALLORY had fled.

On January 14, 1964, Sheriff D.S. GRIFFIN, Monroe, North Carolina, advised SA GUY HILL COX, JR. that MALLORY was returned to Monroe from Cleveland, Ohio, on January 11, 1964. On January 13, 1964, she was released upon payment of \$10,000 bond by CLARENCE SENIORS.

On September 2, 1963, NY T-72 advised that

NY 100-161569

TLB:kmm

3.

CLARENCE SENIORS was Chairman of the Monroe Defense Committee (MDC) and a member of the National Committee of the Workers World Party (WWP).

Characterizations of the WWP and MDC appear in the Appendix.

Chief MAUNEY advised SA COX on February 27, 1964, that on that date, MALLORY and others were convicted by jury trial in Union County Court, Monroe, North Carolina, on two charges of kidnaping. On February 28, 1964, she was sentenced to 16 to 20 years on each count to run concurrently. She appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court and a bond was set at \$15,000 for MALLORY which was paid on March 16, 1964.

On June 30, 1964, by means of a pretext by an SA of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) it was ascertained that MALLORY then resided at 212 West 129th Street, New York City.

It is noted that in September, 1961, a committee was formed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York City, which was called the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD).

A characterization of the CAMD appears in the Appendix.

On January 30, 1965, Chief MAUNEY advised SA COX that on January 29, 1965, the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that the indictment of MALLORY and others was defective as Negroes were systematically excluded from Union County Grand Juries.

On May 10, 1965, Sheriff GRIFFIN advised SA COX that MALLORY and others had been indicted on May 3, 1965, by the Union County, North Carolina Grand Jury, charging two counts of kidnaping.

On August 30, 1965, Superior Court, Monroe,

NY 100-161569

TLB:kmm

4.

North Carolina, ordered the bail of \$15,000 for MALLORY forfeited as she did not appear at the May 3, 1965 term of Superior Court.

On December 21, 1966, Chief MAUNEY advised that the kidnaping indictment against MALLORY is still pending but he did not believe she would ever be tried as local authorities have shown no interest in attempting to return her to Monroe, North Carolina.

MALLORY attended a Harlem Region Communist Party (CP) Convention at 124 West 124th Street, New York City, on June 8, 1957. She spoke and her position was against the "right forces" in the CP.

NY T-73  
June 8, 1957

Based on attendance at Workers World Party (WWP) meetings in New York City, contributions made and time spent in WWP activities, it can be stated that MALLORY is a member of the WWP.

NY T-72  
November 2, 1964 -  
May 3, 1965

During 1966-1967, MALLORY attended meetings of the WWP in New York City.

NY T-74  
1966-1967

During April, 1964, MALLORY spoke to a group of students at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. During her speech, she advocated armed defense, independent political action and black nationalism.

NY T-75  
September 11, 1964

NY 100-161569

TLB:kmm

5.

At a WWP meeting in New York City, on March 14, 1965, MALLORY spoke and stated, among other things, that MARTIN LUTHER KING was misleading Negroes into thinking they can obtain benefits by peaceful means. The Negroes in Alabama should not listen to KING but should get off their knees and start fighting. All troops should be removed from Alabama and Negroes should be given arms to protect themselves. Negroes should join China and Africa in fighting against the white racists. When questioned by a member of the audience as to her affiliation with the Negro movement, she described herself as a "revolutionary black national."

NY T-7C  
March 24, 1965

MALLORY attended a fund raising dinner at the Harlem Employment Center, New York City, on October 24, 1965. She spoke concerning the Harlem ghetto and said that black people should arm themselves to fight for their freedom as that is the only way they will ever be free.

NY T-4  
December 7, 1965

MALLORY attended a rally on August 6, 1967, at 190-01 Linden Boulevard, Queens, to support 17 Negroes who had recently been arrested in New York City, on charges of conspiracy to murder moderate civil rights leaders. MALLORY spoke and stated she had a son and, if during a riot, her son failed to shoot a white man, then she would shoot her son and then shoot the white man.

NY T-77  
August 7, 1967

NY 100-161569

TLB:kamm

1.

DONALD LEROY WASHINGTON

Records of the Bureau of Criminal Identification, New York City Police Department (NYCPD), as checked on February 26, 1965, by Special Agent (SA) AUGUST J. MICEK, reflect WASHINGTON was born May 8, 1935, in New York City, and as of June 2, 1964, resided at 611 East 6th Street, New York City.

