Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

2887 pages

Section 1 of 19 Sections

Buffer 100-439190
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
3/20/64

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
2/11/64 - 3/18/64

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Atlanta, 2/7/64.

LEADS (INFO OF FOLLOWING)

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SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR (1) The office is located in a state authorized a delegate on the Coordinating Committee;

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(2) Pertinent activity in that division has been reported herein;

(3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division.

The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to the race movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

ATLANTA

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Copy to:

Report of: SA Office, Atlanta, Georgia
Date: March 20, 1964

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFRINGEMENT OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

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The pretext telephone call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ was made by [REDACTED] at York on 5/2/63.
BASIS

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that an apparent current member of the Communist Party, United States of America, is presently engaging in considerable activity, much in a leadership capacity in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration. The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report.
ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Advised on March 17, 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee office is presently located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been at that address since the late summer of 1963. It explained that the SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, from the fall of 1962 to the late summer of 1963.
CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

The October 6, 1960, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution," a daily newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Negro Parley in Atlanta May Chart New Protest." The article states that a meeting sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) would be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 14 through 16, 1960, and formal activities of the session would center around the topic "Non-violence and the Achievement of Desegregation." The article states further that SNCC was formed in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960, by college students who had been participating in various sit-down demonstrations, and delegates at that meeting agreed to hold another meeting later in the year.

Advised on October 19, 1960, that the SNCC conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, October 14-16, 1960, was chaired by MARION ST. BARRY of Nashville, Tennessee, who was Chairman of the SNCC. The conference adopted the establishment of a permanent Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to derive its authority and direction from the general conference and that committee would therefore be controlled by the conference. The Coordinating Committee was to consist of one delegate from each of the named states, elected by those states, and of six delegates at large elected by the conference. At least three of these delegates at large must have previously been members of the temporary Coordinating Committee. There was to be no permanent chairman of the SNCC but instead a rotating chairmanship with each member of the Coordinating Committee being equally capable of speaking for the committee and for the movement. The Coordinating Committee was composed of one delegate from each of the following states:

Arkansas;
Alaska;
Florida,
Georgia;
Kentucky;
Louisiana;
Mississippi;
Missouri;
North Carolina;
Oklahoma;
South Carolina;
Tennessee;
Texas;
Virginia;
West Virginia;
District of Columbia.

reported on January 7, 1963, that the SNCC conference held at Nashville, Tennessee, November 22-25, 1962, was not a policy making convention but more of a leadership training institute.

reported on January 7, 1963, that according to the SNCC Constitution as revised in April, 1962, any southern protest group of at least ten members may affiliate with the SNCC with the approval of the Executive Committee. The Coordinating Committee shall consist of one representative elected by each local group and shall meet three times a year, immediately before and after the annual Easter conference and in the early fall. The Executive Committee consists of the following:

Eight students elected by the Coordinating Committee from among their number;

Two adults;

The Chairman and the Executive Secretary elected by the Coordinating Committee; and

Three members at large elected by the Spring Conference, who must be students presently or formerly engaged in the Movement.

Executive Committee serves between meetings of the Coordinating Committee and is directly responsible for the program, direction and supervision of the staff and policy. It meets five times a year, in May, in mid-summer, in the fall with the Coordinating Committee, during Christmas, in the annual spring conference, and it may meet other times when needed. The Executive Committee has the power to employ
the staff who are subject to annual review.

The April 14, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Journal-Constitution," which is the combined Sunday issue of "The Atlanta Journal" and "The Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Civil Rights Youths Study Strategy Here." This article states the annual conference of the SNCC, held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 12-14, 1963, on the old Gammon Theological Seminary campus, was attended by about 300 young people, all allegedly taking part in four discussion groups on nonviolence, community mobilization, problems of the movement and social action.

Advised on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was made available regarding SNCC, which described SNCC as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.
PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

The June 29, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer," a weekly Negro newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "New SNCC Chairman Experienced Leader," which stated that at a recent meeting the SNCC voted to accept the resignation of its chairman, CHARLES McDEW, freeing him to further his education at an eastern university under a Brandeis fellowship. The article stated further that JOHN LEWIS, who was elected to succeed CHARLES McDEW, would be the civil rights group's third chairman, pointing out that MARION BARRY was SNCC's first chairman. The article also made reference to the fact that JAMES FORMAN was SNCC's Executive Secretary.

On July 5, 1963, the following persons were members of the Executive Committee of SNCC:

JOHN LEWIS (Chairman);
COURTLAND DOY (Howard University, Washington, D.C.);
MARION BARRY (University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee);
JANKIE MALONE (high school student, Rome, Georgia);
AZZIE ROLLINS (Staff Member, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia);
WORTH LONG (Little Rock, Arkansas);
GLORIA RICHARDSON (Cambridge, Maryland);
ROBERT WHITFIELD (Arkansas A and M, Pine Bluff, Arkansas);
HOYT ZINN (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia);
ELLA J. BAKER (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia).

The June 1, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer" carried an article captioned "Spelman Professor Dismissed," stating the president of Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, arbitrarily relieved R. TRAMER, Jr., Professor of History, of all duties effective June 30, 1963. The article described
Zinn as recently elected to the Executive Board of SNCC, which organization had protested the professor's dismissal.

_reported on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was distributed by SNCC listing the following officers:

Chairman: JOHN LEWIS;
Executive Secretary: JAMES FORMAN;
Staff Coordinator: WORTH LONG;
Communications Director: JULIAN BOND;

Project Directors:
Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES
Southwest Georgia: CHARLES SHERROD
Central Alabama: BERNARD-LAFAYETTE
Arkansas: WILLIAM HANSON
Eastern Shore: RICHARD ROBINSON

Advised on January 23, 1964, that he considered DEBBIE AMIS and JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, the main leaders in SNCC because they have been closely associated in recent civil rights activities and demonstrations in Atlanta, and he observed them conferring repeatedly during these demonstrations.

_stated on January 24, 1964, that DEBBIE AMIS has been very active in leading racial demonstrations in Atlanta in the past few months, but he does not believe she has a title position with SNCC and for some reason does not seem to care to hold a title position; however, he considers her to be chief in command of SNCC after JOHN LEWIS, Chairman, and JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary.

On February 13, 1964, covered a story in Atlanta, advised that
He has observed DEBBIE AMIS, a Negro female, as an active participant in these demonstrations. He further advised that, from his observation, he has found DEBBIE AMIS generally to be the motivating force and leader of these demonstrations. He stated that wherever DEBBIE AMIS was, in the midst of these activities, she was constantly giving direction and guidance to the persons participating in the picket line.

He advised that while he knew of no official title or position held by DEBBIE AMIS from his observations, it was apparent that she was the leader of these demonstrations on the scene.

An article appearing in the March 6, 1964, issue of the Atlanta Journal captured the need for integration leader raised from $3,000 to $7,000. Identified DEBBIE AMIS as a field secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The January 21, 1964 issue of the "Atlanta Daily World," a Negro newspaper published every morning except Monday in Atlanta, contained an article stating SNCC had announced the appointment of Miss DEBBIE AMIS as coordinator of SNCC activities in Atlanta.
The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

ALFREDA MILLER, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, court, in the prosecution of W.C. BEARD, husband of VENN BEARD, testified that W.C. and VENN BEARD were known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her membership.
In May 2, 1953, it was determined by pretext interview in New York, New York, that \[\text{redacted}\] was self-employed as an attorney at 39 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, and had offices with [redacted].

Advised on May 21, 1953, that [redacted] was a member of the 29, as well as the National Lawyers Guild, and did not make a date of 29's activities as a [redacted].
A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild appears in the Appendix of this report.

The 1961-1962 New York City Bar, self-described as the application of a general principle to the officers and members of the bar, at its biennial meeting held in Detroit, Michigan, from January 22-25, 1962, decided among the members of the Executive Committee to ask...

[Page 11]
as Vice President and a member of the Board of Directors of the New York City Chapter of the NLG for 1962-1963.
SOURCES USED FOR CHARACTERIZATIONS IN APPENDIX

Communist Youth Union
""
""
""
Young Socialist Alliance
Young Socialist"
RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY, INCLUDING CP AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

A characterization of the SCEF appears in the Appendix to this report.

Reported on July 2, 1963, that FRANK WILKINSON, leader of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, attended the June 29, 1963, session of a civil liberties conference held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, from June 28-30, 1963. This conference was organized by the SCEF and attended by members of SCEF and SNCC, most of whom were students of college age. WILKINSON spoke on civil rights in general and the subject of abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Some of the individuals present at the June 29, 1963, session were JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, JULIAN BOND, Administrative Assistant of SNCC, ELA LAKER of SNCC and the YWCA, Atlanta, and DOROTHY MILLER with SNCC and SCEF.

Advised on July 3, 1963, that SCEF, through DOROTHY MILLER, had planned a conference of a large group of civil liberties organizations to be held during the previous
spring in Atlanta, Georgia; however, this plan failed because other civil rights groups were staying clear of SCEF due to the belief that SCEF methods of operation do more harm than good for the advance of civil rights. Due to the above, SCEF then settled for the above-described conference held at the Interdenominational Center from June 28-30, 1963, and the only other group participating with SCEF was SNCC, which has always been very friendly with SCEF.

A characterization of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee appears in the Appendix to this report.

advised on April 17, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER was at that time putting in time and effort daily at the SNCC office in Atlanta; therefore, it would be assumed that she was on the SNCC payroll.
advised on August 12, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER married JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 9, 1963, that ROBERT ZELLNER had received a scholarship to Brandeis College in Mississippi, and DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER planned to move there with her husband for the 1963-64 school term.

Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, advised on October 9, 1963, that JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER was in attendance at Brandeis and resides with his wife at 71 Chestnut Street, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

made available on October 12, 1961, a copy of a SCF letter dated September 1, 1961, which stated that "out of the sit-ins, freedom rides and other forms of protest had come the organized, militant, and dedicated upsurge of youth led by the Youth Non-Violent Coordinating Committee." The letter stated further that although a few southern white students had participated, the movement was almost entirely Negro. The letter continued, to improve the situation, the SCF was making a grant of $5,000 to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which money was to be used to employ a field worker to visit white colleges and universities in the South to interpret the protest movement. The letter stated the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had selected ROBERT ZELLNER, 1961 graduate of Huntington College, Montgomery, Alabama, as the field worker on this project and that ZELLNER would begin his work during that month.
On December 12, 1968, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that Mrs. ELLA J. BAKER resides in Apartment 418 at the Waluhaje Apartments.
On April 23, 1958, [redacted] advised that [redacted] had established that one ELIA BAKER was closely associated with STANLEY D. LEVISON.
On November 4, 1963, while being interviewed in connection with another FBI investigation, advised that Robert Moses was at that time Mississippi Director of SNCC; that the Greenwood office of SNCC was located at 705 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix to this report.
During a hearing conducted by the Subversive Activities Control Board during December, 1963, in New York City concerning the Advance Youth Organization, the counsel for Advance produced JAMES MONSONIS as a witness for Advance. MONSONIS testified that he was at that time on the staff of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in New York City, and had previously been employed by SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. On cross-examination, MONSONIS stated that officials of SNCC were aware of the fact he was testifying in behalf of the Advance Youth Organization.

The above hearing was being conducted on the basis of a petition filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Advance Youth Organization to register as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 in that the organization was a CP front.

A characterization of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Young Socialist" appears in the Appendix of this report.

reported on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a Bill of Rights rally, sponsored by
the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, was held at Back Hall, 1528 North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, California. FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Director, National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, spoke urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. JOHN LEWIS of the SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke and said if being called a Communist means freedom and equal rights for Negroes and minority races he would be glad to be called a Communist.
The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds"

"The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist party members.

"Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist party-related activities.

"Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities.

SNCC, a national  antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity.

"Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College.

Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show.

"Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs."
"Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-dated story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley:"'"

"The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher...."

"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' datelined Peking. She was quoted:

"Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean."

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people...we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.'"

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese."
"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1954, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children...and why there is violence.'

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination -- 'for peace and friendship.'

"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: 'I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience.'"

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961.

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27.

"She was arrested Jan. 26 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show.

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked.

"Arrested the same day with Mrs. CERNEY were NAMIE DI BISHOP, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 21; MORRIS EISENSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, PAULINE; and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show.

"All refused to give their names when booked.

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a National Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action SNCC.

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"Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD LYTTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba."

"LYTTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology."

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution."

"LYTTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved."

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KINNEY on Dec. 22, 1952."

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance."
"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show."

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities.

"In October, 1962, Dr. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island.

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator MARGIE HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia.

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N. C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'the Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961.

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill.

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast."
"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation.

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN.

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed $23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project.

"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it is required that his organization's funds be restricted solely to voter registration activity... There have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia during the past several months.

"SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months," BRANTON added.

"SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by CIVY and CANDIE ARAWAN, and by concerts given by folk-singer PETE SEEHER.

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEEHER, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations."
"GUY CARAWAN was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1937, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAN was 'now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves.' "
New York sources, as of February 27, 1964, in a position to furnish information concerning the CP's interest and involvement in racial matters, have furnished no information reflecting that DEBBIE AMIS has been instructed by the CP to take active participation in or give guidance to racial activities in Atlanta, Georgia.

The March 6, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article:
"BOND FOR INTEGRATION LEADER RAISED FROM $300 TO $7,000"

"Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye declared Friday that a $300 bond for a Negro integrationist charged with violating the state antitrespass law was 'worthless' and ordered it raised to $7,000.

"The order came as the repeatedly postponed trial of some 45 civil rights demonstrators was to get under way before Judge Pye Friday morning.

"Arguments arose, however, over the validity of the bond posted by Debbie Amis, 24, field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

"Both her trial and the trials of other integrationists charged with the antitrespass law were postponed again until Monday at 9:30 a.m.

"Miss Amis was to have gone to trial Friday, but in a surprise move, her attorneys, Negroes Donald "Pellin" and Howard "Moore, announced they were withdrawing from her particular case. They did not give a specific reason, but said it was 'improvident' to continue as counsel for her. They still will represent the other civil rights defendants.

"Immediately after the Negro attorneys' announcement, prosecuting assistant solicitor Paul Ginsberg made a motion to 'strengthen' the appearance bond against Miss Amis on grounds that the property put up as surety on the bond had a $4,000 outstanding loan on it.

"Mr. Ginsberg also argued that Miss Amis is an out-of-state resident with a permanent address in Philadelphia, and should therefore have a greater bond set in her case.

"Judge Pye examined the bond application and affidavit, signed by Negro property owner and Atlanta
civil rights leader, Jesse Hill, and described it as 'worthless.'

"He said the encumbered property 'could not be levied upon by the state except by paying off the loan...and the state has no authority to do so.'

"The Judge observed that Miss Amis' $300 bond had been forfeited last August when she failed to appear for arraignment on the charge she had trespassed June 18, 1963, during integration demonstrations at Leb's Restaurant at Luckie and Forsyth Streets.

"At a subsequent hearing, however, Miss Amis claimed she had been unable to appear because of an auto accident just prior to the arraignment. On her attorney's motion to vacate the forfeiture, the bond was reinstated.

"Asst. Sol. Ginsberg argued Friday, however, that new papers had not been drawn up on the renewed bond and it was therefore 'invalid.'

"Judge Pye then ordered bond reset on Miss Amis at $7,000 'to be approved by the presiding judge.'

The Fulton County sheriff's office approved the original $300 bond.

"Miss Amis requested a hearing on the bond argument, however, and Judge Pye granted it and said the $7,000 amount will be 'subject to modification' after the hearing. The hearing will be held after Miss Amis secures new counsel. In the interval, she remains in the sheriff's custody.

"At one point during the morning's proceedings, Miss Amis, without counsel, took the witness stand to undergo questions by Mr. Ginsberg on the motion to strengthen her bond."
"Holding a March, 1962, American Legion newsletter entitled 'American Legion Firing Line,' Mr. Ginsberg asked Miss Amis if she was vice president of an organization known as the Socialist Youth Union. The American Legion newsletter described the SYU as a 'Marxist organization.'

"'Do I have to answer that question,' Miss Amis asked Judge Pye.

"The judge answered that she could obtain an attorney before going any further with the hearing. 'You have that right,' he said.

"She then came off the witness stand, but Judge Pye ordered her bond increased to $7,000 pending outcome of the bond hearing."
APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations," revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-3, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly
Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1939, pp. 7 and 8.)
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Duch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

The GP and the SWP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10150.
FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.


On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO
ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House Of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5.)

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., revised and published December 1, 1961, describes the above organization as follows:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

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

"3. To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"
SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION OF PHILADELPHIA (SYU),
aka Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP),
Sunday Study Group, Winter Discussion Series
1957-1958
On December 5, 1960, a fourth source advised that the SYU had recently changed its name to Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP).
"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1947.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly in the past 10 years.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that "the present has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKY," the current director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not a formal Communist Party member, because he followed "communist" principles.
The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.
The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication which maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York. The initial issue of this publication dated October, 1947, appeared on September 15, 1957.

The initial issue contained an announcement stating that the YS is "written by and for young socialists," and that the YS would provide a sounding board for radical youth of different tendencies, who would profit by the free exchange of ideas.

A confidential source advised on May 5, 1958, that the YS was the brainchild of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP); however, inasmuch as the YS purports to be representative of the independent, broad and militant policy utilized by the SWP to reach radical youth, the SWP would quickly disclaim its conception of the YS.

On January, 1959, issue of the YS disclosed that during December 27-28, 1958, a National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters was held at Detroit, Michigan. The article disclosed that the conference, called by YS Editorial Board, consisted of YS supporters from all parts of the United States and resulted in the formation of a National Committee of Young Socialist Supporters. The article further stated that a basis was laid for a "nation-wide revolutionary socialist youth movement" which would be independent, broad and militant.

According to the above article, the YS, published in New York City, is now under the control of the organization effected at the above conference.

A confidential source advised on December 30, 1958, that although the above conference supporters publicly claimed independence, the conference was controlled and dominated by members of the SWP.
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, Aka.
Young Socialist Forum

A confidential source advised on April 8, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was formed at a meeting held October 1, 1957, at New York City by individuals who were members of the elements formerly comprising the Young Socialist Forum in New York City. The Young Socialist Forum consisted of youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The Statement of Principle, set forth in the YSA Constitution, stated that the YSA: 1. favored the abolition of our present capitalistic system; 2. advocated the replacement of this system by a socialist system; 3. firmly resolved to direct its activities toward bringing about this transition.

The stated purpose of the YSA, as set forth in the Constitution, was to bring together all young socialists in a broad, militant, independent, democratic organization.

Source advised that the membership of the YSA, after a series of minority resignations during 1958, became comprised almost exclusively of SWP members who followed the SWP line in YSA policies.

Source advised that although publicly declared as an independent socialist youth organization, the YSA in reality is the youth arm of the New York Local, SWP.

Source advised that the YSA holds meetings at the residences of individual members and maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
A third confidential source advised on April 3, 1959, that, with the exception of two individuals, all members of the seven individuals comprising the Editorial Board of the YS are members of the New York Local, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
Atlanta, Georgia
March 20, 1964

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of SA dated March 20,
1964, at Atlanta, Georgia

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

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

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**COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE**

**REPORT MADE BY**

SA [Redacted]          

**TYPEWRITER**

[Redacted] cb

**CHARACTER OF CASE**

Portion marked and

IS - C

**ARCHIVES SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER.**

**REFERENCE:** Report of SA [Redacted] at Atlanta, 3/20/64.

**HEADS: FOR FOLLOWING DIVISIONS**

- BALTIMORE, BIRMINGHAM, BOSTON, BUFFALO, BUTTE, CHARLOTTE, CHICAGO, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DENVER, DETROIT, EL PASO, HOUSTON, INDIANAPOLIS, JACKSONVILLE, KANSAS CITY, KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOS ANGELES, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS, MIAMI, MILWAUKEE, NASHVILLE, NEWARK, NEW HAVEN, NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK, NORFOLK, OKLAHOMA CITY, OMAHA, PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, PORTLAND, RICHMOND, ST. LOUIS, SAN ANTONIO, SAN DIEGO, SAN FRANCISCO, SAVANNAH, SEATTLE, SPRINGFIELD, TAMPA, WDC.

**SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE**

[Redacted]

**DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT**

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**RECEIPT**

[Redacted] 61 OCT 30 1964
CONFIDENTIAL

FOIA RELEASE

DATE 8/23/78
REQUESTER PROF. CLAYTON CARSON
RELEASED UNDER FILE NO. 190-672-20

SUBJ. OF REQUEST C. S.N.C.C.
DECLAS. PER EO 12165 12/13/74
DCUI ADVISED 3/6/79

301-563-0001

R. Southern Regional Council
1. Orlando, Fla. (RM)
2. Fort Benning, Ga. (RM)
3. Charleston, S. C. (RM)
4. Columbus, Ohio (RM)
5. Charlotte, N. C. (RM)
6. Chicago, Ill. (RM)
7. Cleveland, Ohio (RM)
8. Kansas City, Mo. (RM)
9. Louisville, Ky. (RM)
10. Little Rock, Ark. (RM)
11. Los Angeles, Calif. (RM)
12. Memphis, Tenn. (RM)
13. Miami, Fla. (RM)
14. Mobile, Ala. (RM)
15. New Haven, Conn. (RM)
16. New Orleans, La. (RM)
17. New York, N. Y. (RM)
18. Norfolk, Va. (RM)
19. Oklahoma City, Okla. (RM)
20. Omaha, Neb. (RM)
22. Pittsburgh, Pa. (RM)
23. Portland, Ore. (RM)
24. Richmond, Va. (RM)
25. St. Louis, Mo. (RM)
26. San Antonio, Tex. (RM)
27. San Diego, Calif. (RM)
28. San Francisco, Calif. (RM)
29. Savannah, Ga. (RM)
30. Seattle, Wash. (RM)
31. Tucson, Ariz. (RM)
32. Washington, D.C. (RM)
Copies of this report are furnished to the above offices for one or more of the following reasons:

(1) The office is located in a state authorized to delegate on the coordinating committee.

(2) Relevant activity in that division has been reported herein or in referenced reports.

(3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division.

Each of the above offices should advise whether or not an SNCC office or local affiliate is located within their division, or whether any SNCC activity suggesting Communist infiltration has taken place.

If the above is answered in the affirmative, the following action should be taken, in accordance with bureau instructions:

(1) Determine identity of all officers and individuals in a leadership capacity.

(2) The names of these individuals should be secured through office indices, established informants and sources contacted for any information on a subversive nature concerning the individuals.

(3) The bureau, Atlanta, and any other interested offices should be advised of the results of this inquiry, and recommendations regarding the initiation of an investigation regarding any local affiliate submitted.

Those offices having no SNCC office or local affiliate and no activity suggesting Communist infiltration should send their negative replies to Atlanta only.

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CONFIDENTIAL

The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC, or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. (Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to Civil Rights should not be reported under the caption of this case.)

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any comm. fil of SNCC.

INFORMATION

Identity of Source

Los Angeles (requested)

Washington, D.C. (requested)

File Number Where Located

100-6488-1A5

WFC 100-17107

Characterization of [DANNY RUBIN]

[C] [63]

Characterization of STAUDE ON LYND

[62] [68] [50]
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Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

SA 100-7260

Brooklyn, NY

100-6482-94

Southern Regional Council,
5 Fortyth St., Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

100-6482-1, 99

Southern Regional Council,
5 Fortyth Street, Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

100-5775-75

LA 100-59609

ME 157-109
SF 61-369
100-6542-1

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is classified SECRET since information furnished herein could possibly result in the identification of these sources, and thus impair the future effectiveness thereof, which impairment

(COVER PAGE)
would have an adverse effect upon the national defense of the United States.

The pretext telephone call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ was made by SA [redacted] at New York on 5/2/63.

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed on 8/13/53 by SAs [redacted] and [redacted].
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

1- G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1- ONI, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1- OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:
Field Office File #:
Title:
Character:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The national headquarters, "central office", of
the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is
located at 8 1/2 Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga. SNCC
headquarters was moved from Atlanta to Greenwood, Mississippi,
and back to Atlanta during Summer of 1964, for purpose of
emphasizing importance of SNCC role in Mississippi Summer
Project. SNCC describes itself as not being a membership
organization. Names of officers and advisors set forth
herein. SNCC has received financial support from Southern
Conference Educational Fund, Inc., New Orleans, La., Southern
Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Lewis M. Rabinowitz Foundation,
New York, New York, and Women's Peace and Unity Club, Chicago,
Illinois. HOWARD ZINN, adult member, executive committee,
SNCC, was member CP in 1935. ELLA J. BAKER, adult member,
executive committee, SNCC, attended executive board meeting
of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., on 1/30/60,
and has associated with individuals known to be CP members.
Information received in mid-December, 1963, that JOHN
LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, was member of Fair Play for Cuba
Committee. As of 6/29/63 DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER, New
England representative of SNCC, was member of CP, NYC.
Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, teacher at Morris Brown College, Atlanta,
Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC was CP member in 1955. Dr.
Atlanta, Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC identified as CP member in December
1952. not affiliated with SNCC since March, 1964.
On or about 2/22/64 a young Negro CP member from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, attempted to recruit individuals at SNCC headquarters in Atlanta to attend a "youth conference". As of 2/24/64 and 3/9/64 SNCC headquarters in Atlanta was receiving "The Worker". On 5/7/64 six volunteer workers for SNCC were arrested in Mississippi for reckless driving, at which time they were hauling books for SNCC in connection with Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) program for Mississippi in Summer, 1964. Among these books was an address book containing street addresses for such organizations as Communist Party, USA, New York, N.Y., Fair Play for Cuba and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., New York, N.Y.
This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or whether the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For the purpose of brevity the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report.
The national headquarters, "central office", of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been located at that address since the late summer of 1963. The SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street from the fall of 1962 until the late summer of 1963, and the organization continues to utilize that space as well as that mailing address periodically.

The June 13, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal", a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"SNCC Moving Headquarters From Atlanta"

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced Friday that it will move its national headquarters from Atlanta to Greenwood, Miss."

"Leaders of the militant anti-segregation organization said the move was decided upon during a three-day staff and executive committee meeting held here this week."

"SNCC - in cooperation with several other civil rights groups - plans a massive anti-segregation campaign in Mississippi this summer."

"SNCC Chairman John Lewis said the projected move is in part prompted by concern for the nearly 1,000 young people expected to participate in the program."

"James Forman, executive secretary of the organization, said the Atlanta office will be maintained. It is located at 8½ Raymond St., NW."

"The Atlanta office will continue to administer SNCC programs in Arkansas, Alabama, Southwest Georgia and North Carolina."
"The organization, made up primarily of young people, is an outgrowth of the lunch counter sit-ins which began in 1960. Its headquarters here opened in that year."

JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised on August 5, 1964, it was announced that SNCC was moving its headquarters, from Atlanta, Georgia, to Greenwood, Mississippi, for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of SNCC's role in the Mississippi Summer Project; however, this was only considered a temporary move and the SNCC headquarters was expected to return to Atlanta upon completion of the Mississippi Summer Project around the first part of September, 1964. BOND explained that the administrative staff of SNCC continued to perform the administrative functions of SNCC in Atlanta such as the bookkeeping, mailing and the handling of communications, with JOE LEE, Chairman of SNCC, spending the majority of his time traveling around the United States and JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, spending the majority of his time somewhere in Mississippi.

The September 2, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article:

"Rights Group Returns Here"

"The national headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Tuesday moved back to Atlanta after temporary summer-long residence in Mississippi."

"SNCC was one of the civil rights groups participating in the 'Mississippi Summer Project' out of Greenwood, in which efforts were made to increase Negro voter registration. 'Freedom schools,' community, recreation and political action centers were set up."
CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On December 13, 1963, furnishing a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" and states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements."

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program."

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership."

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South...

Mississippi - Southwest Georgia - Central Alabama - Eastern Arkansas - Southern Virginia"

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through..."
generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear."  

The March 3, 1964, issue of "The Student Voice", a weekly publication of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, contained the following article:

"Miss. Summer Project Set"

"Jackson, Miss. - Plans for a summer Peace Corps type operation for Mississippi have been announced by SNCC officials."

"Scores of students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists, and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs according to Bob Moses, director of SNCC's Mississippi project."

"SNCC worker Moses, who serves as program director for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) - an alliance of civil rights groups working in this state - stated that this summer's project would 'augment the voter registration campaign now underway throughout Mississippi.'"
"The Mississippi Summer Project - under the auspices of COFO will include freedom schools, community centers, research projects, and law student projects in addition to voter registration. A 'pilot project' in white communities is also planned."

"According to SNCC Chairman John Lewis, the struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won through concentrated action within the state and awareness throughout the nation of the need for Federal intervention to insure the voting rights of Negroes."

"Plans call for voter registration workers in 'every rural county and important urban areas in the state,' Moses said."

"Daytime and resident 'Freedom Schools' will provide remedial work for high school students and 'advance adult literacy for the purpose of voting,' according to plans."

"Community centers will 'focus on political education and organization.' Libraries, similar to the library in SNCC's Greenwood, Miss. office will develop throughout the state form national book drives."

"'Skilled workers are needed to carry out a research project inquiring into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic system,' Lewis stated. 'SNCC hopes to launch a massive legal offensive against the official legal tyranny of the state,' Lewis said."

"Lewis and Moses claim the summer program will 'attempt to involve students from all over the country.' Students over 18 years who feel they are qualified may apply to: Mississippi Summer Project, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Miss."
PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised the following individuals constituted the executive committee of SNCC, which was elected during a three day conference in Atlanta, Georgia, ending on March 31, 1964:

JOHN LEWIS, Chairman
JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary
JULIAN BOND, Communications Director
Staff Coordinator
[Name redacted], member (Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts)
[Name redacted], member (Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia)
[Name redacted], member (Albany State College, Albany, Georgia)
[Name redacted], Adult member (Boston, Massachusetts)
ELLA JU BAKER, Adult member (New York, New York)

On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND also identified the following project directors of SNCC:

Southwest Georgia: [Name redacted] (Albany, Georgia)
Arkansas: [Name redacted] (Pine Bluff, Arkansas)
North Carolina: [Name redacted] (Raleigh, N.C.)
Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES (Jackson, Mississippi)

On April 23, 1964, BOND stated that [Name redacted] has not been affiliated with SNCC since mid-1964.
On April 23, 1964, BOND advised that the coordinating committee of SNCC is composed of representatives from the following states:

Arkansas
Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
Missouri
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia
District of Columbia.
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

advised on March 17, 1964, that a check dated January 28, 1964, made payable to SNCC in the amount of $300 was drawn against the account of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, and this check contained the following endorsements:

"Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 132 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Georgia
Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia."

A Characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. appears in the Appendix of this report.

stated on February 12, 1964, that on February 4, 1964, the Communist Party of Baltimore, Maryland, had in his possession two copies of "The Student Voice" published by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, which copies were dated December 16, 1963, and January 14, 1964.

reported on February 10, 1964, that one Communist Party member originally from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and believed by the source to be operating under the direction of Mortimer Daniel Rubin, Communist Party, United States of America Organizer, was visiting the Eastern seaboard of the United States in an effort to organize youth groups. The source reported that one contemplated a visit to Atlanta, Georgia, prior to his return to New York City on or about February 22, 1964.
On April 23, 1964, Mr. JULIAN BOND, Communications Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 81 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that [redacted] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited in Atlanta, Georgia, for approximately two or three days about six weeks ago. According to BOND, [redacted] was traveling from Philadelphia down the East coast recruiting for a "Youth Conference" which [redacted] explained was to be held this spring or summer in either Chicago, Illinois or Detroit, Michigan. According to BOND, [redacted] attempted to recruit him and others at the SNCC headquarters office to attend this "Youth Conference". BOND advised that [redacted] was unsuccessful in his attempts to interest these individuals he contacted at SNCC in attending this conference. BOND advised from his conversation had with [redacted] he gained the impression that the conference related to civil rights and peace issues. BOND further related that as a result of his contact with [redacted] he suspected him of being a Communist Party representative acting in some organizing capacity. BOND related that he was unaware of any success that [redacted] might have had in the Atlanta area in his effort to interest youths or students in this "Youth Conference." 

[redacted] advised on February 22, 1964, that on February 22, 1964, at a meeting of the National Communist Party Negro Committee, held in Chicago, Illinois, GEORGE MEYERS, Communist Party District Chairman, Baltimore, Maryland, gave a report regarding his trip to the South, and pointed out that SNCC was doing a good job in the South. 

[redacted] advised on February 24, 1964, and on March 9, 1964, that SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, was at that time receiving the weekend and mid-week editions of "The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper. 

[redacted] reported on February 28, 1964, that on February 26, 1964, at a meeting of the Unity Club of the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, held at the residence of [redacted] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was announced that JOHN LEWIS of SNCC would be in Philadelphia to speak on February 28 and 29, 1964.
The May 21, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Daily World", a Negro newspaper issued daily in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article.

"Albany 'Justice' Assailed"

"Hapeville, Ga. - 'Upside down justice' in Albany, Ga., was assailed by the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at its semiannual meeting here over the weekend."

"The board called upon the U. S. Department of Justice to confess error in the conviction and sentencing of leaders and members of the Albany Movement in U. S. District Court."

"SCEF, a Southwide civil rights group based in New Orleans, charged that numerous instances of police brutality against integrationists 'have been ignored by the United States Department of Justice and the federal grand juries' in southwest Georgia."

"Yet these same federal agencies moved swiftly against members of the Albany Movement after they picketed for one hour the supermarket of a friend of leading politicians in Southwest Georgia,' the board declared in a resolution."

"JOHNSON PUSHED"

"The SCEF leaders urged President Lyndon Johnson to 'use his influence to right this wrong'. They also called upon Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to protect students and others aiding in voter registration in the South this summer."

"'We are especially concerned about the safety of some 1,000 young people who are following the call of conscience to go into Mississippi to aid in voter registration, community work, and tutoring of underprivileged students,' the board said."
We call upon the President and the Attorney General, as head of the Justice Department, to use their powers to the fullest extent to protect the nonviolent. We ask that this be done through the use of federal marshals, augmented by federal troops if necessary. We ask that the private armies of Gov. George Wallace and other officials be abolished.

The board pledged full support of SCEF to the students and commended those who are giving up their current summer vacations and customary comforts to try to make democracy real in our land.

SCEF also renewed for the fourth year a grant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to finance work on white college campuses in the South. It voted support of a new student organization growing out of this work the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

The board added to its membership Ed Hamlett, Jackson, Tenn., a field secretary of SNCC and member of the executive committee of SSOC; Miss Carol-Keever, Atlanta administrative assistant to the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Mrs. Isabel Turner, professor at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, and Dr. Harry Steinmetz, professor at Morehouse College, Atlanta.

The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds"

The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist Party members.
Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist-party-related activities.

Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities.

SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent "direct action" demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity.

Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College.

Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist Party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show.

Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs.

Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-datelined story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley:"'

The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher....
"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' datelined Peking. She was quoted: \(\uparrow\)

"'Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean.' \(\uparrow\)

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people.... we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.' \(\uparrow\)

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese. \(\uparrow\)

"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1944, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children....and why there is violence.' \(\uparrow\)

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination--'for peace and friendship.' \(\uparrow\)
"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: 'I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience.'"

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961.

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27.

"She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show.

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked.

"Arrested the same day with Mrs. CERNEY were JAMES PETERS, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 23; HOFFMANNSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, FANNIE, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show.

"All refused to give their names when booked.

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA).

"(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD LITTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba)."
"LYTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology."

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution."

"LYTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved."

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KINNEY on Dec. 22, 1952."

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance."

"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show."

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities."
AT 100-6488
CTH:elt

"In October, 1962, Dr. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island."

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator PRATHIA-HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia."

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N.C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'The Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961."

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill."

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast."

"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation."

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN."

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed $23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project."

-19-
AT 260-6438
CTR: el

"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it is required that his organization funds be restricted solely to voter registration activity...there have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia in the past several months.

"SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months", BRANTON added.

SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by CAW and CARAWAN, and by concerts given by folk-singer...SINGER.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEDER, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with some Communist-front organizations.

"CARAWAN was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to The Worker committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAN was now traveling in China as part of the group of 46 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves."

A Characterization of the Southern Regional Council appears in the Appendix of this report.

The May 21, 1954, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution," a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

X
"New Yorker With Red Lies Publishing Paper in Atlanta U

"A 25-year-old New York man, who once dipped the U. S. flag in tribute to Communist officials in a Moscow parade, has moved into an Atlanta Negro neighborhood and is putting out a newspaper which advocates overthrow of capitalism and suggests that Negroes take up firearms against white persons. U

"Jacob (Jake) Rosen, alias John Harnett, whose Atlanta address is 3006 Delmar Lane NW, Atlanta 11, established the newspaper 'Freedom' at that address during April. Rosen also has been associated with leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee here. U

"Rosen moved the paper here from Monroe, N.C., where he led racial demonstrations and organized a successful Negro school boycott there, according to Monroe police. He last published Freedom in November 1963 in Monroe. U

"Rosen has traveled extensively in Russia, China and Fidel Castro's Cuba. Using the name Harnett, he was a reporter for the Augusta Chronicle in 1961 during racial turmoil there. He supplied news about Augusta's racial situation to a wire news service and to other newspapers in Georgia. U

"On Feb. 3, 1963, Albert Caillard, a former member of the Communist Party, identified Rosen as a Communist Party member during a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. U

"Caillard also testified: U

"'At this time, Mr. Rosen was head of the educational youth group called SCOPE, and he was trying to get the Negro youth from Harlem to take courses in SCOPE.' U

"(SCOPE, Student Committee on Progressive Education, was formed in 1958 with the avowed purpose of providing an 'opportunity to discuss Marxism'). U
"'Freedom,' dated April 18, 1961, the first edition to carry an Atlanta address, announced: U

'Freedom was born last year in Monroe, North Carolina. With this issue, Freedom will become a South-wide paper with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Our aim is to build Freedom into a paper of, by and for the oppressed and struggling people of the South. Support Freedom now.' U

"Freedom depicts the Statue of Liberty as a Ku Klux Klansman holding up a fiery cross, and an editorial under the by-line of Max Stanford declares: U

"'...It is time for the Black American to wake up. We must see that this capitalistic system can not reform itself ... We must stick together, fight together and if necessary, die together.' U

"Negro Uses Gun U

"A cartoon panel shows a Negro with a gun driving away a white policeman, a judge and a Ku Klux Klansman. The armed Negro carries a placard reading 'Robert Williams Negros with Guns.' U

"The last drawing shows a Negro boy and a white girl saying 'Thanks for teaching us Robby!' U

"[An Associated Press dispatch dated July 20, 1961 reported: 'A Monroe, N.C., Negro leader says he is collecting rifles for two reasons - to form a rifle club and for an armament race with the white people of Monroe. Robert F. Williams, an avowed admirer of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro ... said the group has about 100 weapons. ...Williams, who has made two trips to Cuba since Castro seized control of that country, often flies the Cuban flag in his backyard.'] U

"Among other by-lines in Rosen's newspaper are John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Staughton Lynd, of the Spelman College Department of History. U
"A feature in the paper relates the success story of Tsaiden Choma, 'a former Tibetan slave girl,' who was 'liberated' by the Chinese Communists and went on to become a famous Red Chinese opera singer."

"Rosen's by-line appears on the tabloid's lead story, Headlined:"

"Mississippi Sterilization Law Legalizes Rape of Negro Women."

"Appears at Hearing"

"In 1960, Rosen appeared before a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and took the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer all questions regarding Communist Party membership and activities."

"Rosen appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Feb. 8 and March 13, 1963, and when asked, '...are you now a member of the Communist Party, USA?' answered 'No, sir.' However, he invoked the Fifth Amendment in answer to questions regarding past Communist Party membership."

"According to records of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, the New York Times reported from Moscow on July 30, 1957, on the Communist-Inspired World Youth Festival:"

"Jacob Rosen of 636 West 174th Street, Manhattan, a junior at City College, went without sleep to keep things moving. He carried a U. S. flag at yesterday's opening, dipping it in salute to Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet dignitaries at the Lenin Stadium."

"Read Into Record"
"The Times article was read into the record of the subcommittee hearings on Fair Play for Cuba in 1963. Rosen declined to answer questions about the festival.

"While in Russia, Rosen helped organize a tour of American youths to Red China, according to testimony at the hearing. His passport was seized by U.S. authorities upon his return to this country.

"J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate subcommittee, in the 1963 hearings produced a photograph which he said was taken of Rosen and Rosen's wife, Wendy Nakashima Rosen, Oct. 15, 1960, in the Sierra Maestra Mountains of Cuba.

"Sourwine asked Rosen: 'Is it true that you and four other persons with Communist connections took part in the construction of a school project in the Sierra Maestra along with other members of the International Organization of Democratic Youth?'

"Rosen refused to answer. Sourwine then produced a copy of 'New Horizons of Youth' edited by Daniel Rubin, a top Communist youth organizer in the United States, which carried a story captioned: 'I was in a Youth Brigade Building School City in Cuba' by Jake Rosen. Rosen declined to discuss the article.

"Sourwine also questioned Rosen about whether he informed Cuban authorities about the activities of an American newspaperman, Charles Wiley, in Cuba, causing Wiley to be jailed in Havana. Rosen refused to answer.

"Wife Also Testifies

"Rosen apparently has been operating in and out of Atlanta for some time. His wife testified in September before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that she had had an Atlanta address since she and Rosen were married."
"Rosen also was a speaker at a meeting June 30, 1960, of ADVANCE in Union Square in New York and was elected vice president of that organization at ADVANCE's founding convention Feb. 13-14, according to The Worker, the Communist newspaper."

"Hearings now are being held before the Subversive Activities Control Board on a petition of Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to require ADVANCE to register as a Communist-front organization."

STAUGHTON LYND, when interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI on August 13, 1953, stated that although he had never been a member of the Communist Party he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946 on the campus at Harvard University.

LYND also stated that the American Youth for Democracy was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy, on the campus at Harvard, and he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. LYND further stated that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948, and for approximately one year during this period he had served as the Secretary of the John Reed Club.

Advised during December 15 and 17, 1953, he heard that STAUGHTON LYND had been a Communist Party member while at Harvard University; however, he doubted LYND had been a Communist Party member but was of the belief LYND had been active in the John Reed Society and the American Youth for Democracy at Harvard.

Advised on June 8, 1954, that LYND had never been permitted to join the Communist Party while at Harvard because LYND could never seem to make up his mind that the Communist Party was worthwhile.
explained that the Harvard Chapter of the American Youth for Democracy and the John Reed Society were organizations which in the late 1940's became completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. 

The American Youth for Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. 

On May 7, 1964, Sheriff J. M. Ash, Marshall County, Holly Springs, Mississippi, advised a representative of the FBI that on May 6, 1964, at approximately 5:45 p.m. his office arrested six male individuals, three of whom were white and three of whom were Negroes, all riding in an off-white colored Studebaker Lark, bearing Georgia license GA ID 42158, which automobile was pulling a five feet by 12 feet "U-Haul-It" trailer, with Idaho License 1-539. They were charged with Reckless Driving. Those arrested were as follows: 

John Papsworth or Papworth, white male, age 43, Three Tpttenham Street, London, England; 

Larry W. Rubin, white male, age 22, 3006 Delmar Lane, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia; 

Richard Frey, white male, age 22, Route 2, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania; 

Clinton D. Smith, Negro male, age 18, 228 Short Dobbs, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; 

Alvin C. Packer, Negro male, age 18, of 507 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi. 