On March 18, 1965, JOEL WASHINGTON, brother of DONALD WASHINGTON, advised SA DANIEL J. QUIGLEY that DONALD was unemployed and existed on handouts from friends and relatives.

On May 25, 1967, Mr. LEVAN WATSON, Personnel Director, Urban League of Greater New York, 204 West 136th Street, New York City, advised SAS FRANCIS P. HIBAREK and GENE R. ALPH that WASHINGTON had been employed as a legal aide but had been released on February 15, 1967, because he had threatened to bomb the Urban League and to kill the employees there. Mr. WATSON explained that when WASHINGTON does not agree with a person or a policy, he gets very angry.

As of August, 1967, WASHINGTON resided at 324 West 19th Street, New York City, and for a time, H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was staying with him.

NY T-78  
August 8, 1967

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Number 885 300E, reflects WASHINGTON was arrested on January 3, 1964, at New York City, on two charges: 1. Section 1851, Penal Law (PL) (misdemeanor) to Disorderly Conduct (2) and 2. Disorderly Conduct (2) for which he received sentences of 1.) \$50.00 fine and 16 days in jail and; 2.) \$50.00 fine and ten days in jail.

NY 100-161569

TLB:kmm

2.

On August 23, 1963, Detective KENNETH EAGAN, Bureau of Special Services (BSS), NYCPD, advised SA JAMES D. BRODY that WASHINGTON was a member of Procept for Peace, also known as White Shirts.

A characterization of Procept for Peace will be found in the Appendix.

Detective EAGAN also advised that on that date, WASHINGTON had been arrested during a demonstration at the construction site of the Downstate Medical Center, 450 Clarkson Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, on a charge of felonious assault (brandishing a knife), on a member of the NYCPD.

Records of BSS, NYCPD, as checked on April 6, 1965, by SA AUGUST J. MEELE reflect WASHINGTON was arrested on June 2, 1964, in the 25th Precinct, New York City, for violation of Section 1897, PL (assault with a "billy club"). On June 12, 1964, he was adjudged not guilty.

FBI Number 885 300E reflects an arrest of WASHINGTON by the NYCPD on August 30, 1965, for felonious assault (feet and fist). This was reduced to assault, third degree. He was sentenced in New York City Court, December 22, 1965, to 30 days in the workhouse.

As of August, 1964, WASHINGTON was a member of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI).

NY T-79  
August 18, 1964

During March, 1965, WASHINGTON attended meetings of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) in New York City.

NY T-1  
March 3-29, 1965

NY 100-161569

TLB:lmm

3.

WASHINGTON knows a number of Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) members although he is not known as a member of RAM. He is not known to be a member of any Black Nationalist group at present. He could conceivably be a dangerous person if the opportunity presented itself during a racial problem.

NY T-2  
August 22, 1966

The "New York Amsterdam News" of May 27, 1967, carried an article entitled, "Critical in DC Shooting", which reflected WASHINGTON was in a Washington, D.C. hospital where he was being treated for bullet wounds in the arms and chest. He was shot following a "black power" conference the preceding Saturday at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

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IV. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
EXTREMIST BLACK NATIONALIST  
GROUPS

Information in this section concerns the relationship between the various organizations mentioned heretofore as well as certain other organizations which were not previously described generally because they are defunct or are not active in New York.

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RELATIONSHIP OF THE NOI WITH OTHER  
BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS

A. General

At the September 3, 1960, NOI meeting at Mosque #7, Minister Malcolm X spoke as follows:

The Devil has tried to classify "Black Nationalists" with the Muslims. A Black Nationalist could not be a Muslim because he does not know who God is, and he does not know the devil. The Black Nationalists will use guns and bombs like the devil, but the Muslims don't use the weapons of the devil.

NY T-7  
September 10, 1960

B. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

"Muhammad Speaks", Volume 6, Number 3, October 7, 1966, on page 6, carried an article titled, "MC KISSICK, CARMICHAEL, FARRAKHAN, Hail MUHAMMAD's Plan as Guide for Black Man", dateline New York City. The article reflected FLOYD MC KISSICK and STOKELY CARMICHAEL were guest speakers at a NOI meeting in New York City during which Minister Farrakhan outlined the Muslim approach to the re-education of the black child.

The article reflected:

"FLOYD MC KISSICK and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, invited as guest speakers, gave warm support to the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's leadership in the re-education of the black people in America... 'The Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD', in the words of MC KISSICK, '...has proven himself to be a black man of courage and great wisdom--and is the only black man who has the intelligence and insight to lead our people during these trying times.'

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'I have come to see', he added, 'that what everybody is saying now, is what Mr. MUHAMMAD has always been saying'..."

It is noted that FLOYD B. MC KISSICK is the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality and that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is the National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OAAU AND NOI

The OAAU has no contact with the NCI because of the animosity which existed between MALCOLM X and the NOI and further due to the fact that the NOI is considered responsible for the death of MALCOLM X. The OAAU looks upon the NOI as it's enemy.

NY T-17  
August 25, 1965

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OAAU AND  
THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

In the Fall of 1964, the OAAU was in regular contact with the MMI, although at the time, the leadership of the OAAU was separate from the MMI, with the exception of MALCOLM X. At the time, the MMI and OAAU shared the same office space, the MMI members were also members of the OAAU and MMI officials undoubtedly exhibited some influence on the OAAU organization.

NY T-17  
October 6, 1964

The OAAU does not currently have any close working relationship with any other organization in the New York City area. The MMI which previously shared headquarters with the OAAU ceased to operate as an organization in July, 1965.

NY T-25  
February 28, 1966

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OAAU AND  
THE AMERICAN MAU MAU

On September 5, 1966, there was held an OAAU festival in New York City, and at this activity, CHARLES 37X MORRIS, leader of a new black nationalist group called the Mau Mau's spoke and praised ELLA COLLINS

NY T-3  
September 5, 1966

There was held a meeting on July 14, 1966, in Room 128 of the Hotel Theresa, New York City. At this meeting, CHARLES 37X MORRIS stated he is now with ELLA COLLINS of the OAAU.

NY T-1  
July 14, 1966

On July 19, 1966, at a OAAU meeting in New York City, ELLA COLLINS stated that the OAAU would not picket any church in Harlem. She commented that CHARLES 37X was wrong in advocating picketing of churches in Harlem. As a result, CHARLES 37X stated he would leave the OAAU because he does not want to be chained in the rules of the organization.

NY T-25  
July 20, 1966

On May 11, 1967, at a meeting of the OAAU in New York City, several Mau Mau's arrived after the meeting and stayed a few minutes then departed. After their departure, ELLA COLLINS mentioned that CHARLES 37X MORRIS was interested in merging his Mau Mau group with the OAAU.

NY T-3  
May 16, 1967

On May 19, 1967, MALCOLM X Day was held at the residence of ELLA COLLINS, 224 West 139th Street, New York City, and about 18 members of the American Mau Mau's acted as guards for this celebration. They were dressed in black boots, black uniforms with helmets painted red, green and black.

NY T-1  
May 31, 1967

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RELATIONSHIP OF THE YT WITH THE OAAU

The YT is one of the organizations with which the OAAU has contact. The YT frequently helps the OAAU at its rallies and assists them in programing their coming events. BABA ADELUMI, the leader of the YT, is in touch with ELLA COLLINS, leader of the OAAU, at least once a month. No financial assistance is involved in these contacts.

NY T-1  
April 26, 1967

As of March, 1967, the YT was included among the black nationalist type organizations with whom the OAAU cooperates.

NY T-25  
March 31, 1967

On February 22, 1967, a special program honoring deceased MALCOLM X was presented by the OAAU at the Region Theater, 60 West 116th Street, New York, New York. The program was opened with an introduction by ADELUMI, High Priest of the YT. ADELUMI praised MALCOLM X as a giant among men and a true leader.

NY T-45  
February 28, 1967

On September 5, 1966, members of the OAAU held the final day of a three-day festival. At this meeting, CHARLES MOONIS, a member of the American Mau Mau, delivered

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LAFU:sc  
(17)

a speech about black nationalists. He openly spoke about overthrowing the government and also stated that the houses in Harlem should be burned down. ADEFUMI, High Priest of the YT, was also a speaker. ADEFUMI told those in attendance about his group's planned school boycott to take place the opening day of school.

NY T-17  
September 9, 1966

The YT was one of the many black nationalist and Negro civil rights organizations which participated in a Commemoration Day sponsored by the OAAU, in honor of deceased MalCOLM X. This event took place on February 20, 1966, in New York City, and consisted of a solemn march through Harlem.