The driver of the car was Larry W. Rubin. 

Ash advised that at the time of the arrest, he searched the car and found an address book containing numerous entries in handwriting and hand printing. He was unable to determine to which of the above six individuals the address book belonged.
Clinton Smith advised Ash that the books were being hauled for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in connection with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) Program for Mississippi in the Summer of 1964, and that all of the arrestees were volunteer workers for SNCC.

This address book contained numerous hand printed and handwritten names, addresses and telephone numbers, including the following:

"ADVANCE
Room 636
799 Broadway, NYC.

"CP, USA
23 W. 26th St. 212-
NY 10, NY MU 5-5755

"Cross Currents Press
156 5th Ave.
NY 10, NY

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 7th Ave. OX 5-2863
New York, NY (Phil Luce)

"Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Student Council, FPCC
799 Broadway
NYC, 3

"National Guardian
197 E. 4th St.
NY. 9, NY

"New Century Pub.
832 Broadway
New York 3, NY
"National Council of Sov-Am Fr., Inc.
114 E. 32nd St.
New York 16, NY

"PYOC
80 Clinton St.
New York

"Danny Rubin
365 Amboy St.
Brooklyn, N.Y.
(NOTE: The above listing was crossed through and another notation was listed as follows below.)

"Danny Rubin
190 Garfield Place
Brooklyn, N.Y. Ph. NY 9-7939

"Vets of Abe Lin. Brig.
49 E. 21st St.
Rm. 405 NY 10, NY.

"Dr. Lonnie K. Cross
458-8832 and DU 7-9821
Muhammad's Mosque #1
1519 4th St., N.W.

"Youth Publications
799 B'way
NYC, 3."

advised on May 19, 1964, that one
Mortimer Daniel Rubin, also known as Danny Rubin, of
New York City, Communist Party (CP), CP, USA, National
Youth Director, had stated that a group of CP youth
were getting together on June 5, 1964, to go to
Mississippi for the Summer of 1964. This Danny Rubin
is possibly identical with the Danny Rubin listed at
190 Garfield Place and formerly at 365 Amboy Street,
both Brooklyn, New York.
APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on
Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., revised and published December 1, 1961,
describes the above organization as follows:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.
   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
   House Report 511 on the CIO Political
   Action Committee, March 29, 1944, P. 149.)

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

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers,
   fronts have been devised making special appeals
   in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out
   far beyond the confines of the Communist Party
   itself. Among these organizations are the ***
   National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist
   Party itself is under fire these offer a
   bulwark of protection.'
   (Internal Security Subcommittee of the
   Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for
   Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956,
   p. 91.)"
APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)
KNOWN IN CLEVELAND OHIO, AS:
YOUTH FOR PROGRESSIVE ACTION (YPA)

A source, on July 31, 1961, reported that a meeting attended by approximately thirty youths, for the purpose of organizing the YPA, was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 14, 1961. At this meeting GEORGE HABORAK spoke, stating that he is the Ohio representative of the PYOC and had been designated to organize youth in Cleveland.

A second source, on June 6, 1961, identified GEORGE HABORAK as the Ohio Communist Party (CP) youth leader.

The first source, on July 31, 1961, reported that at a YPA meeting on July 28, 1961, MICHAEL BAYER, son of EUGENE BAYER, was designated YPA Chairman, and GEORGE HABORAK designated YPA Secretary.

A third source, on December 12, 1960, reported that EUGENE BAYER was then a member of the Ohio CP Youth Committee.

The first source, on July 31, 1961, reported that the purpose of YPA calls for youth activities to promote "peace"; to seek to strengthen the possibilities of "peaceful coexistence" with all nations, to work for the rights of all Negro youth and youth of other minority groups, to equal opportunity for employment, education, and use of public facilities, etc., and YPA to work within established community organizations.

A fourth source, on August 15, 1961, reported that YPA Chairman, MICHAEL BAYER, had "quit" his position as Chairman.

The first source, on October 30, 1961, reported that the YPA Treasurer had indicated there had been no recent YPA meetings and none were planned, since many youths who had attended YPA meetings are attending colleges at this time, and that the YPA is dormant and not functioning as an organization.
PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)

Source advised that the YPA had no office or headquarters and no official organ and that YPA dues of 75 cents per month were agreed upon but none collected.

The first, second and third sources in May, 1962, reported that there has been no resumption of YPA activities in the Cleveland area and there has been no indication that any current efforts are being made to renew YPA activities.
APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1947.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.
On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he had considered James Dombrowski, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed Communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.
Appendix

W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America

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

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the
working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

The Constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or if five or more people so desire a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source has also advised that at the founding convention it was voted that the organization should be temporarily headquartered in San Francisco, California, although no specific physical location was decided upon. This same source advised on June 29, 1964, that the temporary headquarters of this organization is 1007 McAllister Street, San Francisco, which is the headquarters of the W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB of San Francisco.

Both sources have advised that at the founding convention two officers were elected:

PHILIP CHAPIN DAVIS, President, and
CARL ELLENGER BLOICE, Publications Chairman.

A fourth source has advised that CARL BLOICE, reporter for the "People's World" Newspaper, was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the GP.
The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.
Atlanta, Georgia
May 20, 1965

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Insurrence

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

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commissions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and
is licensed to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.
One copy of this report is furnished to all continental offices for information in view of the possible attraction of students and individuals with CP positions from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any CP members are engaging in activity of SNCC, or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating and/or controlling SNCC. Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to civil rights movement should be reported under the caption of this case.
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AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

Agents attending the testimonial dinner for RICHARD MORFORD which was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y., on 1/26/66 are identified as SAS [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

- H* -
(COVER PAGE)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

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Report of: SA
Date: February 4, 1956
Office: ATLANTA

Field Office File #: 100-6468
Bureau File #: 100-430190

Title: COMMUNIST INFLTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

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DETAILS:

(A) BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of SNCC.
ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On December 13, 1963, [redacted] furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" and states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South... Mississippi - Southwest Georgia - Central Alabama - Eastern Arkansas - Southern Virginia
"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear."
(D) PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

reported on March 11, 1965, that the SNCC Programs for 1965 announced on February 23, 1965, subsequent to the SNCC Programming Conference held at Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, February 12 through 19, 1965, the election of the following officers:

Secretariat  
Chairman  
Executive Secretary  
Program Secretary

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

John Lewis  
James Forman  
Cleveland Sellers

Executive Committee

Mrs. Lee Bankhead  
Stokely Carmichael  
William Hansen  
Jessie Harris  
Dorrie Ladner  
Silas Mc Gee  
Lafayette Surratt  
Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer  
Dr. Howard Zinn  
Miss Ella Baker

Adviser  
Adviser

On January 28, 1966, advised that insofar as he knows there has been no change in the above assignment and furnished the following information relative to other individuals at SNCC as of January 28, 1966:

Communications Director  
Staff Coordinator

Julian Bond  
Muriel Tillinghast
Head of Research Department    JOHN E. MINNIS
Project Director,
Southwest, Georgia             ROY SHIELDS
Program Director
Atlanta, Georgia               COURTLAND COX

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
(E) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

An article appeared in the July 11, 1965, issue of the "Atlanta Times," a former daily newspaper in Atlanta bearing a Washington dateline reflecting that JOHN LEWIS, the Atlanta Negro who is National Chairman of SNCC, would not bar Communists from SNCC if they are "committed to working for inter-racial democracy."

The article continued that an Alabama Legislative Committee charge that SNCC is extensively Communist dominated was branded by LEWIS in an interview in Washington as another vicious attempt to discredit the Civil Rights Movement. LEWIS was asked if he would exclude a person who had admitted being a Communist, replied "Well, see, in the first place, it would be hard, for me, as an individual, as an American citizen, to determine what a Communist is...We do not make any type of security check on people. If people are committed to working for what we call inter-racial democracy, the open society, we accept them."
It is noted that "The Worker" is an East Coast Communist Publication.

On June 10, 1965, [redacted] advised that SNCC, 8½ Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, had renewed it's
subscription to "People's World," which subscription is to expire in August, 1966.

The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist Newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

on August 27, 1966, furnished his "observations" concerning his stay in Mississippi during the Summer of 1965 at which time he was associated with Civil Rights groups.

"A. ORGANIZATIONS"

"1. Freedom Democratic Party" - Has been working very actively in the State of Mississippi with voter registration, Freedom Schools, and youth groups. The long range goal of the FDP is to become a major force in the power structure of the State of Mississippi.

"The FDP is a very loosely organized party without uniform leadership. The FDP wishes to be a grass roots party appealing to and drawing its strength and membership from the low class (social and economic) of the Negro population. In the FDP's quest for power the FDP makes use of any organizations or individuals willing to work with the FDP's goals regardless of philosophy or ideology. The FDP forces are in conflict with the NAACP. This conflict is mainly due to the FDP's direct action policy (which at times resorts to civil disobedience) as compared to the NAACP's indirect action based on legal means. This conflict has deteriorated in the past two months.

2. DCPC - Has been completely disbanded as an organization and most of its people have either gone home or joined SNCC or the FDP.

3. SNCC - As an organization it has allowed itself to be used by the FDP. SNCC does not seem to have an official capacity in the State of Mississippi. All
the SNCC Caucasian volunteers who came to Mississippi have been assigned to work under the FDP. The SNCC staff is made up primarily of Negroes who are on salary but work under the FDP. The role of the SNCC white volunteers has been that of working with voter registration, setting up precincts and civil disobedience with the FDP.

"B. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY"

"1. SNCC is an organization based on anarchy and left-wing infiltration.

"The majority of the Caucasian volunteers working with SNCC are to the left of center in their ideological belief with a minority that is most definitely communist oriented. Within the ranks of SNCC for example there has been a number of Du Bois Club and SDS members. However, communist activities in the form of propaganda have been covert, if non-existent. The Marxist elements are much more interested in working with the Civil Rights Movement as it exists rather than use the movement as a leftist force. The Marxists believe in working with individuals with regard to communist propaganda. Some left-wing people have repeatedly stated that the Civil Rights Movement in this country could be the vehicle for a philosophical revolution towards Communism if not a violent one.

The January 15, 1966, issue of the "National Guardian" page 11, carried an advertisement announcing this testimonial dinner. Reservations could be obtained
through the Anniversary Committee, Room 512, 156 - 5th Avenue, New York City. Page 12 of the January 15, 1966, issue contained an article by JAMES ARONSON, Editor, which stated that the following individuals would speak at this dinner:

ANATOLY F. DOBRYNIN, Soviet Ambassador to United States

JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC

EDWARD LAMB, an Ohio Industrialist

ABBOTT SIMON, an attorney

Dr. CORLISS LAMONT, who will be the chairman.

On January 26, 1966, Special Agents of the FBI were in attendance at this testimonial dinner at which approximately 850 people attended. CORLISS LAMONT introduced JOHN LEWIS as a militant Civil Rights leader and as Chairman of SNCC. LEWIS said he was happy to pay tribute to MOURPUS on this occasion and that all of the people that he (LEWIS), worked with in the Civil Rights Movement desire peace and he also referred to his recent statement denouncing the roll of the United States in Viet Nam.

CORLISS LAMONT next introduced ABBOTT SIMON as an attorney with a long association with the NAACP.

The next speaker EDWARD LAMB was introduced as an Ohio Industrialist. LAMB said that he had been to the Soviet Union six times and he espoused trade with the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He said that the two greatest men of the century were NIKOLAI LENIN and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
ANATOLY D. DOBRININ was introduced as the next speaker. Among other things, DOBRININ said he would like to call MORFORD "a distinguished goodwill ambassador" and wished him best wishes for good health and continuation of his work for another twenty years.

MORFORD gave the last speech. He said the most urgent business of the NCGSF is concerning the war in Viet Nam. He stated the policies of the United States must be removed from war to peace.

RICHARD MORFORD

...arrived on June 29, 1950, that RICHARD A. MORFORD was the Executive Secretary of the NCGSF...

...and for a time thereafter, MORFORD had rare known to him as a Communist, such reports being from MORFORD's activity in certain Communist fronts...

...and he had been told by [redacted] of MORFORD's Communist affiliations and that as late as 1945, another Communist Party functionary told [redacted] that MORFORD was a Communist.
EDWARD LANE

CORLISS LAMONT

On September 28, 1953, LOUIS BRUDENZ testified before the United States Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. In his testimony BRUDENZ stated that EARL BREMER, as head of the Communist Party in the United States, had referred to CORLISS LAMONT as one of the "four prides" of the Communist Party because LAMONT was always ready to cooperate with any Communist front or Communist cause. BRUDENZ also testified that CORLISS LAMONT was a member of the Communist Party when he, BRUDENZ, was a member.
It is to be noted that the National Council of American Soviet Friendship has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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

on January 4, 1966, advised that LOUIS KAPLAN, International Representative of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) had been attempting without success to secure employment for one JOHN E. CHURCHVILLE at the Jerrold Corporation, North 15th Street and Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The employer of the Jerrold plant located at that address are represented by Local 150, UE.

KAPLAN also claimed that he had already found jobs in the area for four of the six SNCC members and
offered assurances that CHURCHVILLE would cause no trouble in the plant and devote himself strictly to learning his job.

The "Internal Security Annual Report for 1957, Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate," on page 61, refers to UE as "one of the strongest Communist controlled unions in America."

The international headquarters of UE is located at 11 East 53rd Street, New York, New York, according to the April 19, 1965, edition of "UE News," official organ of UE.

advised on March 2, 1962, that LOUIS KAPLAN, a UE International Representative, has been with the UE since the 1940's and that KAPLAN was a member of the Communist Party sometime prior to 1955, but in recent years made statements against the Communist Party. Source described KAPLAN as the most dominant figure in the New York City District Number 1. He said KAPLAN is an energetic organizer and a wild and militant speaker.
on April 13, 1964, advised that on April 11, 1964, CHURCHVILLE moved from Atlanta, Georgia, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This source said that CHURCHVILLE was a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and an active participant in Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 (MM 15), Atlanta, Georgia, from approximately August, 1963, through March, 1964. At the time he moved from Atlanta, CHURCHVILLE was serving as Secretary-Treasurer of MM 15.

on March 26, 1965, advised that JOHN CHURCHVILLE attended meetings of Muhammad's Mosque Number 12 (MM 12), Philadelphia, from approximately April, 1964, through January, 1965. Just prior to his leaving MM 12, officials asked members to turn in books to CHURCHVILLE as CHURCHVILLE was setting up a library.

Characterizations of the NOI, MM 15, and MM 12 are attached.

On May 11, 1965, CHURCHVILLE was interviewed by FBI Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. At that time he advised he was no longer a member of the NOI, but that he "still loved them still." He also stated he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of April 23-25, 1965, and that he had been in Selma, Alabama, during some of the demonstrations there. CHURCHVILLE said that while in Atlanta he was acting with the SNCC and that he intended to continue working with SNCC, including helping in demonstrations in both the South and the North during the Summer of 1965.
who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 3, 1965, that he had recently seen a letter which read as follows:

"Dear --

"This letter is written to ask your support for a drive for trading stamps needed to buy 1 bus for use in transporting southern voters to the polls.

"Within 4 days, please send 10 trading stamps of any kind to the person whose name tops the list below then cross out that name; add your own name at the bottom of the list and send a copy of this letter to 5 people other than those on this list.

"Within 27 days, you should receive 31,350 stamps, enough to fill 20 books. Please send these stamps to -- S.N.C.C. (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee)
Box 210
Mill Valley, California

"1- Beatrice Blackberg - 75 Dale Rd., Wanaque, N.J.

"2- Vivian Blackberg - 114 South Boyden Ter., Newark, N.J.

"3- Marilyn Trushell - 176/ Weeks Ave., Bronx 57, N.Y.

"4- Etta Sheldrick - 160 Third Ave., Paterson, N.J.

"5- Gertrude Mann - 48 Trenton Ave., Paterson, N.J. 07513"
who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 12, 1959, that BERITHA BLOCKSBERG had quit the Communist Party.

who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on June 25, 1964, that a convention held June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Boulevard, San Francisco, California, to form a socialist-oriented organization, chose the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America as the name of the organization.

A characterization of the Du Bois Clubs appears in the Appendix of this report.

who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on December 15, 1964, that CHARLES TRUSSELL, husband of MARYLIN TRUSSELL, was a member of the New Jersey Communist Party.

an admitted member of the Communist Party, advised on January 14, 1953, that he knew B workouts to have been a member of the Syracuse, New York, Communist Party in 1947.
PROPOSED STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS TO UNEAT THE MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION, UNITED STATES CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 15, 1965, SPONSORED BY SNCC

The June, 1965, issue of "The Voice of Washington SNCC" reflects that Washington will be the scene of a massive lobby by SNCC aimed at getting additional members of the House of Representatives to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) challenge. The challenge is an effort by the MFDP using a legal procedure outlined by house rules, to unseat the five Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) are working to aid the MFDP in making the challenge successful. The lobby will consist of two, ten day sessions, June 15 to June 25, and June 26 to July 4.
advised on July 29, 1953, that PATTY RABBITT, Seattle, Washington, was the Chairman of the Young Political Explorers League.

A characterization of the Young Political Explorers League appears in the Appendix of this report.

On June 26, 1955, LTE advised that JOHNNY WEBB expected to take part in political events in Washington, D.C., from perhaps June 24, 1955, to the culmination of the drive to send the Mississippi delegation ending July 4, 1955.

advised on December 5, 1964, that GARRETT was one of the speakers at the annual "Harriet's World" banquet held on October 25, 1964, at 13440 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

On May 7, 1965, it was advised that GARRETT attended a parade on May 1, 1965, in Griffith Park, Los Angeles, which was held under the sponsorship of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of America.

advised in April, 1965, that ROMO was a member of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club as of March, 1965.
A characterization of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club appears in the Appendix of this report.

[Redacted] and [Redacted] have advised that ROMC has attended numerous functions of the Central Los Angeles Du Bois Club including membership meetings during 1964 and 1965, and that she participated in several picket demonstrations in 1965 at Los Angeles concerning protests of United States intervention in Vietnam and protesting the racial situation in Selma, Alabama.

[Redacted] advised that [Redacted] was in June, 1965, a member of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, and had been active in the Du Bois Club and in attendance at Marxist classes held by the Du Bois Club since 1964.
INDIVIDUALS WITH COMMUNIST PARTY BACKGROUND
ASSOCIATED WITH SNCC

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On September 7, 1965, LAURA FONER, Gould, Arkansas, advised that she has been a field volunteer worker for SNCC at Gould, Arkansas, since July 15, 1965. She advised she was born on February 10, 1944, at New York, New York, and that her parents are Dr. and Mrs. PHILIP S. FONER, Mountain Trail, Croton-On-Hudson, New York, and that her father is engaged as a publisher of the "Citadel Press" in New York City.

On June 20, 1963, [redacted] advised that PHILIP FONER spoke at a forum sponsored by the New York City Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York City on June 17, 1963.

A characterization of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is obtained in the Appendix of this report.

On March 31, 1963, [redacted] advised that PHILIP FONER attended a New York chapter honoring ELIZABETH CURLEY FONER, who was then National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA.
On August 3, 1965, an advertisement sponsored by the New York School for Marxist Studies, Student Committee on Progressive Education, indicated that classes on new developments in Marxist thought would be held Wednesday through August 25, 1965, at 7:30 P.M., Room 15A, 853 Broadway, New York City. The advertisement indicated that the topic for August 4, 1965, would be "Cuba and the Struggle for Latin American Independence" and the lecturer would be Dr. PHILIP S. FCNHR.

On February 26, 1953, [REDACTED] advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.


The Labor Youth League has been designated by the United States Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
HARRY WACHTEL

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

In December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights and the National Lawyers Guild is included in the Appendix of this report.
RALPH HEISTEIN

advised on June 16, 1964, that RALPH HEISTEIN resides at 5806 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, and is the International President of the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, with offices at 603 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

advised on June 20, 1956, that RALPH HEISTEIN, 603 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, was a member of the National Lawyers Guild.
SNCC POLICY RELATIVE TO UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

MEMBER OF SOUTHERN JUGENSHION

JOHN ROBERT LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, called a press conference at SNCC Headquarters on January 6, 1966, and issued the following prepared statement. A copy of this statement was furnished to the FBI on Atlanta on January 6, 1966, by

The prepared statement is as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue when it seems fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to the United States' involvement in Vietnam on these grounds:

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself.

"We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders."
"We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by United States government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

"The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama, is no different than the murder of peasants in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the United States government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

"Samuel Young was murdered because United States law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The United States is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires.

"We recall the indifference, suspicion, and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met by the peace government officials.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and authority.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's
cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country.

"We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of a supposedly 'free' society where responsibility to freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 60% of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a 'democracy' which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask, where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States.

"We therefore encourage these Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives -- as painfully as in Vietnam."

Articles appearing in local Atlanta newspapers subsequent to issuance of the above statement reflected that JULIAN BOND, Communications Director for SNCC, and also an elective representative from the 135th District to the Georgia House of Representatives, endorsed the
statement as issued by JOHN LEWIS. Articles also reflected that BOND had stated that he personally would not tear up his draft card, but admired the courage of individuals that tear theirs up.
(F) RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY, INCLUDING COMMUNIST PARTY AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

JOHN LEWIS (Chairman of SNCC)

Information regarding activities of JOHN LEWIS is reflected in Section E of this report.

JAMES FORMAN (Executive Secretary of SNCC)

Information regarding activities of JAMES FORMAN is reflected in Section E of this report.

ALAN H. AD (Communicating Director of SNCC)
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix of this report.

HOWARD ZINN (Executive Committee - Advisor)
A characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, is included in the Appendix of this report.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (Executive Committee)

On September 24, 1963, and

Bronx High
School of Science, Bronx, New York, advised that there were some individuals at the high school who in recent years seem to be unusually devoted to "left-wing" activities. They included in this group STOKELY CARMICHAEL, 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx 62, New York, a graduate of the Class of 1960.
CARMICHAEL, a Negro, was a close friend of EUGENE DENNIS, JR., son of the former General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

JOHN E. MINNIS (Head of Research Department)

In December, 1958, JOHN E. MINNIS, advised the FBI that he had received a press release from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. MINNIS advised he was formerly employed as an announcer and disc jockey for a radio station in Lake Charles, Louisiana. MINNIS stated that he is not sympathetic toward Russia or Communist ideals, but is interested in world affairs, including this country's relationship with Russia.

On February 20, 1964, [redacted] advised that JOHN MINNIS had been fired by the Southern Regional Council because he had signed a petition against the wishes of the Director of the Southern Regional Council. This petition was to the effect that Civil Rights workers who were being tried for perjury in a Federal Court in the South could not get a fair trial in any Federal Court in the South.
APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DU BOIS Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified voice of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

APPENDIX
The constitution further states that this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals, or if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

As of October, 1965, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 954 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois. According to a third source, a new slate of national officers was elected at this conference, which included Chairman HUGH STERLING FOWLER II and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source; Director of Publicity CARL ELLINGER BLOCH according to a fifth source; Educational Director MATTHEW "DYNAMITE" HALLinan (who in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth Representative on the Northern California CF District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary TERENCE "KAYO" HALLinan (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965 and Treasurer SUSAN PHYLLIS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source,

APPENDIX
THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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

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

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, "Trial by Treason: The National Committee to secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL," August 25, 1956, p. 12.)
NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam.

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

On May 7, 1965, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

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

On May 3, 1965, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program.
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NUMBER 15, Formerly Known as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NUMBER 15, Atlanta, Georgia

A source advised on January 9, 1956, that approximately six months previously a group of individuals in Atlanta, Georgia, organized as an affiliate of the Nation of Islam, formerly known as the Muslim Cult of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. William J. Shaw, Owner and Manager of the Odd Fellows Building, 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, advised on February 3, 1956, that James A. X. Shabazz, 547 Wabash Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, had signed a one year lease, commencing January 1, 1956, for a hall on the sixth floor of the Odd Fellows Building. Shaw said Shabazz represented the "Temple of Islam" and that an advance rental payment was accompanied by a letter from Muhammad who called his religion "Islam" and stated his Temple Number Two was located at 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

A second source advised during January, 1961, that Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 15 had changed its name to Muhammad's Mosque Number 15.

On February 1, 1965, a third source advised that Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 is currently active and had as of January 31, 1965, commenced holding meetings at 1225 Bankhead Highway, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Muhammad's Mosque Number 15 is an affiliate of the Nation of Islam and its teachings are based upon the principles expounded by Elijah Muhammad, the national leader of the Nation of Islam.
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #12
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Two sources advised on July 27, 1965 that the organization of which ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader and founder, is known in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as Muhammad's Mosque #12 (MM #12) and is affiliated with and follows the aims and purposes of the national group. These sources advised that in July, 1965, MM #12 moved from 2204 North Broad Street to 2748 Germantown Avenue.

A third source on May 22, 1964, advised the organization has been meeting in Philadelphia since 1954.
A source advised that REE ANN HALONEN, a resident of Washington, had stated on July 29, 1967, that the youth group in Seattle was considering adoption of the name Young Political Explorers.

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

The second source advised on December 23, 1960, that the Young Political Explorers League was the teenage group of the youth organization in Seattle.

A fifth source advised on May 8, 1964, that the Young Political Explorers League continues in existence in the Seattle area and is under the guidance and leadership of MARY SUTHERLAND.
CENTRAL DISTRICT YOUTH CLUB

On August 9, 1963, this source advised the purpose of the CDYC is "to develop the political awareness of the people involved in order to broaden the mass movement towards Socialism."

On April 22, 1964, a second source stated membership in CDYC had dwindled to twenty-five members, most of whom were inactive.

On May 25, 1964, the first source advised the CP in Seattle continued to discuss the CDYC at its meetings in connection with attempts by the CP to carry out its objectives in the Negro community and the civil rights field. EDDIE GIVENS and RAY COOPER who had functioned as officers of the CDYC were being replaced as leaders but would continue in an advisory capacity.

The above source stated that factors which contributed to the decrease in activity of CDYC included the refusal of Neighborhood House, Inc. to continue use of its facilities for CDYC meetings, and announcement by the Seattle representative of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that it no longer had any affiliation with CDYC, both of those events taking place during December, 1963.

CDYC was reported by the first source on January 4, 1965 to have died out following departure of RAY COOPER and EDDIE GIVENS from the Seattle area during the latter part of 1964.
A report written on March 26, 1963, that during the period January through March, 1963, a series of formation meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD ROYASH was acting chairman in charge of the group and RALPH ROSENSTEIN and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were named to a provisional committee to help organize the new group. On April 7, 1963, the group officially selected the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism (LAYS) and elected officers.

According to an article in May 12, 1964, that the LAYS was organized with the full knowledge and assistance of Democratic officials, present in the SDP, and that several Communist Party (CP) leaders had been approved by HEALY to teach Marxist theory to members of the LAYS. This source further stated that the LAYS was to be a Marxist study and action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to be followed. Some times this fact that although the alleged purpose of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United States, they were actually preparing to be "Communist" by organizing and preparing exercises to study the brand of Marxism associated with the CP.

The youth group also decided that in June, 1963, LAYPS and UAW-USA to form the organization to Youth Action for Peace (YAP). The reasons were: The first being that it was said that LAYPS had a bad reputation because of its association with CP groups; the second because it was felt that while "Socialism" was a title was driving away possible members.

The first elected chairman of the LAYPS and YAP was continued in this position until early 1964, was MARVIN TREGER, who on April 1, 1964, was chairman of the Youth Commission, SDP. Since the organization's inception, key officers have been members of the CP.
CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB
formerly known as the Youth Action
Union and Los Angeles Youth for
Peace and Socialism

The first source above advised that in August, 1964, the YAU affiliated with the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and adopted the name of Central Los Angeles W. E. B. DuBois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name.
W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

On April 23, 1964, a source advised that the W. E. B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREENBAUM with the assistance of MARVIN TREIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April, 1964, RUTH GREENBAUM was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) and that MARVIN TREIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

The first source above stated that the Du Bois Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Marxist-Orientated students at the University of California at Los Angeles, (UCLA), but that the club eventually hoped to spread its influence into other areas in West Los Angeles.

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA, reveal that in February, 1964, the Du Bois Club filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission was granted. The chairman of the Du Bois Club was listed as RUTH GREENBAUM. In making this application, the club listed a statement of purpose which states in part, "We the members of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles, join together to help further the development of a socialist system, free from ignorance, poverty, fear and the economic power exercised by the few over the many.

"Although we view socialism as the likely solution to the ills of the present society, we do not make this an a priori commitment for any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."
A fourth source advised on March 25, 1965, that
since its inception, the activities of the Du Bois Club
have been mainly limited to participation in protests against
alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist
classes, participation in conferences which led to the creation
of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America in the summer of
1964 and participation in demonstrations protesting U. S.
intervention in Viet Nam. This source advised that the W. E. B.
Du Bois Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the
W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and is operating as a
chapter of that organization.
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

48
2

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.
THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD


1. Cited as a Communist front.

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

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

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

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "Organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

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

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 2, 1964, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On June 2, 1964, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMEROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a Communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.
The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.


On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.
Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

Report of SA [REDACTED]
at Atlanta dated February 4,
1966, and captioned as above.

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

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
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to be distributed outside your agency.
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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**TITLE OF CASE**

COMINIL SNCC

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE**

- **REPORT MADE BY**
  - SA
- **TYPE BY**
  - [Redacted]

**REFERENCES**


**LEADS**

**FOR INFORMATION OF ALL CONTINENTAL OFFICES**

One copy of report is furnished all continental offices in view of possible attraction of students and individuals with CP positions from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any information indicating CP members are engaging in activities of SNCC.

---

**APPROVED**

- [Signature]

**COPY MADE**

- D.Bureau (100-439190) (EM)
- Atlanta (100-6488)

See Cover Page B for additional copies.

**DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT**

- AGENCY: ACSU, ONJ, OSI, SEC, DRC.
- DEPT: ISP, CRD, FRC.
- DATE: NOV 16, 1966
- NOTATIONS: [Redacted]
AT 100-6488

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1 - Springfield (105-1752) (RM)
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1 - Washington Field (100-41626) (RM)

Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to civil rights movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

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Used to characterize RANDOLPH BLACKWELL.

Used to characterize BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL.

- C -

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Used to characterize JOHN WESLEY HARRIS, JR.

Used to identify BOND, BELLAMY, LEWIS, and FORMAN.
Used to characterize White Bluff, Tennessee meeting.
Used to identify members of Central Committee.

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Used to characterize RALPH FEATHERSTONE.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

SAs observing the demonstration at Washington Square, New York City, to protest the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing, were [redacted] and [redacted].

Pretext utilized by [redacted] on 9/28/66 when contacting ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, Administrator of the New York Office of SNCC, was [redacted].
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

1 - G-2, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - MIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:

Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Date: October 26, 1966

Field Office File #: 100-6488

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INfiltration of the Student
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Investigation directed solely toward establishing
extent of infiltration of SNCC. National headquarters located
at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, in building purchased
2/1/66 for $65,000 by Southern Education and Research Institute,
Inc., offices of which are identified to be currently associated
with or to have been associated with SNCC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL,
elected national chairman in May, 1966, identified as member of
National Council of ECLC in June, 1966. CARMICHAEL states
organization no longer interested in integration but now seeks
political and economic backing for Negroes and if SNCC cannot
obtain its aims through peaceful means, it may resort to
violence. CHARLES COBB, elected to Central Committee of SNCC,
led workshop at Conference of SDS, August - September, 1966.
COURTLAND COX, also member of Central Committee, appeared on
program with BETTINA APTEKER, daughter of CP theoretician.
JACK MINNIS, head of Research Department, contributed article
appearing in Spring, 1965 issue of "Freedomways.

Negro rights in white community discussed
at 18th National Convention of CP. SDS passed resolution
pledging moral support to SNCC. Several SNCC members traveled
to Russia 1966 at specific invitation of Soviet Youth Committee.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Group I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

Classified by:
Exempt from C. 1, 2, 3
Date of Declaration: 1-1-67
One SNCC member identified as having attended 7th General Assembly of the World Federation of Youth, held in Sofia, Bulgaria. SNCC issued statement against U. S. policy in Viet Nam.
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DETAILS

A. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interests in the legitimate activities of SNCC.
B. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

The national headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

On August 29, 1966, the Fulton County Tax Commissioner's Office were reviewed and reflected that as of January 26, 1966 the above premises were owned by W. P. BALLARD, JR. The property was described as being located in land lot 84, land district number 14, measuring 50 feet by 151.5 feet by 151.8 feet by 136 feet.

On August 29, 1966, Mr. WILEY P. BALLARD, JR., who maintains offices in the Peachtree Center Building in Atlanta, advised that he formerly owned the above described property but had on February 1, 1966 sold it to the Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., for a sum of $85,000.00. Mr. BALLARD said that prior to sale of this property, he had been renting it to SNCC on a rent-option to buy basis. It is his understanding that the SNCC will continue to occupy the premises located at this address.

On September 1, 1966, Corporation Commissioner's Office, State of Georgia, advised that the Southern Education and Research Institute, Inc., was issued a charter on September 7, 1965. The stated purpose of the corporation was a non-profit organization organized exclusively for charitable and educational purposes within the realm of Section 501(c)(3), United States Internal Revenue Code 1964. The petitioners to form this organization were identified as:

HOWARD MOORE, JR.
JULIAN LEWIS
JAMES FORMAN
SHEPHERD JOHNSON
FAYE BELLAMY
HORACE JULIUS BOND

The annual registration certificate for the above organization dated October 27, 1965 identifies JAMES FORMAN as president of the organization.

Information received from reflects that LEWIS, FORMAN, BELLAMY, and BOND are known to the informant to be currently associated with or to have been associated with SNCC.
AT 100-6488

C. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

An article appearing in the "Atlanta, Georgia Constitution" on May 24, 1966 reflects that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, identified as the newly elected chairman of SNCC, told newsmen at a conference in Atlanta that if the group (SNCC) cannot obtain its aims through peaceful means, it may resort to violence. SNCC will concentrate on building the "Black Panther Party" and will support the political candidate they can control, and SNCC has to give the Negroes something for which they do not have to beg.

has advised that as a result of a staff conference held in White Bluff, Tennessee in the latter part of May, 1966, the policy of SNCC is to remove members of the Caucasian race from positions of leadership in the organization as SNCC is no longer interested in integration but now seeks political and economic backing for Negroes.

D. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

advised that during May of 1966, the SNCC held its annual conference at White Bluff, Tennessee. The three top leaders chosen were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was elected to replace JOHN LEWIS as national chairman, and Mrs. RUBY DORIS ROBINSON, who was elected to replace JAMES FORMAN as executive secretary. CLEVELAND SELLERS was elected to be among the three top leaders.

The central committee was elected to be composed of:

JAMES FORMAN
JOHN LEWIS
CHARLES COBB
FRED MEKLY
ROBERT MONTE
RALPH FEATHERSTONE
IVANKOH GAYLORD DONALDSON
COURTLAND COX
ROBERT SMITH
JACK WILKINS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZA
In regard to the above individuals, the following information is set forth:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

On September 24, 1963, the Bronx High School of Science, Bronx, New York, advised that there were some individuals at the high school, who in recent years seemed to be unusually devoted to "left wing" activities. Included in this group was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a graduate of the class of 1960, who also advised that CARMICHAEL was a close friend of EUGENE JENNINGS, JR., son of a former general secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

The Communist Party, USA has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CARMICHAEL's Immigration and Naturalization Service record in Washington, D.C., reflects that he was born June 29, 1941 in Trinidad, British West Indies and entered the United States at New York City on June 15, 1952. His father became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953, and Certificate of Citizenship Number A338082 was issued to STOKELY CARMICHAEL on April 17, 1958, setting forth that he became a citizen of the United States on April 27, 1953.

A letter issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) dated June, 1966, identifies CARMICHAEL as having been elected to the national council of that committee.

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

RUBY DORIS ROBINSON

According to ROBINSON has been associated with SNCC in various positions since about August of 1961.

In making application with the United States Post Office in Atlanta, Georgia in 1965, ROBINSON advised that she was born April 25, 1942 at Atlanta, Georgia. She gave her present position as that of being employed by SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.
CHARLES COBB

According to the records of CHARLES KARD COBB, JR., was born June 23, 1912, at Washington, D.C. His mother is identified as MARTHA and his father as CHARLES. In 1963, COBB gave his home address as 117 Buckingham Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.

On September 23, 1966 [redacted] advised that the National Communist Party Youth Conference was held on September 12 - 14, 1966, at Camp Weatuck, formerly known as Camp Unity, in Upstate New York. During this conference, BETTINA APTHEKER gave reports on the National Student Association Conference held at Urbana, Illinois, from August 21, 1966, through September 1, 1966, and the Students for a Democratic Society Conference (SDS) at Clear Lake, Iowa, which met from August 27, 1966, through September 1, 1966. In regard to the SDS Conference, APTHEKER said that it was attended by 500 to 600 white students and 5 or 6 Negroes and the most well attended workshops were those conducted on labor and "Black Power" which were led by CHARLES COBB of SNCC and ANN BRADEN.

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court, in a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, identified BRADEN and his wife, ANN BRADEN, as having been known to her as members of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1931, to shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

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

- 7 -
The "Louisville Times," Louisville, Kentucky, a newspaper of general circulation, on February 27, 1961, reported that the United States Supreme Court had, on that date, affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction of BRADEN.

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

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

On August 30, 1963, [redacted] advised that CARL BRADEN and his wife ANN are still employed as Field Secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). A characterization of SCEF is included in the appendix of this report.

RALPH FEATHERSTONE

The records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, reflect that FEATHERSTONE was born May 26, 1939 at Washington, D. C., and that his father, JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., was born July 5, 1912 at Jersey City, New Jersey, and his mother, ANNIE BROWN, was born April 19, 1913 at St. Marys County, Maryland.

He gave his employment as Field Secretary, SNCC. It is noted that the Washington, D. C., Office of SNCC is located at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.

Advised on May 28, 1965, that the following appeared on a list of individuals to whom National Committee To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (NCAHCUA) material was mailed:

RALPH FEATHERSTONE
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
A characterization of NCAHCUA is included in the appendix of this report.

IVANHOE GAYLORD DONALDSON

The records of Atlanta, Georgia, reflects that DONALDSON was born October 17, 1941, in New York, New York.

A characterization of "Freedomways" is included in the appendix of this report.

COURTLAND COX

On March 25, 1966, furnished a copy of an undated letter from GWENDOLYN PATTON, President, Tuskegee Institute Council, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, to the President of the Student Body of a state college in Alabama inviting student participation in the Alabama Student Human Relations Conference to be held at Tuskegee Institute April 14 - 16, 1966. Accompanying this letter was a program for the conference. Identified in the program as participating in the conference was BETTINA APTEKER, who was identified as Founder of the Free Speech Movement and active in the Berkeley, California crisis. Others featured on the program included COURTLAND COX who would lead a discussion on "Developing Community Issues on Campus."

advised BETTINA APTEKER is the daughter of ALBERT APTEKER, who is the Communist Party theoretician.
ROBERT SMITH

who is familiar with civil rights activities
in Mississippi, advised that SMITH, a Negro male from Hattiesburg,
Mississippi, was among a group who met on August 30, 1965, at
the Masonic Temple at Jackson, Mississippi, to hear speakers
from the State of Louisiana from the Deacons of Defense and
Justice, Incorporated. This source advised, however, that to
his knowledge SMITH is not connected with any subversive
organization.

JACK MINNIS

A review of the Military Service Record on JOHN
EDWARD MINNIS, also known as JACK MINNIS, reflects that he
enlisted in the United States Navy on December 24, 1944, and
was honorably discharged on October 7, 1947. He was born
December 19, 1926 at Blackwell, Oklahoma, and his father is
identified as JASPER/MINNIS and his mother as GLADYS/MINNIS.

It is noted that [redacted] has identified MINNIS as
a white male, who was formerly assigned to the Research
Department at the SNCC Headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, but
who as of September 27, 1966, was permanently assigned to
work with the SNCC Office in Memphis, Tennessee. This informant
advised that MINNIS is one of the three white persons still
officially associated with SNCC.

The Spring, 1965 issue of "Freedomways," Volume Five,
Number Two, identified JACK MINNIS as being a writer of an
article entitled, "The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party,"
which appears on page 264 of that issue.

advised that on February 18, 1964, a meeting
was held at Towa Hall, New York City, by the "National Guardian." According to the informant, JACK MINNIS appeared on the stage
with other speakers at this meeting.

A characterization of the "National Guardian" is
included in the appendix of this report.
FRED MEELY

On October 18, 1966, [redacted] advised that FRED MEELY, also known as CARL MEELY, had arrived in Atlanta, Georgia on October 17, 1966 from Philadelphia. According to informant, MEELY will be working in the printing department with WILSON BROWN at the SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta.

A newspaper article appearing in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 15, 1966, identifies FRED MEELY as the Director of the Philadelphia Chapter of SNCC and a member of the organization's national board.

According to the records of [redacted] FRED MEELY was age 23 in 1966; he is a Negro male, 6 feet 2 inches, 170 pounds.

JOHN LEWIS

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of June 30, 1966 reflects that JOHN LEWIS resigned June 11, 1966 effective July 22, 1966 from SNCC as he disagrees with the terminology "black power" employed by the SNCC organization. SNCC, according to LEWIS, was fumbling the ball, but he declined to specifically state that "black power" was his reason for resigning.
E. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFLTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

It is to be noted that JULIAN BOND had been denied his seat in the State of Georgia House of Representatives from the 136th District because of his views relative to his endorsement of a statement issued by SNCC relative to the American war effort in Viet Nam.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of February 21, 1966 indicating that the American Civil Liberties Union had withdrawn its legal support from BOND after two lawyers who represented Communist Cuba in this country had entered the case. The two attorneys were identified as VICTOR BARINOWITZ and LEONARD BONDIN of New York City. The article identified them as members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.
On October 14, 1965, [redacted] furnished a two-page list, handwritten and typewritten, of names and addresses of individuals and organizations who reportedly received or received bundles of "The Crusader" Magazine. According to the information furnished by this source, SNCC had received 25 copies of this magazine; later, this was increased to 100 copies, and finally reduced to 50 copies.

"The Crusader" Magazine is issued by the Revolutionary Action Movement, a characterization of which appears in the appendix of this report.

On March 14, 1966, [redacted] advised that SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, was then carried on the mailing list to receive copies of the mid-week edition of "The Worker" and the weekend edition of "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.
advised on July 12, 1966 that the eighteenth National CP Convention was held in New York City at Webster Hall June 22 through 26, 1966. According to this informant, one of the reports given in the convention called for doubling youth membership in the coming period and for quadrupling Negro youth membership as well as a youth commission which would involve at least two or three national leaders of the CP. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a report concerning the Negro question. This report called for the broadest liakup of civil rights and peace forces and an end of tokenism. LIGHTFOOT asked that the Party initiate struggles for Negro rights instead of supporting other peoples' initiatives - an admission of the coat-tail riding that seems to have escaped the comrades, would have looked interesting in print. He also pushed the Party's new idea that white comrades should work for Negro rights in the white community and leave ghetto work for the Negro comrades.

Ivanhoe Donaldson addressed the National Council meeting on June 15, 1966, with an impassioned plea for support of the SNCC program. He spoke of the likelihood of racial strife in the United States during 1966 and of the role that SNCC would play in channeling rioting conditions into social reorganization. This speaker defended the recent more militant and "racist" of the SNCC. According to AT T-20, the speaker conveyed the impression that "non-violent" may be removed from the SNCC name. It was noted that some persons attending this National Council meeting after this speech referred to SNCC as "SCC."