NY T-6  
March 18, 1966

RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEGRO/MAU MAU  
WITH THE YT

On February 26, 1967, a Mau Mau meeting was held at the United Negro Improvement Association in New York City. According to the source, there were a number of members from the YT in attendance at this affair.

NY T-2  
February 22, 1967

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LFU:sc

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RAM AND THE YT

On May 6, 1967, a group of black nationalists gathered in New York City for a social evening. Those attending donated money which was turned over to HARRIET NOBLE, who was then serving as Financial Secretary of the local RAM group in Harlem. In attendance was BABA ADEFUNI and several of his followers from the YT. During the evening, there was a discussion on black power and movies were shown concerning Cuba and ROBERT WILLIAMS in China.

NY T-2  
May 8, 1967

ROBERT WILLIAMS is mentioned in the characterization of RAM which is set forth in the appendix.

On February 18, 1966, the YT held a Yoruba Convocation at the Yoruba Temple, 28 West 116th Street, New York, New York. At this convocation, RAM had an unspecified number of representatives in attendance for the religious ceremony.

NY T-6  
February 23, 1966

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RELATIONSHIP OF RAM WITH OAAU

"Black America" a RAM publication, was occasionally distributed at OAAU headquarters, Hotel Theresa, New York City.

NY T-1  
January 20, 1965

A characterization of the OAAU is attached in the Appendix section of this report.

RAM members were present at an OAAU Forum held on May 2, 1965, at New York City.

NY T-17  
May 4, 1965

RELATIONSHIP OF RAM AND THE  
AMERICAN MAU MAU

MAXWELL STANFORD, Field Chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) attended a Mau Mau meeting at UNIA Hall on April 23, 1967, at which time a movie regarding ROBERT F. WILLIAMS in China was shown.

NY T-2  
April 27, 1967

A number of Mau Mau members were observed in attendance at a rally held to raise funds for the defense of 17 Negroes allegedly members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) who were accused of conspiring to kill moderate civil rights leaders. The rally was held at Linden Boulevard, Queen's, New York City on August 6, 1967.

NY T-77  
August 7, 1967

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RELATIONSHIP OF RAM WITH THE  
JAMAICA RIFLE AND PISTOL CLUB (JRPC)

NY T-27 advised on November 10, 1966, that the JRPC is a subsidiary of RAM.

The JRPC has received a charter from the National Rifle Association and this charter is used by RAM as a cover for the purchase of weapons.

HERMAN FERGUSON, President of the JRPC, expressed dislike of the Harlem group of RAM, but, nevertheless, he has allowed RAM members the use of the facilities of the JRPC for rifle practice.

NY T-27  
November 10, 1966

On June 21, 1967, Deputy Inspector WILLIAM KNAPP, Bureau of Special Services, NYCPD, advised that on the basis of information by three undercover agents of the NYCPD, who are members of the JRPC, 15 persons were arrested by members of the NYCPD assigned to the Queens County New York District Attorney's Squad, as a result of indictments returned by the Queens County Grand Jury on the evening of June 20, 1967, and arrest warrants issued thereon:

MAX STANFORD and his common-law wife HELEN NEAL were arrested by the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Police Department.

All individuals with the exception of HELEN NEAL were charged with:

Advocacy of Criminal Anarchy; Conspiracy to Commit the Crime of Advocacy of Criminal Anarchy. Some were also charged with Conspiracy to Commit the Crime of Arson in the 3rd degree; Violation of Section 1897 of the Penal Law of New York State in that they possessed dangerous weapons. Two of the JRPC members were also charged with Conspiracy to Commit Murder in the First Degree.

A hearing of above charges is scheduled to be heard on February 19, 1968, at the Queens County Supreme Court, Queens, New York.

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RELATIONSHIP OF RAM WITH  
DEACONS OF DEFENSE & JUSTICE (DDJ)

It was learned that RAM members from New York City including MAX STANFORD in the latter part of August, 1965, conferred with ERNEST THOMAS as organizer of the DDJ, in Jonesboro, Louisiana. STANFORD acted as spokesman for the New York City RAM members and discussed the bringing of RAM and the DDJ together.

STANFORD indicated that if harm should come to any members of their groups, they would retaliate and "pressure" would be put on individuals responsible for the harm. According to STANFORD, someone could possibly get killed if harm came to any members of their groups.

STANFORD and THOMAS discussed the possibility of setting up a communications system between RAM and the DDJ, and talked about obtaining short wave radio sets. They also discussed the need for Negroes to arm themselves.