On one delegate's proposal that the SDS should do more in support of SNCC and should collect funds for SNCC, it was stated that SNCC raised from $600,000 to $800,000 last year, compared with the $100,000 that SDS raised. It was pointed out that SDS needed more money of its own and that the SDS is in no position to assist any other organizations financially. Support to SNCC was voted on and a resolution was voted favorably to give moral support to SNCC. Also discussed was an SDS policy of defending SNCC "racism" to the effect that such "racism" was due only to "racism" in the United States. The principal interest in the above matter concerning "racism" and the discussion of possible violence in racial matters in the United States was expressed by the Eastern and Midwestern SDS delegates and groups.

The SNCC representative mentioned above was proposed as a nominee at this National Council meeting for a position on the National Administrative Council of the SDS (NAC); however, he was not formally nominated when discussion determined he had left the conference after making his speech and in any event he was too busy with SNCC matters to effectively serve on the NAC.
A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix of this report.

On June 27, 1966, [redacted] advised that the National Convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was held June 17, through 19, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant about 200 members and 100 guests and observers including representatives of SNCC were in attendance at this meeting.

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

In addition to the above, [redacted] advised that on the evening of June 22, 1966 during the eighteenth National Convention of the CP, the Youth Panel was chaired by ALVA BUXENBAUM, who said that the most important organizations of the New Left are SNCC, SDS, and the DuBois Clubs.

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

On July 14, 1966 [redacted] advised that DCA National Executive Committee meeting was held on Monday, July 11, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant, an unnamed representative from the Atlanta Office of SNCC had announced his intention of attending a planning meeting for the Washington Action Meeting to be sponsored by the DCA.
On July 19, 1966, [redacted] advised that on July 16, 1966, a planning meeting for the proposed DuBois Clubs of America National Action was held on Saturday in Chicago, Illinois. It was announced that Franklin Alexander was then in Chicago and will be working in the national office except for one scheduled trip within about a week. When he is scheduled to go to New York to confer with Floyd McKissick of Congress of Racial Equality about the DCA National Action, then go to Baltimore to attempt to win Baltimore CORE's support for the action and then go to Atlanta to solidify the support of Stokely Carmichael and the SNCC organization.

On August 10, 1966, [redacted] made available a resolution of SNCC passed by the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society on June 18, 1966. This resolution sets forth that SDS has long maintained fraternal relations with the SNCC. SDS felt that now that SNCC is under fire from a variety of liberal organizations and publications, they felt a special urgency to restate their support of SNCC. In effect, they completely endorsed SNCC's program and expect to continue to...characterization of the YSA is found in the appendix of this report.

On July 14, 1966, [redacted] advised that DCA National Executive Committee meeting was held on Monday, July 11, 1966 in Chicago, Illinois. According to this informant, an unnamed representative from the Atlanta Office of SNCC had announced his intention of attending a planning meeting for the Washington Action Meeting to be sponsored by the DCA.
The "New York Amsterdam News," a New York City weekly newspaper, issue of September 3, 1966, page 1, described WILLIAM EPTON as the "Head of the Leftist Harlem Branch of the Progressive Labor Party."

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party appears in the appendix of this report.

advised on April 9, 1965 that a group known as Friends of SNCC requested recognition at the Washington University Campus, St. Louis, Missouri, on October 11, 1964.

advised on October 4, 1965 that JOHN NOELL was then Head of the Friends of SNCC at Washington University and among the names of those considered to assist in securing recognition for a club at Washington University Campus of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs was JOHN NOELL.

A characterization of the YSA appears in the appendix of this report.
1. DEMONSTRATIONS IN WHICH SNCC PARTICIPATED THAT WERE LED OR ORGANIZED BY INDIVIDUALS WITH REPORTED CP CONNECTIONS

On February 26, 1953, advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the CP in the District of Columbia.

Advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL attended a Labor Youth League Convention on August 13, 1950 at the Algonquin Club, 1400 Fayetteville Street, Durham, North Carolina.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 9, 1966 advised he had received a leaflet issued by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (PACEWV), which stated that the demonstration protesting United States intervention in Viet Nam would be held on February 12, 1966 beginning at noon at the Federal Building, Ninth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In part, the leaflet said that it was important that the committee show their solidarity with grass-roots movement in the South.

Advised on February 9, 1966, that the Women's Strike for Peace, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had also issued a leaflet publicizing the
February 12, 1966 demonstration indicating that the demonstration was supported by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as SNCC.

advised that the Women's Strike for Peace had mailed postal cards to over 600 Senators and Congressmen with the message to bring our sons home.

advised during September and October, 1965 that meetings of the PACEWV during these months have been attended by from 30 to 70 people including representatives of the YSA, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, the Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, SWP, CP, and other "peace" groups.

advised that officers of the PACEWV elected July 10, 1965 were Chairman, JOB LAPPE, YSA sympathizer; Vice Chairman, JULES BENJAMIN of SDS; Treasurer, MARTHA ROTENBERG of DCA, and Liaison Officer, ROBIN MAISEL, the leader of the Philadelphia Chapter of the YSA and a member of the Student Peace Union at the University of Pennsylvania.

advised on July 29, 1965 that MARTHA ROTENBERG was a member of the CP in Philadelphia.

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

The source said that on Saturday, August 6, 1966, a parade is planned to begin at 12:00 noon at Euclid Avenue and East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio, ending in a rally. Scheduled speakers will be STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC; RUTH GAGE COLBY of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); and BRONSON CLARK of the American Friends Service Committee.

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

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

Source further advised that among those listed as sponsors of the parade and rally were Dr. SIDNEY PECK, SALLY DAVIS, BERT LAIBMAN, Dr. PAUL DLYNYK, AUDA ROMINE, VIVIAN WILSON, and a representative from the Congress of Racial Equality.

Reported on May 20, 1966 that SALLY DAVIS in the past had been active in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).
advised on August 23, 1961 that PAUL OLYNYK addressed a group of college students in Cleveland, Ohio and stated, "...Communism is more morally right than our pseudo-democracy---than capitalism." OLYNYK related that to live or die for country is a fallacy of nationalism. He stated, "I am pro-Marxist and ideal communism"; he stressed the point that Russian Communism is not real Communism, any more than we are a real democracy.

furnished information on November 9, 1964 reflecting that Dr. PAUL OLYNYK was local chairman of the Cleveland Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE).

Reported in April, 1966 that in the past VIVIAN WILSON has been active in WILPF.

advised on June 14, 1966 that AUDA ROMINE is a current member of the Cleveland Branch of the SWP.
advised on July 24, 1966, that at a meeting of the St. Paul, Minnesota Chapter of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, which was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, it had been announced that a national DCA sponsored march will take place on August 27-28, 1966. It was further announced that DCA and other organizations are going to co-sponsor a "Jobs Not Guns" March on Washington on August 27-28, 1966. Some of the organizations identified that would participate in this march included SNCC and the SDS.

Advised on August 25, 1966, that on August 17, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, national leader of SNCC, was scheduled to hold a press conference in front of the New England Grass Roots Organization, a local civil rights organization, at 366 Blue Hill Avenue in the Roxbury section of Boston, Massachusetts. The conference was scheduled for 2:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL was delayed due to the strike of airlines employees and the conference was canceled.

The August 27, 1966, edition of the "Bay State Banner," a weekly Negro newspaper published by the Bay State Banner Publishing Company, 146 Warren Street, Boston, Massachusetts, in a column captioned, "Opinion from the Editor's Desk," written by the editor, BRYANT ROLLINS, discussed the appearance in Boston of both STOKELY CARMICHAEL and Minister LOUIS X of the Nation of Islam (NOI).

The article states that Minister LOUIS X, in his appearance at Patrick Campbell Junior High School in Roxbury on August 17, 1966, called for unity among Negroes.

The following afternoon, Thursday, August 18, 1966, CARMICHAEL and Minister LOUIS appeared together at a private reception and cocktail party at Estelle's Restaurant, Roxbury. They both made it clear they wanted to unity with all Negro groups regardless of their philosophy.

On that evening at 8:00 p.m., CARMICHAEL was guest speaker at a rally sponsored by SNCC at Lowell Hall, Harvard. Minister LOUIS X was in the audience and was greeted by CARMICHAEL with the traditional Muslim, "A Salaam Alaikum," and introduced to the audience.
The two appeared together again on Saturday, August 20, 1966, sharing the stage at a rally on Intervale Street, Roxbury, at 3:15 p.m.

CARMICHAEL summed up the unity he and Minister LOUIS X had been exhibiting for the past few days with these words:

"We're going to turn our ghettos into communities of love, love for each other.

"Our only salvation lies in coming together whether we like each other or not.

"We've got to move and come together to control the politics and economy of our own communities so that the money comes back into our communities and not out to the suburbs."

Both Minister LOUIS and CARMICHAEL were emphatic in their contention that the theme for Negro progress is "self love" to replace the "self hate" that has hampered progress and unity for so long.

Concerning the rally on Intervale Street on Saturday afternoon, August 20, 1966 -- previously mentioned, advised on August 25, 1966, that the purpose of the rally was to allow STOKELY CARMICHAEL to speak to persons in the Roxbury-Dorchester area. He said the Negro should run the white merchants out of business because they have been selling the Negro rotten meat for so long and taking the Negro's money out of the neighborhood. He said the audience should have burned them out a long time ago. He supported Minister LOUIS' statement that the white man was trying to kill the Negro off by the war and birth control pills. Both Minister LOUIS and CARMICHAEL said the press should not be allowed into Negro communities since it distorts the truth.
A characterization of NOI is included in the appendix of this report.

On August 16, 1966, a handout was made available a handout calling for a demonstration and rally on August 17, 1966, from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. at Washington Square, New York City, to protest the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings. The sponsors listed on the handout were Americans for Democratic Action; Campus Americans for Democratic Action; Students for a Democratic Society; National Student Christian Federation and SNCC.

On August 17, 1966, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed the above described demonstration and rally which was attended by a crowd of about 300 mostly "beatnik" types.

The speakers included: ED KOCH, New York City Councilman and Democratic District leader, Greenwich Village, New York City, who advocated the protection of civil liberties and freedom of speech; JEROME WILSON, candidate for Congress, 17th District, New York City, who pledged non-support of the HCUA if elected; New York City Councilman TED WEISS, 19th District, New York City, candidate for Congress, who pledged non-support of the HCUA if elected; New York State Assemblyman SEYMOUR POSNER, Bronx, New York; New York City Councilman ARTHUR KATZMAN, Queens, New York; FRANK MERRELL (phonetic),
described as a West Side New York City Democratic leader; Paul Krassner, Editor of "The Realist," who criticized the above mentioned candidate for "using the rally as a political back drop for personal use," and recommended other such demonstrations advocate the impeachment of Vice President Hubert Humphrey; and S. breathing (phonetic), who claimed she was a witness at the HCUA hearings in Washington, D.C., on August 16, 1966.

On October 10, 1966, [redacted] advised that Theodore Weiss was a speaker at an ECLC meeting held in New York City on October 6, 1964.

On February 24, 1964 and March 9, 1964, [redacted] advised that Paul Krassner, 318 East 18th Street, New York, New York, was a subscriber to "The Worker." This subscription was to expire on January 10, 1965.

On July 14, 1965, [redacted] advised that a Militant Labor Forum (MLF), which was sponsored by the New York Local, Socialist Workers Party (SWP, NYL) in New York, New York, was held on July 9, 1965 at 116 University Place, New York, New York. Paul Krassner, editor of "The Realist" was the speaker.

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

On August 17, 1966, [redacted] advised that the Program Chairman of the instant rally was Claudia Dreifus, National Chairman, Campus Committee for Democratic Action.

On August 18, 1966, an SA, FBI, ascertained by means of a pretext that Steve Max was the master of ceremonies at instant rally.

[Redacted] advised on February 4, 1958 that Steve Max was elected Vice Chairman of the YSA on January 29, 1958. He is the son of Allan Max, a former member of the Editorial Staff of the "Daily Worker" according to this source.
advised on June 7, 1965, that at a meeting of the SWP, NYL held on June 3, 1965, in New York City, it was announced that STEVE MAX is a former member of the YSA who left the YSA to join the Students for a Democratic Society.
2. INDIVIDUALS WITH CP BACKGROUND ASSOCIATED WITH OR REPRESENTING SNCC

The "Detroit News," a Detroit daily metropolitan newspaper, in its issue of January 21, 1966, on page 7-D, contained an obituary notice concerning the death of BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL on November 24, 1965. This notice in part, advised that memorial tributes may be sent to the SNCC, Detroit, Michigan.

On June 18, 1963, advising that BENJAMIN FRANCIS KOCEL was a member of the Michigan District CP.

On November 5, 1963, one described KOCEL as a "screwball" who was formerly a member of the Michigan District CP.

On November 5, 1965, the advised KOCEL was a financial contributor to the American Institute for Marxist Studies during 1964 and 1965.

A characterization of the American Institute for Marxist Studies is contained in the appendix of this report.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" on September 28, 1966, reflecting that WILLIAM F. KUNSTLER, a New York attorney, involved in the disruption last month of a Congressional investigation of Communist activities, appeared in Federal District Court in Atlanta on behalf of STOKELY CARMICHAEL. In this connection, it will be noted that a three-judge panel was to hold preliminary hearings on a suit brought by CARMICHAEL seeking to prevent the City of Atlanta and the State of Georgia from prosecution
on charges of riot, insurrection, and disorderly conduct. It is to be noted that CARMICHAEL had been arrested on September 7, 1966 by the City of Atlanta for his alleged participation in a racial disorder that developed in Atlanta on September 6, 1966.
3. INVITATION BY GROUP FOR SNCC SPEAKERS

Advised on February 1, 1966 that JULIAN BOND arrived at the Los Angeles International Airport on February 1, 1966.

On February 3, 1966, advised that after JULIAN BOND had appeared on the Louis Lomax Show, he went to the Ambassador Hotel, where a reception was being held in his honor by the Californians for Liberal Representation. (The Californians for Liberal Representation is self described in its literature as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action." BOND spoke at the reception for about five minutes, centering his talk around his not being seated in the Georgia Legislature.

A characterization of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born appears in the appendix of this report.

On February 28, 1966, advised that the Third Annual Conference of the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was held on Saturday, February 28, 1966 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

According to BOND talked on the civil rights movement in the southern United States and his talk lasted for approximately one hour. He covered such items as how long he would be in the civil rights movement and claimed that the civil rights bill was passed primarily because of the efforts of SNCC.

A characterization of the ICC appears in the appendix of this report.
On September 14, 1966, advised a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation he had received information from indicating that the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice (UFSJ) had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL of SNCC to speak in Columbus, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m., September 17, 1966, at the Chittenden Hotel.

According learned tickets for the speech were to be $.75 for adults and $.50 for students, and reportedly the net proceeds would be donated to the SNCC.

OSCAR SMILACK

Advised in October, 1944, that OSCAR SMILACK was a member of the Communist Political Association (CPA) in 1944.

Advised in March, 1945 that SMILACK was a member of the CPA in 1945. That same source advised in October, 1946, that SMILACK had been a member of the CP since 1938. He attended meetings of the CP and CPA from 1944 to 1949 and contributed large amounts of money to the CP and CPA from 1945 to 1951.
advised on various dates in 1950 and 1951 that SMILACK attended CP meetings in the Columbus, Ohio, area during the period of 1950 to 1951.

OSCAR SMILACK paid a fine of $300.00 and costs in Franklin County, Ohio, Common Pleas Court in May, 1954, for contempt for refusal to answer questions of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission in May, 1953.
WILLIAM HALL was interviewed by another agency of the United States Government on June 20, 1966 at Sofia, Bulgaria, and furnished the following information:

He said that he was attending the Seventh Congress of WFDY as a representative of SNCC. He stated he came directly from the United States and was returning by way of Copenhågen to New York and is a full-time worker for SNCC. HALL stated that he is not a CP member and has been opposed to the United States CP for many years.

Regarding Viet Nam, HALL stated he had talked to Vietnamese representatives but did not know whether they represented the North or South. He said he thought he detected an attitude of reason among these delegates in regard to negotiations.
On June 14, 1966, a representative of the FBI reviewed the passport file on STANLEY LEROY WISE at the United States Department of State. This file indicates his occupation as organizer and fund raiser for SNCC and that his permanent residence was 360 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia. WISE was issued Passport Number F-986740 on November 12, 1965 and indicated that he would leave New York on November 29, 1965 via Pan American Airways for a three to six weeks stay abroad to France, England, Germany, and Union of Soviet Socialists Republic for education and lecturing.

WISE has advised that WISE would travel to the Soviet Union in 1965 - 1966.

On June 14, 1966, a review of the files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, by a representative of the FBI, reflects that DWIGHT JOHN WILLIAMS made application January 19, 1966 for a passport. He was issued Passport Number G-133150 on January 24, 1966. He indicated he would leave New York on February 1, 1966 for a three weeks stay abroad to France and Russia for the purpose of the visit.

WISE has advised WILLIAMS, a worker for SNCC, traveled to the Soviet Union in 1966.

The May 22, 1966, issue of "The Sunday Star," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, contains an article entitled "A Mystery Man Talks About Himself," which is an interview of LOWELL D. PRATT by LARRY A. STILL "Star" staff writer. In this article, PRATT describes himself as an adviser to MARION BARRY, Director of the Washington Office of the SNCC.

The above article states that BARRY considered PRATT to be just another member of his group, but the article describes PRATT as the "brains" of SNCC's bus boycott of the District of Columbia Transit Company and as a key planner of the Free D. C. Movement, controversial campaign to boycott merchants who oppose Home Rule in the District, and solicit funds from those who support the issue.
The May 29, 1966, issue of "The Washington Post," a Washington, D. C. newspaper, contained an article entitled "Consumer Co-op Flights Takeover Plan." This article reported that LOWELL D. PRATT, representing the Washington-Baltimore Freedom Partnership, attempted to gain control of the Greenbelt, Maryland Consumers Co-op. The article said PRATT first submitted a plan to have himself installed as Assistant Manager of one of the cooperative's twelve supermarkets, which was rejected. He later organized a campaign to take over the cooperative by putting up candidates for five of the nine seats on the Board of Directors. Resident Manager ROBERT E. MEBROW of the cooperative was quoted in the article as saying PRATT was accompanied to the cooperative when he presented his program by RALPH FEATHERSTONE, a worker in the local office of SNCC.

Advised in June, 1966, that RALPH FEATHERSTONE, one of the individuals recently elected to the Central Committee of SNCC, is to go to Japan sometime this summer, and that the purpose of the trip was unknown.

On August 23, 1966, advised that LOWELL D. PRATT and RALPH FEATHERSTONE had gone to Tokyo, Japan, to look into some kind of business deal. This source could furnish no further details regarding the deal or their travel.

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 17, 1966, bearing London date-line, reflecting that SNCC will help prepare evidence for the "War Crimes," which aged British Philosopher Lord BERTRAND RUSSELL plans to hold in Paris, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced. The spokesman for the Communist-line Foundation said members of SNCC under the leadership of National Chairman STOKELY CARMICHAEL will go to North Viet Nam as part of the international investigating committee gathering evidence with which to "indict" President LYNDON B. JOHNSON "and other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Viet Nam."

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

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

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

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

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

SUTHERLAND stated that CARMICHAEL would definitely not be the SNCC representative to the "Tribunal" as it is expected to last about three months, and CARMICHAEL is too busy and would be unable to leave his work here with SNCC.
5. STATEMENT BY SNCC REGARDING THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIET NAM

On March 28, 1966 [redacted] furnished a letter of the ECLC dated March 17, 1966, which was signed by CLARK FOREMAN. This letter states that it is hoped the enclosed issue of "Rights" dealing with the various "issues raised by the draft will promote discussion." Enclosed with the letter was the January, February, March, 1966 issue of "Rights," a publication of the ECLC. Appearing on page 16 of "Rights" is the following statement:

"STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE POSITION"

"We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to U. S. aggression in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country. We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 percent of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a 'democracy' which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask: Where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

"We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam."
On July 1, 1966, furnished a copy of a statement issued by SNCC on the Viet Nam War. Pertinent portions of this statement are set forth below:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent from the United States foreign policy on any issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to United States' involvement in Vietnam on these grounds.

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself.

"We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies."
"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

On August 9, 1966, [redacted] advised that on Saturday, August 6, 1966; the Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a rally at the Manger Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio. Among the speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who spoke briefly on the decay of Western civilization and said that the United States must be brought to its knees, and that he, CARMICHAEL, opposes the draft, particularly that of black man. CARMICHAEL said that any black man who fights in this country is a black missionary. CARMICHAEL questions the right of the United States and England to determine the right of any African Asian country for their independence self-government. He believes every country has the right of self-determination. CARMICHAEL roundly criticized reactionary and left-wing groups for appealing to the wrong groups of people. They ought to encourage white youths not to enter the draft. Reactionary groups do not set policy but depend on the reaction of the President. Finally, he added in disgust August 6, a day of regret (day 1/40 million Japanese were killed) is the President's day of jubilation, referring to his daughter's wedding.
APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, when the Communist Party itself is under fire, these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."


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

A second source advised on May 23, 1962, that the Philadelphia Associates have not been active in the past two years, have no current active membership, and do not maintain a headquarters in Philadelphia.
"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

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

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

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

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source states that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.
CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA ABEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

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

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC):

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as communists. (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27, and 28, 1963.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of that date the NCAHUAC continued to function with headquarters at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.

On March 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that James Jackson, accompanied by his wife, Esther Jackson, was scheduled to depart on March 25, 1966, from the United States en route to Moscow to attend the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union. This source described James Jackson as a member of the National Committee, CPUSA.
FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

This source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA, as being a member of its National Committee.

On January 30, 1961, Pennsylvania, advised that he was still in the CP and that the CP is his whole life.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.
The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" dated January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

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

1 REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization was begun in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of
Dom Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM chairman with Maxwell Stamford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

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

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM. This source further advised that so far as is known, Freeman, Stamford, and Wahab still occupy positions of leadership in RAM.
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

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

As a result of this meeting of the National Party Youth Commission, it was decided to work through SDS where there are strong local SDS chapters.
W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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

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

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


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

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.
In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

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

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised that Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.
A source advised on May 20, 1966, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP New York Local, usually on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters, 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.
AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the New England District Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), held in Boston, Massachusetts, Herbert Aptheker stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, and Archeology, and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that Herbert Aptheker was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, Herbert Aptheker spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. Aptheker stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of McCarran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 6, 1966, that, as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.
LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104 describes this committee as follows:

"A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950 and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees *** constitute *** one organization within the meaning of the *** statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General".

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12 and 51.)

"Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born' their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.'
"Control of the local organizations *** was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the Party *** The local affiliates *** were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.


A source advised on December 2, 1965 that in June, 1965, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had elected to expand its defense activity to include individuals who were not foreign born and that on September 15, 1965 the organization became officially known as the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born. Source further advised that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born, still referred to as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born by many individuals, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.
INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE (ICC)

A source advised the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC) was initiated and formed by the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), in October, 1962 to build a left-center organization which would be able to initiate political activity. As of May 4, 1964, the policies of ICC were dominated by the CPEPD through Communist Party members who were officers and members of the ICC.

On May 21, 1965 this same source advised the ICC continues to operate under the domination of the CPEPD.
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning World Federation of Democratic Youth:

"1. 'The YAD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. ** From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. ** So strong was the Communist domination at the London conference that it aroused the deepest concern of the English bishops.' Also cited as one of the 'long established Soviet-controlled international organizations' which 'speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy' and which has 'affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the "peace" campaign.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on the American Youth for Democracy April 17, 1947, pp. 12 and 13; and House Report 378 on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77.)"

"2. Cited as being among 'international Communist fronts ** functioning at the present time.'

"(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)"
Communist Infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, Georgia dated and captioned as above.

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

[Redacted] who has furnished insufficient information to judge reliability

[Redacted] who has furnished insufficient information so as to verify accuracy.

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

REPORTING OFFICE
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
6/12/67

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
5/1/67 - 5/25/67

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REFERENCES:

LEADS

FOR INFORMATION OF ALL CONTINENTAL OFFICES

One copy of report is furnished all continental offices in view of possible attraction of students and individuals with connections from every area of the United States.

All offices should remain alert and report any information indicating SA members are engaging in activities of SWCC.

Legislation in matters of SWCC relating to civil rights matters should not be reported under the caption of this case.

Approved

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

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AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

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Used to characterize JIMMY GARRETT

Used to characterize FRANCES HARTSTEIN

Used to characterize FRANCES HARTSTEIN

Used to characterize EMMA GELDERS STERNE

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Administrative

Agents observing SIDNEY POITIER on 9/12/55 were and and on 9/14/55 were

The agents interviewing were and on 12/29/54

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(COVER PAGE)
The interview of [redacted] and [redacted] on 10/25/66 was conducted in an effort to establish facts for item appearing in Atlanta Constitution by RALPH W. WILB, alleging "Castro Money" was being used to support SNCC in the U.S.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Report of:
Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: June 12, 1967

Title:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SECRET

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AT 100-6488

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DETAILS:

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interests in the legitimate activities of SNCC.
II. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Information received from [redacted] on May 31, 1967, reflects that the National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia.

According to the current Atlanta telephone directory, SNCC subscribes to telephone number 688-0331.

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On May 12, 1967, [redacted] Atlanta, Georgia, advised that on that date the SNCC had called a press conference at Paschals' Brothers Restaurant on Hunter Street in Atlanta for the purpose of announcing the results of the Central Committee election of SNCC officers for 1967. During this announcement, SNCC issued a leaflet to all in attendance announcing their policy for the coming year. This announcement is as follows:

"In our staff meeting held during the past week, the organization voted that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a Human Rights Organization, interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that, in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Viet Nam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We shall seek to build a strong nation-wide Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include high school students, along with college students, and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men, who are daily murdered physically, and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Viet Nam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of national freedom organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters
who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objective will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country, and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals."

On October 25, 1966, [redacted] was interviewed relative to another matter and during this interview he said that [redacted]. He said that SNCC does not have a "membership" as such and the only persons officially affiliated with SNCC are those carried on its payroll, which numbers approximately 130 persons over the entire country.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

On May 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC had originally planned to hold their annual Central Committee meeting at the Dorchester Community, which is located near Midway, Georgia, from May 1, 1967, to May 7, 1967. However, according to STOKELY CAR-MICHAEL, the National Chairman of SNCC, it had not been possible for SNCC to get a quorum of the Central Committee together to hold this meeting; therefore, it was postponed until the week of May 8-13, 1967, and would be held in Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] said that an official announcement of the election of the officers for 1967 was made on May 12, 1967, and they were identified as follows:

H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman

[redacted], Executive Secretary

ETHEL MINOR, Communications Director

RALPH EDWARD WEATHERSTONE, Program Director
Concerning the above captioned individuals, the following information is set forth:

**STANLEY LEROY WISE**

On June 14, 1966, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), reviewed the passport file on STANLEY LEROY WISE at the United States Department of State (USDS), and noted the following information:

WISE made application for a passport on November 9, 1965, at Atlanta, Georgia, and passport number F-986740, was issued on November 12, 1965, which excluded travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea, and Viet Nam under Communist control. WISE indicated in his application that he would depart from New York, New York, on November 29, 1965, via Pan American Airways for a three to six weeks stay abroad to France, England, Germany, and the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics for education and lecturing. He furnished the following information concerning himself:

- **Date of Birth**: June 12, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina
- **Permanent Residence**: Atlanta, Georgia
- **Father**: CLARENCE E., born November 2, 1902, at Batesville, South Carolina
- **Mother**: JOSPEPHINE B., born February 14, 1917, at Ridgeway, South Carolina
- **Height**: 5 feet 10½ inches
- **Hair**: Black
- **Eyes**: Brown
- **Marks**: Scar on lower right arm
- **Occupation**: Organizer and fund-raiser, SNCC
- **Marital Status**: Never married

WISE requested that his parents be notified at Charlotte, North Carolina, in the event of death or accident.

**RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE**

advised on May 28, 1965, that the following appeared on a list of individuals to whom National Committee
to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC) material was mailed:

RALPH FEATHERSTONE
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

The current Washington, D. C., telephone directory contains a listing for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

The NCAHUAC is characterized in the Appendix of this report.

 advise on December 27, 1965, that the National Membership Conference of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) convened at the University of Illinois on this date. According to , RALPH FEATHERSTONE, 1405 Ridge Place, Southeast, Washington, D. C., was one of those who registered for this conference at the Channing Murray Foundation, Urbana, Illinois.

The April 18, 1965, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," a Washington, D. C., newspaper, contained an article entitled "Viet Nam War Protest is Staged by 16,000." This article stated that thousands had picketed the White House and then marched on the Capitol the day before in a demonstration against American policy in Viet Nam. The article stated this demonstration was sponsored by the SDS and the article quoted one of the demonstrators, RALPH FEATHERSTONE, a 25 year old veteran of the SNCC's campaigns as stating "The people here are the ones who move in this country."

On September 7, 1966, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation reviewed a file at the Passport Office, United States Department of State, on RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, who applied for a passport on May 23, 1966. It was noted that he was issued passport Number G-574248 on the same date for proposed travel to Japan for one month, departing June 1, 1966, by air from a port not shown for the purpose of education. This passport carries a restriction excluding travel to Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea and Viet Nam under Communist control.

In making application for above passport, FEATHERSTONE furnished the following additional information:
Date of Birth
May 28, 1939, at Washington, D. C.

Marital Status
Single

Height
5 feet 10 inches

Hair
Black

Eyes
Brown

Occupation
SNCC, Field Secretary

Parents
JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, SR., born July 5, 1912, at Jersey City, New Jersey, and ANNIE BROWN, born April 19, 1913, St. Mary's County, Maryland

FEATHERSTONE listed the person to be notified in the event of accident or death as JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, JR., a brother, in Washington, D. C.

In connection with the aforementioned election, it is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the former National Chairman of SNCC, Mrs. RUBY DORIS ROBINSON was the Executive Secretary and CLEVELAND SELLERS was the Program Director.

V. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY

advised on September 26, 1966, and October 3, 1966, that the National Coordinating Committee of the Du Bois Club of America (DCA) met at the Peloria Club in New York City from September 15-17, 1966. According to this informant, a discussion was held on black power. This discussion was led by MARY SMITH. The Du Bois Club endorsed the concept of black power as a revolutionary step forward in the struggle of the Negro people. The organization's position on black power is to be written by FRANKLIN ALEXANDER and CHUCK HARRIS and in consultation with other Negro leaders of the DCA and is to be circulated nationally. The National Committee sent a telegram to STOKELY CARMICHAEL pledging full support for his fight against the police department in Atlanta, Georgia.
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In this regard it will be noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been arrested by the Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta, Georgia, and charged with "Inciting to Riot" which charge arose out of CARMICHAEL'S participation in a racial disturbance in Atlanta during August of 1966.

A characterization of DCA is included in the Appendix of this report.

A characterization of RAM appears in the Appendix of this report.
On January 6, 1967, [redacted] advised that the Progressive Labor Party, Los Angeles Club, held a meeting on January 1, 1967, of the general membership at 448 West Moreland Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Informant said that one CHRIS RAISNER who was in attendance at this general membership meeting said that SNCC is one of the organizations that is the closest friend the Progressive Labor Party has. He said that JAMES FORMAN (a SNCC member) and JOHN LEWIS (formerly connected with SNCC) and most of the leadership of SNCC have taken Progressive Labor Party courses in Marxism-Leninism and are fairly well versed in it.

A characterization of the Progressive Labor Party, Los Angeles Club, appears in the Appendix of this report.

A characterization of the AAMA is contained in the Appendix of this report.
A. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

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

JUAN ERIE BRAS is the self-admitted Interim Secretary General of the WPIPR.

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the Appendix of this report.
JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General of the MPIPR; PEDRO BAIGES CHAPEL, Secretary of Organization of the MPIPR; and JUAN ANGEL SILEN, the leader of the youth group of the MPIPR, along with approximately 200 sympathizers, most of whom were students, were at the airport to greet CARWICHAEL.

advised that violence during the march was a possibility.

The "San Juan Star," an English language newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, carried an article on pages one and fourteen of its January 26, 1967, edition dealing with a protest march stated on January 25, 1967, by members of the FUPI and MPIPR and lead by STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

As the marchers passed in front of the Inter-American University Building in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, rocks, beer cans, and oranges were thrown from the direction of that building.
stated that upon arrival in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, CARMICHAEL addressed an audience at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts consisting of approximately 500 individuals. CARMICHAEL's theme was Black Power and the struggle of Puerto Rico against the colonization of the island by the United States.

According to CARMICHAEL returned to the San Juan, Puerto Rico, area via a Caribair flight which left Mayaguez at approximately 1:00 p.m., January 26, 1967.

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

The SNCC newsletter dated November, 1966, reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of SNCC, would be in the Bay Area from November 18 to 23, 1966, and would spend most of his time meeting with black community groups.

On November 17, 1966, CARMICHAEL appeared on KCBS Radio, San Francisco, California, at 8:35 p.m. in an interview and question program called "Contact". On this program CARMICHAEL said he was
in San Francisco to speak in various communities so as to help SNCC organize the black groups in the city. He stated that the SNCC position is anti-war and anti-draft. He said a SNCC representative would be sent to the War Crimes Tribunal in Brussels when it convenes.

On November 18, 1966, CARMICHAEL appeared at San Francisco State College (SFSC) in the Main Auditorium at 3:00 p.m. under the sponsorship of the SFSC Black Students Union headed by JIMMY GARRETT. According to the SFSC "Daily Gater", a student publication, dated November 21, 1966, CARMICHAEL attacked what he termed, "our racist society", and struck out against the draft.

advised on June 3, that JIMMY GARRETT is a member of both SNCC and the W.E.B. Du Bois Club.

advised that CARMICHAEL was scheduled to appear on November 19, 1966, in San Jose, California. FRANCES HARTSTEIN was named chairman of the committee to welcome and entertain CARMICHAEL while in San Jose, which was to include a cocktail party and reception in the Willow Glen area.

The San Jose "Mercury" for November 14, 1966, carried an article which reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would speak here Saturday night November 19, 1966, at 8:00 p.m. in the Roosevelt Junior High School auditorium. The article stated that his appearance would be under the auspices of the Santa Clara Friends of SNCC and that Mrs. EMMA GELDERS-STERNE, Co-chairman of the
committee, said CARMICHAEL could be expected to cover a wide range of civil rights questions.

stated that CARMICHAEL appeared at the Franklyn Junior High School, 1150 Virginia Street, Berkeley, California, on November 20, 1966, under the auspices of SNCC, Afro-American Student Union of the University of California and the Oakland Direction Action Committee. At this function, MARX COMFORT was in charge of security and had several teenagers guarding the entrances and exits. During his speech, CARMICHAEL remarked on how good the security was. His overall speech varied little from those previously given on racism, black power, and violence.

Characterizations of the Oakland Direct Action Committee and MARX COMFORT appear in the Appendix of this report.

On January 30, 1967, [redacted] advised that it was announced that the NPI—New York Mission would co-sponsor a demonstration with SNCC at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Park Avenue and 49th Street, New York City, on January 30, 1967, at 11:00 a.m.

B. AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING CP BACKGROUND

-18-
The PIAR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. During the above interview, WILLIAMS stated that because his organization was placed on the Attorney General's list, the organization was hurt. He formerly had several offices, but at the time of the interview he, himself, was doing most of the work.

On July 7, 1953, JOSEPH Z. KORNEDER, an admitted former Communist Party member and a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, testified before the HUAC in New York City regarding Communist infiltration of religious groups. He was asked if WILLIAMS was a member of the CP and he testified he was certain WILLIAMS was a member of the CP by the nature of his activities, but whether he ever met him in the Party, he did not recall. He testified the CP attempted to use the PIAR in order to get at the people in the South "through a religious-looking front."
The NCACP and the American Peace Crusade have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On February 7, 1967, [redacted] advised that on the evening of January 27, 1967, a dinner-dance was held at Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise, 2294 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which affair was held for the benefit of SNCC. [Redacted] further advised that Big Wilt's Smalls Paradise is owned by WILT-CHAMBERLAIN of the Philadelphia 76ers National Basketball Association basketball team. [Redacted] stated that admission to this affair was $10.00 per person and the affair lasted from approximately 10:00 p.m. on January 27, 1967, to 3:00 a.m. on January 28, 1967. [Redacted] further stated that Mrs. HARRY-BELAFONTE, wife of Negro singer HARRY BELAFONTE, was the chairlady of the committee which ran this affair and SIDNEY-POITIER, a Negro actor, was the master-of-ceremonies of the affair. According to this informant, among those in attendance at this affair, in addition to Mrs. HARRY BELAFONTE and SIDNEY POITIER, were STOKELEY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC; HARRY BELAFONTE and OSSIE DAVIS, a Negro actor. [Redacted] related that there were about 300 people in attendance at this affair and HARRY BELAFONTE was among those who entertained.

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

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
With respect to SIDNEY POITIER, mentioned above, the following is noted:

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

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.
With respect to OSSIE DAVIS, mentioned above, the following is noted:

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

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

VI. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION
A. THE BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

An article from "The Washington Post and Times Herald" captioned "War Trial Backers Unmoved At Losses", datelined November 14, 1966, London, noted that BERTRAND RUSSELL had been meeting with eleven members of the Tribunal preparing plans for a twelve week inquiry into the Viet Nam war, now scheduled to begin next March in Paris.
B. ORGANIZATION OF SNCC CHAPTERS

Advised on November 18, 1966, that SNCC got its first start in Houston, Texas, on October 6, 1966, in the religion center at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, under the auspices of Reverend EARL ALLEN, Methodist minister at the University. This meeting was called at the end of a three day speaking engagement by JAMES FORMAN, manager of the National Office of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. The United Ministers were the sponsors of FORMAN'S appearance during their Mono-Discourse Series which is an annual event for the ministers. FORMAN indicated that his primary purpose in coming to Houston was to try to recruit members to organize a SNCC Chapter for the Houston area. Students who listened to him were asked to give their names and addresses so that they may receive literature from SNCC. As of November 18, 1966, no students have been known to receive any literature, and membership at TSU is about twelve. There is no SNCC organization elsewhere in Houston.

On November 21, 1966, Tennessee A & I University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that a very small group of students led by two Tennessee A & I students by the names of ROBERT CHARLES BUTLER and FRED BROOKS are attempting to gain recognition for SNCC from the University administration and student body; however, such efforts to date have not been successful. Further advised that under present circumstances it would be highly unlikely that SNCC would receive any sort of recognition from Tennessee A & I.

VII. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SNCC

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On May 13, 1966, Office of the Secretary of State for the State of Delaware, Dover, Delaware, made available the files of that office pertaining to the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc. The annual report of the Foundation for 1965 was received and filed in that office on December 8, 1965. That annual report reflected that one LUCILLE PERLMAN, no address listed, was the Vice President of the Foundation and one LUCILLE PERLMAN, 295 East 17th Street, Brooklyn, New York, was a Director of the Foundation.

A characterization of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation is included in the Appendix of this report.

An article appearing in the "Atlanta Voice", a daily newspaper in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 19, 1967, reflects that Attorney and Mrs. HOWARD MOORE had given the first of several fund-raising parties for SNCC at their residence on March 11, 1967. According to this article the party was both a financial and a social success and was attended by persons prominent in the civil rights field.
APPENDIX

LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION,
INCORPORATED

Records of the Secretary of State, Corporation Department, State of Delaware, as made available on March 30, 1961, reflect that a Certificate of Incorporation was filed on August 24, 1944, for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, and the nature of business was - to undertake, promote, develop and carry on religious, charitable, scientific, literary and/or educational work. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was recorded as President of this foundation.

A source advised on May 2, 1966, that VICTOR RABINOWITZ is President of the foundation, and the address of the foundation is 30 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

A fourth source advised that HERBERT APHEXER was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

It is publicly known that W. E. B. DU BOIS died on August 28, 1963. At that time he had been residing in Ghana, having become a citizen of that country. He was the guest of President KWAME NKRAIUMAH, and he had become Director of the Encyclopedia Africana, which was sponsored by the Government of Ghana. In the fall of 1961, at the age of 93, he joined the CP.
A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

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

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

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
OAKLAND DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE, also known as Oakland Direct Action for Freedom Now, ODAC

On February 9, 1965, a source advised that on that date at Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) headquarters, 8512 East 14th Street, Oakland, California, MARK EVERETT COMFORT, Chairman of ODAC, held a press conference. COMFORT stated that the objective of ODAC was to organize the Negro community, particularly in the eastern section of Oakland, commonly known as East Oakland. He said that ODAC would make demands for equal housing, equal job opportunities and living conditions and would educate the Negro community to realize that "things are not as good as they seem." COMFORT said that ODAC, in contrast to existing civil rights organizations, would strongly emphasize police brutality.

The January 25, 1964, issue of the "People's World" (PW), page 3, contains an invitation to the 26th anniversary celebration of the PW, to be held on February 1, 1964, in San Francisco, California. This invitation lists MARK COMFORT as one of four special guests to be honored at this celebration.

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

A second source advised that MARK COMFORT attended the National convention of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) held in New York City April 15-19, 1965, as a delegate and was assigned to the "Black Liberation" workshop.

A fourth source advised that as of April 1966, ODAC is operating out of COMFORT's residence, 6914 Lockwood Avenue, Oakland, where COMFORT is assisted by his wife and a Negro teen-age gang known as the Alma Boy Dukes.
MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO
(Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)

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

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

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

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.
FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO INDEPENDENCIA
(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE)

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

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

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

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

A third source advised May 15, 1966, that Perez Perez was scheduled to attend a "Communist youth conference" in Moscow as the FUPI representative.
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, LOS ANGELES CLUB

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the Los Angeles Club of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is affiliated with the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) with headquarters in San Francisco, California. The aims and purposes of the Los Angeles Club and the BAPLP are identical to those of the National PLP, with headquarters in New York City. The PLP is pro-Chinese Communist oriented.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and
Publications," issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on
Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, page
115, contains the following citation regarding the National
Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee
(NCAUAC):

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer
of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation
Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this
group have been identified as communists. (Committee on
Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth
About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3,
1961, p. 5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its
name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its
name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to
Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).
A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago,
Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of
that date the NCAHUAC continued to function with headquarters
at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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

A source advised on May 11, 1966, that the African American Heritage Association (AAHA) with headquarters at 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, was known as the Afro-American Heritage Association until February, 1961. It was founded by ISHMAEL FLORY around 1958 and incorporated in the State of Illinois as a non-profit organization. It was founded ostensibly for the purpose of teaching African history and culture to American Negroes. AAHA is strongly influenced by the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois. It is represented by both communist and non-communist members, and some people with strong Negro nationalistic tendencies. This organization reflects CP policy on some issues and opposes CP policy on others; for example, the CP rejects the concept of Afro-American as a reference term to the American Negro and rejects aspects of nationalism, both of which are reflected in the AAHA program. FLORY is a member of the CP of Illinois and theoretically under the discipline of the CP. He is the guiding force in AAHA and controls policy and decisions in AAHA.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois, is a friend of ISHMAEL FLORY. LIGHTFOOT and other CP representatives occasionally are featured at AAHA affairs.

A second source advised on May 11, 1966, that in 1962 the CP worked with FLORY to organize AAHA Chapters under the leadership of CP members. The aim of this program included the reactivation of ex-CP members and recruitment of new CP members. This program was never successful and became defunct in 1963.

The second source advised on January 9, 1967, that during the first week of January, 1967, the AAHA moved their headquarters from 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, to 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago.
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

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

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was 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.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

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

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD, now residing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On January 23, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM.
PARTIDO COMUNISTA PUERTORRIQUEÑO
(COMMUNIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO) (PCP)

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

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

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

SECRET

-37-
Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF THE STUDENT NON-
VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of SA [redacted]
at Atlanta,
Georgia, dated and cap-
tioned as above.

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

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
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be distributed outside your agency.
SECTION 1 CONTINUED
Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
FROM: Mr. R. W. Smith  
SUBJECT: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

DATE: August 8, 1967

Approval is requested for captioned monograph to be disseminated to all field offices and Legal Attaches and to interested Government agencies and officials on the enclosed list.

This monograph depicts the evolution of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Created in 1960, SNCC veered to its present course when Stokely Carmichael became national chairman in May, 1966, and popularized the slogan of "Black Power."

Now, under the flagrantly incendiary leadership of H. Rap Brown, SNCC is motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with American society makes it a potent threat to racial peace.

The enclosed monograph has been proofread by the Reading Room. Upon approval, it should be returned to the Central Research Unit of the Research-Satellite Section, where arrangements will be made for its printing and distribution.

RECOMMENDATION: ST-104 REC-34 100-439190-1386

That this monograph, the yellow file copy of which is enclosed, be approved for dissemination to all field offices and Legal Attaches and for mailing without cover letters in accordance with previously approved procedure, to the Government officials and agencies on the enclosed list.

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Central Intelligence Agency
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Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

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Office of Security
Department of the Treasury
Room 1308, Main Treasury Building
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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was created in 1960 as a nonviolent civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter-registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South. While attracting the most militant workers, both Negro and white, it practiced nonviolence despite repeated incidents where SNCC followers were clubbed, tear-gassed, beaten, whipped, shot, and even killed.

By 1965, however, SNCC began to shift its orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing integration toward one seeking political and economic power for the Negro. It also began to protest United States policy in Vietnam and referred to Negro soldiers fighting there as "black mercenaries."

When Stokely Carmichael emerged as SNCC national chairman in 1966 and popularized the slogan of "Black Power," SNCC began a radical change from a dedicated, peaceful civil rights organization to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Today, its leaders, particularly Carmichael and present national chairman H. Rap Brown, travel around the country inciting violence not only against
the white people but also against the Negro middle class. SNCC is now an almost entirely Negro organization and has been referred to as a Ku Klux Klan in reverse—a black Klan.

SNCC is one of the foremost components of the New Left organizations and has cooperated with Communist Left groups as well on various occasions. It has also participated in joint activity with other Negro protest groups having highly divergent approaches such as the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Nation of Islam, and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

SNCC does not regard itself as a membership organization but as a group to stimulate a faster growth of local protest movements. It claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological views of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and program.

The headquarters of SNCC is in Atlanta, Georgia, where its staff is under the leadership of national chairman H. Rap Brown. However, a dominating figure in SNCC continues to be Stokely Carmichael, who has been described as the youngest, most
flamboyant, most controversial, and--along with Martin Luther King--the most charismatic civil rights leader in the country.

Because it has adopted and promotes a revolutionary black racist and white exclusionary policy, SNCC is no longer a civil rights organization in the traditional sense. It is now motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. The "Black Power" concept promoted by SNCC has come to mean to many Negroes the power to riot, burn, loot, and kill.

There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with the established social order makes it a potent threat to racial peace. The repeated exhortation of "Black Power" by Carmichael and Brown and their many incendiary statements advocating, encouraging, and condoning lawlessness and civil disobedience, which have helped to trigger violence in the past, can very well incite even greater violence in the future.
A. Origin

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—pronounced "Snick") evolved from the lunch-counter, sit-down demonstration of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina, in February, 1960, which quickly spread throughout North Carolina and other Southern States. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) saw that an agency to provide communication and coordination for these demonstrations would be useful. Accordingly, there was a meeting of student leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960.

On the 17th of that month, a Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formed, and an executive committee composed of one person from each of the 15 Southern States represented at the meeting was set up. The committee decided to maintain "friendly relations" with other civil rights organizations such as the SCLC, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) but to be independent organizationally.
In May 1960, the executive committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, with Martin Luther King and observers from the National Student Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the American Friends Service Committee. It elected Marion Barry, Jr., chairman and decided to open an office in Atlanta and to hold another Southwide meeting in October, 1960.

Throughout the Summer of 1960, the executive committee of this temporary group reportedly met "once a month, in Nashville, Tennessee; in Louisville, Kentucky; and in Jackson, Mississippi." But it really accomplished little before October, 1960, when the second conference tightened the organizational structure. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was officially created at the October conference, made possible by funds donated by college students, labor unions, civil rights groups, and other interested organizations, and attended by over 200 delegates. (1,2,3,)

B. Aims and Purposes

SNCC was created to foster the growth of civil rights agitation primarily through nonviolent direct action—demonstrations, sit-ins, prayers, freedom rides, marches—in the Deep South. Its founding statement of purpose, adopted at the October,
1960, conference, read:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non-violence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action.

"Non-violence, as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition, seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.


"By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, non-violence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

"Although each local group in the movement must diligently work out the clear meaning of this statement of purpose, each act or phase of our corporate effort must reflect a genuine spirit of love and good-will." (4)

Although claiming to follow the policy of nonviolence, SNCC, from the first, attracted the most militant of the civil rights workers—Negro and white. From 1961 to 1964, SNCC was actively supported by northern white college students in its primary project—
voter registration in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama—and in other civil rights activities. Its adherents suffered much physical harm; they were shot, beaten, tear-gassed, whipped, and jailed—some repeatedly.

By 1965, many SNCC workers began to question the ultimate value of their method of achieving Negro equality through the right to vote. They felt that, even if the Negroes achieved voting strength, their power would be nullified, or at least greatly hampered, by unrepresentative candidates and by Negroes' lack of resources to make their own choices. They also evidenced an increasing tendency to regard what they called the "white capitalist" system in the United States as basically a white supremacist system which would have to be changed before true psychological integration could be achieved.

Accordingly, SNCC began to shift its orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing integration toward one seeking political and economic power for the Negro. It also entered the foreign policy field by claiming that the war in Vietnam is "racist" and characterizing United States Negro soldiers fighting there as "black mercenaries."

During the Winter of 1965-1966, SNCC issued
a "position paper," which gave a detailed explanation of the thinking behind the "Black Power" concept which was to be adopted by SNCC. Basically, SNCC called for Negro nationalism and separatism and concluded that white people should at best have only a minor role in civil rights activity and in political organization among Negroes. The document states:

"If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

"...whites...can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level." (5)

When Stokely Carmichael was chosen national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, he reiterated these statements and declared that "integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what the black people have to have." (6)

During the civil rights march through Mississippi in June, 1966, Carmichael popularized SNCC's new philosophy when he began chanting "Black Power."

In a lengthy article published in "National Guardian," a communist-oriented weekly, in October, 1966,
Carmichael explained "Black Power" in these terms:

"Where Negroes lack a majority, black power means proper representation and sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases from which black people can work to change state-wide or nation-wide patterns of oppression through pressure from strength—instead of weakness. Politically, black power means...the coming-together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs,...Most of the black politicians we see around the country today are not what SNCC means by black power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there."

Carmichael concluded that "only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic, and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms, will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity." (7)

While the foregoing remarks seem to depict "Black Power" in the terms of the peaceful use of political and economic pressures, Carmichael, speaking for SNCC, on the other hand, has made frequent contradictory and incendiary statements which give "Black Power" a violent connotation. In a speech in Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1966, he unequivocally stated:

"When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees."
"When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created.

"When you talk of black power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs...We are fighting for our lives." (8)

On another occasion, when asked about preventing the civil rights movement from breaking into widespread violence, Carmichael retorted:

"...This nonviolence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up....The violence is inevitable. I don't try to stop the fight. I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it." (9)

H. Rap Brown, who replaced Carmichael as national chairman in May, 1967, said there will be no change in SNCC's "Black Power" policy. Brown also wants to build a strong nationwide antidraft program (10) and movement among Negroes.
II. COMPONENT OF NEW LEFT

A. Communist Left and New Left

Deeply involved in the protest movements of recent years relative to civil rights, university reform, and the war in Vietnam have been the Communist Left and the so-called New Left. Prominent among the organizations of the Communist Left which have been active in fomenting and exploiting protests have been the pro-Soviet Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and its youth arm, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA); the Red Chinese-oriented Progressive Labor Party (PLP); and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth wing, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Foremost among New Left organizations are SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the latter being a militant, socialist-oriented youth organization. New Left organizations are largely student-based and are composed of individuals of all shades of social, political, and ideological conviction—radicals, anarchists, socialists, communists, pacifists, idealists, and malcontents.
B. Cooperation with Communist and New Left Organizations

1. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

SNCC has been praised by the CPUSA for moving rapidly to the left and for being among the first to emphasize the link between civil rights and peace. Like the CPUSA, SNCC maintains that United States participation in an "imperialist war of aggression" in Vietnam is contrary to the welfare and best interests of the Negro people, since the war prevents the Government from expending funds essential to Negro betterment.

SNCC does not exclude from among its workers communists or members of any other organization. SNCC claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological outlook of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and programs.

The CPUSA views every noncommunist organization as a target for infiltration. Naturally, SNCC is no exception, although communists are not known to have gained any national leadership positions in SNCC to date. But there have been instances of local penetration. For example, a Communist Party club member in Los Angeles worked on the SNCC publication in that city. Another example is a young CPUSA
member whose Party assignment was to go to Atlanta and work with SNCC. Later, SNCC sent this volunteer to the SNCC office in Philadelphia. (14)

The CPUSA and SNCC frequently cooperate in protest demonstrations and in exchanging speakers and sharing public platforms. CPUSA groups have also collected and contributed funds to help SNCC.

Individuals with communist backgrounds are known to have assisted in SNCC's 1964 "Mississippi Project." (17, 18)

At the suggestion of the CPUSA, the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations invited four SNCC members to visit the Soviet Union in June, 1966. (19, 20)

Two organizations cited as communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities have provided legal aid for SNCC--the National Lawyers Guild and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC). (23, 24) Stokely Carmichael was elected a member of the national council of the ECLC in April, 1966.

In commenting on the concept of "Black Power" espoused by SNCC, the CPUSA has expressed full support for the "struggle of the Negro people to secure the power required to free themselves from racist tyranny."
exploitation and social discrimination," but has stressed that "it is necessary to win broad strata of the white masses in an active participation in the struggle for the freedom of the Negro people." (25)

2. W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)

Between SNCC and the DCA, the youth group of the CPUSA, there has been joint activity in demonstrations. (26, 27) At the DCA founding convention in 1964, a SNCC staff member chaired a workshop on civil rights in the South. (28)

In other activities, DCA members have been identified as working for SNCC. (29, 30) Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the DCA, was arrested in April, 1967, on the campus at Texas Southern University in Houston, where the campus chapter of Friends of SNCC was demanding recognition by the administration and reinstatement of its faculty adviser. (31)

3. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

The Trotskyite SWP and its youth group, the YSA, have also collaborated with SNCC. The SWP, for example, has assisted SNCC in fund-raising ventures such as collecting trading stamps and holding a dinner. (32)
4. **Progressive Labor Party (PLP)**

A Negro and a PLP national vice-chairman, contributed $75 to complete the $1,000 bail set for Carmichael after the latter's arrest in Atlanta on September 8, 1966, when he was charged with inciting to riot and disorderly conduct. About the same time, the PLP reportedly sent SNCC considerable propaganda material which it had requested in order to set up study groups.\(^{(33)}\)

At meetings in Los Angeles held in June, 1966, the PLP supported SNCC's position on "Black Power" and distributed copies of "The Movement," SNCC's publication for the west coast.\(^{(34)}\)

5. **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):**

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall has characterized the SDS, along with the DCA, as part of the "responsible left" which the CPUSA has "going for us." The SDS accepts communists as members and has received support from the CPUSA. The SDS claims some 200 chapters throughout the United States.\(^{(35)}\)

An SDS chapter on the campus of the University of Michigan is known by the name "Voice Political Party."\(^{(36)}\) An ad hoc committee of the Voice Political Party is known as "Friends of SNCC."
The chairman of this committee is a DCA member. In other words, a DCA member heads an SDS committee that is composed of SNCC workers. In his SNCC activities, the chairman is assisted by a number of SDS members.

One of SNCC's field secretaries from the Washington, D. C., office, Ralph Featherstone, attended the national membership conference of the SDS at the University of Illinois on December 27, 1965. Featherstone is now one of SNCC's top leaders. At the SDS conference in Clear Lake, Iowa, August 27 to September 1, 1966, Charles E. Cobb, Jr., a member of SNCC's Central Committee, conducted a workshop.

The National Council of SDS in June, 1966, passed a resolution to continue fraternal relations in support of SNCC. On October 29, 1966, the SDS held a "Black Power Day" conference on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, at which Stokely Carmichael, then the national chairman of SNCC, was the featured speaker.

Currently, however, the SDS is almost all white and is alienated from SNCC by virtue of the latter's exclusion of white people from its ranks.
C. Cooperation with Negro Protest Organizations

1. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

RAM is a small, secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals. (42) RAM has received the approbation of Stokely Carmichael.

[Redacted text]

sought help from Carmichael to set up a Black Panther Party in New York City for bringing Negroes together as an independent political group. Carmichael, who had established the original Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, offered to assist [Redacted text]. Carmichael was one of the main speakers at a Harlem rally on August 29, 1966, following the founding of a new group in New York City. (43)

2. Nation of Islam (NOI)

Stokely Carmichael has been in contact with leaders of the NOI, including Elijah Muhammad, concerning their mutual advocacy of "Black Power." The NOI is an all-Negro pseudoreligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race. Its members are commonly called Black Muslims. In an address to NOI adherents, Carmichael told them that no matter what
their religious beliefs, "all black men should work together to offset the white policy of dividing blacks." (44, 45, 46)

The October 28, 1966, issue of "Muhammad Speaks," official publication of the NOI, contained an article soliciting funds and urging support for the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County. (47)

3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Martin Luther King's SCLC and SNCC have had little contact with each other except for a joint committee to study tactics. One of King's associates once said: "Snick is like a younger brother; you love 'em and you work with 'em but they sure can be a pain in the neck." (50)

King has said he is in favor of "Black Power" only in the sense of encompassing improvement in the economic, social, and political position of Negroes. However, he has declared he could not countenance the violent approach favored by SNCC and Carmichael.

On January 14, 1966, SNCC and the SCLC jointly sponsored a march of 500 to the Georgia State Capitol, as a demonstrative measure, seeking recognition by the Georgia House of Representatives of the election to that body of Julian Bond, a -15-
King's aloofness toward SNCC diminished when he began to denounce the Vietnam war, which he regards as a barrier to civil rights progress. King's stand automatically aligned the SCLC with the "Black Power" advocates, SNCC and CORE, on the Vietnam issue.

4. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

SNCC and CORE cosponsored a picket demonstration at the site of the Democratic Party's National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on August 24, 1964, to win support for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the political party formed by Mississippi civil rights groups on the ground that Negroes had been denied participation in the election process in that State. The Mississippi SNCC staff members at that time were MFDP members.

CORE, like SNCC, is emphasizing black political control in Negro areas. At the CORE convention in Baltimore, Maryland, in the Summer of 1966, Carmichael and CORE's national director, Floyd B. McKissick, declared that the time had come for Negroes in ghettos to organize themselves into local political blocs that could determine elections outside the Democratic and Republican Parties.
In March, 1967, Carmichael and McKissick joined Adam Clayton Powell on Bimini Island to support him in his plan to regain his seat in the United States Congress. CORE and SNCC's emphasis on black consciousness has caused black as well as white integrationists to break away and leave these groups to the militants.

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, has denounced "Black Power" as "black racism" and has deplored SNCC and CORE's modification of the doctrine of nonviolence. SNCC and the NAACP were "partners" in the Council of Federated Organizations and engaged in the "Mississippi Project," but Wilkins has commented that other groups, SNCC included, "furnish the noise" while the NAACP "pays the bills."

Speaking at the opening of the 58th Annual National Convention of the NAACP in Boston in July, 1967, Wilkins paid a grudging tribute to the "militants" of the civil rights movement. He stated that "the real service of militants should not be underestimated... in spite of their raucous activity, their shock techniques and their oversimplification of complex issues, they have shaken up Negroes and whites, both of whom badly needed the treatment."
III. MEMBERSHIP

A. Work Force

SNCC claims it has no members but rather is composed of a "work force." It states it is not a membership organization but an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. In other words, if one is interested in participating in one or more of SNCC's activities (in the North or in the South), he is welcome. When he is working, he is a SNCC worker; when he is not, he is an individual. For this reason, SNCC has no membership, only workers.

SNCC says, "We have no qualifications for workers. We welcome people of all walks of life, of all religions, beliefs, and all political persuasions to work with us in the movement."

B. Appeal

SNCC appeals to the young, more militant Negroes who want social changes now and are prepared to go to any lengths to get them. When they began their activities in the organization, they were
probably college students. Now, most of the leaders are out of school and have changed their mood and manner, so that they compose what has been jocularly called the "Nonstudent Violent Coordinating Committee."

When H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC, was asked recently whether SNCC could still accurately be called nonviolent, Brown replied, "Put that nonviolent in quotes."
IV. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

SNCC is a complex, unincorporated association with national headquarters at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This property is owned by a cover company called the Southern Education and Research Institute, Incorporated. SNCC had been occupying the property at this address for some time on a rent-option-to-buy basis. On February 1, 1966, the corporation purchased the property for $65,000.\(^{(58)}\)

The Southern Education and Research Institute was chartered on September 7, 1965, and was composed of a group of six, with James Forman, the executive secretary of SNCC, as president. The stated purpose of the corporation was to be a nonprofit organization exclusively for charitable and educational purposes.\(^{(59)}\)

B. National Officers

It is SNCC's practice to elect new leading officers every one or two years. Marion Barry, Jr., the first national chairman, is still with the organization. Recently, he resigned as staff organizer of SNCC in Washington, D.C. to devote full time to the problems of the District's Negroes.\(^{(60)}\) SNCC's second
national chairman was Charles McDew, who at the end of his term departed to live among a colony of leftists in Mexico. The third national chairman was the mild-mannered John Lewis, who left the organization about a month after Carmichael had been voted to replace him in May, 1966. Although Lewis was retained as a member of the Central Committee and appointed to head the International Affairs Committee, he resigned to continue his college course, because he objected to the "black consciousness" view adopted by SNCC.

Carmichael, the fourth of SNCC's national chairmen, allegedly expressed a desire to return to field organizing and was reportedly directed by the Central Committee to work in Washington, D. C., as a "target city" for a civil rights campaign directed toward home rule. By the end of July, 1967, however, there was no evidence of his engaging in this project.

The present national chairman, elected in May, 1967, is H. Rap Brown. SNCC's three top leaders—"the triumverate," sometimes referred to by the membership as "the troika"—are the national chairman, the national executive secretary, and the national program director.

-21-
C. Central Committee

The Central Committee is SNCC's policy-making body. At a staff conference held in May, 1966, the Central Committee was reduced from 21 to 10. (67, 68, 69) Another change in the make-up occurred in line with decisions made at the Catskill conference in early December, 1966, to the effect that the Central Committee would be composed exclusively of Negroes.

D. Catskill Conference

About a hundred or so staff members met for ten days in a resort in the Catskill Mountains of New York to make plans for programming "Black Power". The "separatists" advocated complete withdrawal from white America. The Carmichael faction—called "the Washington clique"—believed that whites could help in several ways. When the "white question" was put to a vote, it lost by one vote. As a compromise, whites would be allowed to remain in fund-raising and administrative work but would be excluded from any organizing and policy roles.

The other major decision that came out of the Catskill meeting was to expand SNCC's small foothold in the Negro ghettos by setting up a national network of "freedom organizations" to push for "Black Power"—economic and political. (70)
E. Staff

A person can "join" SNCC only by becoming a full-time staff worker, which just about means taking an oath of poverty. The present staff numbers less than 100. About mid-1965, SNCC was reported to have a full-time staff of 230, but thereafter it dwindled. Some one third serve in office and clerical jobs in cities, the rest engage in field work and other tasks—traveling and speaking. The average SNCC staff member is in his mid 20's, but is a veteran of many civil rights actions.

F. Field Secretaries

That portion of the staff that is out doing the actual organizing and the voter-registration work, for about $10 a week, is referred to as the field organizers or field secretaries. In 1965, SNCC claimed 150 field secretaries, but in 1966, only half that number.

A field secretary spurns all comforts and luxuries. Straw hat, blue jeans, denim jumper, and sandals became the SNCC uniform in the Mississippi countryside and the Southern ghetto. Now, the outfit is worn chiefly for effect, as it was by Carmichael during his January, 1967, trip to Puerto Rico.
G. Friends of SNCC

1. Campus Groups

To support SNCC’s programs, individuals who may be members of other left and protest groups but sympathize with the aims of SNCC have gathered on certain campuses across the country, chiefly in the North, organized loosely, and called themselves Friends of SNCC. In mid-1965, there were 150 (78) chapters, two thirds of them outside the South.

By 1967, Friends of SNCC chapters numbered only about a dozen. Since SNCC made it clear that white students are not wanted to work in black communities, white students are unable to see what role they can play in the South and in civil rights. In many cases, the student groups affiliated with SNCC either have disappeared or have become almost dormant. Active workers have dropped out of most (80) of the remaining groups. The “Black Power” slogan has alienated others. For example, the head of the SNCC unit in Arkansas said he would not go along with the national organization’s policy of seeking political power outside the white power structure. Efforts were made in the Spring of 1967 to recruit additional students and gain wider
recognition for SNCC on the college campus.

2. International Groups

Just prior to his resignation from SNCC, John Lewis, in his capacity as head of the International Affairs Committee, went to Europe. There he reportedly established Friends of SNCC groups in London, Paris, Norway, and Sweden, and spoke to student groups in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Italy. Lewis claimed that African students from Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa had been recruited to take part in SNCC projects.

3. Purpose

SNCC national leaders exercise little control over local SNCC groups, but the national organization does benefit from them. A Friends of SNCC group makes no binding agreement with SNCC but is expected to adhere to certain basic philosophy and to participate locally in activities such as sit-ins and demonstrations, not on its own but through other organizations, e.g., CORE and the NAACP. Local direct action cannot be initiated without authorization by the national office. Friends of SNCC are expected to lay the groundwork for the recruitment of field workers and to report
any progress and activity to the Atlanta staff. (84) International Friends of SNCC, as well as the domestic Friends of SNCC, serve as fund raisers and demonstrators for SNCC.

Originally, Friends of SNCC were organized on the basis of student excitement and compassion over obtaining civil rights for Negroes in the South. White students took time to go down South and work on voter registration, set up freedom schools, and the like. If they did not go south, they spent time outside the South demonstrating, recruiting, fund raising, and gathering clothing and books to send down to support SNCC activities. Friends of SNCC still sponsor speakers and are furnished from Atlanta films, tapes, and literature to publicize locally the plans and programs of the national office.

Since the emphasis on "Black Power," however, Friends of SNCC have had to suffer the shock of the relegation of white supporters to a position of less regard. Friends of SNCC, forced to drop their work in the integration movement, now engage
mainly in fund raising. They will be further affected by the decision of the SNCC staff to move into the North, form a coalition of civil rights organizations in the big cities, and organize neighborhood residents into effective political units.
A. Stokely Carmichael

The dominant figure in SNCC for more than a year has been Stokely Carmichael. In May, 1967, he was not reelected national chairman of SNCC, the position he had held for a year. It was reported that he would serve in Washington, D. C. as a field secretary in an effort to build opposition to the drafting of Negroes for the war in Vietnam and to promote home rule for the District of Columbia. By late July, however, Carmichael had not appeared in Washington for any extended period.

Carmichael was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies, on June 29, 1941. In 1952, he joined his parents, who had been residing in New York City since the mid-1940's. On April 27, 1953, he attained United States citizenship through his father's naturalization.

In high school, Carmichael associated with a "left-wing" group which included Eugene Dennis, Jr., who is a son of a former general secretary of the CPUSA and was a founder of the Party's youth group, the DCA. While in high school, Carmichael read Karl Marx and pondered radical ideas.
After graduating from high school, Carmichael matriculated at the predominantly Negro Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy in 1964. In June, 1961, Carmichael experienced his first of many arrests for his civil rights activity.

Carmichael has been inspired and influenced by a book entitled "The Wretched of the Earth" written by the late Frantz Fanon, a West Indian psychiatrist. This book, said to be Carmichael's "bible," has been called a handbook of revolution for underdeveloped countries, for it emphasizes the necessity for violence in ending colonialism and achieving independence.

Carmichael's adoption of the "Black Power" concept, his glib speech, and his "firebrand" personality won the admiration of the SNCC staff. Consequently, SNCC chairmanship was taken from John Lewis and given to Carmichael at the May, 1966, conference. Under Carmichael's leadership, SNCC became a vastly different organization. He turned SNCC from an interracial organization promoting civil rights by integration and "educating" Negroes to vote into a "Black Power" organization.
Carmichael's advocacy of "Black Power" has encouraged the Negro to flout law, order, and established authority. Carmichael has also caused SNCC to lose financial support from white sympathizers and to arouse the distrust of less militant Negroes.

In his public appearances, Carmichael has bitterly denounced the war in Vietnam and the draft. It is his contention that the Vietnam war is inseparably linked with the civil rights movement. He has repeatedly stated he would not fight in Vietnam if drafted, and he also has urged other Negroes to refuse to serve in that war. Sixteen SNCC staff members have refused to be inducted when called by their Selective Service Boards. Carmichael vows that none of them will serve. Carmichael himself has been classified IV-F and has been rejected for military service. Psychiatric tests have disclosed Carmichael to be "schizophrenic with psychopathic, pseudoneurotic and paranoid trends."

On July 25, 1967, Carmichael arrived in Havana, Cuba, to attend a conference of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, a group that advocates revolution. It was reported that in Santiago de Cuba, Premier Fidel
Castro introduced Carmichael at "26th of July" ceremonies as "one of the most distinguished civil rights leaders in the United States." Carmichael shared a place of honor with communists from Latin America and Vietnam, according to reports.

Carmichael was quoted as saying: "In Newark, we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death."

B. H. Rap Brown

Prior to replacing Stokely Carmichael as national chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, H. Rap Brown worked as SNCC project director for the state of Alabama in which capacity he engaged in voter-registration drives and other civil rights programs. He has been a SNCC worker for about four years.

Brown, whose true name is Hubert Geroid Brown, was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on October 4, 1943. He attended the Southern University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College in Baton Rouge for three years as a sociology major.

Since becoming national chairman, Brown has been travelling around the country making speeches and holding press conferences in a blatantly inflammatory style similar to that of Carmichael. He usually appears at rallies in the traditional garb of the Southern Negro sharecropper—a blue denim jacket and tight blue jeans.

Brown was arrested by the FBI in Alexandria, Virginia, on July 26, 1967, on a Federal fugitive warrant. He was wanted by Maryland authorities on charges of inciting a crowd and unlawfully, willfully, and maliciously burning a school in Cambridge, Maryland, on July 24, 1967. During the rally which preceded the fire and rioting, Brown told a crowd of 400 Negroes, "It's time for Cambridge to explode, baby. Black folks built America and if America don't come around, we're going to burn America down."

In a statement issued by Brown following his arrest, he said:

"I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation."
"We stand on the eve of the black revolution. Masses of our people are on the move, fighting the enemy tit for tat, responding to counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life.

"These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for the real revolution." (115)

Brown was released under bond. At a rally in a Washington, D.C., church on July 27, he stated that "there should be more shooting and looting." He said, "If Washington, D.C., don't come around, Washington, D.C., should be burned to the ground." Brown predicted that "The rebellions will continue and escalate. I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie."

C. James Rufus Forman

In May, 1966, James Forman gave up his office as national executive secretary to Ruby Robinson. He was then made manager of SNCC's national office in Atlanta, but he resigned that position after about two months and is now international director of SNCC.

Forman was born in Chicago, Illinois, on November 4, 1928. He was honorably discharged from the United States Air Force on September 23, 1951.
He attended the University of Southern California in 1952, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in public administration from Roosevelt University in Chicago in January, 1957.

While in California, Forman suffered a nervous breakdown in 1952 and was hospitalized for nine months. His condition was diagnosed as "dementia praecox of catatonic type."

Forman has been active throughout the South in demonstrations, "freedom rides," and voter registration. He has spoken in favor of abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has been friendly with communists. He has been arrested a number of times for disorderly conduct and breach of the peace.

D. Stanley Leroy Wise

Stanley Wise was born on June 12, 1942. He is a native of Charlotte, North Carolina. At the SNCC staff conference in May, 1967, he was elected to the second highest position in SNCC—national executive secretary. In April, 1966, Wise accompanied John Lewis to Europe, ostensibly on a fund-raising mission.
E. Ralph Edward Featherstone

The new national program director, Ralph Featherstone, chosen in May, 1967, to replace Cleveland Sellers, was born on May 26, 1937, at Washington, D.C. Featherstone's interest lies in economic projects and he is expected to guide SNCC's program in this field.

Featherstone is a graduate of the District of Columbia Teachers College and taught speech correction in 1963 and 1964 at elementary schools in Southeast Washington. He began as a field secretary from the Washington, D.C., office of SNCC and saw action in setting up "freedom schools" in Mississippi in 1964. In May, 1966, Featherstone was placed on SNCC's Central Committee.

F. Cleveland L. Sellers, Jr.

Cleveland Sellers, Jr., was born November 8, 1944, in Denmark, South Carolina. During the year ending in May, 1967, Sellers, as national program director, held the third highest office in SNCC. With the election of new officers, he was replaced by Ralph Featherstone.

At Howard University in Washington, D.C.,
Sellers studied mechanical engineering. In the summer of 1964, following his junior year, he went to Mississippi as a SNCC field worker with the Council of Federated Organizations soliciting Negro voter registration.

In early 1967, Sellers, part of the time in the company of Carmichael, was crisscrossing the country by plane, making stops at Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

In May, 1967, Sellers became the 16th member of SNCC to reject military service when called for induction.

G. Courtland Vernon Cox

Courtland Cox was born on January 27, 1941, in New York City. Both his parents were born in the British West Indies. Cox attended Howard University with Stokely Carmichael.

Cox invented the "Black Panther" label for SNCC's independent political party in Lowndes County, Alabama, and was placed on SNCC's Central Committee.

Substituting for Stokely Carmichael, Cox sat on the panel of the so-called "International War Crimes Tribunal" which convened in Stockholm, Sweden, in May,
1967, under the auspices of Bertrand Russell. The "tribunal" was held for the purpose of "indicting" President Johnson and "other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Vietnam."

H. Ivanhoe Gaylord Donaldson

Ivanhoe Donaldson was placed on SNCC's Central Committee in May, 1966. The following September, he was designated New York field secretary. Donaldson was born on October 17, 1941, in New York City and attended Michigan State University. In 1962, Donaldson was active in trucking food, clothes, and medicine to destitute Negro families in Mississippi. In 1963, he submitted articles to the staff of "Freedomways," which is a quarterly Marxist Negro review.

A psychiatrist whom Donaldson consulted in February, 1964, described him as "neurologic psychiatric."

I. Bill Mahoney

Bill Mahoney has been acting as SNCC's national press relations officer. Mahoney is one of Carmichael's Howard University friends who were active in the Committee for Nonviolent Action, a SNCC affiliate at Howard.
VI. ACTIVITIES

A. General

During its initial organizational period in 1960, SNCC served as a clearinghouse for information emanating from the protest groups making up the committee and promoted their joint activities. From that time, the activities of SNCC may be separated into two periods: the voter-registration and direct-action civil rights campaigns in the South from 1961 to 1964, and the shift from the South to the North and into the foreign policy field beginning in 1965.

B. Civil Rights Activity, 1961-1964

In August, 1961, SNCC decided to set up voter-registration and direct-action projects with offices and permanently placed staffs in various areas of the Black Belt of the South. Robert Moses,* a Negro SNCC field organizer who had quit his teaching job at a private school in New York, moved into Pike County, Mississippi, and opened the first voter-registration school for Negroes in the South. The school was supplemented with direct-action movements including sit-ins, sing-ins, marches, et cetera. In

*Moses resigned from SNCC in 1965 partly because he was said to be afraid that a cult was developing around him. He even changed his name from Moses to Parris to put an end to the adulation.
McComb, Mississippi, over a hundred high school students, in response to their principal's demand that they pledge not to participate in demonstrations, stayed out of school and were expelled. SNCC then opened "nonviolent high" to take care of their education, offering courses in algebra, physics, chemistry, and history until a local junior college agreed to accept the students.

In 1962, SNCC moved deeper into Mississippi and set up voter-registration projects in "crash programs" during the summer months. SNCC workers conducted sessions in the techniques of nonviolent direct action and ran into not only physical but economic opposition. They solicited and received for distribution to the needy, food, clothing, and other supplies from Northern college students. SNCC also began organizing campaigns in other Southern States, notably Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Maryland.

During 1963, SNCC joined CORE, the SCLC, and the NAACP in setting up the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to carry on a unified, expanded voter-registration drive. SNCC dominated COFO. By the Fall of 1963, SNCC had initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states. (141, 141A)
The main single activity of SNCC during 1963 was the organization of Selma, Alabama, for voter registration. Selma is the seat of Dallas County, a town of about 28,000. Between September 15 and October 2, over 300 people were arrested in Selma in connection with voter-registration activities. SNCC decided to designate October 7 as "Freedom Day"—the day to bring hundreds of Negroes to the county courthouse to register. As "Freedom Day" approached, mass meetings were held every night and the churches were packed. National civil rights figures came to address the gatherings. Over 300 Negroes assembled to register to vote. (142)

On a national level, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, delivered an aggressive speech at the massive civil rights march on Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963, in which he denounced President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation as inadequate. The original version of his speech was considered so violent as to be a possible incitement to riot. At the request of other civil rights leaders, he toned it down slightly, saying Kennedy's bill could be supported, but only with "great reservations." He promised to "splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them back together again in the image of democracy." (143)
In 1964, SNCC played the primary role in the Mississippi Summer Project—a statewide voter-registration campaign among Negroes also aimed at education and job-training. Workers had been given intensive orientation for their tasks in Mississippi during a week-long seminar at the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. An estimated 900 volunteers, mostly Northern college students, assisted in this project. SNCC and its supporters endured at least 1,000 arrests, 35 shooting incidents, eight beatings, and six murders—including the murders of three volunteer helpers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner near Philadelphia, Mississippi.

It was during this project that the figure of Stokely Carmichael emerged on the scene. He was made SNCC field director of the Second Congressional District in the Mississippi Delta. At the end of the summer, 200 volunteers remained in Mississippi, and the Mississippi Freedom Project began. (144, 145, 146)

In August, 1964, members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was born with SNCC's help, went to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where they attempted unsuccessfully to have an integrated delegation seated in place of the regularly selected white delegation from Mississippi. (147)
In September, 1964, SNCC's young "activist" leaders began identifying themselves with the leadership of the emerging new nations of Africa and other underdeveloped parts of the world. John Lewis, James Forman, Robert Moses, and a few others went to Guinea on a three weeks' trip as guests of President Sekou Toure and held two long sessions with him. (148)

C. Political Organizing, 1965

In 1965, SNCC, while concentrating its activities in the rural South—chiefly in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia—also moved into Northern cities. By this time, SNCC had concluded that the more effective way to deal with the problems of racial discrimination was through political organizing so that local leadership could emerge. Organizing included helping the disfranchised Negro in the South gain the political power that he was denied by (1) being unable to register to vote, (2) not being offered a proper candidate, and (3) being intimidated through violence and economic pressures.

In June, 1965, approximately 100 college students recruited throughout the United States by SNCC went to Washington, D. C., to participate in lobbying activities on behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was hoping still to unseat the Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC also planned lobbying
activity to force national recognition of the need for new and free elections in the South. (149, 150)

On June 20, 1965, some 60 students collected at the entrance to the Department of Justice Building in Washington, D. C., and sang civil rights songs. A SNCC representative said that these young people, sponsored by SNCC and CORE, would go on to Mississippi. Some had blankets and bedrolls and held an all-night sit-in. The group had cardboard signs expressing the need for Federal protection of "freedom workers." They passed out leaflets headed by SNCC's local address and titled "Why Are We Here?" (151)

SNCC with other youth groups, including the DCA and the SDS, sponsored a demonstration in Washington, D. C., from August 6 through August 9, 1965, known as the Washington Summer Action Project. This demonstration included picketing the White House, a sit-in at the White House gate, as well as workshops on Vietnam, the draft, Puerto Rico, and South Africa. On August 9, the demonstrators marched to the Capitol Grounds for the purpose of staging a "Congress of Unrepresented People" to declare peace in Vietnam. Numerous demonstrators were arrested when they attempted (152, 153) to enter the grounds. This activity on the part of SNCC marked one of the first steps in its shift from the field of civil rights to that of foreign policy. (154)
In the Summer of 1965, SNCC, under the guidance of Stokely Carmichael, helped organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the Black Belt voting district in Alabama. With the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the Department of Justice appointed a Federal registrar for the county. Although not one Negro was on the voting roll in January, 1965, by November, Negro registration had passed the 2,000 mark. In November, SNCC organizers decided to form a separate political party in Lowndes County and in six nearby counties and run their own candidates. The Party adopted as a symbol a charging black panther and became known as the Black Panther Party. (155, 156)

In September, 1965, SNCC issued a 50-page report which was sharply critical of the United States Office of Education's program for desegregating Southern schools. According to the report, the number of Negro children in previously white Southern schools remained "pitifully low." It particularly criticized the approval of "freedom of choice" plans which, SNCC charged, encouraged tokenism, placed a burden on Negro parents in hostile situations, and led to intimidation of Negroes to stay out of white schools. (157)
D. Protest Activity, 1966

1. Vietnam Protests

a. Julian Bond Refused Seat in Georgia Legislature

In January, 1966, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, issued a fiery statement condemning United States policy in Vietnam and urging all Americans to use any method they saw fit to avoid being drafted. The statement asserted in part: "Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law," and "we are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

When Julian Bond, public relations director of SNCC and Fulton County representative-elect to the Georgia House of Representatives, publicly agreed with this statement, he was denied his seat in the legislature on the grounds that he had advocated violation of the draft law and had given aid and comfort to the enemy. In his endorsement, Bond said that he would "admire the courage of anyone who burns his draft card."
but would not burn his own. This action precipitated considerable controversial comment in the press throughout the Nation and led to rallies and demonstrations in support of Bond, including a march in Atlanta, Georgia, led by Martin Luther King, who said that he did not endorse the nature of Bond's stand but defended his right to disagree with the Administration. (158, 159, 160, 161)

b. Demonstrations and Speeches

Throughout 1966, SNCC took part in numerous demonstrations against United States action in Vietnam and SNCC representatives, in speeches at conferences and before college groups across the country, denounced United States participation in the war. In March, SNCC workers in various cities took part in the so-called International Days of Protest observed by various communist, subversive, and pacifist groups to condemn United States action in Vietnam. They distributed leaflets designed to plant doubts as to the legality of United States foreign policy.

One demonstration involving violence took place on August 17 and 18, 1966, in Atlanta, Georgia, when groups of Negro SNCC workers shouting "Black Power" picketed the 12th Army Corps Headquarters and fought a brief battle with police. They carried signs with slogans such as "The Viet Cong Never Called You Nigger," "Black Man Stay Home," "Fight for Black Power," and "The White Man Kills Black Kids, I Won't Kill Vietnamese Kids." A leaflet distributed by the pickets urged Negroes "to stay at home and fight for your black self, your family, your community and your black nation. Why must we go abroad to kill yellow-skinned men for white-skinned men who force us to live in rat-infested slums?"

Twelve demonstrators, including Larry Fox, a SNCC field secretary, were arrested. Fox was charged with creating a disturbance, failing to obey an officer's command, resisting arrest, and assault and battery. (165, 166)

In September, 1966, William Higgs, a SNCC representative, was one of the speakers at a conference held at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, to set a date for nationwide demonstrations to promote civil rights and to protest against United States participation in Vietnam.
Among other things, Higgs stated that the United States suppressed revolution in Vietnam with napalm and then cast the blame for the resulting devastation on those who were attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government.

In October, 1966, James Forman, manager of SNCC's national office, addressed several colleges in Texas where he called for "Black Power" and denounced the war in Vietnam. Speaking before the University of Houston, he said, "All that democracy abroad—and not enough at home." (167, 168)

2. President's Conference on Civil Rights

After Stokely Carmichael was elected national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, one of his first acts was to release a statement rejecting the invitation to the White House Conference on Civil Rights. In this statement, SNCC claimed that the conference was absolutely unnecessary, hypocritical, and propagandistic. The SNCC statement placed the problems of the Negro in the United States strictly on the shoulders of white Americans and said the executive department and the President were not serious about insuring constitutional rights for "black Americans." It said that the President had called the conference at that time to recoup
national prestige abroad lost due to United States intervention in Vietnam. SNCC concluded with a call to "all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic, and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country." (169, 170)

SNCC followed this statement early in July by denouncing the 1966 civil rights bill as a "sham" and began a campaign of active lobbying against it. A two-page summary of objections to the bill, written by Carmichael, was circulated to more than 300 House and Senate offices. It declared that "any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration." (171, 172)

3. Mississippi March

On June 6, 1966, James Meredith was wounded on the second day of a scheduled walk from the Tennessee line to Jackson, Mississippi, to dramatize his appeal for increased voter registration among Negroes. Meredith was the Negro who desegregated the University of Mississippi in 1962.

Following the shooting, civil rights leaders—including representatives of the SCLC, CORE, and SNCC—banded together to resume the march. They issued a
manifesto demanding that President Johnson undertake sweeping new civil rights action, including sending "mobile" Federal voting registrars into 600 Southern counties, and working for a "freedom budget" involving "billions" in aid for low-income Negroes. The manifesto asked Congress to pass the President's civil rights bill but with amendments that would require states and counties to hire Negro law enforcement officers and put Negroes on jury lists in direct proportion to the population ratio. (173)

Carmichael was one of those signing the manifesto and was on the policy-making committee for the march. He and two others were arrested during the (174) march on charges of trespassing. It was during this march that Carmichael popularized the slogan of "Black Power" which was to be the rallying call for SNCC in the future. (175)

4. Chicago Summer Project

Chicago was selected by SNCC as the location for a pilot project for the implementation of "Black Power" during the Summer of 1966. The plan was to withdraw the black ghettos from the city's control and allow those areas to control their own political, economic,
and industrial affairs. Also planned was a central intelligence agency for so-called "instant agitation." Accumulated information concerning alleged indignities committed against Negroes would be furnished immediately to ghetto residents. Violence was recommended if redress could not be attained peacefully. In conjunction with this project, SNCC published a hand-out reading "...improve our community...use black power." (176)

5. Chicago Coordinating Committee for Black Power.

In the latter part of September, 1966, representatives of local Negro nationalist groups oriented toward the concept of "Black Power" met in Chicago to form a loose amalgamation generally known as the Coordinating Committee for Black Power (CCBP). This is not a formal organization as such, but is basically composed of individuals of like thinking in regard to the "Black Power" movement and includes such groups as SNCC, CORE, Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ advocates arms for the defense of Negroes, and ACT too is a militant civil rights group.