NY T-2  
September 8, 16  
and 20, 1965

For a characterization of DDJ see Appendix.

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V. INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS ON THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Information in this section concerns the policy of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Workers World Party (WWP) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) toward the Black Nationalist Movement. Also included in this section is information concerning the relationship between the various Black Nationalist Groups mentioned heretofore, and subversive groups such as the CP, USA, the SWP, PLP, and any information developed indicating any influence these groups have on the Black Nationalist Movement.

NY 100-161569

POLICY OF THE CP, USA TOWARD THE BLACK  
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Characterizations of individuals associated with the CP, USA mentioned in this section are set forth at the end of this section.

The September, 1966 issue of "Political Affairs" contained an article, "The Meaning of Black Power", by JAMES E. JACKSON. JACKSON opened the article by commenting that the struggle for Negro rights in the past ten years had resulted in significant gains when contrasted with the situation that prevailed prior to 1956. He added, however, that when compared with the rights which white people have from birth and with the cost to Negroes in suffering and sacrifice, the gains of Negro Americans have been insubstantial.

JACKSON noted that, "The catch-phrase or slogan of Black Power has emerged as a rather sensationalized by-product of the new endeavors of Negro leadership to formulate a strategic and tactful pattern of guidelines to elaborate a theory of the advance of the Negro freedom movement". He stated that the primary use of the slogan was in campaigns to get Negroes registered to vote and was used also to describe the potential power of an economic boycott in a Negro community. It was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who made the term, Black Power, a slogan and this occurred during the "MERIDITH Mississippi Freedom March" in June, 1966. JACKSON continued that, in so doing, CARMICHAEL was trying to generalize some of the experiences of the Lowndes County, Alabama Freedom Organization which had established an all-Negro party in the local elections of 1965, JACKSON said that CARMICHAEL's "central emphasis was that Negroes should not hesitate to utilize situations where they are forced into a separated majority of the population 'to grasp the political power in those areas where Negroes predominate.'".

JACKSON's additional comments are, in part, as follows:

There is general agreement among Negro leaders that the term Black Power shows a determination by the Negro freedom movement to use united action, in all situations where Negroes are in the majority, to establish local bases of

NY 100-161539

political and economic power which will result in a position of influence or Black Power. This idea of Black Power corresponds with the "Resolution on the Negro Question" of the Communist Party (CP). "The CP's position adopted at its 17th Convention in 1959, and affirmed and further elaborated at its 18th Convention in June of this year, stated that:

'Negro Americans are determined to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all remaining barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic and social rights enjoyed by other citizens.

'The Great masses of Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the life of the country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and the weight of their alliances with other parts of the population to level all barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political and social life of the American people as a whole. They are forging an internal unity to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal American citizens.'

The CP, several years ago, pointed out that the struggle for Negro rights was as much a fight for political power as for civil rights. The Party stated that the struggle for Negro rights was a struggle for a just share of representation and for majority rule in the areas where Negroes are in a majority. The CP has recognized that the fight to establish conditions for Negroes to use their power in areas of their majority is an important part of the whole Negro freedom struggle.

The attempt to establish Black Power bases of local political control in the South and in the ghetto areas of the North should not be confused with any idea of "Negro exclusiveness or political isolationism". Black Power bases of strength would prove useful to a total strategy for Negro freedom only insofar as they enhanced the capability of the Negro movement to consummate more favorable alliance relations with comparable disadvantaged and objectively 'anti-establishment' classes and forces among the white population". The mass of Negroes, who are poor and working-class, must seek

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alliances with whites who are also the victims of exploitation by the monopolists. Black Power is not strong enough to overcome the power of the monopoly capitalists. Victories require not only united action by Negroes themselves, but Negro-white working-class unity in a coordinated struggle.

There are other significant concepts associated with a discussion of Black Power. One is the re-establishment of Negro control over the leadership of all major parts of the Negro freedom movement. Leaders of organizations such as SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality have asked white supporters to concentrate their efforts in white working-class areas. In addition, Negro leaders have asked organized labor to give greater support to the Negro freedom movement.