Most prominent among the leadership of the CCBP are Lawrence Landry, chairman of ACT; Frederick Douglas Andrews, chairman of the West Side Branch of
ACT; Monroe Sharp, chairman of Chicago SNCC; and Eugene "Fats" Crawford, self-proclaimed leader of the Chicago DDJ.

The CCBP was to be in the nature of an "action group" which would generally serve to promote the SNCC view of "Black Power" and was to be referred to as the "Black Truth Squad." This so-called "truth squad" represented an effort to publicize the facts to Negro people about happenings in the civil rights field and in connection with general racial matters. It also planned to obtain funds for legal aid and assistance of militant civil rights workers who might be arrested or involved in court actions.

The organizations involved have not delegated any of their individual authority or funds to the CCBP. Meetings in the latter part of 1966 were largely devoted to the November, 1966, elections, and demonstrations were conducted protesting the lack of suitable candidates.

On November 18, 1966, the CCBP, under the name of Lawndale Youth Alliance, circulated leaflets and conducted an orderly picket demonstration before the Clark Super Food Mart in Chicago calling for a Negro boycott of this store. When the manager of the store readily agreed to their demands—a minimum wage
for employees and the utilization of Negro produce suppliers—the demonstrators were completely taken aback, unable to supply names of any Negro business firms with whom he should deal. (177)

6. General Election in Alabama

SNCC activity in Alabama in 1966 was largely confined to the November general election in which SNCC attempted to influence Negroes to vote for Negroes only and preferably Negroes of SNCC’s choice. However, in Lowndes County, seven Negro candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization—the Black Panther Party organized by Carmichael in 1965—running as independents were defeated in the November election by white candidates. At the same time, a group of all-Negro candidates of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization was also defeated. Both slates of candidates were vigorously supported by SNCC, which viewed the elections as a test run of "Black Power" politics. (178, 179, 180)

7. Miscellaneous Activities

SNCC has also engaged in demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and other activities throughout the country. In Washington, D.C., in January, 1966, Marion Barry, then chairman of the
local SNCC, sponsored a one-day bus boycott of the D. C. Transit System to protest a rise in fares. During the Spring of 1966, representatives of SNCC conducted sit-ins at the South African Embassy in Washington, D. C., and the South African Consulate in New York City to protest the practice of apartheid in South Africa. A number of the demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and unlawful intrusion. Among the five arrested in New York City were James Forman, Cleveland Sellers, and John Lewis. Bail was posted for them by singer Harry Belafonte and actor Sidney Poitier. (181, 182, 183, 184)

In September, 1966, about 300 people, mostly of the "beatnik" variety, held a two-hour demonstration and rally at Washington Square in New York City to protest actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. SNCC was one of the sponsors of the rally. One of the speakers characterized the committee's activity as a "witch hunt to silence protest voices against the United States." (185)

On December 29, 1966, Joseph Waller, accompanied by about ten members of his local branch of SNCC in St. Petersburg, Florida, appeared at City Hall, entered the building, ripped down a mural depicting different forms of musical entertainment by Negroes,
and proceeded through the streets with it. They displayed antiwhite placards and shouted, "We gonna take this picture down where all the black folks can see it." The mural was badly damaged in the process. A physical altercation occurred between the demonstrators and police officers. Six were arrested and charged with grand larceny and other offenses. (186)

Representatives of SNCC attended the National Youth Seminar on Racialism held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, April 27-30, 1966. William Hall, one of the representatives, made a special plea regarding the plight of the American Negro and was critical of the United States policy in South Vietnam. On June 20, 1966, Hall was interviewed in Sofia, Bulgaria, and stated that he, as a representative of SNCC, was there attending the Seventh Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The WFDY is an international communist front organization. (187, 188)

E. Steps toward "Black Power," 1967

1. General Perspectives

At a national meeting in December, 1966, SNCC, in "common struggle with peoples of the Third World (Black World)," decided to promote a national antidraft program and to call regional and national
antidraft conferences. SNCC leaders agreed that their main objective for 1967 would be to develop "freedom organizations" which would expand from the concept that built the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. SNCC claimed that the latter organization was the first major contemporary challenge to white political power in the Deep South.

Its "freedom organizations" would not be solely electoral parties, SNCC decided, but would be designed to serve all the day-to-day needs of a community. A model group would have subdivisions dealing with politics, economics, education, welfare, culture, and housing, and would sponsor a separate youth division. A special task-force committee was set up to determine in which communities, North and South, SNCC could most effectively organize. SNCC planned to expand its organizing activities in several Northern cities and simultaneously concentrate on local elections in Mississippi and Alabama during the year. SNCC organized an intensive program of internal and external education and stated that some of its staffers were going abroad, particularly to Africa, to internationalize Black America's struggle for human rights.
Carmichael has indicated that SNCC is looking even more hopefully to forming a working alliance with Latin America, for he believes Latin Americans in the next ten years will be throwing off American domination. He urges Black America to form a coalition with anyone who can help get the "hooks and claws of the eagle out of my throat." (190)

2. Puerto Rican Agreement

A joint communique pledging united struggle against the draft, for improved housing conditions, and for Puerto Rican independence was issued in January, 1967, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, by SNCC, the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI), and the Federacion de Universitaries Pro Independencia (FUPI). These three organizations affirmed the need for a joint struggle against the political, economic, social, and cultural "oppression" inflicted upon the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They agreed to act jointly (1) against the draft and the war in Vietnam; (2) for better living conditions and against "police brutality" in the urban ghettos; and (3) for bringing international attention, through the United Nations, to their "struggle for independence." (191, 192)

Speaking in San Juan in January, 1967, Carmichael stressed SNCC's international approach.
He referred to the "oppression" of Asians and Latin Americans by the United States, and he vowed that the American Negroes' fight should be in their own country for their own liberation. He asserted that the power of the oppressor is not to be compared with the force that could be wielded by the world's oppressed to destroy the oppressor. (193)

3. Adam Clayton Powell's Congressional Seat

In March, 1967, following the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell, Representative from New York's 18th Congressional District to the United States House of Representatives, for alleged misuse of Government funds, Carmichael announced that SNCC would campaign actively in Harlem for Powell's re-election. Carmichael intimated that white men were trying to play one black man against another in nominating James Meredith to run against Powell in the special election in New York scheduled for April 11. Carmichael charged that "the issue is bigger, much bigger than Adam Clayton Powell... It is a showdown between Whitey and the Man and the Man means us--black men. It is an international issue that will affect the whole world, especially the third world, the black world." (194, 195, 196)
4. National Conference of Students

In March, 1967, SNCC held a national conference in Nashville, Tennessee, which placed major emphasis on peace-related workshops. The meeting was attended by over 100 students from colleges in 30 states, including Harvard, Northwestern, Cornell, Boston University, Tougaloo in Mississippi, Tuskegee in Alabama, the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State, and the University of Chicago. Workshops discussed the need for elimination of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, development of reading clubs and speakers' bureaus, elimination of compulsory class attendance and chapel, and control of campus communications.

5. Spring Mobilization

Mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967, were expressions of a fusion of the civil rights and the antiwar movements. The war protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Participants in the activities of these committees were members of the CPUSA, DCA, PLP, SWP, YSA, CORE, and SNCC.

In New York City, SNCC members marched in the antiwar parade and rally, and civil rights leaders
Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, and Stokely Carmichael were among the principal speakers. The Reverend James Bevel, an official of SCLC, was the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (198,199)


An all-Negro National Conference on Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey, July 20-23, 1967. This conference was an outgrowth of a suggestion made by Adam Clayton Powell in September, 1966. More than 800 delegates, representing a number of militant Negro organizations, attended the conference. H. Rap Brown and Ralph Featherstone, of SNCC, were prominent among the conferees. (199A)

A number of resolutions were adopted by the conference calling for an independent course for the Negro in America. One resolution urged the formation of a black militia to train black families in all aspects of self defense and racial survival. Another resolution denounced Selective Service and the Federal Government and supported a "Hell no, we won't go" attitude toward the draft. (199B)
VII. PUBLICATIONS

A. "Student Voice"

Student Voice, Incorporated, a SNCC subsidiary, was established after an Eastern widow left SNCC a $15,000 bequest. The first issue of "Student Voice" appeared in June, 1960. It has been SNCC's intermittent official publication; however, no issues have been published for almost a year. It has been distributed on college campuses.

A supplementary four-page issue prepared by a Northern student group at the time of the presidential election of 1960 was a joint effort of the SDS and SNCC. This "Student Voice" supplement listed and gave details regarding marches in "non-Southern areas" to foster solidarity between Northern and Southern students in the movement for racial equality.

Student Voice, Incorporated, owns printing equipment, including a photo offset press. In 1965, SNCC presses rolled almost continually, turning out papers, Negro-history pamphlets, and "Black Power" bumper stickers embellished with a lunging black panther. Since then, SNCC's presses have had to be used also for commercial printing to help defray SNCC's expenses.
Funds were furnished in 1965 by Student Voice, Incorporated, for the initial 15,000 copies of a 50-page paperback history of American Negroes, written by SNCC staff members who had worked on the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Charles E. Cobb, Jr., of SNCC, who developed the Freedom School idea, wrote the introduction.

B. "The Movement"

"The Movement," a monthly newspaper, was published by SNCC of California in San Francisco until December, 1966. Then the publishers incorporated separately as The Movement Press so that national SNCC would not be sued "for anything we say." Nevertheless, The Movement Press wanted it understood that "We are still very much a part of SNCC...." and intend "to be publishing material for the national SNCC office..."

In its June, 1967, issue "The Movement" unequivocally stated that it fully supported the "Black Power philosophy of S.N.C.C."

C. Publications by Friends of SNCC

Certain chapters of Friends of SNCC have published newsletters for local campus distribution. "The Drummer," for example, is a biweekly paper started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC. Its stated aim is to play up for ghetto residents of Cleveland the things that are not highlighted or reported in the general press. Other organizations, such as the SDS, assist with the circulation.
Other SNCC affiliates have issued publications.

"The Voice of Washington SNCC" has been published by SNCC of Washington, D.C., and "Tell It Like It Is" has been issued by Friends of SNCC at Texas Southern University in Houston. Chicago SNCC published a pamphlet in August, 1966, entitled "Black Power," which featured a speech made by Stokely Carmichael in Chicago. Opinions of residents in Negro neighborhoods were solicited for subsequent "Black Power" issues.

D. Posters, Fliers, and Circulars

SNCC pickets and demonstrators make use of posters, leaflets, and fliers to protest actions by the police and the war in Vietnam. San Diego SNCC printed and sold posters at 25 cents apiece at a rally in 1965. "The Draft and You" is one of the Friends of SNCC circulars issued to undermine the loyalty of young Americans.
VIII. FINANCES

A. Expenditures

1. Heavy Expenses

SNCC has operated on a scale requiring substantial funds. For instance, SNCC's telephone bill \( (221) \) in Atlanta has run as high as \$1,000 a month. Several years ago, SNCC acquired some 70 automobiles and established a cover company called Sojourner Motor Fleet, Incorporated, to handle this pool of cars for field workers in the Southern States. SNCC at one time also possessed more than 50 short-wave radio units, about 20 walkie-talkies, and a number of long-distance radio \( (222) \) units. Furnishing bail for frequently arrested field workers has cost SNCC heavily since its inception.

SNCC's full-time staff at times has numbered as high as 230, 25 of whom worked in the Atlanta office, 20 in offices in the North, and the others in the South—in McComb, Mississippi; Selma, Alabama; et cetera. About 150 were paid a salary and the rest \( (223) \) were volunteers. The average staffer was paid between \$20 and \$25 a week, while others received \$10. However, SNCC has often gone for long periods without \( (224) \) being able to meet a full payroll.
Local SNCC offices also have had their own financial problems. In December, 1966, the Washington, D. C., office owed two months' rent, had forbidding telephone bills, and suffered the theft of $3,000 worth of its office equipment. In 1965, Philadelphia SNCC was $20,000 in debt.

2. Financial Crises

SNCC has experienced periodic financial crises. When, in December, 1965, SNCC announced the formation of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama to function as an all-Negro "third party," the SNCC treasury was virtually empty. Officials attributed this poverty to (1) "battle fatigue" on the part of the staff, (2) a belief among former Northern contributors that the civil rights struggle was over, and (3) an adverse reaction among contributors who objected to civil rights involvement in demonstrations protesting United States policy in Vietnam. This crisis was the worst that SNCC had faced—$25,000 in debt and $100,000 in arrears in meeting its $800,000 annual budget.

By not taking on large numbers of summer volunteers, who had once numbered more than 300, and by slashing the size of its full-time staff to about 135, SNCC found it could manage on as little as $150,000 or less a year.
Some so-called SNCC "separatists," holding the view that blacks must separate themselves from whites, are quite willing to forego white financial support for the reason that such support entwines SNCC in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country." Other SNCC officials have expressed concern about the reduced funds they have been able to raise, especially among white liberals, since SNCC began espousing the "Black Power" philosophy.

B. Sources of Income

1. Dues

SNCC has no set dues, although some chapters of Friends of SNCC adhere to a dues schedule. The chapter at the University of Nebraska, for example, charged dues of one dollar each semester and accepted pledges to support the civil rights movement in the South.

2. Contributions

Contributions to SNCC have been dropping markedly since 1964, when, largely because of the dramatic impact of the Mississippi Summer Project, they totaled $700,000. Contributions reportedly began shrinking when SNCC attacked the Democratic Party for refusing to oust the all-white Mississippi delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention. A further decline occurred when
SNCC began to advocate "Black Power" and voiced its opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Dr. Percy L. Julian, a wealthy Negro chemist in Chicago, has given financial support to SNCC. His son helped organize SNCC. Dr. Julian, however, disapproves of SNCC's present orientation toward "Black Power."

The CPUSA, the SWP, and the SDS have taken up collections and held functions such as fund-raising dinners on behalf of SNCC.

3. Fund Raising

It is reported that SNCC's money problems during the past year were somewhat eased by Stokely Carmichael's college speeches and fund-raising projects. Carmichael received fees ranging from $1,000 to $1,300 for each appearance, and he averaged three or four speeches a week. Since he was replaced as national chairman in May, 1967, it is not known whether he will continue his fund-raising activities.

SNCC has solicited contributions by mail and by personal contact. Fund raisers have approached the well-to-do for large sums. A Hollywood producer gave generously when asked for a donation.
SNCC has raised money in a variety of ways. A fund-raising affair in a New York sculptor’s home is said to have produced at least $10,000. One chapter of Friends of SNCC charged admission to a beer party; another held a Chinese auction; another sent out a chain letter to obtain trading stamps to be used for procuring a bus to take Southern voters to the polls.

Friends of SNCC have sold recordings and freedom songbooks. SNCC has sent its own Freedom Singers on a national tour and sponsored benefit performances featuring such well-known entertainers as Pete Seeger; Dick Gregory; Harry Belafonte; and Peter, Paul, and Mary.

4. Funds and Foundations

SNCC has been the recipient of money from several funds and foundations. In addition, a civil rights research organization, the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council (SRC), contributed thousands of dollars to SNCC for its voter-education project. However, SNCC’s "third party" activities in Alabama have jeopardized its chances of receiving additional grants from the SRC.

In 1961, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, granted SNCC $5,000 for the salary and expenses of a field worker to publicize the civil rights movement in white colleges and universities.
throughout the South. The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated, is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was cited as a communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
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92. 100-439190-829.
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96. 62-46355-430.
97. 100-439190-92 enclosure, p. 2.
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153. 100-439190-Not Recorded Serial, 8/11/65 enclosure, after Serial 470.
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TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

REFERENCES
Atlanta report of SAC 7/21/67.
Chicago report of SAC 12/6/67.
Bureau letter to Atlanta, 10/20/67.

LEADS
One copy of report is furnished each continental office in view of possible activity of this organization and participation in organizing protest demonstrations which are likely to develop into racial disorders or riots.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None
AT 100-6488

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**ADMINISTRATIVE**

Although the status of this case is Pending
in favor of certain investigative actions,
the investigative period raising resulted to that the
visible file reviews were conducted in the preparation of this
report.

**CONFIDENTIAL**
Activities of SNCC in Boston, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Buffalo and San Francisco are not included in this report as the Bureau has instructed by separate communication that these offices submit report on this organization.

Bureau letter dated October 10, 1967, instructed that administrative pages of this report include information concerning all programs and activities wherein its personnel is involved in the planning of or engaging in violence. It is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has made several speeches in the past which fall into this category. These speeches were the basis of a separate prosecutive summary report which has been submitted on CARMICHAEL. In view of the submission of that report, these statements and events attributed to CARMICHAEL that were included in that report are not being restated herein.
National Headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta. Identity of National Officers and members of Central Committee set forth. Character of organization described by STOKELY CARMICHAEL as opposing United States role in Viet Nam and supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly black youth. H. RAP BROWN states SNCC will strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and U. S. involvement in Viet Nam. Establishment of International Affairs Office in New York announced in order to link SNCC efforts with liberation movements around the world. JAMES FORMAN heads this office. H. RAP BROWN reportedly in contact with CP leaders. Presence of known SNCC members in area where violence erupted set forth. Financial condition of National Office described as poor.
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I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC. There are reflected in this report, certain programs and activities of SNCC wherein its personnel were involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Information received from [redacted] as recently as December 6, 1967, reflects that the National Headquarters of SNCC is located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

On May 22, 1967, [redacted] made available a letter dated April, 1967, which is set forth below:

"IN THE NATION
THE MALAISE BEYOND DISSENT
By Tom Wicker
The New York Times
March 12, 1967"
"Vietnam and the racial question are the most dramatic and emotional issues in modern American life...
But you have the feeling nobody is even listening. You don't have a chance... in the vast impersonality of 20th-century society and government, it has become almost impossible for individuals to affect the grinding course of things.

"That is the malaise beyond dissent the fear that dissent does not matter any more; that only action counts, but that no one really knows what action to take."

"Dear Friend,

"Who among us has not often felt helpless in the fact of government action -- or inaction? What American has not felt powerless to affect the institutions supposedly serving 'the people'? Who has not sometimes been ashamed of his own country, yet unable to root out the causes of that shame? We believe that you, as an enlightened citizen, have probably experienced such moments of frustration -- perhaps even despair.

"SNCC believes that dissent does matter -- if teeth are put into it. Effective action is possible -- if programmed to build communities with genuine power.

"From its earliest days, SNCC has maintained that power must flow from the bottom up. Community needs must prevail over political expediency. Institutions should be made to serve people, rather than people serving or being used by institutions."
"We have no sure-fire ways to accomplish these ends. But in our past work we have seen how group strength can be mustered to counter the forces of reaction and oppression. This summer, SNCC is conducting a major project in Washington, D. C., where almost a million people, the majority black, have long been denied a voice in government -- in their own affairs. In various rural and urban areas, we will initiate or continue to build 'freedom organizations' geared not only to electoral participation but also to the daily economic and social needs of Afro-Americans -- most of whom are poor. From these organizations we hope to see emerge a national power base of gathered strength, a new political apparatus. This year, we are also supporting black candidates for crucial local offices in Mississippi and in a special election scheduled for Green County, Alabama. Some of us will be working in other areas to organize poor whites.

"Because we stand not merely for civil rights but for human rights, we have opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam. We are supporting national anti-draft efforts, particularly among black youth. We are also organizing student conferences on a nationwide basis, with the goal of establishing communication between campuses and a true consistency of black students.

We ask you to support our program -- not just for SNCC's sake, but for your own sake in the struggle against powerlessness. Your support is not a matter of 'helping' others but helping yourself as a dissenter. SNCC is a voice, an important voice. Directly or indirectly, it speaks for you too.

"Please send a contribution today, in the enclosed reply envelope. It is an investment in your political future. It is a guarantee that dissent in this country will stay alive. Thank you.

"Yours sincerely,

/s/ Stokely Carmichael"
On November 27, 1967, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter signed H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC which reads in part as follows:

"Dear Friends,

"The struggle for the liberation of black people and other oppressed minorities in this country has reached a critical stage. Rebellions and revolts are occurring throughout the land, because the United States power structure has been unwilling to yield to the basic demands of its black population and their allies. It has chosen to create scapegoats—to shift the burden of responsibility for the upheavals from the oppressor to the oppressed—rather than to undertake the task of correcting centuries of evils.

"In this important era, SNCC has intensified its efforts to give political direction to the resistance against police brutality and the degrading social, economic and cultural effects of our society.

"SNCC has officially declared itself a Human Rights organization in May, 1967. As an organization 'technically' composed of America citizens, we feel that our first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government. Hence, we will strengthen our programs of opposition to the draft and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

A. LOCATION OF OTHER KNOWN SNCC CHAPTERS AND/OR OFFICES

On May 1, 1967, [redacted] advised that he had heard that SNCC had established
a chapter in Buffalo, New York. He did not know anything about its membership or its officers. He said one FRED READING claimed to represent SNCC in Buffalo. It was also indicated that the Buffalo Office of SNCC was made up primarily of the READING family, including the wife of FRED READING, SANDRA, and brother JOHN.

On June 12, 1967, [redacted], advised he had recently learned that two lieutenants of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, recently arrived in Hartford and were seeking a headquarters for a SNCC branch in that city.
RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two other speakers. According to information received from [redacted] on August 9, 1966, LUCAS was appointed a member of the Ohio CP State Board, which held a meeting on August 3, 1966, at Cleveland, Ohio.

[redacted] advised on September 20, 1967, that during the aforementioned meeting, RON LUCAS made the comment that no active SNCC chapters existed in the Cleveland area and the purpose of the meeting was to get one started.

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OFFICE

On November 27, 1967, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter signed by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, which states in part: "Realizing that oppressed peoples throughout the world share common bonds, SNCC has established an Office of International Affairs in New York City, in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world."
According to information reported by JAMES FORMAN, in addition to being Director of the New York Office of SNCC, 100 - 5th Avenue, New York City, is the Director of International Affairs Commission of SNCC.

On September 18, 1967, advised that FORMAN was in charge of the SNCC International Office and that the New York Office of SNCC was being converted to that purpose.

On November 9, 1967, advised that GEORGE WALTER BROADFIELD resides in Apartment 7F, 444 Central Park West, New York, and is believed employed by the Urban League of Greater New York, 204 West 136th Street. The source described BROADFIELD as an advocate of "Black Nationalism" and who often quotes from the works of MAO TSE-TUNG.

According to BROADFIELD had stated that SNCC now has a permanent office in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, and coordinated its national operation.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

A. NATIONAL OFFICERS

On May 12, 1967, advised that SNCC made an official announcement as to the result of the election of national officers for the year 1967. These individuals are identified as follows and certain background information secured from other sources is set forth under their names:

- 9 -
1. H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman

advised that BROWN was elected National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, replacing STOKELY CARMICHAEL. According to records of

BROWN was born October 4, 1943, in Baton Rouge. Advised that BROWN utilizes the address of 850 West End Avenue, S. W., Apartment 12, when he is in Atlanta, Georgia. Advised that while in New York City, BROWN utilizes the address of 530 Manhattan Avenue, New York City.

Investigation in Washington, D. C., reflects that when BROWN is in that city he utilizes the address of his sister, PATRICIA ANN BROWN, [redacted].

2. STANLEY LE ROY WISE, Executive Secretary

The Bureau of Vital Statistics of Charlotte, North Carolina, reflects that STANLEY LE ROY WISE was born June 12, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina, to CLARENCE EUGENE WISE and JOSEPHINE BELTON.

Information furnished by [redacted] on December 7, 1967, reflects that WISE resides at 156 Fairfield Place, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, and can be contacted at telephone 794-6730.

3. RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE
Program Director

The records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, District of Columbia, reflect that RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE was born in Washington, D. C., on May 26, 1939. Birth Certificate No. 428919 identified his parents as JAMES S. FEATHERSTONE, Sr., born July 5, 1912, in New Jersey, and ANNIE BROWN, born April 19, 1913, in Maryland. The records
of the District of Columbia Teachers College reflect that FEATHERSTONE was admitted to that college on September 9, 1957, and awarded a Bachelor of Science Degree on June 13, 1963, with a Major in Speech Correction. The District of Columbia Board of Education records reflect that FEATHERSTONE was employed on January 27, 1964, as a temporary speech teacher, this employment ending on June 30, 1964.

On November 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that FEATHERSTONE is now residing on Gordon Road, Atlanta, in the Paradise Apartments with KAREN. ESMOND and JENIFER LAWSON, both associated with SNCC in Atlanta.

4. ETHEL HARRIET MINOR
   Communications Director

The records of the Cook County Bureau of Vital Statistics, Chicago, Illinois, reflect that ETHEL HARRIET MINOR, a Negro female, was born on November 9, 1938, at Provident Hospital. [redacted] advised that MINOR resides in Apartment 2, 2930 Del Mar Lane, S.W., Atlanta.

5. MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SNCC

The following individuals, according to [redacted] the Central Committee of SNCC and although they serve on this committee, they do not, by necessity, reside in the Atlanta, Georgia, area.

1. JOHN AUGUST WILSON

The records of the Passport Division, U.S. Department of State (USDS) reflect that WILSON was born September 29, 1943, at Baltimore, Maryland, and as of August 28, 1957, maintained the permanent residence address of 520 E. 12th Street, New York, New York. His mother is identified in the records as ANNE WILSON.
2. FAYE DELORES BELLAMY

According to the records of the Passport Office, USDS, BELLAMY was born May 3, 1938, at Clairton, Pennsylvania. Her parents are identified as MALBRO BELLAMY, born May 27, 1910, and PEARL FORDHAM, deceased. Information furnished by [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects that BELLAMY resides in Apartment 18, 138 Lamar Street, S.W., Atlanta.

3. JOHN EDWIN JACKSON

The records of the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, reflect that JACKSON was born January 17, 1948, at Lowndes County, Alabama, and as of January 3, 1966, resided at Route 1, Box 191, Hayneville, Alabama.

4. JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

According to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), New York City, LESTER was born January 27, 1939, however, no city was indicated for this birth. Information furnished by [redacted] on November 12, 1967, reflects that LESTER is a photographer working out of the New York Office of SNCC. The INS records reflected that as of May 9, 1967, he resided at 329 W. 21st Street, New York City.

5. WILLIAM HALL

According to the records of the Passport Division, USDS, Washington, D.C., HALL was born September 2, 1936, in New York City. His father is identified as HENRY L. HALL, born in Florida, and his mother as DOROTHY M. CARTER, born in Durham, North Carolina. His permanent residence is reflected as 1985 - 7th Street, New York City. His mother resides at [redacted].

- 12 -
6. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE, JR.

According to the records of the USDS, WARE was born April 21, 1940, at Camp Hill, Alabama. Information received from [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects WARE resides at Apartment 18, 156 Fairfield Place, Atlanta.

7. JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

According to the records of [REDACTED], FORMAN was born October 4, 1928, in Chicago, Illinois. Information furnished by [REDACTED] on November 12, 1967, reflects FORMAN presently resides in New York City.

8. CHARLES EARL COBB, JR.

9. ROBERT FLETCHER

V. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA) PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY
On October 31, 1967, [redacted] advised that
the 12th Annual Federacion de Universitarios Pro-
Independencia (FUPSI) was held on October 27, 28 and 29,
1967, at the Hollywood Cafe, Ponce de Leon Avenue,
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. [redacted] made available
the Declaration as ratified by the Congress at its
conclusion on October 29, 1967, which reads as follows:

"FUPI XII Congress - General Statement.

"Gathered at this Twelfth Congress, we,
members of the FUPI, an organization that represents
the student body of the University of Puerto Rico in its
struggle for national liberation agree;

"To dedicate the results of the Congress to
Jose Rafael Varela, who was seriously wounded by the
Yankee Air Force while visiting a North Vietnamese school
as a delegate of our organization; to the heroic Vietnamese people who with courage and sacrifice have assumed the position of the first battlefront in the universal struggle against imperialism, and we dedicate the results of this Congress to the courageous Commander Ernesto 'Che' Guevara.

"To all the aforementioned, we dedicate this Congress with a revolutionary promise that, inspired by their example of courage and sacrifice, we will continue the struggle for the liberty of all men.

"We express our solidarity with the heroic people of the United States especially its vanguard, the Negro people, headed by SNCC which carries out the difficult task of destroying the enemy from within."

A characterization of the FUPI appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

A. APPROVALATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

On April 23, 1967, [name redacted] furnished a circular reflecting that JOHN WILSON and EVELYN MARSHALL, both associated with SNCC in the South for three years, would appear on a program sponsored by the Freedom Socialist Party on Sunday, April 23, 1967, at Freedom Hall, 3815 - 5th Avenue, N.E., Seattle, Washington. A circular indicated that EVELYN MARSHALL was originally from Seattle, Washington, and that JOHN WILSON was one of seven young Negroes from the Atlanta SNCC Office indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on charges of Interfering with the Administration of the Universal Military Training Act and Destruction of Federal Property.

A characterization of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of Washington appears in the Appendix Section of this report.

The Spring, 1967, issue of the magazine "Freedomways", which is the second quarter for 1967, is
self-described as "a quarterly review of the Negro Freedom Movement." A notation appearing in this issue credits the picture on the inside cover to DIANE NASH BEVEL and states that the pictures on the back cover are presented through the courtesy of SNCC.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix of this report.

On July 12, 1967, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former head of SNCC and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, JR., the former Program Director for SNCC, have reservations on Pan American Airways (PAA) flight 104 departing JFK Airport, New York City, at 8:15 P.M., July 14, 1967, arriving in London, England, at 7:55 A.M., July 15, 1967. The source indicated they have further reservations at London on Aeroflot flight 32, departing
London at 12:30 P.M., July 15, 1967, arriving Moscow at 6:15 P.M., July 15, 1967. These arrangements were made by the New York Office of SNCC.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the Appendix of this report.
On July 7, 1967, [redacted] furnished a report covering the SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 - July 1, 1967. The source said about 400 people attended this convention. The source said that one of the resolutions passed by the convention was that the National Office be empowered to support and defend radical movements and organizations that the Government cracks down on. It was said that SDS would support the groups against the Government even though the SDS does not support the ideology of that group. In relation to this, one of the speakers told of contact he had had with SNCC members in Texas. He said the five SNCC members had been arrested for murder in Houston, Texas, recently and wanted people to come to their trial in order to disrupt the proceedings.

An article which appeared in the October 21, 1967 issue of the "Albuquerque Journal," a daily newspaper published at Albuquerque, New Mexico, set forth that the Alianza Federal De Mercedes (AFDM) would hold a convention at the Albuquerque Civic Auditorium on October 21-22, 1967. This article also set forth that the following organizations set delegations to the convention:

SNCC
Atlanta, Georgia
headed by RALPH FEATHERSTONE
On October 23, 1967, [redacted] observed the following concerning the meeting of the AFDM. He was in attendance all day Saturday, October 21, 1967.

Most of the proceedings were in the Spanish language and there were evidently no Spanish-speaking reporters present and REYES LOPEZ TIJERINA, President, AFDM, commented that the news media were asking State Police Officers to translate the proceedings for them.

REYES TIJERINA stated that "We are not Communists," but the organization is open to any and all that would like to join.

JAMES KENNEDY, known to source and who had been publicly identified as a member of the CP, USA, was observed at the meeting. He was not seen to take an active part. He and those around him would clap at the wrong time because they evidently did not speak the Spanish language.

PATRICIA BLAWIS from Santa Fe, New Mexico, who source has heard is a Communist, was observed at the meeting but no special activity on her part was seen.

[redacted] advised on June 28, 1966, at the 12th National Convention of the CP, USA, held at New York, New York, June 22-26, 1966, PAT BLAU BLAWIS was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA.

On October 21-22, 1967, [redacted] attended sessions of the convention of the AFDM at Albuquerque, New Mexico, and reported the following information:

There were from 300 to 400 persons in attendance, most of whom were Spanish-American. There were about 30 to 40 Negroes present who included delegates
from SNCC, a militant civil rights group, including WILLIE HICKS and RALPH REAGAN from Atlanta, Georgia. There were five persons in the SNCC group. A Spanish-looking girl by the name of MARIA VARELA was there who was with the SNCC group and the impression was gained that she came with them. There were also persons present representing the Black Panthers and the Black Caucus, Los Angeles Negro organizations, and the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) from Los Angeles. As far as known to the source, there were no local Negroes present or local Negro groups represented.

On October 20 and 21, 1967, RALPH REAGAN spoke as a representative of SNCC. In his address, he disagreed with Reverend CLARENCE DUFFY’s suggestion to form a new political party and his advocacy of the use of peaceful means only. There were five individuals representing SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia.

MARIA VARELA informed everyone present that the AFDM had formally signed a treaty with the Negro organizations represented and with the Hopi Indians. The treaty pledged that each group would not interfere with the other in their individual problems but would unite against their common enemy. MARIA VARELA identified the organizations signing the treaty as SNCC, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Black Panthers, Black Caucus, Black Panthers, and the Hopi Indians.

Tijerina claimed that the Negro groups from California had taken the treaty with them to be ratified and it will thereafter be sent to SNCC Headquarters for ratification and then returned to the AFDM.

advised on October 27, 1967, that a Mrs. MARIA VARELA, supposedly a secretary of SNCC, had arrived in Albuquerque. She apparently came to help with arrangements for the convention and was located at AFDM headquarters.
On October 21, 1967, [redacted] informed me that he identified PAT BLAIS and her husband, JACK BLAIS of Santa Fe, New Mexico, as being in attendance at the AFDM convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 21, 1967. This source also identified JAMES KENNEDY and his wife, MARTHA KENNEDY, in attendance on this same day. Informant advised that although KENNEDY told representatives of the press that he was at the convention as a representative of the SDS, KENNEDY advised some others that he was actually attending as a representative of SNCC.

On October 21, 1967, [redacted] advised that the 19th Anniversary Celebration of the "National Guardian" was held at the Imperial Ballroom, Americans Hotel, New York City, on October 27, 1967.

The source said there were 15 tables seating five persons each at this celebration and the ballroom was filled. The source said RAP BROWN walked on the stage and took a seat with the other speakers and received a standing ovation from those in attendance. When BROWN was introduced, he said that "bad breath and body odor are not the problems in America today. It is the problem of survival. Black people are rebelling because of conditions they have been under for many years. Watts and Detroit are examples where black people are not talking about freedom. They are going to be free and by any means necessary. White people are talking about joining but we don't need liberals. We can't afford to talk about politics. We are in favor of wars of liberation. My advice to the left is, 'don't go left.' The revolution is going on with or without you. We need the 'Guardian.' You taught us to be violent. We talk about need for alliances. Why do black people need guns? America only respects counterforce. Plainfield, New Jersey was successful because they had guns. If you chose to oppose me, you are my enemy. Johnson says if Viet Nam doesn't come around it should be burned down. I say the same thing about America. As our oppressors you will be destroyed."
A characterization of the "National Guardian" appears in the Appendix of this report.

B. AFFILIATION OF SNCC WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING A CP BACKGROUND

Advise that RAP BROWN, National Chairman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL were invited by W. SUMPTER MC INYERS, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton, Ohio. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 24, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently-formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

W. SUMPTER MC INYERS

Advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INYERS was a member of the CP.
On June 21, 1967, [redacted] furnished information that the subscription of SNCC to the "Peoples World" had expired, possibly in 1967, and had not been renewed.

"The "Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

[redacted] on August 3, 1967, made available a published report of the National Association of Stenographers of Cuba (in exile). This Association, on a daily basis, monitors broadcasts from Cuba, and thereafter publishes a transcription of the more important news items. The published reports made available by the source contain information from broadcasts from Cuba that were monitored on August 1-2, 1967. The information obtained is as follows:

Radio Havana - Cuba

STRENGTH CARNEHALL read a message over Radio Havana - Cuba which he had written to "CHE" GUEVARA. He said that the Afro-Americans in the United States feel a great admiration for "CHE." "We await with eagerness your writings in order to read them, digest them and to plan our strategy based on them," he said. "We want you to know," he continued, "wherever you are, you are an inspiration not only to the Negroes in the United States, but to the fight for liberation throughout the world."

BELIEVED "CHE" GUEVARA was the former head of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) of the Cuban Government.
Radio Havana - Cuba (August 2, 1967)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL declared in Havana that the U.S. Negroes are planning guerrilla warfare in the cities because they have no other way to obtain their rights.

...made available on August 1, 1967, a copy of the July 25, 1967, issue of "El Mundo" which contained an article captioned, "More Delegates Arrive For CLAS." This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and GEORGE WARE of SNCC, are already in Cuba as guests to the CLAS conference. Both received a greeting of welcome from CAPTAIN OSMINI CAMPIONIS, President of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

The next, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 27, 1967 issue of "El Mundo." This issue carried the complete speech of Premier FIDEL CASTRO, made on July 26, 1967, at Santiago de Cuba, at the ceremony commemorating the 14th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. In his speech, CASTRO stated that many important guests were present at this commemoration. He referred to STOKELY CARMICHAEL by name and stated the following:

"Also present for the first time at this meeting, or at a meeting of this kind, is one of the most noted leaders for civil rights in the United States, STOKELY CARMICHAEL."

"El Mundo" is a daily afternoon newspaper published in Havana under the control and direction of the Cuban Government.

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The source, on August 3, 1967, made available the July 28, 1967, issue of "Granma" which contained an article entitled, "Carmichael Comments on Fidel's Speech." This article stated that SISCOELY CARMICHAEL, described as the well known integrationist fighter from the United States, said that one of the things which impressed him most was "The very clear manner of explaining to the people the problems of the country," and he added that the First Secretary of the CP of Cuba showed once more that he knows thoroughly the problems of the international situation.

"Granma" is published daily as the official organ of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

VI. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF SNCC WHEREIN ITS PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF OR ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE

An article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" of June 13, 1967, reflecting that in Prattville, Alabama, National Guardsmen and State Troopers armed with tear gas and ordered to kill if necessary, surrounded a small house in Happy Hollow early the preceding Monday and ended a five-hour sporadic gun battle resulting from the arrest of black power leader SISCOELY CARMICHAEL. The article reflects that SNCC immediately announced a "Declaration of War" and said that Alabama would be the battle ground. CARMICHAEL had been arrested when officers answered a call that a Negro had threatened a white man with a shotgun at a church where a civil rights rally was in progress. The article reportedly sets out that CARMICHAEL told Assistant Chief Ken Hill to "Take off the tin badge and I'll take care of this myself." According to the article, CARMICHAEL then turned to another Negro and said "Hand me the gun and I'll take care of him." After CARMICHAEL's arrest, shots were fired at patrol cars in the area. One car was shot at three times.
An article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal" of June 15, 1967, reflects that a white teenager was shot by Negroes in a passing car, although racial riots had been generally eased in Cincinnati, Ohio, the preceding night. The article stated violence hit Cincinnati'and JAMES SHIRK, age 15, was listed in poor condition with a bullet wound in his back. Fire bombs were used in several places and unruly crowds formed, then dispersed as cruisers and National Guardsmen's jeeps raced to the scene. The violence followed a militant civil rights meeting where H. RAP BROWN asked Negroes "How can you be non-violent in America, the most violent country in the world? You better shoot that man to death; that's what he's doing to you." After this WILLIE RICKS, SNCC officer, said he and BROWN were in Dayton "to make the white men get on their knees."

advised that H. RAP BROWN, National Chariman of the SNCC and possibly STOKELY CARMICHAEL, were invited by W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH, Director of the Ohio Freedom Movement, local Dayton civil rights group, to speak at a job rally in the Negro west side section of Dayton. This rally was scheduled to be held at 8:00 P.M., June 14, 1967, at the Wesley Community Center, 2301 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio, and was to be called the "West Side Job Rally."

Source advised that the purpose of this rally was to discuss the recently formed Police Community Relations Unit; the role of the Negro in the forthcoming city elections; more anti-poverty funds; and to promote orderly action in the field of employment.

Source advised BROWN was introduced at the rally by ALBERT HOLLAND, Director of Moving Ahead Together (MAT), a West Dayton anti-poverty agency whose application for renewal of Federal funding has been rejected by Supporting Council On Preventive Effort (SCOPE).
The "Dayton Daily News," a newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article titled, "Brown Raps 'Honkies,' But Not Like Stokely," on Page 6 of the June 15, 1967 edition. This article quoting BROWN in regard to the Press stated, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people...after each rebellion, they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you."

This article quoting BROWN in regard to black power stated, "We ain't seeking no love. We seekin' power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

On June 14, 1967, Dayton, Ohio, advised that after the rally at about 8:45 P.M., June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles. Traffic was temporarily routed by the police around the area, and several shop windows in the area were broken, and there was some scattered looting. Disturbance of the same nature continued into the morning hours of June 15. During the night of June 14 and morning of June 15, police reported only scattered instances of broken windows and minor looting.

stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

On June 14, 1967, Dayton, Ohio, advised that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting of H. RAP BROWN and W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH. He stated, "I think it had a great deal to do with this disturbance. I think it triggered it."
The following information was furnished on June 18 and 19, 1967, by Atlanta, Georgia:

On Friday and Saturday nights the merchants at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, 2179 Verdena Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, employ Fulton Detectives, uniformed guards service with special police officers, to discourage theft and also as a preventive measure against disorder in this community of Negro residences.

On Saturday night, June 17, 1967, around 8:30 P.M., three Fulton Detectives observed EDDIE WILKINS, a Negro male, drinking beer in the outside area of the shopping center and asked him to leave the premises. WILKINS refused to leave and was thereafter placed under arrest. WILKINS resisted and it became necessary to subdue him. A crowd began to congregate, and the special officers placed a call to the Atlanta Police Department for assistance.

EDDIE WILKINS' sister, GEORGIA WILKINS, Negro female, nineteen years of age, accused the special officers of hitting her brother. GEORGIA WILKINS also was placed under arrest by the special officers for cursing them and hitting one of them in the face and chest with her purse. JOSEPH KENDRICK, Negro male, 21 years of age, also scuffled with the special officers and was also placed under arrest. GEORGIA WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery on an officer, Cursing and Resisting Arrest. EDDIE WILKINS was charged with Assault and Battery, Cursing and Malicious Mischief. JOSEPH KENDRICK was charged with Interfering with an Officer Making an Arrest, Assault and Battery on an Officer, and Using Profane Language.

By the time the above arrests had been completed and the individuals arrested had been removed from the area, approximately 300 persons had gathered and several rocks were thrown. Several windows were broken, one of these windows being the window of a grocery store operated by HERNAND SLOMAN. The crowd gradually dispersed and no other arrests were made.
During the early evening of Sunday, June 18, 1967, a crowd congregated at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, more or less for curiosity, to see if anything was happening. As the evening grew on, additional police cars came into the area to observe and stand by in the event of difficulty. Around 6:30 P.M., STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of the SNCC appeared on the scene, accompanied by a group of individuals some of whom were connected with SNCC. CARMICHAEL and some of these individuals walked around talking with the small groups of spectators who were just standing around in the shopping center observing. CARMICHAEL was wearing a green sweatshirt on which was painted an image of the late MALCOLM X, with the name MALCOLM X printed under the image. CARMICHAEL was also wearing plaid shorts, sandals and sunglasses.

At this point there was no disorder. CARMICHAEL walked up to Captain EVERETT LITTLE and asked him why there were so many police cars in the area. Captain LITTLE informed CARMICHAEL that they were there to see that there was no disturbance and instructed CARMICHAEL to "move on." At this time CARMICHAEL started dancing up and down in front of Captain LITTLE, clapping his hands and singing words to the effect that if the police cars were not moved out they might have to riot. Captain LITTLE again instructed CARMICHAEL to move on, and after CARMICHAEL failed to do so, Captain LITTLE arrested him, charging him with Disorderly Conduct - Failure to Obey an Officer to Move On.

Shortly after the above individuals were booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they were visited by HOWARD MOORE, an attorney of the Negro race, who represents SNCC. Approximately 45 minutes after MOORE's departure, Dr. ROY C. BELL, a dentist of the Negro race,
appeared at the police department and arranged for the release of the above individuals on $25.00 bond each. As these individuals were signing their bond release forms prior to being released, CARMICHAEL complained that he would not sign his bond release until he was given his comb, claiming the comb had been taken from him after his arrival at the police department. When the officers in the Station Captain's Office stated that they had no knowledge of any comb being taken from CARMICHAEL, he told them to take him back upstairs as he did not want to be released without his comb. A comb was later located and exhibited to CARMICHAEL, at which time he identified this comb as being his property. A Municipal Court hearing was set for 3:30 P.M., June 19, 1967.

The crowd at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center continued to remain in the area milling around and talking late into the night of June 18, 1967; however, no other arrests were made.

On June 19, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared at the Atlanta Municipal Court, at which time his case was reset for June 22, 1967, due to the fact the attorney representing CARMICHAEL was unable to appear on June 19, 1967, advised on June 20, 1967, that as a result of disturbances at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center on June 19, 1967, the Dixie Hills Supermarket, operated by CARMICHAEL, was closed during the day of June 19, 1967.

At 12:30 P.M., officers were seated in their patrol car in the vicinity of the shopping center area. They heard the burglar alarm
on the store at which time they observed DOUGLAS RICHMOND, a Negro male, 21 years of age, beating on the burglary alarm bell, which is located on the side of the building with a broom handle. The officers had observed RICHMOND in the area earlier and at that time had instructed him to leave, as he had obviously been drinking. Officer Instructions RICHMOND to stop hitting on the bell with the broom handle and RICHMOND charged [redacted], hitting him on the back with the broom handle and also throwing a brick at [redacted] which caused a laceration on [redacted]'s right arm. During the scuffle, several bystanders charged Officer [redacted] to prevent him from subduing and arresting RICHMOND. Officer [redacted] pulled his service revolver, shooting RICHMOND in the left thigh. Officer [redacted] and RICHMOND were taken to the hospital, where both were treated and released.

Following the above incident, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who had been released from jail earlier in the day, held a press conference during which he charged police brutality and announced that a protest meeting would be held at St. Joseph's Baptist Church on the evening of June 19, 1967. This church is located in the close proximity of the Dixie Hills Shopping Center. The meeting began at about 8:00 P.M. with approximately 250 Negroes in attendance. State Senator LEORY JOHNSON was the first speaker and attempted to calm the attitude of the crowd. Reverend JOSEPH E. BOONE, who is connected with the Operation Breadbasket, a function of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was the next speaker who urged that a committee be formed to present grievances and protests to the police department relative to conditions in the community.

The next speaker was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, who made reference to the detective who had aided in the arrests made in the community on Saturday night and said that, "We don't want a hunkie lover like Detective Bailey in our community. If that Negro
comes into our community he is going to get shot." CARMICHAEL said that his audience should not clap because they let off steam in this manner and that was their trouble as they were letting off steam when they should have slapped some heads.

CARMICHAEL was cheered and appeared to have the support of most of those present. The meeting was over shortly after 9:00 P.M., and the crowd surged to the Dixie Hills Shopping Center, where it soon increased in number to about 1,000. It appeared that STOKELY CARMICHAEL left shortly after making his appearance at the church. When the crowd left for the shopping center there were only about 40 police officers in the community and when the crowd started throwing rocks and bottles at officers and shouting "kill hunkies" the officers took cover behind patrol cars which received extensive damage at the hands of the mob.

☐ advised on June 21, 1967, that H. RAP BROWN arrived at the SNCC Office in Atlanta around 4:50 P.M., on June 20, 1967, while a press conference was in progress, and announced that he had just returned to Atlanta from Cincinnati, Ohio. This press conference, which was covered by various national news media, revolved around the position of SNCC concerning the racial disturbances in the Dixie Hills area. RAP BROWN remarked during the conference that Negroes should be the ones to determine what goes on in a Negro community without any outside influence whatsoever.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC appeared for trial in the Atlanta City Court on June 22, 1967, on the charge made against him at the time of his arrest on June 18, 1967, for "D.C. - failure to obey an officer to move on." CARMICHAEL was found guilty on this charge and sentenced to pay a fine of $53.00 or serve 50 days in jail in the Atlanta City Stockade.
On July 26, 1967, an article appeared in the "Atlanta Journal", datelined Washington, D. C., reflecting that H. RAP BROWN, the National Chairman of SNCC, had been arrested on Maryland State charges of Inciting Negroes to Riot in Cambridge, Maryland. The article reflected BROWN had spoken at a rally in Cambridge shortly before an outbreak of arson and disorder in the Negro section of the Eastern Shore community on Monday night, July 24, 1967. Maryland National Guardsmen were called in to restore order and a warrant charging BROWN with Inciting to Arson was issued.

Another article appearing in the July 28, 1967 issue of the "Atlanta Constitution", datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that BROWN urged cheering Negro supporters on the preceding Thursday to defeat President LYNDON B. JOHNSON in 1968 as a "wild mad dog, an outlaw from Texas" and to ignore appeals by moderate Negro leaders to abandon violence. BROWN added, "I say violence is necessary, violence is part of America's culture and is as American as cherry pie. Honky (the white man) is going to kill you—if not in Vietnam, on the streets of America. We built it up and you know what to do if it don't come around. If Washington don't come around, burn it down."

A characterization of SSOC appears in the Appendix of this report.
An article appearing in the "Atlanta Constitution" of August 3, 1967, datelined Washington, D. C., reflects that Police Chief JACOB W. SCHOTT of Cincinnati, Ohio, told a Senate Judiciary Committee that rock throwing, fire bombing violence erupted in the streets of Cincinnati after STOKELY CARMICHAEL had urged Cincinnati Negroes to fight the police and burn the city. This was on April 29, 1967, he said, and after months of sporadic outbreaks they were undergoing a guerrilla type operation with kids operating from autos.

Police Chief JOHN A. SORACE of Nashville, Tennessee, told the Committee that a riot there on April 8, 1967, was caused by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, H. RAP BROWN and other functionaries of SNCC.

Chief SORACE said that the trouble began after SNCC held a week-long annual meeting in Nashville. He said CARMICHAEL had given speeches in the area for three days prior to the trouble and SNCC leaders from all parts of the country were in the city. He added that they had information that SNCC was planning a large-scale disturbance in Nashville.

Police Chief BRICE KINNAMON of Cambridge, Maryland, put the blame of a July 24, 1967, riot in Cambridge squarely on H. RAP BROWN. KINNAMON said a highly inflammatory speech by BROWN was the sole reason for the riot. It was a well organized and well planned affair.
On August 5, 1967, Lexington, Mississippi, furnished the following information:

Approximately 125 Negroes assembled outside Lexington City Hall during the 50-minute meeting symbolizing peaceful protest. Two or three white civil rights workers were observed among the crowd and a few white citizens appeared as spectators.

Mayor KENNA informed the committee he is willing to receive their written charges or affidavit at a hearing, but did not set a date.

At 7:30 P.M., August 5, 1967, approximately 100 Negroes marched, chanted, and demonstrated on the Lexington town square without notifying local authorities. Some shopping bags were pulled from the arms of shoppers by Negro demonstrators. No arrests were reported.

The Lexington Police Department and Sheriff's Office were on the scene and 30 to 35 members of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol (MHSP) Riot Squad were dispatched to the area in the event violence occurred.

Approximately 10 Negroes were identified as out-of-state SNCC workers and have established a Black Liberation School in Lexington and will remain until after the November election campaigns.

At 10:00 P.M., August 5, 1967, the Lexington Police Department, Sheriff's Office and MHSP appeared to have the situation under control.

On August 11, 1967, advised that the general racial situation in Lexington, Mississippi, appears to have returned to "normal."
further advised that symptoms of unrest which existed in Lexington last week appear to be appreciably reduced.

According to [redacted], on August 10, 1967, the Black Citizens Committee met for the second time in six days at Lexington City Hall with Mayor W. B. KENNA.

The members of the Black Citizens Committee were dressed in business suits and an objective, unemotional exchange of views prevailed. The committee appeared to accept Mayor KENNA's decision to retain W. C. "Fats" JORDAN, Negro Police Department Officer, against whom the committee previously lodged oral complaints locally of brutality and harassment.

On the other hand, the committee voiced to Mayor KENNA a need for Negro representation in city Government. Allegedly Mayor KENNA advised them that the primary election on August 8, 1967, revealed a large turnout of Negro voters in Lexington and Holmes County, Mississippi, and that in the future through the ballot they can elect any qualified candidate(s) of their choice.

stated that the entire meeting was tape-recorded.

Reportedly the meeting concluded with the committee and Mayor agreeing that problems in Lexington can best be equitably and fairly resolved without the presence of assistance from the out-of-state SNCC workers in Lexington.

In regard to the SNCC workers, stated a meeting of Negroes was held in Lexington the evening of August 10, 1967, for the purpose of making a progress report of the Black Citizens Committee with Mayor KENNA. After the above facts were announced, WARREN BOOKER
Lexington, Negro male, engaged in a heated verbal exchange with an unidentified SNCC worker. Allegedly BOOKER informed the SNCC workers that Lexington Negroes are being encouraged to withdraw their children from the SNCC Black Liberation School in Lexington. BOOKER allegedly stated that the type of education endorsed and promoted by SNCC at their school is not wanted or needed.

No recent arrests of Negroes reported by Lexington Police Department or Sheriff's Office. Officer JORDAN currently is assigned duties in another section of Lexington. No meetings or demonstrations are planned in the near future.

ERNEST CORNELIUS STEPHENS, SNCC, Negro male, date of birth May 25, 1941, at Detroit, Michigan, address interviewed at Lexington August 11, 1967, by Special Agents of the FBI. STEPHENS admitted having supervisory control of 12 paid SNCC workers in Lexington. STEPHENS stated their purpose in Lexington is political organization, meaning the promotion of Negro Freedom Democratic Party candidates in the general election in November. STEPHENS advised a Black Liberation School has been established in Lexington and is attended from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. five days a week by both male and female students ranging in age from 10 to 21 years. Allegedly the school is financed through local contributions. STEPHENS stated their movement is a non-violent one; however, if attacked by a white person they will defend themselves. A .22 automatic rifle and a box of .22 cartridges were observed in the office where STEPHENS was interviewed. STEPHENS stated the weapon belonged to another office worker. STEPHENS was asked if the Negroes in Lexington were obtaining firearms, and he said "yes." STEPHENS would not describe the number, types, or source(s) of these weapons. STEPHENS stated that no violence or riots are planned by them unless it becomes necessary to defend themselves against white people. STEPHENS stated that he personally sees no difference between a Lexington, Mississippi Policeman, Jackson, Mississippi Policeman or a Ku Klux Klansman.
The following article appeared on Page hhhh2 of the October 13, 1967 Latin American daily report of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service concerning an interview with a FARC leader regarding guerrilla warfare. This article is set forth as follows:
[Cont.] Havana—George Ware, one of the leaders of the collective Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the United States, has confirmed that the U.S. Negro population has no better way than guerrilla warfare to fight against its oppressors. "We cannot live up on one side of the street and permit the U.S. Army to live up on the other side in order to then start a battle. We must organize urban guerrillas for that confrontation in areas where the Negro population is in the majority," Ware stipulated.

Replying to a questionnaire from the Cuban magazine REVISTA CRITICA, Ware noted that those who hold power in the United States will never mind it, or part of it, over their own spontaneous volition. "But we will be able to take that power if we fight for it," Ware said.

In its introduction, REVISTA CRITICA recalls that SNCC—the organization headed by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown—"thinks of its struggle as part of the total struggle of the Third World, that the causes of the racial violence in the United States are the same as the ones of the war in Vietnam and the guerrilla uprising in Latin America."

To a question about the change in the formerly moderate Negro movement, Ware replied: "The latest struggle represents a form of self-defense against police violence. All of the actions have been in reaction to the brutality of the white guards. In that sense, they are manifestations of self-defense; but, at the same time, they constitute an offensive by Negroes who refuse to accept the economic and ideological exploitation to which they are subjected."

Then the young Afro-American declared that the struggle for integration in the United States does not constitute a complete solution to the problem and that it can occur only when all persons are equal. [Passage indicates:] "We have never heard any talk about a cultural exchange with the Negro population. We have always been told that we should integrate ourselves and that, if we integrate ourselves, we would become white."

To the whites who maintain that thesis, Ware replied that "I will not become a carbon copy of you in order to be accepted by you, because one would also have to take into account whether I am willing to accept you as you are, and this has never been discussed." Integration, he added, "confused many people. We believe that if a person wants to live in a Negro community, he should be granted the right to do so. The only obstacle would be if that person were to create a structure that would not permit the whites to live there or that the aforementioned person were to decide to move to a white community and its members, by force, prevented him from doing so. Therefore, instead of fighting for integration, we prefer to struggle to eliminate discrimination."
GEORGE WARE has been identified by [redacted] as a local Atlanta SNCC member and active in these matters in Atlanta, Georgia.

On November 1, 1967, [redacted] furnished an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana copy of October 26, 1967. This article reflects in part that STANLEY WISE, SNCC had said on October 25, 1967, at Havana, that the immediate plans of his organization were to establish relations with the countries of the Third World, "they will strengthen resistance to the war in Viet Nam, and they will intensify the revolution among the Negro masses in the United States.

An article appearing in the "Santa Barbara News-Press" (California) dated August 24, 1967, captioned "Students Discuss Ways to Destroy Universities" mentioned that STANLEY WISE, SNCC was a speaker at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California. WISE stated the institutions of this country must be destroyed and he is committed to the destruction of the present setup of the United States Government in that his organization, SNCC, was absolutely without a doubt responsible for the race riots throughout the country this summer.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

On June 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that SNCC was distributing leaflets in opposition to the war in Viet Nam. This leaflet bears a photograph of "Uncle Sam" and states in party, "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger." Notes appearing on this leaflet are to the effect, "Become a Member of the World's Highest Paid Black Mercenary Army;" "Fight For Freedom... (in Viet Nam);" "(Die Nigger--you can't die fast enough in the ghettos);" "Support White Power--travel to Viet Nam You Might Get a Medal;" "Receive Valuable Training in the Skills of Killing Off Other Oppressed People!;" "So Run To Your Nearest Recruiting Chamber!" Source stated that part
of the SNCC plan was to distribute these leaflets primarily in the area of college campuses.

On June 23, 1967, advised that on June 21, 1967, a gathering took place at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas, at the new University Center beginning at 7:30 P.M. and 8:30 P.M. The meeting was held under sponsorship of the Viet Nam Summer Project and was chaired by CLEN DUVAL and DAVID SHROYAR. The main topic was discussion of activities being planned under the head of Viet Nam Summer. During the meeting the question was asked regarding what group would be more effective in certain areas on certain problems. This question was answered by it being pointed out that special notice should be paid to SNCC. It was further stated during the conference that H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN, both associated with SNCC, possibly stayed some place on Blodgett Street while they were in Houston, Texas.

On July 9, 1967, advised that the Atlanta Office of SNCC was planning to open a Freedom School at 430 Hunter Street, Atlanta.

This source later advised, however, that the City of Atlanta Department of Health had made an examination of the premises and had adjudicated that they were not suitable for the operation of a school, therefore, the school never materialized.

On July 9, 1967, advised that SNCC was planning to have an organizational meeting at the T. E. Houston Funeral Home, 2480 Bankhead Highway, N.W., for the purpose of organizing a "Defense Committee." The purpose of this Committee is to select certain areas of Atlanta wherein a committee would be formed headed by a member of SNCC and the other members being composed of Negroes in the community. The purpose of this Committee was to effectively forestall any police action in that particular area. The source subsequently advised that after several
meetings this plan of SNCC never materialized for the lack of interest on the part of the people outside the SNCC organization.

Furnished information in 1967 reflecting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, probably in connection with the operation of an International Office of SNCC in that city.

Radio Havana, Cuba, made the following broadcast on August 14, 1967:

"Stokely Carmichael, the American Negro leader who attended the OAS (Organization of Latin American States) Conference in Havana as a special guest, stated in Havana that revolution is the most appropriate means to put an end to the cruel exploitation of the Negro population in the U.S. In an interview with Frensa Latina, Carmichael repeated the determination of the Afro-Americans to fight for their rights throughout the Nation. This battle will be hard and difficult, but there is no other way, according to Carmichael."
"He said that the Negro American is fully convinced that the policy of peaceful coexistence with their exploiters will never bring positive results. Carmichael stated that upon his return to the U. S., he will recommend a change in the name of his organization, the Student Coordinating Committee for Nonviolent Action, to the Negro Liberation Movement. He explained that the new name of the movement will influence the minds of Afro-Americans toward a concept of battle for total emancipation, since they will realize it is linked with the battle to liberate the exploited nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

VIII. FINANCIAL CONDITION

On September 14, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter signed by WILLIAM PORTER of the Publication Department of SNCC, which states in part, "Due to the financial conditions and scarcity of news letters, we must ask for payment of the newsletter in advance. The cost of this subscription is $2.00 per year. To be on our mailing list requires a contribution of $5.00 per year and you receive news releases, Afro-American Reports, SNCC News Letter and a publications list of other available literature. We hope you are interested." According to this source, this letter was directed to all the people on the SNCC mailing list.

On November 13, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that STOKELY CAMELCH was reported to have arrived in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 10, 1967, for the purpose of attending a fund raising endeavor that the SNCC was sponsoring at the
Magnolia Ball Room, Sunset and Magnolia Streets, Atlanta, Georgia. The source advised that CARMICHAEL did not, in fact, arrive in Atlanta, but on November 11, 1967, it was learned that CARMICHAEL would be arriving in the United States through the port of New York sometime prior to Thanksgiving Day, 1967, and that he would spend about one and one-half weeks with his family in that city, before coming to Atlanta, Georgia. The source pointed out that CARMICHAEL's mother and sister reside at 1810 Amethyst Street, Bronx, New York.

The source pointed out that the National Headquarters of SNCC is in extreme dire financial circumstances. The source subsequently advised that the affair at the Magnolia Ball Room came off very nicely and was attended by approximately 50 to 75 persons. No incidents arose. It was obvious, however, that the affair was not the financial success that SNCC had hoped it would be.

IX. APPENDIX
FEDERACIÓN DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE)
(FUPI)

The FUPI was organized in October, 1956, at the
University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico,
as a student organization working to obtain independence
for Puerto Rico. A source advised on May 23, 1962, that
the FUPI was elected an integral member of the International
Union of Students (IUS), Prague, Czechoslovakia, in October,
1960.

On August 25, 1966, ALBERTO PEREZ PEREZ was inter-
viewed by public news media and he stated he was President
of the FUPI; had just returned from travel to Moscow, U.S.S.R.,
on an official FUPI trip, and subsequent conferences of the
IUS in Bulgaria, Cairo, Egypt, and Havana, Cuba; the FUPI
continues to be affiliated with the IUS; and he and the FUPI
advocate independence for Puerto Rico, preferably without
violence, but would resort to violence to obtain independence
if it appeared other methods would fail.

When interviewed on April 8, 1966, JOSE RAPAIL
VARONA DELARIO stated he was the Secretary of International
Affairs of the FUPI; the FUPI is affiliated with the IUS;
and he believed in violence as a method of obtaining
independence for Puerto Rico if conditions indicated violence
might succeed, or aid, in obtaining Puerto Rican independence.
VARONA reportedly was injured during a bombing raid by the
United States' planes while he was visiting North Vietnam
in April, 1967.

The IUS has been cited by the Internal Security
subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956 as
being among "international communist fronts functioning at
the present time," and by the Committee on Un-American
Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, in 1951, as one
of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international
organizations."
FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, aka
Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)

In April, 1966, a source advised that the members of
the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), executed a
statement of resignation from the National SWP, dated April 9,
1966, following which they referred to themselves as the
Seattle Branch, SWP (Unaffiliated), and temporarily adopted
the name Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, aka Freedom
Socialist Party (FSP). The group lead by RICHARD FRASER, aka
Dick Fraser, Richard Kirk, Dick Kirk, formerly a member of the
SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, aka Clara
Kayo, Organizer of the Seattle Branch, SWP, were known as the
KIRK-KAYE Tendency. Their disagreement with the National SWP
was over the questions of the Negro struggle, the colonial
revolution, the Vietnamese War, regroupment, woman's emanci-
pation, and party organizational principles.

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

In July, 1966, this source advised that the above
group and others held a convention on July 9, 1966, at their
headquarters, Freeway Hall, 3815 - Fifth Avenue Northeast,
Seattle, Washington, having issued a call to "all signers of
the FSP Nominating Petition at the 1964 Nominating Convention
and all revolutionary socialists who wished to help build the
FSP."

In October, 1964, a second source advised
that the name Freedom Socialist Party (FSP)
of the State of Washington was used by the
Seattle Branch, SWP, in its then current
political campaign.

The first source further advised that at the convention
on July 9, 1966, the group adopted the name FSP of Washington,
became a membership organization, and appointed a committee pending
the general organization of the group.

According to the first source, the FSP held a meeting
on July 24, 1966, at which CLARA FRASER gave the Executive
Committee report, and the recommendations of the committee,
including the selection of officers, were unanimously accepted
by the membership. The officers selected were:
FRANK KRASNOWSKY, Organizer;
GUS CARTSON, Associate Organizer;
MIRIAM Radar, Recording Secretary;
Bob Patrick, Finances;
DICK Fraser, National Relations and writer of
documents;
CIARA Fraser, Publications, with other duties
assigned to other members.

In August, 1966, the first issue furnished the
August 5, 1966, issue of "The Freedom Socialist", self-
described as the "Voice of the FSP of Washington." This
publication states, "We are a new revolutionary socialism
organization," stating that it is comprised of the former
Seattle Branch, SWP, "individual independent, radicals who
were part of the 1964 united socialist electoral coalition
which created the FSP," and "A new segment of radical youth
who have recently adopted Marxism as their political
philosophy."
The records of the New York State Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

The Second Quarter, 1966, issue of "Freedomways," self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

John Henrik Clarke, Associate Editor
Esther Jackson, Managing Editor
J. H. O'Dell, Associate Managing Editor
John L. Devine, Art Editor

A third source made available information on July 1, 1964, indicating that John Henrik Clarke attended the first and founding meeting of the American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) which was held on December 19, 1963, and continued on January 10, 1964.

This source also made available information on August 14, 1964, indicating that Clarke is an "Associate" of AIMS.
This source advised in July, 1932, that as of that period, O'Neill was considered by the CPUSA as being a member of its National Committee.

On July 24, 1933, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.
The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and providing for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1965, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 205, 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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

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

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

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

On August 12, 1966, a third source advised that Donald Leslie Boner, white male, age 22, of 3105 Louise Drive, Nashville, Tennessee, had been in the CP about four months.
On February 18, 1967, a fourth source advised that Patti Rabbit of Seattle, Washington, a member of the Northwest CP District, had gone to Nashville, Tennessee, to organize in connection with a CP assignment.

On June 8, 1967, source five advised that Patti Rabbit, Brian Nagger, Donald Leslie Hansen, and wife Carol Stevens Hansen are all active members of SSOC in Nashville and that Nagger is now editor of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student."
SOUTHERN STREET GRAPHIC ARTS (SSOG)

The editorial of the June, 1967, issue of "Southern Patriot", official publication of SSSG, lists Carol Stevens Denen and Ann Denen as Editors and Mts. Carol Borden as Executive Director.

The "Nashville Banner", Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper, issue of May 5, 1967, reported that SSSG was preparing for the May 17, 1967, appearance of Hillel Ziegler, National Youth Director, CIO, at Vanderbilt University; that Bill Bost, Press Agent for SSSG, on May 19, 1967, brought to the "Pioneer" office publicity material which the CP had sent to SSSG.

The April, 1967, issue, Volume IV, No. 4, of "New South Student", published each month, October through May, by SSSG, contained an article on page 22 entitled "CIA, American Labor," by Donald Denen, a review of a book entitled, "The CIA and American Labor," authored by George Norris, Labor Editor of "The Worker", East Coast Communist newspaper. Denen is described therein as an active member of the Nashville SSSG chapter.
Title          STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character      INTERNAL SECURITY-SNCC

Reference

is made to record of Special Agent dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

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

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is locked to your agency; if and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
ATLANTA

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
5/14/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
1/8-5/3/68

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA,
Bureau airtels dated 1/31 and 4/15/68.

LEADS

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GA.

Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from date of this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
None

ACQUITALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR
XX

PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS
XX

CONSOLIDATED

COOPERATION

DISCUSSION

10-Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1-Baltimore (100-23331) (RM)
1-Birmingham (157-2425) (RM)
(COLLECTION CONTINUED)

3-Atlanta (100-6488)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Notations

Request Ref.

OIA (BY STATION)

Date Issued

5/12/68

Rev. 660

6/6/68

1968
AT 100-6488

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1-Buffalo (157-213) (RM)
1-Chicago (100-40342) (RM)
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AT 100-6488

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

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Bureau airtel dated 4/15/68, indicated that offices contained in the copy count of this report are to submit 90 day reports on SNCC as long as the organization remains active in these particular areas. A copy of this report is being furnished each of these offices for information so that they will be apprised of the national SNCC activity.

In view of Bureau instructions, Atlanta is not repeating in instant report information developed by these offices.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SECRET

1-Commanding Officer, OSI, OSI District Six,
Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)
1-lith MIG, Region V, Fort McPherson, Georgia (RM)

Copy to: SA Office: Atlanta, Georgia
Date: May 14, 1968
Field Office File #: AT 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Report of: Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Ga.
Jewelry store closed for lack of business and plans made to
open anti-draft office in same location. SNCC officials
identified as having visited Cuba. Instructions re security
of travel information of officials set forth. Several SNCC
personnel worked temporarily with the SCLC. Individuals
with CP affiliation identified as making temporary housing
arrangements for SNCC personnel arriving in New York City.
National program and policies of organization set forth.

- P -

GROUP I
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

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I. ADDRESS

A. National Headquarters

The National Headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This address is situated in a semi-industrial area and is surrounded by commercial establishments.

[Redacted] advised on February 25, 1968, that SNCC had planned to move the Atlanta SNCC Office to New York because it was felt that H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, would be in New York for some time. This source later indicated, however, that in view of BROWN's arrest for violation of his bail bond provisions, the plans to move SNCC had been changed, but that the printing plant maintained in Atlanta would be moved to New York.

B. Shop Operated by SNCC

On November 20, 1967, [Redacted] advised that SNCC was opening a jewelry store located at 8 Raymond Street, Northwest, and that this store would be in charge of JENNIFER LAWSON. This source subsequently advised that the store made money for a while in its sale of costume jewelry, but that in the weeks prior to May 1, 1968, business had dropped off tremendously. [Redacted] advised that because of the decreased business, the jewelry store was being closed and that in its place SNCC would operate an office devoted to anti-draft matters. The source pointed out that one of SNCC's prime objectives is to oppose the United States Government's policy of intervention in Viet Nam.
On December 8, 1967, [redacted] advised that he received information through rumors that several individuals affiliated with SNCC had traveled to Mexico City seeking funds and support through speeches and related activities there.
On December 8, 1967, [REDACTED] advised he received information from an unrecalled individual that other SNCC members had traveled to Mexico in September or October of 1967, seeking support for the organization in that city.

On December 11, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter prepared by BENETTA IVEY, associated with the Distribution Department of SNCC, reflecting on the financial conditions of the organization. This letter reads as follows:
Dear ____________

"Please accept our apologies for our present and past inadequacies; specifically our distribution of literature.

"We have been beset by numerous setbacks and hardships, most of them financial.

"Because of our previous problem of no lights and present problem of no telephones, our production departments have been stalled.

"We cannot mean to burden you with our problems, but such is the nature of an organization such as ours that is dedicated to the alleviation of oppressions on all levels, when it encounters and runs counter to the aims and aspirations of the power structure.

"Some of our mechanical problems have been solved, but our ever pressing financial situation is still very much a reality.

"Nevertheless, we are working diligently, trying to fill orders, etc. despite our acute shortage of materials.

"We appreciate your patience and your consideration.

"Sincerely,

"[Miss] Estelle Ivey
Distribution"
On January 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that there apparently had been some type of reconciliation between the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and SNCC. The source stated that while STOKELY CARMICHAEL was out of the United States from August, 1967, to December, 1967, and H. RAP BROWN was involved in legal matters concerning his activities, SNCC as an organization began to fall apart. The source said that they were in such bad financial condition that some of the SNCC members in Atlanta reportedly contacted Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., of SCLC for financial assistance so that SNCC could get back on its feet financially. According to the source, Dr. KING reportedly advised the members of SNCC that he would be willing to give them financial assistance provided SNCC adopt a more non-violent attitude in regard to civil rights activity. The source advised that after consideration, SNCC finally agreed to adopt a more non-violent attitude and as a result was given financial assistance by SCLC.
advised on May 7, 1968, that some SNCC personnel were working at SCLC as the need for funds was urgent and they had no other source of income.

On February 8, 1968, advised that he learned that the SCLC had employed three SNCC members to work in its department of information. The decision on the part of SCLC to employ these individuals was made by WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD, Executive Director of SCLC, primarily because additional personnel was needed and these three individuals were without employment. The source advised that he was not aware of any particular significance being attached to SCLC having employed these three people and that in the past, Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., then President of SCLC, had cautioned the organization that SCLC not permit these individuals to influence SCLC employees with "any SNCC philosophies."

advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and BETTY ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to the SNCC. On January 17, 1968, CAROL RUTH SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Community Alert Patrol, Los Angeles, California, and that she was an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.
In January of 1966, indicated that ELIZABETH ROTTGER was the Educational and Literature Director of the 23rd District Club of the Southern California District Communist Party.

III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

Information secured from identifies the following as national officers of SNCC:

H. RAP BROWN

H. RAP BROWN was elected National Chairman of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time BROWN has been arrested on charges ranging from Federal Firearms Act to assault on a federal officer. At the present time BROWN is free on bail and is currently staying in New York City, taking an active part in functions of SNCC. He has traveled recently with STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

STANLEY LEROY WISE is the Executive Secretary of SNCC. He currently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, and has made trips to New Orleans, where he met with SNCC sympathizers in an effort to raise bond for H. RAP BROWN, who was then
confined to jail in that city. According to WISE is extremely militant in his Black Power philosophy and is considered a leader in the SNCC organization.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

FEATHERSTONE was elected Program Director of the organization in May of 1967. Since that time he has made trips to Cuba at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO. FEATHERSTONE was formerly a Project Director for SNCC in Neshoba, Mississippi, and has served on the Central Committee of SNCC. His name appears on the mailing list of the National Committee to Abolish the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and also on the Draft Resistance Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE is Program Director of SNCC and more recently has been active in the Akron, Ohio, area. WARE is alleged to be associated with the National Student Union and has been active in organizing campus programs.

ETHEL HARRIET MINOR

MINOR is the Communications Director of SNCC and has resided in Chicago, Illinois, where she was active in the Nation of Islam organization. She has been described as a dedicated SNCC employee, working long, hard hours in getting literature and publications ready for rallies by SNCC. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was in Atlanta on March 14, and 15, 1968, and reportedly stayed at MINOR's apartment while in Atlanta. MINOR appeared on platform with CARMICHAEL at Black Congress sponsored rally for defense of HUEY NEWTON, Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.
IV. NATIONAL PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SNCC

An article appearing in the Atlanta Constitution of December 28, 1967, reflects that JULIUS LESTER, writing in the current issue of the SNCC newsletter, has advocated making President LYNDON B. JOHNSON "afraid to leave the White House", as a tactic of protest over Viet Nam. LESTER advocated that protests should be aimed at the President's limousine "To resist is to make the President afraid to leave the White House because he will be spat upon wherever he goes to tell his lies." "His limousine will find the streets filled with tacks and thousands of people who will surge around it, smashing the windows and rocking the car until it is turned on its side." LESTER is described as having recently returned from a trip to North Viet Nam and Cuba.

The article continued that STANLEY WISE, Executive Secretary of SNCC, said that the LESTER article did not mean SNCC endorses such tactics.

In the same issue of the SNCC newsletter, SNCC said it "reaffirms its political opposition to Zionism." SNCC said that reaction to its anti-Israel statements has ranged from intellectual dishonesty and moral hypocrisy to outright racism. The newspaper article continued that a third article appearing in the SNCC newsletter by Chairman H. RAP BROWN called on Negroes in the United States to "prepare yourself psychologically" for guerilla war against the apartheid government of the Union of South Africa.

**Granma**, on January 2, 1968, made available an article which appeared in "Granma", Havana, Cuba, on December 8, 1967.
WE HOPE THE VIET NAMISE WIN - STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"Paris, Dec. 7 - STOKELY CARMICHAEL, American Negro leader, in speaking at a meeting, stated that the basic duty of all revolutionaries throughout the world is to help the Viet Namese, who are fighting the third world war to defend the entire world.

"We can state our position, loud and clear: we do not want peace in Viet Nam. We want the Viet Namese to beat the United States in Viet Nam," said CARMICHAEL.

"He stated we must shed our blood for our brother nation of Viet Nam, and that is not too high a price to ask. He said that we must cut off the hands of the American Imperialists in order to stop their desire to conquer the world. Viet Nam is the vanguard of this battle.

"Those who suffer most in the Viet Nam war are, naturally, the Viet Namese and American youth, white and black, but we Negroes are those who supply cannon fodder for this war. That is no surprise, because we have always been in the front line in the wars carried on by the Western Imperialists."

"Concerning the battle within the United States, CARMICHAEL stated: 'The time for words has passed. Now is the time to differentiate between the protest movement and the resistance movement. Now we must fight......we must tell JOHNSON that we do not want to be a nation of assassins. If it is necessary, we will sink the U. S. in chaos. We must say it loud and strong. Now we are escalating our resistance movement against the war in Viet Nam. We are escalating because the Viet Namese are not our enemies, the Viet Namese are our brothers, the Viet Namese are our comrades in arms.'"

"Finally, CARMICHAEL explained that his presence in France had been merely to attend the meetings organized
during "Che Guevara Week," and he stated the rumors that he was there to create problems for the French government were ridiculous."

On February 12, 1968, [redacted] furnished an article which appeared in "El Mundo", Havana, Cuba, on February 4, 1968. This article is as follows:

"HELP FOR SNCC IN PARIS"

Paris, Feb. 3 (PL)--The "Committee of Friends of SNCC" (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the U. S.), created in Paris last January 20th, is carrying out many activities "to give concrete help to the Negro battle for liberation in North America."

According to the most recent information issued by the Committee of Friends "meetings have been held at which detailed reports have been made by Afro-Americans
and Africans on the principal problems coming from the Negro uprising in the U. S."

The speakers discussed the U. S. draft, which affects a number of Negroes, to send American soldiers to Viet Nam."

In March, 1968, [redacted] furnished the following statement issued by SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York, New York:
A SHORT MESSAGE TO REVOLUTIONARIES

For the black revolution to be successful, it is necessary that we develop a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program. We must understand that our first fight is the fight for survival. Therefore, for every act of violence that is directed toward us, we must retaliate two-fold. To do this it is necessary that underground groups be formed that can avenge the community, not once, twice, but many times. These groups therefore, must out of necessity be secret, not only from 'the man', but from the community. We must not forget that there are still many traitors inside of our own communities.

We must remember that revolutions do not happen over night. The Vietnamese have been fighting for more than 25 years and they're still fighting. Therefore, we have to begin thinking of committing our lives to the liberation struggle. Every black person has a role and it is each person's responsibility to discover how he can best fulfill that role, be it on the job or on the block. In a revolution there is room for every skill and every talent and there is no one without a skill or talent. Dedicate that ability to the revolution.

We must begin to strengthen the militant organizations that now exist inside the country. These organizations are prime targets of the Government for destruction and it is the responsibility of the black community to see that they are not destroyed. We are able to keep our fine cars filled with gas, yet we let those organizations that stand in the vanguard get along on a tank of gas and most of the time, a drop of gas. We can fill the white man's pocket full of money and not ever think about how those who have quit their jobs to work full-time for the revolution make it from day-to-day. And when we are asked for money to support these organizations, we say that all they want is our money. But we get mad and want to fight if someone says that we are not revolutionary.

SNCC is one of those organizations that is in the revolutionary vanguard. All over the country blacks talk about Black Power, a concept that SNCC developed, yet SNCC is in constant danger of being destroyed because it lacks the necessary funds to operate. Yet, SNCC is respected in the black community and a vacuum would be created if SNCC were to be destroyed by 'the man'. It is the responsibility of the community to see that this does not happen. If we are to do the job that needs to be done, we need your support.

SNCC
160 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
On February 15, 1968, [redacted] made available the following Position Paper of SNCC:
INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 July - August 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM, APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the veldskoen.

There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that: "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with
its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of those rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettos of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:
We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th
freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States' government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African
phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans—and their allies—are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "base" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked—without their consent—to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well
as all levels of government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization. Numerous incidents might be cited, but a very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns, and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 187 students (some of whom they also beat) — with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer
its moral support to all Africans engaged in liberation struggles. We also come to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people in the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the America front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We, their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements with regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has never accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired before the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC
staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the
future. There are those who still hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of SNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casualties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?"

Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting
MARCH 29——DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN AND THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White America has made its decision public as to how she intends to deal with us, the Blacks. Every police force in the country is stockpiling weapons, saying it is to protect us. There are trucks, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 1-inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel, and make powder out of brick walls) and Lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white America always treats her enemies——-SHE HUNGRY THEN!!!

The most recent example of white America's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 29 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Robert Clarke, Washington D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNeil in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to white America: its material possessions.

So——take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle——-but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL OVERCOME WITHOUT A FIGHT!!!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary
the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect, and the constant emission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:
1. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2109 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."
5. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1965 on the question of South West Africa.

7. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2164 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8. We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence "the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

9. We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGOs and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10. We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.
Appendix A: SNOC STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

January 6, 1966

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people’s struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly, in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese fought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for those deaths.

Samuel Young was murdered because U.S. law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are being murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The U.S. is no respecter of persons or laws when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires. We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

We know for the most part that elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1966 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and concern. We question then the ability and even the desire of the U.S. government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country’s cry of “preserve freedom in the world” is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashed liberation movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by the expediency of the U.S. cold war policy.

We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft, which would compel them to contribute their lives to U.S. aggression in the name of the “freedom” we find so false in this country. We recall with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16% of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a “democracy” which does not exist for them at home.

We ask: Where is the draft for the Freedom Fight in the United States?

We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam.
FACTS REGARDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

FACTS ASSERT THAT NOT ONLY DOES THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK FINANCIALALLY SUPPORT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT IT PRACTICES ITS OWN PERSONAL APARTHEID ON ITS NEGRO EMPLOYEES HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AT ONE CHASE MANHATTAN PLAZA, NEW YORK CITY — THE MAIN BRANCH, HEAD OFFICE.

THE FACTS TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS STARTLING CHARGE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. On March 22, 1967, seven male Negro employees filed complaints with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, under the direction of William Booth, charging their supervisors with discriminatory practices in the areas of:
   a. Job related training and schooling
   b. Promotion and advancement opportunities
   c. Unequal and unfair distribution of work loads

2. On March 23, 1967, five female Negro employees filed complaints with the same Commission, charging similar practices on the part of their supervisors.

3. During the interim of the filed complaints and the Commission's lengthy investigation, several attempts on the part of the Negro employees to meet with responsible bank officials to resolve the differences were denied by the bank.

4. After the complaint had been filed and the Bank officials notified, these Negroes who had filed the complaint and other Negroes friendly toward them became the victims of even more intensified discrimination, intimidation, harassment, constant surveillance (as though they were criminals), invidious acts, vicious remarks, and even pressured resignations by Bank authorities.

5. On May 7, 1967, a detailed report was submitted in writing to the City Commission on Human Rights, stating the continuation of discriminatory practices and acts described above and offering recommendations of the complainants to be submitted to responsible Bank officials as possible solutions to the racial problems.

6. Several attempts by the Human Rights Commission to bring the complainants and the bank officials to a friendly conference table were refused by the Bank authorities. Thus, the Commission had to subpoena the responsible Bank officials to a conference table on June 6, 1967. The Bank's representation at that conference was so pathetic that at one point in the discussion, the attorney from the Commission told the senior Bank official: "I would like to inform you that some of your replies to these people's questions are very out in left field".

7. On June 26, 1967, a Negro employee (provoked and harassed by one of the guilty ones) was discharged from the Bank because of some petty nonsense on the part of that same supervisor. Eight other Negro employees spoke up in defense of their co-worker, charging that the discharge was unfair. One by one, they in turn were discharged from the Bank's employ and told to leave the premises immediately. Nine men, most of whom have wives and children, lost their jobs in less than one hour and a half!
Appendix C

STATEMENT TO AFRICAN AND ASIAN MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON EVENTS IN PRATTVILLE, ALABAMA

June 13, 1967

The following statement, sent to all African and Asian Missions to the United Nations on June 12, 1967, was released today by James Forman, Director of International Affairs for SNCC ("Student""):

Dear brothers and sisters:

We reject the position of the United States government that intolerable racism in the United States is a purely domestic concern. We find this claim as hypocritical as the claim of the racist government of South Africa that its suppression of the human rights of 13,000,000 Africans is an internal matter, or a similar claim by the government of Portugal. Such claims are typical of colonial powers. We maintain that unmitigated and brutal suppression of black people in the United States is a matter of international concern. We are therefore addressing to you an appeal for your moral support, in the form of direct or indirect pressure upon that government which loudly proclaims its concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people yet will not guarantee basic human rights to black people in this country.

We make this appeal in the spirit of SNCC's Declaration, made formal in May, 1967, that it is a Human Rights Organization "concerned with human rights not only in the United States but throughout the world.

Needless to say, the suppression of the human rights of black people is a long-standing reality in this country. The immediate basis for our appeal is the recent attack on black people in Prattville, Alabama, about which we would like to inform you at this time.

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 11, a meeting of black people to discuss political organizing was held on the grounds of the St. Mark's Church in Prattville, Alabama, a small town located in Autauga County, about 10 miles from Montgomery. It is in this county that Mrs. 'Ladybird' Johnson has extensive land holdings. The meeting was being addressed by former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael when a police car drove up and an officer began harassing Brother Carmichael for speaking of "Black Power" to the gathering. This officer was Ken Hill, the earlier this year was accused of murdering a black prisoner in the Prattville jail (he was later cleared despite strong evidence of guilt). Hill repeatedly harassed Brother Carmichael for saying "Black Power" and finally arrested him on charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. This was at approximately 5 p.m.

Black people in Prattville, angered by the arrest, moved swiftly to protest it at the jail and elsewhere. Gunfire was exchanged by black and white residents. Late that evening, a meeting of black people was taking place in the home of Mr. Daniel House, a local resident. A Ku Klux Klansmen and other whites began firing on the house, where there were approximately 30 persons, the majority of them women and children. SNCC Executive Secretary Stanley Wise and Alabama Field Secretary Johnnie Jackson were also in the house. The police cordoned off a large area of the community; no one and others were not allowed through. A unit of the National Guard arrived from Montgomery. The house remained under siege until approximately 1 a.m. The local telephone operator repeatedly cut off calls between the house and SNOCC staff as well as newsman. Rumors that Stokely Carmichael had been lynched spread in the town.