In an attempt to cause divisions in the Negro freedom movement, the press media, has represented Black Power "as a Black nationalist answer to white supremacy". Some speakers have suggested that Negroes could organize their own policing system to counter the violence of racists and police. The concept of self-defense is sanctioned by the Constitution and the right of Negroes to armed self-defense "in the face of wanton assault..." does not need to be advocated by anyone. "Negroes have in the past and will in the future, defend themselves against racist violence, but their demand remains for the government to discharge its duty to safeguard the lives and property of all its citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights".

"The CP has already made important contributions in elaborating theoretical problems and strategic concepts of the Negro freedom movement" and "Communists will continue to make key contributions". The CP supports the struggle of Negroes to gain power to rid themselves of exploitation and discrimination but to gain this power requires more than the "political and organizational build-up of Black Power", and militant actions of Negro people. White masses must be persuaded to join the struggle as well as organized labor.

The CP, USA has always been interested in attempting to become connected with any movements or groups with the aim of entrenching its own leadership and drawing on that movement or group for members to join the CP. It is especially interested in the militant-type groups and considers these

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elements as already quite advanced ideologically in terms of recognizing the need for militant action. The CP considers such groups as being only a step or two away from a logical realization that they are the type who should join the CP.

The CP is especially interested in groups who have political issues, such as the Vietnam War, consistent with the viewpoints of the Party. Although, fundamentally, the CP is leery of the Black Power slogan, a slogan which contravenes the proper Marxist theory on the Negro Question, the CP equivocates and attempts to go along with advocates of Black Power while making gentle criticism.

NY T-50

November 23, 1967

On December 3, 7, 1965, a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA was held at the Hotel Wellington, New York City, during which a report on the CP, USA's Negro Question was presented. The resolution on the Negro Question had been referred to the National Committee by the 18th National Convention of the Party. It was apparent from the report given by HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman of the Party, that the problem had not been resolved by the leadership. His report was jumbled, incoherent, and difficult to follow. At one point, he was in favor of Black Power and at another point was not in favor of it. Similarly, he vacillated in regard to the question of violence and non-violence in the civil rights movement.

WINSTON's report was followed by several speeches from the floor, and JAMES ALLEN urged that the Party become the champion of Black Power and its use. In addition, JAKE GREEN, CARL BLOICE, and TOM DENNIS, were in favor of Black Power. ROSCOE PROCTOR, a member of the National Executive Board, CPUSA, vehemently opposed Black Power and the Party's identity with it. JAMES JACKSON, a member of the Party's National Board, also stated that he did not want the CP to go all the way in support of Black Power.

The factor which had brought about this division of views is the change in the Negro movement since the Party's National Convention, namely the militant anti-white attacks which have been made against the "Uncle Tom's" and the more

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moderate civil rights leaders such as MARTIN LUTHER KING, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and WHITNEY YOUNG of the Urban League. The CP, USA, which has always asserted itself as the main support for the Negro people, is, therefore, in a quandary as to which faction to support. There were no motions concerning the draft resolution on the Negro Question and, if anything, the division between those supporting and rejecting Black Power was shown to be deeper, irreconcilable and accentuated.

NY T-80  
December 12, 1966

A meeting of the New York District CP Committee was held at the Manhattan Hotel, New York City, on January 13, 1967. At the session of January, 13, 1967, HENRY WINSTON gave a report on Black Power during which he noted that the struggle to gain Negro Americans their full citizenship rights started with the bus boycotts begun by MARTIN LUTHER KING, and continued until the freedom march by JAMES MERIDITH. It was during that march, according to WINSTON, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL coined the phrase, Black Power. In defining this phrase, WINSTON said that it meant that "Negroes who are forced into segregation should come together to get political power."

WINSTON stated that Black Power alone is not sufficient to overcome the power of the capitalists, but serves instead, to form a base from which to reach out in coalition with other minority groups and labor to accomplish desired goals. He noted that Black Power is the power to choose one's own government, to choose one's own representatives and the power to vote and to work at any occupation.

WINSTON remarked that the CP supports the Negro leadership, and leaders of the Black Power doctrine and added that there should be unity through independent political activity. He commented that the CP was against "reactionary nationals" of Black Power, but was for a progressive, unified approach for Negro freedom on all fronts.

NY T-61  
January 16, and 19, 1967

NY 100-161569

The March, 1967, issue of "Political Affairs" contained an article by ROSCOE PROCTOR, "Notes on 'Black Power' Concept" which it said was presented not as a finished article but as a compilation of material and ideas on the term Black Power offered as a basis for discussion. PROCTOR comments that "In the next decade all indications are that Negro national consciousness (Black nationalism) will undergo an explosive growth within the United States. Negro migration to the cities, the cities' growing deterioration, the failure of society (including the trade unions) to fully integrate Negroes, the worsening economic conditions of Negroes, and their growing relations with colored people on a world scale will help to feed Black nationalist tendencies and growth".