At about 4 a.m., police ordered those in the house outside. Stanley Wise, together with Theophilus Smith and Ulysses Funley, the Alabama volunteers working with SNCC, were arrested on a charge of inciting to riot. The other black people went back into the house about an hour later and remained there until late in the morning, Monday, June 12.
furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC at Atlanta, Georgia:
Specimen received 3/20/68

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/68, signed "Ralph Featherstone"

Kell Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #017406 bearing known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI/126381P, whose known writings consist of specimen Kell and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by ALDAMA LE ROY WISE, FBI/126381P, whose known writings consist of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kell are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.
AT 100-6488

V. CHARACTER OF SNCC
Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1969.

advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
VI. TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES BY SNCC MEMBERS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Articles appearing in the public press and other news media reflect that between the period of June, 1967, and December, 1967, CARMICHAEL visited numerous European countries. In June, 1967, he participated in the meeting of the Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Other articles appearing in the public press indicate that during his absence, he also visited Hanoi, North Viet Nam.

JOHN PEARL TILLMAN

During June and July of 1967, it was determined that invitations had been sent to youth organizations in the United States to send representatives to the International Youth Meeting in Leningrad, USSR. TILLMAN was one of the two representatives of SNCC selected to attend this meeting.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE

WARE has been identified as being in Cuba with STOKELY CARMICHAEL during late July and early August of 1967.

STANLEY LEROY WISE

On November 17, 1967, WISE was a guest speaker at a Black Power meeting held on November 16, 1967, in Chicago, Illinois. During his speech WISE related his experiences of his travel to North Viet Nam.

WILLIE FLOYD RICKS

RICKS is a Field Secretary for SNCC. It has been reported that on the evening of January 10, 1968,
the Associated Press Bureau in Miami, Florida, advised that Havana Radio identified RICKS as being in Havana, Cuba.

RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE

This individual was identified through the same media above as having been in and traveled to Havana, Cuba.

JENNIFER KAREN LAWSON

This individual has also been identified through the aforementioned sources as having traveled to and been in Havana, Cuba.

41*
Title

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character

RACIAL MATTERS

Reference


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

REPORTING OFFICE: ATLANTA
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 6/24/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 5/6/68-6/20/68

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Atlanta dated 5/23/68.
Newark airtel to Director dated 6/3/68.
Bullet to New Orleans dated 5/13/68.

LEADS:

ATLANTA DIVISION
At Atlanta, Ga.
Will continue to develop information indicating possible conspiracy on the part of leaders of SNCC to violate one or more of Sections 2383, 2384 and 2385, Title 18, U. S. Code.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: NONE

CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES  NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES  NO

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Dissemination Record of Attached Report
Agency: NCS, JFC, DIA
Request Rec'd: 7/5/68
Date Fwd: 7/5/68
How Fwd: H/S

54 JUL 10 1968

REG. 14
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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

RACIAL MATTERS

Other literature directed by SNCC urges public support of total involvement in their struggle.

DETAILS:

advised that on February 21, 1968, after H. RAP BROWN was arrested on a charge of assaulting a federal officer.
By letter dated March 6, 1968, [redacted] furnished the following "news letters" received by him March 5, 1968 in a letter postmarked at Atlanta, Georgia, March 4, 1968, bearing return address "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313."

These "press releases" are as follows:
1. Hold massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, picket in support of Rep. Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.

2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rep and read letter from prison which Rep has sent to his brothers and sisters.

3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system—by any means necessary!

4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rep Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsey Clark, Washington, D.C. Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McMillan in Columbia, South Carolina. Please send copies of telegrams to: SNCC
   360 Nelson St. S.W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30313

5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us—in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America—the so-called "most powerful country in the world." STRIKE, DEFEND and RETALIATION—with GUNS and STRATEGY—is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rep Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRod Jones, for Cleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM WITH MAXIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!
A LETTER FROM PRISON

TO MY

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every state compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and courage begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroit, And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come, we must fight! It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do that I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not
NOTE TO AMERICA!

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you
and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops
to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor,
your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin,
then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

This letter is set forth as follows:
Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

For everyday I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs — that Black People must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert, we must silence. This government has become the enemy of Mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to Freedom. For our people, Death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire Freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revelation.

For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every Black Death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

May the deaths of '63 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA

America, if it takes my Death to organize my people to revolt against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize Mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to MY PEOPLE.

Lastino Tshikinde Nkilakula. (We shall conquer without a doubt.)

H. RAP BROWN
On March 22, 1968, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that the texture of the paper and the general makeup of the leaflet is of higher quality than local printing facilities of SNCC are capable of producing. These sources advised that the letter was obviously prepared by someone with a working knowledge of SNCC and its policies, but they seriously doubted it was authored by H. Rap Brown as it contains language and organization beyond Brown's capabilities. These sources were unable to furnish any information indicating the possible identity of the individual preparing this leaflet.

On April 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that on February 29, 1968, he had obtained the same leaflet from a table filled with copies at SNCC Headquarters, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

As of March 23, 1968, [redacted] advised he had been unable to obtain information which would establish SNCC's and/or Brown's authorship of the leaflet.

On May 7, 1968, [redacted] furnished a copy of a letter dated March 4, 1968, issued by the SNCC office at Atlanta, Georgia. This letter is set forth as follows:
March 26——DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. Rap Brown and the BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White America has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gasps, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner rifles (rifles that put a 1 \( \frac{1}{2} \) inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and Lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white America always treats her enemies——SHE knowing THEIR!!

The most recent example of white America's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The bloody murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on March 26 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Egbert Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McMillin in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or doing what is most dear to white America: it's material possessions.

So——take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle——but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go.

Stanley vass
Executive secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program secretary
In connection with the aforementioned letter, handwriting specimens of STANLEY WISE and RALPH FEATHERSTONE were secured and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for comparison with the handwritten names of these individuals appearing on the letter of March 4, 1968.

The results of this examination were as follows:
Specimens received 3/26/63

Q1 One-page typewritten letter dated 3/4/63, signed "Ralph Featherstone"

Kcl Photocopy of Georgia Operator's License #047406 bearing known signature STANLEY LE ROY WISE

Result of examination:

It was determined that the Wise signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by STANLEY LE ROY WISE, FBI/120391P, whose known writings consist of specimen Kcl and signatures on fingerprint cards in his identification record.

It was determined that the Featherstone signature on specimen Q1 was not prepared by RALPH EDWARD FEATHERSTONE, FBI/339236, whose known writing consists of a signature on a fingerprint card in his identification record.

Specimens Q1 and Kcl are returned herewith. Photographs have been retained.
On March 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had heard the matter mentioned in the March 4, 1968 letter discussed in Atlanta. The source said that the plans set forth were not directives of the National Headquarters of SNCC, but were ideas that have been distributed to affiliated offices throughout the country. The source added that any demonstrations were to be peaceful in character as SNCC believes that to provoke agitation would further adversely affect their financial condition.
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1935, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-16, 1935, at New York City, to organize the PLP into a party. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxist-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1935, page 57, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 15, 1935, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its offices were identified as Milton Ragan, New York, President; and William Lyon of New York and Robert Sloan of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1933 by Dr. Ragan and Mr. Lyon after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for conscientiously following the Chinese Communist line."


The April, 1937, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life—where the working man and woman can plan and control their home, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 25, 1939, that the PLP utilizes the office of General Post Office Box 606, New York, New York, but also utilizes an office in box 617, 2 Union Square West, New York City, where the publications are prepared.

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

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

This document stated, in part, that RAI 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 RAI 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" which could end white supremacy. RAI philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, the involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on March 30, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a weekly revolutionary periodical, "The Guardian," from Havana. As of December, 1965, WILLIAMS was residing in Havana, Cuba.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAI is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a cooperative system oriented toward the Chinese Communist Interpretation of Socialism. RAI is essentially nonwhite in membership, leadership in politics, and even in policy and structure to the "Third World," that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a source advised the author that the organization, now in Houston, Texas, which is the nucleus of RAI, had coined the name "Black Stalin." WILLIAMS served as its Chairman, with WILLIAM SHAEFFER (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAI Field Chairman.
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that HARVEY STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if an RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.
W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

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

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

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

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA

LEADS:

Continue to follow activities of organization and submit 30 day report.

(SUBJECT)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

Node

ACQUIR. CASE HAS BEEN:

TALS

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES NO

MOVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

RES MADE:

10-Peace (100-439196) [IP]

1419 C St., N.W. District Six

Washington, D.C. 20530 (DC)

1419 C St., N.W., Section W, Part

Washington, D.C. 20530 (DC)

310-6188 (DC)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY [FBI, OSI, SEC. SERV.]

REC 55

760-439196-1973 REC 55

61 DECEMBER 1968

Notations
This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein attributed to [redacted] and [redacted] were sources from sources active in and closely associated with the Civil Rights movement. Should the identities of these sources become known to individuals outside the Bureau, it could seriously effect
there continued usefulness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

I-CG, OSI, OSI District Six, Robins AFB, Ga. 31093 (RM)
I-11th MAC, Region V, Fort McPherson, Ga. 30330 (RM)

Copy To:

Report of:  
Date:  November 26, 1968  
Office:  Atlanta, Georgia  

File Office File #:  100-6488  
Bureau File #:  100-439190  

Title:  STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
(SNCC)  

Character:  RACIAL MATTERS  

Synopsis: National Headquarters located 360-362 Nelson Street, 
E. Atlanta. Voluntary contributions dropped sharply. Appeal 
dated in September, 1968, of $10,000 for taxes, office supplies, 
sublease wages for staff and program expenses. In September, 
1968, appeal made to National Episcopal Church, New York City, 
for funds of Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta for 
$34,000 to better race relations in Atlanta. Reports indicate 
Episcopal Church will furnish $34,000 soon after 
the end of 1969. Reasons for expulsion of STOKELY 
CARLSON from organization set forth. Objectives adopted at 
national conference in June, 1968, set forth. Alliance with 
national Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, Black Liberators, 
Black Student Alliance, Black Panther Party, and Students for 
Democratic Society set forth.  

-P-

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL

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

A. National Headquarters

Information received from [REDACTED] reflects that the National Headquarters of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES

A. Source of Funds

In August, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that financial assistance has been rendered SNCC through the circularization of fund raising type letters under the signature of such prominent Negroes as HARRY BELAFONTE, the actor, and JAMES FIKIN, the author, and through voluntary contributors from "liberal" both Negro and white. The source added, however, that during the year, 1968, efforts to circulate such fund raising correspondence has not been undertaken and voluntary contributions have dropped sharply. The source attributed this to the fact that all "liberal money" is currently being directed to the "MC CARPATHY For President" Campaign. The source was of the opinion that after the Democratic Convention, donations would increase should Senator MC CARPATHY fail to secure the presidential nomination.

On September 16, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that under date of September 1, 1968, SNCC had circulated the following appeal for funds:
DEAR FRIENDS:

In our unceasing struggle for the liberation of oppressed people, both in America and abroad, we have met with many obstacles and varying forms of repression. New ways to quell our thrust are being invented daily.

The record shows that SNCC has been the vanguard group in the struggle to build economic and political power for the oppressed. Yet, the mass media and national leaders portray us as a band of unthinking and irresponsible individuals. Those who seek to maintain the system may be fooled; the oppressed are not.

During our annual spring meeting, the SNCC staff underwent a major reorganization. We evaluated and expanded our program to build a Black political party. We developed programs to increase Black economic strength and to establish liberation schools across the nation. These actions were part of our continued effort to serve Black people more effectively.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to implement its objectives by spreading the principles of liberation throughout your communities. Literature is available from any SNCC office.

YOU CAN HELP SNCC to keep its national office open for services to Black people through your financial contributions. Ten thousand dollars is needed for taxes, office supplies, subsistence wages for our staff, and for program expenses.

SNCC is pledged to continue its resistance until all oppressed people are liberated. Our stand is firm; our commitment is great. With your help, in the words of Rep. Brown, "We will conquer without a doubt."

Yours for liberation

[Signature]

Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary
III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

A. Election Held in Atlanta, June, 1968

On June 17, 1968, the New York Office of SNCC, located at Room 803, 105th Avenue, issued the following notice:
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
100 Fifth Ave
New York
N.Y. 10011

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SNCC REORGANIZES

June 17, 1968

Within the past two years repression against the Black community has increased to the point where we are now faced with the question of whether or not we survive as a race of people. Along with this repression, we have witnessed the intense persecution of militant black leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Cleve Brand, Kweisi Mbugua, and E. H. Rappaport who served as Chairman of SNCC from May, 1967 until June, 1968.

In order to better deal with this repression and persecution and to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at our annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, June 11-15, decided to restructure the organization.

The following people were elected Deputy Chairman of SNCC:

George McRae of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Johnny Wilson of New York City
Donald Stone of Atlanta
James Forman of New York City
Bob Smith of Atlanta
Brother Creech of Los Angeles
Former Executive Secretary, Stanley Ware of N.C. and Louisiana

Other Deputy Chairman will be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Atlanta was elected Program Secretary.

Rappaport continues to be active in the organization.

Some of the crucial issues discussed at the staff meeting included: (1) creation of a national mass political party, (2) anti-war, anti-draft activity, (3) formation of liberation schools, and (4) southern student unions. Knowing that police repression will be increased and intensified this summer in the Black community, SNCC also discussed survival refugee stations throughout this projects and defense units.
On June 16, 1968, [redacted] advised that a National Chairman for SNEC was not elected at the annual meeting of the central committee but that instead PHILLIP HUTCHINGS was elected vice chairman in charge of the program department. Source added that the positions of vice chairman or deputy chairman were being created and that in addition to HUTCHINGS, mentioned above, JOHN C. WILSON had been designated a deputy chairman for New York City, DONALD P. STONE would be a deputy chairman for Atlanta, Georgia, and ROBERT SMITH would be a deputy chairman for the Atlanta, Georgia area. JAMES FORMAN would be deputy chairman in New York City, as well as being in charge of the international division of SNEC. STANLEY LEE CHITTEN WISE had been designated deputy chairman in charge of North Carolina and Louisiana, and ANTHONY CROMK would be designated a vice chairman in charge of Los Angeles. ANTHONY CROMK is identified as HORACE LEE CHITTEN WISE, a resident of Los Angeles, California. He was born August 12, 1946, in San Francisco, California.

Information received from [redacted] reflected that GEORGE WASHINGTON WISE had been designated a deputy chairman in charge of college campuses through the United States and not the states of North Carolina and South Carolina.

F. Central Committee of SNEC

On June 25, 1968, [redacted] identified the following individuals as being members of the Central Committee of SNEC:

JESSE LEE, Charleston, South Carolina
ROBERT CROMK, Atlanta, Georgia
LOIS MILLER, Baltimore, Maryland
LESTER P. LINDSEY, Washington, D. C.
JAMES VANCE, New York City, New York
KERRY MILLER, Atlanta, Georgia
PAUL MILLER, Atlanta, Georgia
WILLIE RIVER, New York City, New York
WILLIE RIVER, Atlanta, Georgia
James Forman, New York City, New York

George Washington Ware, Tuskegee Institute

Donald P. Stone, Atlanta, Georgia

Phil Hutchins, Newark, New Jersey

C. Expulsion of Stokely Carmichael

On August 22, 1968, an article appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia, reflecting that SNCC had disowned STOKELY CARMICHAEL, according to PHIL HUTCHINS, the National Program Secretary. The announcement reflected that "it is with regret and no pleasure that SNCC announces it has terminated STOKELY CARMICHAEL's relationship to the organization." The article continued: "Brother CARMICHAEL, both as a member and as chairman of SNCC made tremendous strides in the fight for black liberation over the past 6 years. It is our hope that the black people of America, and throughout the world will judge this decision based both upon the present and future activities of SNCC, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. We are sorry it had to come to this."

On August 22, 1968, __________ advisor that CARMICHAEL had been officially "fired" by SNCC for the following reasons:

1. Failed to report to SNCC on his personal matter

2. Failed to report on his daily activities as related to SNCC

3. Has been a threat to the SNCC leadership in Washington, D.C.

D. Statements of Objectives Adopted at June and July, 1968 Meetings:

On July 24, 1968, ______ made available the following objectives adopted by SNCC at the annual conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, in June, 1968:
"We, the Africans who live in the United States, are the descendants of those wrenched from the shores of Africa, transplanted in an alien land, enslaved, forced to develop under political servitude the resources of the United States. We are merely one part of the dispersed African population that the White Western slavers have scattered throughout the world. During our forced exile away from the continent of Africa, every attempt has been made to rupture our ancestral ties with Africa and to so brainwash us as to make us feel we have no relationship with the continent of Africa.

We assert today that we are part of the African continent.

We are Overseas Africans living in the United States.

We are committed to the liberation of the African continent.

We are committed to the liberation of African people wherever they exist and are the victims of racism, exploitation and oppression.

We make these assertions in the spirit of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. This concept of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism makes it imperative that all Africans unite and wage a fight against racism, capitalism, and imperialism—those intertwined triple hyenas that have dispersed our people throughout the world, that keep us in bondage and that oppress mankind.

We the people of African descent living in the United States must be extremely conscious of our need to cooperate especially in the liberation of Southern Africa where the white western powers have decided to maintain colonialism in its most brutal and savage forms. At the same time we must redouble our efforts to unite all oppressed people suffering from imperialist domination led by the United States. Concerning our internal situation in the United States, we form a colony within the United States. We are a colonized people. We suffer from racism, political domination and economic exploitation as well as cultural degradation.

The struggle of our people has been one of resistance to the colonizing process in the United States. We resisted on the high seas during our enslavement. We resisted throughout the period of our enslavement and we fought with weapons in the United States Civil War for our so-called emancipation from the status of slaves to neo-slaves.
We resist today and we shall continue to resist!

Within the brief span of the history of our own organization, we have seen efforts by the United States government and the White Power People and Press (WPPP) to further explain away the spirit of our resistance. On February 1, 1960, four students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were engaged in a new wave of rebellious activity by black college students that has mounted and raised the consciousness of our people to new heights of resistance in the streets of Watts, Newark, Detroit and many other cities throughout the United States. The armed rebellions of black people in the so-called ghettos are just another manifestation of the resistance spirit of our people.

We are not unaware that the United States government through its vast propaganda network in Africa, Asia, and Latin America has tried to deceive our brothers overseas that the sit-ins were merely attempts to integrate into the mainstream of American life. This is a lie.

Our struggle during the early sixties was a struggle against white supremacy and its racist, exploitative manifestations in the areas of public accommodations and lack of political representation. Even as we struggled then we were committed to fundamentally changing the political and economic framework of this country in which racism and white supremacy run rampant.

We see today on many fronts efforts to explain away and to remove the fire from the concept, Black Power. Those who would like to take the revolutionary sting away from black power and make it merely another American reform movement.

Therefore, it is necessary to state that Black Power is a revolutionary force that seeks the elimination of capitalism and the industrial-military complex which undergirds it. We call upon all our brothers and sisters to intensify the revolutionary consciousness among our people to unite in the fight against racism, capitalism and imperialism. It is through our unity and an unrelenting struggle by whatever means necessary that we will help in the liberation of oppressed people throughout the world."
On August 29, 1968, furnished the breakdown of goals and objectives adopted by SNCC at a meeting of the Central Committee in New York City, July 27-29, 1968. These goals are as follows:

1. As overseas Africans, we demand the extraction of all investments of the military-industrial-banking complex from the whole of Africa. In connection with this, we seek a liberated, united independent Africa.

2. We demand the cessation of political and diplomatic intrigue into the affairs of the third world.

3. We demand a respect for the cultural integrity of non-western people and a destruction of institutional and cultural racism which is the foundation of attitudes that allow for the oppression and exploitation of non-western people.

4. We seek the end of the present captialist, economic systems and the institution of a more humanistic system that calls for a more realistic distribution of wealth and a more collective, creative life style.

5. We seek the abolition of participation of Black men in the military machinery of this present system.

6. We seek the establishment of liberation schools for the purpose of bridging the cultural and historical gaps that separate us from our connections with the past and also for the purpose of creating a class of Black revolutionaries.

7. We seek the establishment of a National Black Revolutionary Party that will address itself to the liberation of Black people.

8. We seek the establishment of survival refugee stations.

IV. PARTICIPATION IN AND/OR SUPPORT OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAAWADU)

A characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.
advised that the National Headquarters of this organization had appointed JOHN P. TILLMAN, a known SNCC associate as the one to be in charge of the Atlanta Office of this organization. The source advised that in June, 1968, TILLMAN had attempted to organize a movement in Atlanta, and did, in fact, establish office at 8 Raymond Street, NW. The conference for the NDAWADU was held in Atlanta, and a social dance was held with the prospect of developing support for the movement in Atlanta. However, due to mismanagement on the part of TILLMAN, this movement was a complete failure in the Atlanta area, and never attained any proportion of success.

B. Harambee Sisters

Information received from this source reflects that the Harambee Sisters continued to meet each third Wednesday, and at present are hoping to sponsor a penny festival to help support SNCC and its program.

C. Black Liberator
D. Black Student Alliance

has advised that although SNCC has not openly and actively supported the movement of this organization on the campus of the Atlanta University System, CLEVELAND SELLERS, the former program director of SNCC, who presently resides in Atlanta, Georgia, has been active in attempting to organize this alliance on the Atlanta University Campus. The source said that the facilities of SNCC have been used in the past in preparing literature distributed by the Black Student Alliance.

E. Black Panther Party (BPP)

Characterization of this organization is included in the appendix of this report.

The following article appeared in the Atlanta, Georgia Constitution of July 23, 1968:
SF - Allies With Black Panthers

By LESTER CARSON

NEW YORK (AP) — The Black Panther party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have formed a "working alliance" which the two political groups hope will be the nucleus of a black political party, it was disclosed Monday.

James Farmer, former SNCC chairman, said the alliance will try to unify all black political groups in the country against what he called the "mounting forces of repression," examples of which, he said, were the "atrocity of racism and the shaming of white citizens" and "assassinating black leaders."

The alliance was formed Feb. 18, Farmer said, "the Birthday of Huey P. Newton." Newton, who founded the Panthers, is being tried in Oakland, Calif., on charges of killing a policeman.

SUNDAY, APR.

In the alliance, SNCC leaders also hold offices in the Pan Club. Farmer, now SNCC chairman of international relations, is the Panthers' minister of foreign affairs.

SUNDAY, CARMICHEL, director of the SNCC Washington, D.C. project, is the Panthers' public relations assistant. H. Rap Brown, who Farmer said runs no office in SNCC is Panther minister of justice.

Carmichael, Brown and Farmer are all former SNCC chairmen.
advised on June 25, 1968, that during the reorganization of SNCC which took place at its annual meeting in 1968, JAMES FORMAN, who was in charge of the International division of SNCC, wanted to structure SNCC in the same pattern as the BPP and proposed a merger of the two organizations. However, according to the source, the latter motion was voted down.

F. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

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

On September 23, 1968, [Redacted] made available a statement issued by the SDS setting out its support of SNCC. This statement is as follows:
STREETMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC,
TEXAS SDS, AFRICAN-AMERICANS FOR BLACK LIBERATION
AND BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The New York office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) announced today its intention to act in support of members of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Afro-Americans for Black Liberation and Texas SDS who have recently met political repression.

The decision stems from events within the past four weeks in Brooklyn and four cities in Texas.

In Brooklyn, concern centers around the arrest of members of the Black Panther Party and the harsh treatment given them by Brooklyn Criminal Court. At their arraignment, 150 helmeted policemen stood between the defendants and the judge. The accused were all given unreasonably high bail. Assistant D.A. Meglio justified this treatment by declaring, "These men are being used as tools by people intent on political movements bordering on anarchy..." Inordinately high bail was set to keep the Panthers out of circulation. It was later reduced, but not to the point where the men could afford to purchase their freedom.

In Texas many events occurred which went unreported by the press. SNCC has been gaining strength in Texas and is now doing organizing work in at least seven cities around community control issues. Organizers have been subject to constant harassment, which has now intensified.
Organizers in Austin, Dallis, Houston, and Killen have been jailed on various charges (some have already been sentenced), most of which arose out of demonstrations of organizing activities. In Austin, SNCC, SDS, and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation demonstrated at a gas station about a month ago. The owner, an open racist, refused to serve anyone with long hair or a beard. Lary Jackson, head of Austin SNCC, was arrested on a trumped-up assault charge. When he was arrested, the other demonstrators—about twenty of them—sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits the obstructing the labor of others. Lary was sentenced to two years probation and a $500 fine. Many of the others are still in jail, unable to pay bail, awaiting trial.

In Dallis, SNCC led demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillan, SNCC Field Secretary, and his wife, received ten-year sentences within the past week for "destruction of private property worth over $100" (that is, dropping merchandise).

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houston SNCC, has been harassed ever since he first came to Texas. Last week he was sentenced to 30 years on a trumped-up narcotics charge. His wife, Helen, is now on trial, charged with assault, and may receive a life sentence.

In Killen, near Fort Hood, the Summer of Support ran a coffee house which offered GI counseling. The Killen City Council had it closed last week as a "public nuisance." Fifteen people, including its head, Josh Stroud, were arrested. Some were SDS organizers, some were with SNCC. They are still in jail.

Thirty-five more people were jailed last Saturday, August 31.
on various charges. They are being processed rapidly by Texas courts and were scheduled for trials on Monday, September 2. They are charged with crimes (such as trespass) which are misdemeanors in New York, but, in Texas, are considered felonies. All of the 35 new defendants could receive up to ten-year sentences. All have had no real legal defense, being forced to use Texas public defenders, for lack of funds.

Attorney William Kunstler of New York has agreed to act as full-time legal coordinator for the Texas cases. He will help acquire volunteer movement lawyers for the accused.

We consider these attacks on SNOOP, the Panthers, Afro-Americans for Black Liberation, and SDS instances of blatant political repression. We note particularly the use of the courts (a traditionally respected American institution) as an instrument of this repression. In the Texas and Brooklyn cases, individuals have been given "criminal" treatment for what were political activities.

SDS is planning support actions. The first of these will take place, in support of the Panthers, on Wednesday, September 4, the next date the Panthers are due to make a court appearance. A picket line and rally will be held at the court, 120 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, at 8:30 a.m.

In support of our brothers and sisters in Texas we are mounting a campaign to raise the funds needed for bail and legal defense. Contributions should be sent to: Austin SDS, 1311 Roosevelt Ave., Austin Texas. A support rally will be held on Saturday, Sept. 7, at 12:30 p.m. in Union Square, New York City.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX  (10/11/68)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticomunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1966, was located in Room 206, 1965 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-seeking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for
Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister
of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966,
as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat
"police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to
determine the destiny of black communities. The political
philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of
Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was
changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther
Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP
advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent
revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of
Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of
Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROUGHTON, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization
which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda
County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of
murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund
are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.
NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION (NBAWADU)

On February 5, 1968, a first source advised during the January 27 through 29, 1968 Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)-sponsored National Anti-War conference in Chicago, Illinois, a "black caucus" was held. JOHN WILSON of the New York Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) announced the Black Caucus had formed a National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU) which would closely cooperate with the SMC.

On March 22, 1968, a second source advised the national headquarters of NBAWADU is located within the New York Office of SNCC at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City (NYC). Source further advised NBAWADU is a SNCC-dominated organization and only Negroes may become members.

A printed and published statement by NBAWADU in the form of a position paper states the basic aims and purpose of NBAWADU are to initiate and/or support anti-war and anti-draft movements and to afford draft counseling to those who wish to resist the draft.

On April 12, 1968, a third source advised NBAWADU has appointed regional leaders in major urban cities throughout the United States. Source further advised NBAWADU has held one national meeting at the Diplomat Motel, New York City, on April 12-14, 1968.
In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COordinating Committee

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Atlanta report of SA captioned and dated as above.

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

ATLANTA

3/10/69

11/8/68 - 3/6/69

TITLE OF CASE

SNCC

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM

REFERENCE: Atlanta report of SA 11/26/68.
Bureau airtel to Atlanta and other offices, 2/7/69.
Atlanta letter to Bureau, 2/14/69.

LEADS

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization
through sources and submit report 6/10/69.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

None

ACQUITAILS

CASE HAS BEEN:

FILING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [ ] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [ ] NO

1-Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1-OSI, District 6, Robins
AFB, Ga. (RM)
1-111th MIG, Region V, Ft.
McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1-MIS, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
3-Atlanta (100-6488)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: ACOS, OSI, SEC.S fav

By:

5/6 APR 16 1968
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This report is classified confidential as a precaution to protect the officer's name and identity. The information contained herein was secured from sources active in the civil rights movement. The identities of these sources become known to other FBI officials who used it in furnishing intelligence information regarding the movement.
Russian intercepted 2.7.68 instructed that Atlanta and other officers conduct appropriate investigation to resolve statements made by DONALD P. STEPHAN in interview over Radio Havana concerning the existence of Liberation School and the addition of the words "Black Power" in the title of the SNCC organization. Atlanta has reviewed the replies received from other officers and has issued only the pertinent information received.
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: National headquarters located at 360-362 Nelson St., Atlanta. Staff meeting held in Atlanta 12/28-29/68, described as "no active accomplishments and few proposals for action" suggested or approved. CLEVELAND SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS dismissed from SNCC because of efforts to organize the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Atlanta. DONALD STONE in interview over Radio Havana, Cuba, 1/16/69, advised that he is Deputy Chairman of SNCC in charge of Liberation Schools and that words "Black Power" have been added to the title of the organization. Investigation fails to establish wide extent of liberation schools and does not substantiate that "Black Power" has been added to title.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUNDS: Excluded from automatic Downgrading and Declassification

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

A. National Headquarters

On March 3, 1969, [redacted] advised that the national headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continued to be located at 360-362 Macon Street S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

II. FINANCES
In January, 1969, [redacted] advised that SICO is currently in a state of internal confusion, completely unable to function as an effective entity as it has in the past. Sources attributed the financial difficulties to the petition that SICO took in the Fall of 1968 after it had run large, the strong pro-Arab position, with respect to the Sowtub-Arab War in June, 1967.

SICO felt that these two single actions could dismantle all financial support even if it was not the result of their own actions. However, and SICO contended it was unable to meet the operating expenses for New York City and Atlanta, despite the sources felt that SICO has completely lost its effectiveness and appeal to the black community throughout the country, and with the increase organizational activity of the Black Muslim Party (BMP) throughout the country, with little appeal that did exist for SICO was lost to the BMP because of its extreme militant political and superior financial allocation. The source said that the route
financial situation of SNCC prevailed throughout 1968 causing difficulties and dissension among and between the national leadership of SNCC. This dissension and fighting among the national officials caused many of the nationally known individuals such as RALPH FEATHERSTONE, STANLEY WISE, STOCKLEY CAPUCHAFL, and H. EAP BROWN to either disassociate themselves from the organization or being dismissed by SNCC.

Advised on December 16, 1968, that recently JAMES FORMAN, Deputy Chairman of the International Affairs Office of SNCC had written a book entitled Sam Young, Jr. This book has been published by the Grove Press and is to sell for $5.95 per copy in the hardback edition.

This book is a story of a Negro college student who was shot and killed in Alabama after he attempted to use the white restroom at a service station.

Arrangements have been made through the publisher so that the publisher will sell each book to SNCC for $2.00 per copy and SNCC in turn hopes to handle most of the retail sales of this book, charging $5.95 per copy.
III. NATIONAL OFFICERS

A. Central Committee and Staff Meetings

On January 7, 1969, [redacted] advised that a staff meeting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was held at SNCC Offices, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, on December 28 and 29, 1968.

According to this source, there was no active accomplishments and few proposals for action. This source advised that JAMES FORMAN, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a Four Year College Campus Chapter Program and that IRVING DAVIS, SNCC Deputy Chairman from New York, proposed a re-evaluation of the SNCC staff and programs in which each were involved. He also introduced a program for "Revolutionary Economics", but details were not secured by this source.

Source stated further that proposals by DAVIS and FORMAN had a demoralizing effect on the staff and a number of members left before the official ending of this meeting on December 29, 1968. A small group of college students affiliated with SNCC in Texas, attending this meeting, stated that SNCC does not know where the people are any more, and that the organization had no worthwhile working programs.
A characterization of the "Black Panther Party" appears in the appendix section of this report.

SELLERS was dismissed from the SMCC staff as was WILLIE RICKS for the same reason.

Source also advised that GEORGE WARE, SMCC Campus Coordinator, was also dismissed at this meeting and was replaced by an SMCC staff member from New Orleans, Louisiana, known only as "SCROOGE". This source added that WARE was dismissed because of his travels, particularly his current trip to Biafra, Africa. Source believed WARE left London, England for Biafra prior to Christmas Day, 1968 for an indefinite period, but had no additional data in this regard.

Advised approximately 30 individuals were present at this staff meeting and the majority of the time set aside for this meeting was devoted to arguments relative to the dismissal from SMCC of CLEVELAND SELLERS and WILLIE RICKS for their efforts to organize a "Black Panther Party" Chapter in Atlanta, Georgia, and the dismissal of GEORGE WARE, an SMCC official from Tuskegee, Alabama, for his failure to maintain contact with other SMCC officials.

The source stated the meeting was officiated over by PHIL HUTCHINGS, SMCC Program Director, and during the course of this three day meeting strong "Anti-JAMES FORMAN" feelings were exhibited by the majority of the national leadership and particularly by IRVING DAVIS, SMCC International Affairs Director from New York City.
According to this source, considerable discussion was entered into regarding the formation of a "Political Party" in the South initially, and eventually moving organizational efforts to the northern urban areas; however, no concrete plan was put forth. The purpose of forming such a political party being to overshadow the "Black Panther Party's" (BPP) influence.

[Redacted] advised that [REDACTED], who holds the position of Deputy Chairman of SNCC for the East Coast and is also associated with the International Affairs Office of SNCC in New York City, reported that he had recently returned from a three month trip visiting SNCC Chapters in Paris, France, Denmark and Sweden. He also had spent more than a month visiting Cuba. [REDACTED] indicated that he did not want to relate the details of his trip to Cuba at this open session for security reasons as there were many new people in attendance.

[REDACTED] did state that the Paris, France chapter of SNCC is in a fairly stable condition, especially since the riots in France in the Spring of 1968. [REDACTED] stated that this chapter and its members had supported these riots against the French Government and as a result had
been able to gain local support from the population. DAVIS stated that the Paris Chapter is in need of people from the United States to come to Paris to assist in the operations of this chapter. DAVIS said he found that black people in Paris are in as bad shape in regard to jobs, housing, education and so forth, as black people in the United States. DAVIS indicated that the Paris Chapter has 120 members and is in need of money. The main problem relating to money is that this chapter has to deal with the white population in order to obtain funds.
During the staff meetings it was decided that the term "fund raising" would be changed to "revolutionary economics". IRVING DAVIS commented that the following plans are being considered by SNCC to raise funds:

1. SNCC would contact people and ask them to put money in trust funds and bonds in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these bonds and trust funds.

2. SNCC will also contact people and attempt to get these people to purchase shares of bank stock in the name of SNCC so that SNCC could borrow money against these stocks.

3. DAVIS said that SNCC has purchased a one-third interest in a printing business, not further identified, in Brooklyn, New York, which business is considered to be a good money making operation. This printing business handles all types of printing work and SNCC will make contact with all types of businesses in an attempt to interest them in doing business with this printing company.

4. SNCC will reactivate the SNCC America News Service which SNCC had formerly operated. This news service would contain news of interest to black people and would be sold to Negro oriented newspapers and radio stations.
5. SNCC will really push the sale of the book entitled *Sammy Younger, Jr.* by JAMES FORMAN. Black colleges will be contacted in an attempt to make mandatory reading among all students and attempts will be made to get these colleges to place this book in the library and college book stores.

It was decided that alliances, which SNCC had formed with such alleged para-military groups as the Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) and the Black Liberators of St. Louis, Missouri, would not be made public and that all SNCC members should receive military training in line with a proposal made at the Central Committee meeting of SNCC held at Baltimore, Maryland in October, 1968. This military training would be clandestine in nature and within the next four to six months a training session would be held at some location to be identified in the future where representatives of SNCC and alliance groups would be present. This training session would be conducted by MICHAEL RYSHARD of ODAC and CHARLES KOFI of the Black Liberators, who also is Deputy Chairman for SNCC in the Mid-West. Instructions would be given on the use and handling of weapons and explosives.

It was decided that each SNCC chapter should form a para-military group which would operate underground with membership on a select basis and that continued attempts should be made to form alliances with other para-military type black organizations.

SNCC should also encourage the establishment of gun clubs for black people who for one reason or another do not want to be associated with any black organization.
On December 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that a staff meeting of SNCC would be held on Saturday and Sunday, December 28-29, 1968 in Atlanta and the subject to be discussed at this meeting was "Where To From Here?"

[redacted] and [redacted] advised that a series of staff meetings of stemmed committees was held at the national headquarters of SNCC, 360 Nelson Street S.W., Atlanta, on the following dates:

December 27, 1968 (Friday), 7 P.M. to 4:15 A.M.,
December 28 (chaired by PHILL HUTCHINGS)

December 28, 1968 (Saturday), 1 P.M. to 1 A.M.,
December 29 (chaired by RODERT SMITH)

December 29, 1968 (Sunday), 2 P.M. to 1:30 A.M.,
December 30 (chaired by DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, Jr.)

These sources advised that the decision was reached that the present system of having deputy chairman operate the organization is proving effective and no current plans are being considered to revert to the old system of having a national chairman and other elected officials, as such.

During the entire period of the conferences, [redacted] advised that no mention was made or proposed by the organization to stockpile firearms and ammunition.

Approximately 53 people, representing Dallas, Texas, New York, California, and Ohio, attended the meeting. Those known to the sources as being present are identified as follows:
JAMES FORDMAN from New York
JOHN PEARL TILLMAN from New York and Atlanta
OWEN PATTON from New York
SHOCKLY last name unknown from New York
JAMES last name unknown from New York
PHIL HUTCHINS from Newark, New Jersey
CHARLES KOSH, Prime Minister of Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri
YUSEF SHABAZZ, member of Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri
SCHROER last name unknown from Louisiana
DANIEL W. ALDRIDGE, Jr., Detroit, Michigan
DEBRA DEWBERY, Detroit, Michigan
SANDRA SELLERS from Tuskegee, Alabama
ERNEST STEPHENS from Tuskegee, Alabama
COURTLAND COX from Washington, D.C.
CHARLES COBB from Washington, D.C.
CRISP last name unknown from California
ERNEST MCMILLAN from Dallas, Texas
WILLIAM COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia
CARMEN COLEMAN from Atlanta, Georgia, wife of WILIAM COLEMAN
STANLEY LENY WISE, former Executive Secretary of SICO, Atlanta, Georgia
LEAN JOHNSON WISE, wife of STANLEY WISE, Atlanta, Georgia
WILLIE FLOYD BICKS from Atlanta, Georgia
CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS from Atlanta, Georgia
BOB SMITH from Atlanta, Georgia
CHARLES JENKINS from Atlanta, Georgia
FLORA SUGER from Atlanta, Georgia
HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi, a member of the Central Committee of SNCC and believed to be connected with Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi.

H. RAP BROWN. BROWN appeared at about 12 midnight, December 29, 1968. He indicated he had been to Alabama to attend the funeral of a friend and made no statement relative to SNCC policy and said that he would be leaving Atlanta on December 30, 1968, to return to New York City.

[Redacted] and [Redacted] advised JAMES FORMAN, who appeared to be the overall director of the meeting, spoke about expelling WILLIE FLOYD RICKS and CLEVELAND LOUIS SELLERS, Jr., from SNCC as he could not understand how they could have become interested in the Black Panther movement as that organization had openly attacked the SNCC organization in New York City. CLEVELAND SELLERS said that he had joined the Black Panther movement because that organization was in a position to pay him whereas SNCC was not. He pleaded for reinstatement in the SNCC organization after it had been voted by those in attendance to expel him along with WILLIE FLOYD RICKS. WILLIE RICKS appeared at the session held on Saturday and also pleaded for reinstatement in the organization. It was decided that any such reinstatement of RICKS and SELLERS would have to be the decision of the Central Committee and a vote on reinstating them was postponed until the February 3, 1969 meeting to be held in Atlanta.

THIL HUTCHINGS, the present Program Deputy Chairman, gave a brief report on the Detroit organization and said that it is headed by DANIEL W. ALEXANDER, Jr., who is on the staff at Wayne State University.
CRIFFS from California gave a brief report and 

stated that the relation between SNCC and the Black Panther 

Party in California is not very good at this time.

With regards to definite accomplishments of 

the meetings, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that no agenda 

was prepared to be followed and individuals in attendance 

merely gave "off the cuff reports" and much arguing 

transpired relative to local petty problems involving 

personalities in the various locations.

It was decided, however, that an attempt would 

be made in the local chapters to maintain a Child Day 

Care Nursery which would be a form of community service 

sponsored by SNCC in an effort to improve their image 

around the country.

Another project to be undertaken is to look into 

the possibilities of SNCC establishing their own bonding 

facility to be utilized by persons active in the civil 

rights movement in the event they are arrested.

HOWARD SPENCER from Mississippi said that he had 

been notified by mail that he had been elected a member 

of the Central Committee. He said that he had been 

attempting to establish an SNCC program at Jackson State 

University but has not been too successful in this regard.

DONALD STONE, identified as being in charge of 

the Liberation School, was further identified as having 

traveled to Cuba within the past few days. After his 

tour of Cuba he expects to go to North Vietnam and will 

be out of the United States for approximately six weeks.

It was said that the international office of SNCC, run 

by IRVING DAVIS in New York, had arranged STONE's trip 

to Cuba.
B. Availability of Personnel for Speaking Engagements

On February 10, 1969, [name redacted] furnished a copy of a letter which had been prepared by BOB SMITH, National Deputy Chairman, SNCC, which reads as follows:

"S.G.A. President"
"Knoxville College"
"Knoxville 21, Tennessee"

"Dear President:"

"SNCC has been sending speakers to communities and college campuses to push its ideology and program each year since its inception. This year will be no different.

"Rap Brown, past chairman of SNCC, Jim Forman, International Affairs Director, Cleveland Sellers, Draft Coordinator, Phil Hutchings, Program Secretary, Willie Ricks, Deputy Chairman at Large, Donald Stone, Deputy Chairman of Freedom Schools, and Bob Smith, National Deputy Chairman, all of SNCC, are available to accept speaking engagements and lectures in communities and college campuses.

"Issues on which they will expound are, "The Draft and War and How It Relates to Afro-American," and "Afro-Americans from a State of Restfulness and unawareness, to a State of Unrest and Awareness." They will give lectures on, "Campus and Community Organizers."

"Additional information will be available at your request."

"For Black Liberation,

Bob Smith, National Deputy Chairman"

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IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY

A characterization of SSOC is included in the appendix section of this report.

B. Efforts of SMCC at Atlanta University Center

[Blank]

has advised in the past that certain student disorders have existed at the Atlanta University Center which is composed of six colleges attended by Negro students. Some of the demands made by the dissident students included a relaxation of curfew as well as liberalizing the dressing habits of individuals espousing Negro history.