PROCTOR points out that it is a matter of history that nationalism has always flourished in the ghettos of the cities and that it is here "that Negro history will be made in the foreseeable future". He stated that police brutality, the failure of state and federal governments to provide Negroes with protection in the exercise of their civil rights, and the government's "racist policies" in involving young Negroes militarily in "foreign aggression" have added to Black nationalism.

PROCTOR also discusses the effects of tokenism and the breakup of the Democratic Party-Labor-Liberal Coalition on the growth of a "national consciousness and identity among the oppressed Negro people".

According to PROCTOR, the Black Power slogan is synonymous with Black consciousness and is a means of reaching and uniting Negro poor politically and psychologically. He notes that Black Power advocates are not in agreement with the concept of non-violence and advocate self-defense for Negroes. Black Power advocates are calling for more than political activity. They want Negroes to be proud of their race and to build "a power base around the question of blackness" as well as "independent political, social, economic institutions that they can control and use as instruments of change". PROCTOR adds, a weakness in the Black Power concept is the lack of a commonly accepted definition of its meaning. Another weakness is the lack of a program which is a necessity

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for Black Power to be realized in practice. Black Power advocates do not appear to see clearly that there are social classes in the United States or the need to develop a class viewpoint and consciousness among the working class.

PROCTOR, in commenting on the "responsibility of Left and progressive forces", comments that "the growth of Negro nationalism is a reflection of Negro political maturity and it poses many new questions of theoretical and practical concern for the Negro freedom movement and for the Marxist movement.

"This paper is intended to stimulate further discussion on theoretical aspects of the Negro question in the United States in the hope that such discussions will be finalized at a National Conference in the field of Negro work held this year".

The CP, during one period, thought of the Negro question only in terms of a Negro nation and underplayed the class aspects of this question. According to PROCTOR, there is a need for a class approach to this question.

PROCTOR states that the term Black Power, is the slogan of the "most politically advanced leaders" of the Negro people. "It is around this slogan that they seek to express both their political independence of monopoly capitalism and the organization of the Negro masses against their oppression.

PROCTOR writes that "Marxists-Leninists should help to put more flesh and bone on the Black Power slogan, to put more political and theoretical life into it, to give it a Marxist-Leninist interpretation". He adds, "They should help to develop programs around which Black Power can be realized in practice, which broaden and deepen its positive; but too-general concepts, offering a guideline around which the Black masses can be mobilized in day-to-day struggle to improve their conditions of life".

The CP, USA has no formal position on the concept of Black Power, but in its fundamental outlook, it must be opposed to it because the CP, USA is reluctant to break with the conservative Negro leadership, for example ROY WILKINS of the NAACP, WHITNEY YOUNG of the Urban League, and so on.

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Since the CP, USA looks at these people as leaders of the meaningful Negro mass organizations, the CP, USA cannot be put in a position of opposing this conservative element because if it did, it would isolate the CP, USA from the mainstream of the Negro movement.

The CP, USA looks upon one of the new leaders of the Negro movement, for example, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, active in the SNCC in two ways:

1. He reflects the mass anger and indignation of the Negro common people, particularly the youth, who reflect an upsurge of radicalism.

2. They are adventurous, reckless, unthinking and probably transitory.

Again the CP, USA cannot alienate itself from this new crowd, either.

The CP, USA under JAMES JACKSON's leadership on the Negro question, is trying to please all factions claiming to represent Negroes in the USA.

This position does not satisfy the young Negro in the CP nor does it satisfy the old Party members who are frustrated.

However, it appears that the Negro composition of the CP, USA leans toward the new crowd since a strong National race sentiment exists. There is a strong pro-Black Power current in the labor echelon and rank and file of the CP, USA.

The question of Black Power remains, but is evaded by the CP, USA leadership."

NY T-80  
July, 31, 1957

A meeting of the New York District CP Committee was held on August 12, 1957, in the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City. At this meeting, GIL GREEN gave a report

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which concerned, in part, the riots in the ghettos during the summer. GREEN noted that the Party regards the riots as a permanent thing and believes that they will get worse because Negroes are beginning to stir as a national unit. He stated that the Party is opposed to a separate Negro state at the present time, but remains flexible on this issue because spectacular developments can take place within the Negro ghetto. He also noted that Negroes must control schools, police power, and ghetto affairs, and he called for the Party to defend RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

NY T-81  
August 22, 1957

During the period of October 10-12, 1957, a meeting of the National Executive Board of the CP, USA, plus invited guests was held at the Abbey Victoria Hotel, New York City. The agenda of this meeting included a report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the Negro liberation movement. During his report, LIGHTFOOT mentioned that the items which he would discuss would be covered in greater detail at the meeting of the Party's Negro Commission scheduled to be held following the completion of the National Executive Board (NEB) meeting.

LIGHTFOOT commented that Negro nationalism can be progressive provided there is recognition of the equality of Negroes. He said that the CP's position on the question of Negro nationalism should be that they draw a distinction between different types of nationalism. He stated that they must distinguish between what is progressive nationalism and what is reactionary nationalism. He noted that they must state that the 'Black Muslim' movement is reactionary despite their sympathy for its cause. He said, however, that any nationalism that fights Capitalism and Imperialism should be characterized as progressive. He called for the Party to infuse a class consciousness into the Black nationalist movements. LIGHTFOOT commented that what they must do is to examine their own Party to determine what house cleaning is necessary in their own ranks in order to win the young militants to the Party.

NY T-82  
October 13-18, 1957

NY 100-161569

A CP, USA conference on the struggle for Negro rights was held at the Abbey Victoria Hotel, New York City on October 14, 15, 1967. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT gave a report on the Negro struggle in the United States on behalf of the National Board of the Party.

LIGHTFOOT told the gathering that the National Board had attempted to single out some of the key problems and ideological currents running through the Black movement. He said the CP, USA had established a program committee to research the problems of the Negro and to try to develop a program to assist the Negro. This program will place the interest of the people in opposition to the class enemy and expose monopoly privileges.

LIGHTFOOT then spoke of the Black Power movement and his remarks on this subject included the following:

The Black Power movement is made up of middle class students, unemployed teenagers and young adults, and Negroes who had served time in jail. Few Negro trade unionists or those with backgrounds in interracial organizations were deeply involved. Advocates of Black Power lack an appreciation of industry's role in solving their problems and, with few factory workers involved, do not have the discipline which comes from working in a mass production industry.

Black Power leadership grew out of a growing awareness by these persons of the oppression of the Negro in the United States. There is an identification by Black Power leaders with the struggles of colored people abroad.

There is a belief in the Black Power movement that the Sino-Soviet dispute and the Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence has resulted from the fact that Russians and Americans are white whereas the Chinese and other oppressed people are not. Black Power people, while not anti-Soviet, are in favor of the Chinese.

There are opinions within the Black Power movement that the Negro people in the United States constitute a separate nation and that a possible solution to the problem is: more ownership of land by Black people.

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Black Power advocates are also leaning toward male supremacy and anti-Semitism.

Uprisings in the ghetto will continue but will accomplish nothing without revolutionary theory and organization. Among the major problems confronting the Black liberation movement in the United States are organization, revolutionary leadership, radical programs, and the need for allies. The Black movement needs an economical and political program and the CP, USA can assist the Black movement by preparing Marxist pamphlets to deal with the problems facing it. These pamphlets would cover issues such as class divisions in society, capitalism, studies of the family and state, the economics of slavery, white chauvinism, and the reason for aggressive wars."

NY T-83

November 27, 1967

The source made available a copy of the report given by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Secretary of the Committee for Negro Affairs to the National Conference of the CP, USA held in New York City, on October 14, 1967. During his report, LIGHTFOOT commented on the subject of Black nationalists and his comments were, in part as follows:

"Racism is a major contributor to the growth of Black nationalism. This nationalism arises in part from a feeling of rejection by the white community. Being forced to remain in the ghetto has made the Negro more bitter and distrustful of white people. Today, Negroes no longer believe what white society led them to believe, that their ancestral background is inferior. Today, with Africans playing major roles in the world, Negroes have a pride in their race and a desire for identity with their past. They have concluded that the exercise of freedom requires dealing from positions of strength. These moods are found in the background of the slogan of Black Power.

Another factor which encourages Black nationalism is the rise of three major categories of people in the ghetto. They are the migrant workers from the South who are unskilled and become unemployed, Negro youths both students and unemployed,