[Blank] advised that there appeared to be little if any trouble in the student body of the six Negro colleges on the part of the SMCC.
On January 27, 1969, [redacted] furnished a verbatim transcript of an interview of [redacted] which had been conducted over Radio Havana on January 16, 1969. In this interview, [redacted] identified himself as Deputy Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - Black Power in Charge of Liberation Schools. In explaining the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC, [redacted] stated that SNCC was the first organization to study Black Power and in order to get the people to understand, have a closer relationship to the revolutionary aspects of Black Power with the original name SNCC. [redacted] said that it was done to get people to understand that "Black Power" is a revolutionary concept. It is not a reformist concept, that is intending to integrate people through the main stream of imperialist America. But what we are about is a destruction and we are trying to redefine, to give a very strong definition in revolutionary terms to the words "Black Power."
In commenting on the liberation schools, STONE stated that the purpose of these schools is to build a revolutionary consciousness among the black youth in America. STONE defined these schools as supplemental educational institutes where "we teach courses in Afro-American history, African history, political education, martial arts such as karate and judo and we also teach the art of self-defense in terms of weaponry."

Because of the above remarks from STONE, investigation was conducted to determine if in fact SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization for the purposes indicated by STONE. Inquiry was also made relative to the establishment of liberation schools by SNCC. The result of this investigation is set forth as follows:

On February 12, 1969, [redacted] advised that when liberation schools were originally formulated by SNCC, they were supposed to be set up throughout the country with a curriculum including African history and culture, as well as instruction in self-defense tactics and political education; however, this project has never gotten off the ground.

The source said that STONE attempted to get such a school started at Atlanta, Georgia, but received no response from the black community and prior to his departure for Cuba, he occasionally held such classes in the Atlanta YMCA, and the most it ever attracted was four or five kids. STONE limited his instruction to topics involving black history only, and the classes were not held on a regular basis.

The only other liberation school to materialize to any degree was that sponsored by the Student Organizati
for Black Unity at Long Island University (SOUU), which is
not controlled or governed by SNCC in any way, however,
they did, at inception, assist members of SOUU run it;
however, in recent months it has declined. SNCC only
offers assistance. The curriculum did include Black Heritage
and some karate instructions but nothing else. The source
concluded by stating that STONE reportedly made a recent
speech over the Havana radio, and the entire text of it,
with the exception of his name and position in SNCC, was
false. SNCC has never carried the phrase "Black Power"
as part of its original title, and from STONE's remarks
it was apparent he was trying to build up the prestige of
the organization, being fully cognizant of the fact its
appeal to the black community was gone. STONE's remarks
regarding SNCC and Black Power were completely erroneous
and apparently stated by him in an attempt to impress the
Cubans.

SOUU is a Black Nationalist organization
at Long Island University at Brooklyn, New York.
It has an approved charter from the University.

Concerning the above liberation school in Atlanta,
advised that in May, 1968, a group of Negro women,
some with current association and some with former associa-
tion in the SNCC, met at the residence of FLORA STONE, 2170
Penelope Avenue, N.W., Atlanta, for the purpose of forming
a group to work in the vicinity of Vine City, a popular
Negro community within the City of Atlanta. The purpose of
this group would be to assist the underprivileged residing
in that community. It was decided the organization would
be named the "Harambee Sisters" and after meetings in June
and July a program of the organization was prepared. Ac-
cording to the informant, the program included establishing
a day nursery, in the Vine City area which would be sponsored
by the Harambee Sisters where the children would be exposed
to African culture and history. These children were to be
of pre-school age and would be kept for varying times during
the day, particularly at times which would permit the mother

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of the children to be painfully employed. The source said that much effort and time was spent at trying to organize this school, which actually could be considered a type of liberation school but that the matter never appeared to be accepted by this community which prevented the Harambee Sisters from becoming, or developing, a completely accepted organization.

said that since the original inception of the Harambee Sisters, many projects were advanced by the members but none of them have really developed beyond the talking stage and currently the Harambee Sisters is holding monthly meetings and is not actively engaged in any type of community project.

On February 10, 1969, stated that "Black Power" has not been incorporated in the name of SNCC. The source said, however, that about one year ago the letterhead stationery utilized by SNCC had been changed to include the words "Black Power" at the bottom of the letterhead. Prior to this time, the phrase "One Name One Vote" appeared in this location.

advised on February 26, 1969, that she was unaware of any change in the name of SNCC. Further, she had never heard of the addition of "Black Power."

She also advised that she had never heard of nor has it come to her attention that any SNCC - Black Power liberation schools are being held on the West Coast and particularly in the San Francisco area. She also stated she had never heard of these liberation schools.

She stated that several months ago SNCC took a strong stand in favoring a policy of the revolutionary aspect
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of Black Power and because of the adoption of this policy, lost part of their national sponsorship. She did state that SNCC was attempting to attend conventions of other organizations where they attempt to have the organization change the word "Negro" to "Black."

On February 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that at the Atlanta conference of SNCC, which was held February 27, through December 29, 1967, NAACP CORE and DAYTON NAACP stated that the SNCC Central Committee could consider several suggestions and subsequently adopt a new policy which would thereafter be furnished to the individual SNCC chapters during the course of routine mail or telephone contacts or some other time until the First National Political Conference, for the purpose of unity and to eliminate confusion. [redacted] said that the First National Political Conference is to be held in St. Louis, Illinois, March 1 and 2, 1968, and that the new policy would probably be made known at that time.

[redacted] advised, however, on February 13 and 23, 1968, that a SNCC Liberation School was started by Cincinnati SNCC in 1963, at the Goodale Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio, which is also the present location of the Cincinnati SNCC organization. This school was originally started by [redacted], who is presently residing and employed in Dayton, Ohio, and the decision was made by the present Cincinnati SNCC advisor, [redacted]. This school
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originally met two nights a week from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and dealt with matters of black history, culture, tactics, and economics, and was generally attended by approximately twenty-five persons, no age limits or identification required and no attendance records maintained. The school increased in popularity and was expanded to four nights a week and also moved to the Samuel Aches Junior High School, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source said the school was thereafter returned to the Rockdale Temple where it is presently located and has continued to operate four sessions a week, two hours each session. The source advised that no weaponry instructions are associated with the school and no classes are being conducted in judo or karate because of lack of facilities. The source advised that although SNCC has maintained a supervisor status relative to the school, it is encouraged by such organizations as the Avondale Committee Council, which is composed of Negro leaders and businessmen of the Avondale section of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Black Youth and Parents Union, a Cincinnati group composed of Negro leaders and parents confronted with the education and activities of Negro children in the Cincinnati public schools. The source added that the Black Youth and Parents Union became actively involved in the SNCC liberation schools to the degree that they obtained $10,000 from the Unitarian Church to aid in the continuation of same. The source added that the same "liberation school" has been used by Cincinnati SNCC interchangeably with the name "Freedom School" and stated that the "liberation schools" were discontinued almost immediately.

The source advised on February 13, 1969, that he has no information indicating that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization. Source further advised there is no liberation school being operated in the Houston, Texas, area. The source said, however, that it has been reported for the past three or four months LARRY

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JACKSON has been "heading up" a liberation school in Austin, Texas, probably on 11th or 12th Street in Austin. It was reported that several female students at the University of Texas were participating in the school. It was source's understanding that most of these girls graduated and left Austin at the end of the fall school semester. On March 4, 1969, I advised that several months ago JACKSON proposed a liberation school for children from ages 3 to 18 years. The source added that the school never materialized and that other such schools are known to be operated by JACKSON.

I advised on February 27, 1969, that he could develop no information to indicate that SNCC has added the words "Black Power" to the name of its organization or that SNCC is operating any type of liberation school in the Houston area. I could furnish no positive information concerning either of these allegations.

And on February 4, 1969, and February 17, 1969, respectively, data on a liberation school called the "Proud Black School" began operation in Jackson, Mississippi, in the fall of 1968, under the sponsorship of HOWARD HERSCHEL SPENCER, Jackson, Mississippi, SNCC activist. Classes are held on Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. at 3100 Pochontas Street, Jackson, Mississippi, in the Georgetown ghetto area of Jackson. The building in which the classes are held is a ramshackle building with no electricity or heating. Instructors at the school are HOWARD SPENCER, REGINA DRANE, Negro female, student, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, RICHARD ADAMS, Negro male, student, Tougaloo College; GERALDINE SMITH, Negro female, age 29, a resident of the Georgetown ghetto area and DONALD WILSON, Negro male, who is an independent Black Nationalist and a student at Tougaloo College. LARRY K. JACKSON, Texas

MISS

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Students at the school number 30 to 35 each week and range in age from 16 to 14 years. The majority are boys. Subjects taught include Black Culture, African history, Negro U.S. history, Remedial Mathematics courses and some limited agricultural training. No extremist activity is being taught at the school yet. Instructors on occasion take the youth to Tougaloo College for a tour of the campus, library, and similar buildings. Meetings with parents of the children have been held periodically, however, attendance varies; is minimal and parental support is almost entirely lacking at present.

[redacted] advised in February, 1969, that no information concerning the addition of the words "Black Power" to the name of SNCC nor the evidence of any liberation schools in the State of Louisiana has come to their attention.
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

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

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

On July 2, 1967, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be located at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to support and espouse the pro-communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and Japan and attacking the Selective Service System. Source also noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and January, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead written to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Dolan, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that SSOC and SDS had established communications with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and had exchanged communications with the SDS. By early April, both SBS and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

APPENDIX
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus -- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tenacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, carried an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain material from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 200 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
March 10, 1969

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COordinating COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Atlanta report of SA dated and captioned as above

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

ATLANTA

TITLE OF CASE
CHANGED:

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY
SAT.

Title marked "Changed" to reflect name of organization as Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) based on information furnished by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, at a news conference held 7/22/69 at SNCC Office, New York City. The organization was previously known as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] 3/10/69, at Atlanta; and New York airtel and LHM, 7/24/69. [redacted]

ATLANTA DIVISION

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Continue to follow activities of organization through sources

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
None

ACQUITALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [ ] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [ ] NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - CSI, District Six, RAFB, Warner Robins, Ga. (RM)
1 - 111th MIG, Region I, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1 - NTS, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
1 - New York (100-147963) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency:

Report:

Exh.

HOW FORWARDED

DATE FORWARDED

100-439190-70

REC 9

EX-103

Notations

CIT (Via Law) AttL (Via Law)
STATE RACIAL INT. SEC.
and submit quarterly report.

**INFORMANTS:**

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**ADMINISTRATIVE:**

This report is classified confidential as information contained therein is attributed to sources continuously active in and closely associated with the civil rights movements in Atlanta and New York. Should the identities of these sources become known, it could seriously affect their future usefulness in furnishing intelligence information regarding this movement.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Naval Investigative Service, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, District Six, Robins Air
    Force Base, Warner Robins, Georgia (RM)
1 - 111th Military Intelligence Group, Region I, Ft. McPherson,
    Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA
Date: August 1, 1969
Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Field Office File #: 100-6488
Bureau File #: 100-039190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis:

H. RAP BROWN held a press conference 7/22/69, and
identified self as having been elected Chairman of the
organization which is now known as the Student National
Coordinating Committee. New structure of organization
consists of creation of Revolutionary Political Council, a
propaganda network and building of an all-black party.

JAMES DAVIS replaces JAMES FORMAN as Director of
International Affairs Commission. New programs outlined.
SNCC associates read portion of "Black Manifesto" to
congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on
5/18/69.

SNCC, Atlanta, has become an 1870-American Society of
Greater Atlanta, sponsors H. RAP BROWN Education and
Recreation Center, a day school for children. National
headquarters reportedly moved to New York, but H. RAP
BROWN recommends return to Atlanta. No positive action
taken re this suggestion.

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Group I
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
advised on June 3, 1969, that as of June 7, 1969, the national office of SNCC in New York City would officially move from 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 807, to 360 West 28th Street, New York City, telephone number 242-9669. The source added that the Universalist Church is located at this address and the above telephone number is listed in the name of the church. The church isaffording SNCC space at this location and the New York City Office of SNCC now functions as the national headquarters of the organization.

On April 14, 1969, advised that approximately two or three weeks ago the national headquarters for SNCC had been moved from 360 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Room 803.
II. FINANCIAL CONDITION

III. SNCC CONNECTION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Students For A Democratic Society (SDS)

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

B. Black Liberators

On March 6, 1969, [redacted] advised that on March 1-2, 1969, approximately 30 to 40 individuals attended meetings held at St. Louis, Missouri, sponsored by a group known as the Black Liberators, an all-Negro militant organization, located primarily in the St. Louis area. The source said that the Black Liberators have affiliated itself with SNCC and CHARLES KOEN, who has been a leader of the Black Liberators, is also Deputy Director of SNCC in the midwest. The source said that on the same dates, other meetings of black nationalist organizations at East St. Louis, Illinois, were being held in East St. Louis, Illinois.
According to [redacted], most of the individuals attending the meeting on the evening of February 28, 1969, went to an Afro-Arts Festival, which was being held at Washington University in St. Louis.

[redacted] said that the meetings on March 1, 1969, began at approximately 12:30 p.m. and SAMPETTY of the Black Liberators, was in charge. It was indicated that PETTY would be the new Prime Minister of the Black Liberators inasmuch as CHARLES KOEN had to give up the position as he was employed full-time travelling throughout the midwest in his position as a Deputy Director for SNCC. The meeting on March 1, 1969, was opened with the definition of Revolutionary Economics, given by PETTY as a term used in the obtaining of funds through revolutionary means and ways. PETTY indicated that in the last twelve months the Black Liberators were the only black militant organization in the midwest, who were engaged in the obtaining of finances through revolutionary action. He specified that these finances were obtained through robbery and burglary of small business establishments. He indicated that all material obtained in these criminal acts, that was not actually money, had been sold to fences and cash obtained.

[redacted] said that the meeting on March 2, 1969, began at 9 a.m. with CHARLES KOEN remarking that this was the last day of the meetings. KOEN indicated that he might travel to Cuba this summer in order to talk to Cuban officials about the black peoples' movement in the midwestern part of the United States and also to determine if the Cuban officials would accept any dedicated black persons that might travel to Cuba. KOEN claimed that most of the persons responsible for hijacking aircraft to Cuba were "brother facing long prison sentences." KOEN claimed that CASTRO collects $25,000 in United States currency for every hijacked airplane that Cuba returns to the United States. He did not indicate who paid this money, but he wants to talk to Cuban officials to determine if some kind of agreement could be reached with them that the Black Liberators would receive compensation from Cuban officials for every aircraft that was hijacked by a "brother" recommended by KOEN.

Additional suggestions to obtain finances included such things as stealing payroll checks and money orders and cash these items, using false identification. It was also suggested that in the event any of the "brothers" needed specific material with which to use, such as firearms and clothing, etc., that stores dealing in this type of equipment should be selected for possible burglary. As a result of these meetings, it was decided by those
attending that plans would be started in an attempt to raise money:

1) Offer protection to small business firms;

2) contacting "brothers" at rental car agencies to determine how easy it would be to steal automobiles;

3) stealing of money orders and payroll checks; and

4) selection of business firms for burglary that had material which could be used.

[Redacted] advised on July 8, 1969, that he had received information alleging that the alliance between a Negro militant group in St. Louis, Missouri, known as the Black Liberators, and SNCC has been dissolved. The source added that KOEN no longer holds the position Prime Minister of the Black Liberators and has been relieved of his position as midwest director of SNCC and has been expelled from SNCC. [Redacted] added that apparently the ideology expressed by the Black Liberators and KOEN were in direct conflict with the ideology, policy and programs of SNCC.
IV. NEW PROGRAMS OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

[Blacked-out text]

furnished the following information:
on July 22, 1969:

H. RAP BROWN, newly-elected chairman of the Student National Coordinating Committee (formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) (SNCC) held a press conference at the SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, near 26th Street, New York City, at 11:00 AM on July 22, 1969. At the conference SNCC issued a press release which set forth the points covered by H. RAP BROWN in his remarks to the press, which were as follows:

"Results of the SNCC annual Staff meeting, held in New York City this year found H. Rap Brown once again being elected Chairman of our organization. The staff meeting was held at the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 36 W. 4th Street, between June 16--19, 1969.

"Our organization has changed its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee, still retaining the initials S.N.C.C. but denouncing any relationship to the concept of nonviolence as a solution to the problems of oppressed people.

"There has also been a change-over in the administration of SNCC. The new structure consists of:

"(A) The creation of a Revolutionary Political Council which replaces the old SNCC Central Committee as governing body,

"(B) A Propaganda Network, under the direction of Phil Hutchings, former head of SNCC,

"(C) The building of an all-Black Political Party.

-7-
"Other noted changes are the selection of Irving Davis as the director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission. He replaces James Forman in that position, who because of extensive duties with the "Black Manifesto", can no longer serve in that capacity. Forman still remains a SNCC staff member, however.

"Jimmy Johnson, formerly of the "Pt. Hood 3", was named to head up SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POW's, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization Committee.

"New Progress"

"Some of the new programs we hope to advance forward in the coming months, will be a People's Medical Center, with absolutely free medical care for Black People and a People's Dental Clinic to build on the concept of Black People controlling their own productive forces, as well as freeing the potential productive forces of Welfare Mothers. These first two programs will be launched in Brooklyn, as models for the other Black Communities to follow. Another program of prime importance is an Agrarian Reform Plan to deal with the plight of Black Tenant Farmers in the South. The International Affairs apparatus will direct its attention to violations of the U.S. Charter on Human Rights, working with Black Law Students. Finally, SNCC is determined that "Ahmed Evans - must not die". We plan to launch a massive campaign toward that effect, with hopes of obtaining enough support to save that Brother's life. We call upon all people of good will to join with us in the struggle to free Ahmed Evans."

In a question-and-answer period following the
above remarks, H. Rap Brown said that the use of force
is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.
"We do not accept unconditional non-violence as a tactic.
All tactics must be considered and all violent tactics
must be considered because we're living in a world of violence."
In response to a question concerning President Nixon's
recent press comment concerning violence in the streets,
Rap Brown stated, "Tell Mr. Nixon we are going to put violence
in his house, not only in the streets. We should be concerned
about violence in his house. White people have always
been violent. Black people have been violent towards each
other. We are talking about re-directing our violence."
advised on July 23, 1969, that H. RAP BROWN and WILLIAM HUNT presided at the above mentioned press conference. WILLIAM HUNT represented the Brooklyn Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and said that the SNCC has a number of medical doctors lined up to treat medical cases without charge, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville Sections of Brooklyn, New York.

advised that although RAP BROWN remarked that he was "elected" Chairman of SNCC, his leadership was actually acquired by "African Concensors", that is, take over. In explanation, said that several weeks ago SNCC discussed changing its name to the Black Revolutionary Action Party, and RAP was considered Chairman of that.

Since it was basically SNCC with no programs or plans, the name was scrapped two days later.

V. OPERATION OF DAY SCHOOL IN ATLANTA.

On July 16, 1969, advised that a H. RAP BROWN Education and Recreation Center had been established by the SNCC Office at Atlanta and was located at 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta, Georgia, telephone Number 753-0551.

According to this organization was sponsored by the Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta, which society, according to reportedly received a $14,000 grant from the Episcopal Church in New York City to set this school up.

advised on July 28, 1969, that this school continues an operation at 849 Beckwith Street and was "the brain child" of BOB SMITH and CHARLES JENKINS, known SNCC associates in Atlanta. They are assisted in this operation by students that attend Morehouse College which is located in the close proximity of 849 Beckwith Street, Atlanta.
VI. PARTICIPATION IN STUDENT UNREST.

On April 17, 1969, _______ advised that at 4:25 p.m., a large group of students numbering about 200, were gathered outside the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center on Chestnut Street, just off Fair Street, Atlanta.

_________, advised on April 17, 1969, that Trustees of the various institutions comprising the Atlanta University Center were in a meeting this week. _______ stated that trustees of Morehouse College were meeting on April 17, 1969, in the Administration Building of the Atlanta University Center.

_________ stated that about the time the trustees were ready to adjourn their meeting for the day, a group of students, numbering between 15 and 20, approached the trustees and made their departure from the building while making demands that white members of the board of trustees be requested to resign and that they be replaced by black members.

_________ advised that this action occurred between students at approximately 4:00 p.m., April 18, 1969, and that the trustees and students agreed to meet at 9:00 a.m. on April 28, 1969, at the Administration Building of the Atlanta University.
VII. PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES.

First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that on May 18, 1969, three Negroes entered the sanctuary. These individuals were afforded an opportunity to speak to the congregation and one of the individuals, later identified as MELVIN HORTON KING, read from a "Black Manifesto". The Negroes said that they identified themselves as associates of the National Black Economic Development Conference and the purpose of reading the "Black Manifesto" to the congregation was based on a paper prepared by JAMES FORMAN and presented by him at the National Black Economic Development Conference which had been held in Detroit, Michigan.

A purpose of the "Black Manifesto" is to secure $500 million reparations from the white Christian churches and synagogues in the United States. This money is to be used by the Negroes as a sort of debt repayment the white man owes the Negroes.

advised that the three individuals involved in the above incident were CHARLES E. JENKINS, ROBERT LEE SMITH, and MELVIN KING, all known SNCC associates in the Atlanta area.

advised that on May 25, 1969, these three individuals reappeared at the church office.
at about 6:00 p.m. to determine what the church intended to do about the demands placed on it on the preceding Sunday. It stated that CHARLES JENKINS, MELVIN KING, and ROBERT SMITH were the ones who reappeared at the church on May 25, 1969.
IX. MISCELLANEOUS

X. STAFF MEETING AT ATLANTA AND NEW YORK

On June 3, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the annual June staff meeting, which features among other things the election of officers, will be held in New York from June 15 through 19, 1969. Arrangements were being made by the National Office to accommodate from 60 to 80 people, and each chapter of SNCC was being requested to submit a list of those people who planned to attend from each area.

On June 23, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the national staff meeting of SNCC was held at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York, between June 16 and June 17, 1969. The meeting
was chaired by H. RAP BROWN, former National Director of SNCC. BROWN advised those in attendance that he considered the present national staff lacking in efficiency, citing one example that he visited the SNCC Headquarters in New York while a majority of the personnel were absent. He said he viewed money, checks, and other vital correspondence unopened and lying carelessly around the office area. He said that a considerable portion of the meeting was taken up with general conversation about the present situation in the Southern area of the United States and past SNCC activities in the New York area.

Source said that the session held on June 17, 1963 was opened by PHIL HUTCHINGS, who indicated that the purpose was to elect a new chairman and staff for the organization. HUTCHINGS said that he would not run for chairman for a second term.

Later, during this particular meeting, H. RAP BROWN interrupted with a statement that it was obvious that the present SNCC leadership has done nothing during the past year and that he and eight members present at the meeting saw fit to declare a standing takeover to put an end to the present agenda as it was insufficient in regard to the relativity of black people in America. He declared the meeting to be under a dictatorial chairmanship with all powers of recommendation delegated to himself.

Later, BROWN advised that there would be a training course of a six weeks period held at the Atlanta Headquarters which would consist of 15 to 20 students who would be instructed by such individuals as CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Negro Communist Party member from Chicago; and the Hoodlum Priest, Father Clement; and three or four other individuals, names unrecalled. Part of the training would be to develop a cadre of political organizers to be used by the organization. BROWN explained that individuals trained in this course would infiltrate present organizations working with black people such as Government funded organizations and civil action groups, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These people would then turn these organizations to the aims and
purposes of SNCC. BROWN directed that all securities and present funds, foreign and national contacts, United Nations contact, and all other SNCC material or organizational items be turned over to him. He said that the files of the SNCC Office should be shipped immediately to the Atlanta Headquarters and Brother CHE (WILLIAM PAYNE) would be in charge of setting up the new office in Atlanta.

JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at approximately 6:00 P.M., June 16, 1969, and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and potential of the National Black Economic Development Conference held in Detroit in April, 1969. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of SNCC and everything else, and rallying behind the ideas of the "Black Manifesto". Source receptiveness to his proposal was voiced but again internal conflict precluded nothing from being finalized. Source concluded by stating that the staff meeting accomplished nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and absolutely nothing was accomplished or resolved and it became so chaotic
during the June 17, 1969 session that RAP BROWN walked out saying he was disassociating himself with the organization because they lacked the ability to accomplish anything or relate to anybody. The source said that the only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta sometime in July, 1969, the exact date to be established in the near future.

said that no representative from the Atlanta, Georgia Office of SNCC was present at this meeting due to the fact they were not given notification of it by the New York City Office.

On June 25, 1969,[^1] advised that the financial backing for the recent National Staff Meeting of SNCC held in New York City, June 16-17, 1969, the Washington Square Episcopal Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, was donated to SNCC by the officials of this church. According to

On July 2, 1969,[^2] advised that the staff meeting of SNCC is scheduled to commence at Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969. The meeting will be held at the former National SNCC Headquarters, 360 Nelson Street, S. W., and could last as long as four or five days and will be attended by possibly as many as 40 people. The source stated that the purpose of this meeting, which was a continuation of the one held in New York, would be to determine whether SNCC was to recognize or disband, and a new organization could take its place.

On July 16, 1969,[^3] advised that the meeting scheduled for July 17, 1969, at Atlanta, Georgia was not held as "CHE" ROBINSON, who was given the responsibility of organizing and setting up the meeting in Atlanta, as well
as setting up the meeting in Atlanta, and notifying all of the persons who would attend, did not carry through with his assignment of organizing and coordinating this meeting. No information as to a possible future date of another meeting has been set.
A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Fort Haron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klansky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1603 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Atlanta, Georgia
August 1, 1969

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference: Report of SA [redacted], at Atlanta, dated August 1, 1969, and captioned as above.

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

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

Section 2 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Title of Case:
BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE
TONGAALOO COLLEGE,
TONGAALOO, MISSISSIPPI,
APRIL 12-14, 1968,
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character of Case:
RM-SNCC

NON-PROSECUTIVE SUPPLEMENTAL SUMMARY

REFERENCE:
Bureau letter to Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice, dated 8/15/68.

LEADS:
JACKSON

AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

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1 - Houston (100-10390) (RM)
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1 - Other (117-10343) (PM)

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DEPARTMENT:

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COVER PAGE
The Detroit Office contacted established agencies in the racial matter field regarding Black Student Conference, 4/12-14/68, at Tougaloo, Mississippi, negative results.

The Detroit Office also contacted local law enforcement agencies who also advised that they could furnish no information concerning captioned matter.

ISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential informants through whose identity if revealed could compromise their future activities thereof.

Copies of this report are being furnished Atlanta, Cincinnati, Charlotte, Cleveland, Detroit, 2, Memphis, Newark, New York, and WFO Offices for informational purposes in view of the fact these agencies have received previous correspondence on captioned matter.

Copies of report being furnished USA, Jackson, State Service, Jackson, and MCoE, Jackson, in view of fact they have previously been furnished copies of nications.

D* COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - Secret Service, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
2 - HCGp, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
3 - USA, Jackson, Miss. (RM)

Report of:

Date: 4/12/68

Field Office File #: JN 157-9613

Title: BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Confidential informants advised Black Thought Conference held 4/12-14/68, Tougaloo College, Mississippi, was arranged by the Tougaloo Governing Association and Tougaloo Political Action Committee (TAPAC). Persons responsible for conference were HARRY SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER, students, Tougaloo College PAC, an affiliate of SNCC. Affair was held during Easter holidays when students on Easter vacation. Confidential informants advise is uncertain that Black Thought Conference sponsored by SNCC. Confidential Informant advised purpose of Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing committees adjacent to college campuses as well as persons on the campuses to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure". However, no specific plans were drawn up to be undertaken in any general area or areas. Advised in April, 1968, that a number of Negro senior students from Bancier High School, Jackson, Miss., were invited to conference.
to stimulate interest in political affairs, however, the conference turned out to be more of a social event than a conference. Several confidential informants who are familiar with Black Nationalist activities in the United States were contacted in August and September, 1968, and all advised they could furnish no information concerning Black Thought Conference.

- P -

DETAILS:

By letter dated August 7, 1968, Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, U. S. Department of Justice, requested the Director of the FBI to ascertain the names of individuals who planned, programmed, and instructed at the Defense Workshop of the Black Thought Conference which was held April 12-14, 1968, at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. The requested was to determine the purpose of the workshop, if workshop was sponsored by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and if this was an overall plan of possibly other black militant organizations to take over individual cities within the United States by force and violence by means of open warfare.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE

On March 22, 1968, and April 8, 1968, respectively advised that notices were mailed to forty colleges advising that a conference of the Student Governing Association and the Political Action Committee (PAC) would be held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, on April 12-14, 1968.
Sources advised persons responsible for this conference were HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREED.

On August 29, 1968, VARRIA JONES, Pearl, Mississippi, advised that she is a member of the Political Action Committee (PAC) at Tougaloo College, Mississippi.

She stated that HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREED were instrumental in organizing the "Black Thought" Conference at Tougaloo in April, 1968.

On April 15, 1968, and September 25, 1968, and respectively advised that the Tougaloo College Political Action Committee (PAC) is a student group committed to the struggle or psychological and physical liberation of black power. Sources advised that it is affiliated with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

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

On January 12, 1968, advised that SNCC has no office or project in Mississippi. The SNCC contact in Mississippi is HOWARD SPENCER.

On November 27, 1968, advised that concerning the Black Thought Session held at Tougaloo College on April 12 through April 14, 1968, was arranged by HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREED. This affair was held during the Easter holidays so that students could attend this conference. However, the conference turned out to be primarily a social
event and was a time of relaxation for Negro students similar to white students who migrate to Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Source stated HOWARD SPENCER graduated from Tougaloo College on May 26, 1968, and is no longer chairman of PAC.

On October 16, 1967, HOWARD SPENCER was interviewed in connection with a bombing matter investigation at which time the following description was obtained:

Name: HOWARD HERSCHELL SPENCER  
Race: Negro  
Sex: Male  
Date of Birth: May 25, 1945  
Place of Birth: Eupora, Mississippi  
Height: 5'9"  
Weight: 145 pounds  
Hair: Black (long) (wears mustache)  
Eyes: Brown (wears sunglasses)  
Marital Status: Single  
Military Service: None  
Selective Service Number: (classified 1-A September 13, 1966, and states has appealed this classification)  
Parents: Reverend and Mrs. W. B. SPENCER, Atlanta, Georgia.

On August 21, 1968, LORETTA JOHNSON, advised that she is
currently a student at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, and was a member of the Political Action Committee at Tougaloo College from 1966-1968.

The following is a physical description of LORETTA JOHNSON:

Name: LORETTA (No Middle Name)  
Race: Negro  
Sex: Female  
Date of Birth: August 13, 1943  
Place of Birth: Carroll County, Mississippi  
Height: 5'9  
Weight: 137 pounds  
Hair: Black  
Eyes: Brown  
Scars and Marks: One inch scar under left eye  
Arrest Record: Admitted to no arrest.

On September 5, 1968, LENORA BREWER, advised that she is currently a member of PAC at Tougaloo College. The following is a physical description of LENORA BREWER obtained from observation and interview:

Name: LENORA BREWER  
Race: Negro  
Sex: Female  
Date of Birth: April 23, 1948  
Place of Birth: Leflore County, Mississippi  
Height: 5'2"  
Weight: 93 pounds  
Arrest Record: None admitted
Education  Presently a Junior at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi

Employment  During summer of 1966 was employed at the Addiction Services Agency, 325 Broadway, Room 425, New York City

Home Address

Previous Addresses  While in New York City in summer of 1966, resided at ; also resided at

On September 26, 1966, advised that during the school semester, PAC had 22 members.

On September 3, 1966, Confidential Informants advised that they do not recall officially that the Black Student Conference was led by the national headquarters of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, and in fact the calling of such a conference at a distant city would not be undertaken by the national headquarters of SNCC. Sources advised that the ordinary procedure for a conference of this type is for a group of students or interested individuals to meet a few weeks prior to the proposed conference in the area and decide the conference is to be held at which time they place the agenda of the conference and subjects to be discussed in workshops.

advised that he believes that the conference was called by a group of students from either Jackson State College Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi.
In September, 1968, Confidential Informant advised that although PHILIP HUTCHINGS, the National Chairman of SNCC, has made statements to the effect that SNCC would open chapters in various cities including Cleveland, Ohio, this plan has not been implemented to date.

Source stated that he has no information to indicate that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968.

On August 21 and August 23, 1968, advised that he doubted that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference, Tougaloo, Mississippi, inasmuch as the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, a SNCC operated project, held its conference April 12-14, 1968, in New York City.

Source further advised that since GEORGE WARE attended the Black Thought Conference, he may have something to do with it since he was head of SNCC campus programs; however, WARE was suspended from SNCC because no one was aware of what he was doing.

I. INFORMATION CONCERNING DEFENSE WORKSHOP HELD AT BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE APRIL 12-14, 1968

On September 12, 1968, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised regarding the conference of Negro people, predominantly students, which took place at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968. This conference had also been identified as "Black Thought." One of the workshops at this conference was a "Defense Workshop." The impression was gained that GEORGE WARE, a representative of the national organization of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) did more to set up, plan, program, as well as instruct, this workshop than anyone else. His title with SNCC at that time may have
been field organizer. It was indicated that WARE had participated in activity sometime prior to this conference which had taken place at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. This activity had allegedly resulted in the closing of Tuskegee Institute.

Since WARE, a national representative of SNCC, spearheaded the Defense Workshop at Tougaloo College, it appears that it may be said that the national headquarters of SNCC directed and/or approved this workshop.

A second person, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from Tuskegee Institute, took a prominent part in the conduct of this workshop. He left the impression that he had participated in the prior activity that had closed Tuskegee Institute. His actual connection with Tuskegee Institute is unknown. He once made a remark during the workshop to the effect that when the members of the board of Regents of Tuskegee Institute were held hostage, the threat of them should have been cut before release of the hostages. It is believed this individual from Tuskegee Institute was the person who made this remark. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

A third party, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from a college in Tennessee, possibly Tennessee State College, also took a prominent part in the conduct of this defense workshop. It is believed this person may have stated or someone else stated that he had been in some sort of difficulty with his Selective Service Board regarding induction. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

Beyond the above three persons, it would be difficult to say who else, if any, were prominent
in the conduct of the Defense Workshop. Others entered into the discussion from time to time.

Purpose of this Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take an active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing communities adjacent to college campuses, as well as persons on the campuses, to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure." By this means, cooperating persons in a community adjacent to a college campus could create disturbance or disturbances which would divert law enforcement authorities away from already existing disturbance on the campus. This would tend to minimize effectiveness of the authorities in dealing with the campus disturbance. This pertained primarily to Negro or predominantly Negro colleges.

A long-range objective is to get absolute black control in these colleges and remove them from state control of any kind.

An overall objective is to work toward a breakdown of the power structure. All black students were urged to direct their efforts upon graduation toward promotion of black interests such as black control in black communities and against the power structure to include industry and political set-ups that support the U. S. war machine.

The number of people attending the Defense Workshop averaged about 15 to 20. The only black militant organization known to be represented was SNCC. It was a SNCC activity. A Negro male (first name unknown) BROWN of the national office of SNCC gave the keynote address to the general assembly of
persons attending the conference at the outset. He indicated he was speaking for JAMES NOT ELL, a national leader of C.C.I. WILF left the conference after his speech and was not observed to return thereafter.

Although it was clear at the Defense Workshop that it was desired these persons return to their respective areas and embark on the program discussed, no specific plans were known to be laid at the time of the Defense Workshop to be undertaken in any particular area or areas.
III. AIDS, PURPOSE, AND PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE

On August 1, 1966, [redacted] advised that he was invited to the Black Thought Session by [redacted] with other senior students from [redacted]. He stated that the conference was to be strictly voluntary.

He stated that students from Lanier High School, a predominantly Negro school at Jackson, Mississippi, attended the Black Thought Session because it appeared to be the social event of the year.

On August 2, 1966, [redacted] advised that a group of students from Lanier High School, Jackson, Mississippi, was invited to a Black Thought Session to be held at the University of Mississippi in Oxford. The students were advised that the school was to be closed during the week of the event.

The day before the event, [redacted], a member of the Lanier High School administration, called the General College, [redacted], at the specific invitation of [redacted]. [redacted] stated that the students were aware of the outstanding social work during the school year and that the students were interested in attending.
I call attention to the fact that the United States were on the point of entering the war with Germany. The activities in the United States were controlled by August and September, 1917, and all advised they could furnish no information concerning Black Thought Conference.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

In June, 1963, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
Title
BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TCU, COLLEGE, TCU, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-19, 1964, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATION COMMITTEE

Character
RACIAL RACIST - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATION COMMITTEE

Reference
Report on Special Agent

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

Section 2 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: BALTIMORE
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 2/23/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/29 - 2/21/68

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC

REFERENCES:
Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 1/23/68.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:
Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI CP, NISO and OSI, Baltimore, Maryland. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore Offices of SNCC.

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SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE:

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1. Baltimore (100-23331)

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BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow the activity of SNCC.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)

Copy to:

Report of: SA
Date: February 23, 1968
Office: BALTIMORE

Field Office File #: BA 100-23331
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
A. Headquarters

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a Negro male who was born at Baltimore, Maryland, October 16, 1944. MOORE has been arrested several times in Maryland between 1963 and the present in connection with civil rights demonstrations. In 1965, on a number of occasions identified MOORE as a staff member of the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). In 1965 on a number of occasions furnished information reflecting that MOORE was active in the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

U-JOIN is the Baltimore community action arm of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Characterizations of SDS and the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam are appended hereto.

MOORE was arrested in Atlanta, Georgia on August 19, 1966 while participating in a demonstration at the United States Armed Forces Induction Center along with several other members of SNCC. Advised that in March, 1967, ROBERT MOORE was in training in the Research Department at SNCC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia.
B. Officers

WALTER LIVELY is a militant Negro civil rights leader who has been active in Baltimore for several years who was recently an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination to the Baltimore City Council and he has been identified publicly as Director and Organizer of U-JOIN.

C. Objectives
On January 6, 1968, advised that SNCC intends to set up training schools in the Baltimore area similar to those that they have held in Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, D.C. These schools will, in all probability, concentrate on instruction concerning political matters, Negro history and self defense. The organization will also concentrate in putting forth a Negro candidate for political office and it is anticipated that WALTER LIVELY will probably be the principal candidate backed by SNCC. It is anticipated that SNCC's major political activities will be concentrated in the Second District of Baltimore City for the time being.

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968, carried a story under the by-line of STEPHEN J. LYNTON which stated that ROBERT B. MOORE, head of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, said that campaigns against crime in the streets of President JOHNSON and Mayor D'ALESANDRO of Baltimore mean "War on the black community." He charged that the Baltimore City Police Department is used to "Stifle the legitimate grievances" of the poor and stated "What's needed is community control of the police department by civilians. Black people should have a voice." He went on to characterize the police as the enemy of the black community and said if Mayor D'ALESANDRO is really concerned about crime they would create money that would filter down to the black community. He criticized the anti-poverty program and characterized the war on poverty as a "Token suggestion and a deception." He added, however, that it hasn't deceived many people and that the situation
in the community is little different than it was four years ago.

On January 18, 1968, a report dated January 12, 1968 was made available, concerning a "Black power teach-in" which was held at Goucher College on that date. Among the speakers were ROBERT B. MOORE and JAN BAILEY. In his speech, MOORE stated that the United States does not love black people and now the black people are concerned with their own self-preservation. He said that the white people must analyse this country and find out what the problem is now. He concluded his talk by saying that trouble will erupt in Baltimore, Washington and New York.

JAN BAILEY followed Mr. MOORE as a speaker. BAILEY's first statement was "It is going to be a long hot summer." He then held up a match and stated "This is black power." He said that he will ask black soldiers to drop their rifles and return home from the war. He said that SNCC is teaching their young men to be strong, dedicated and disciplined, and in turn, to disrupt, dislocate and destroy the white man because he is our enemy. He said that if a white man touches you "Wipe him out." He said that Negroes should take care of the "honkies" wholly and completely. He said when the black men return from Vietnam we will start because we have no alternative but to use blood, horror and terror to gain our demands.

II. ACTIVITIES
On January 18, 1968, [redacted] advised that he had received information that some person from Washington, D.C. has been visiting Baltimore and holding meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 203 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It appears that the purpose of these meetings is to organize teenagers in the area into a youth club. [redacted] made available literature which was distributed at these meetings. The literature was issued by SNCC and more fully described later in this report.
The Activists, Inc. is a civil rights group formerly known as the Activists for Fair Housing. The members of this group are former members of Baltimore CORE who left CORE when the direction of that organization was taken over by staff members from the national office who formed the Baltimore Target City Project. INCITE is a small neighborhood organization from the predominantly Negro Cherry Hill section of Baltimore. Source had no information concerning the Afro-Asian Art School or LESTER VALLEY.
III. FINANCES

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 9, 1968 in the story concerning the interview with ROBERT B. MOORE, reflected that MOORE described the chief sources of SNCC funds in the Baltimore area as coming from contributions and sale of literature.

IV. PUBLICATIONS

On January 18, 1968, [name redacted] made available literature which was distributed to teenagers who attend meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 203 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This literature is as follows:

1. A small blue pamphlet in English and Spanish captioned "Who are the real outlaws." It is a statement by H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC.

2. A pamphlet with a drawing of "Uncle Sam" captioned "Uncle Sam wants you Nigger." On the back of the pamphlet there is a statement which says "For help in avoiding the draft (legally) or for further information call Washington SNCC - 337-7445, 1234 U Street, N.W."

3. A mimeographed pamphlet with a drawing of H. RAP BROWN captioned "It's Beautiful to be Black - Black is Beautiful." This pamphlet is stamped at the bottom "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 107 Rhode Island, N.W., WDC 20001, 337-7445."

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The Evening Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper on February 8, 1968 contained a story under the by-line of GEORGE ROGERS, date-lined Annapolis, which reflected that State Senator CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, III, a Negro, made an emotional speech on the floor of the State Senate, directed
against ROBERT B. MOORE of SNCC denouncing him for his published statement that the police are the enemy of the black community. The article reflects that Senator MITCHELL declared "I happen to be a part of that black community and I do not see efforts to curb crime as war on it." He said that MOORE is no spokesman for Baltimore Negroes and said "These voices of irresponsibility preach the same kind of hatred and bigotry that we have fought on the other side for so long." Senator MITCHELL further declared "There comes a time when people of responsibility should answer those of irresponsibility. To remain silent is to become party to what those people do."

The Evening Sun, on February 12, 1968, contained the story reflecting that Mrs. JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maryland, attacked SNCC members as "Merchants of hate and violence." She said that SNCC leaders are spouting "A red Chinese Communist line" with their calls for black power. The story reflected that at the NAACP Annual Brotherhood Conference, Mrs. MITCHELL warned the audience that SNCC is no longer a student group and no longer non-violent.
Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam

On November 3, 1965, a source advised that the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam (BCEWV) was organized in Baltimore, Maryland, and that it is affiliated with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam located in Madison, Wisconsin.

The source also advised, on the same date, that Herman M. Heyn, 5509 Bosworth Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, stated at that time that he was solely responsible for the organization, and that he, Heyn, had formed the BCEWV in order to protest the United States intervention in Vietnam.

On April 14, 1965, the same source advised that the BCEWV is under the domination and control of the "Spartacist Group" at Baltimore, Maryland. The same source also advised that A. Robert Kaufman is head of, and a member of, the Baltimore, Maryland Spartacist Group and has considerable influence in the committee.

There is no specific headquarters for the BCEWV. Business meetings are held in the homes of members. There is no formal membership.

The first source advised on November 1, 1967, and a second source on October 23, 1957, that the BCEWV has not held a meeting or sponsored an affair since November, 1965, and is defunct.

A source, on October 18, 1965, advised that he knew Herman Heyn to have been a Vice-President of the New Era Book Shop, Baltimore, Maryland, in 1954, and a subscriber to "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.
APPENDIX

NEW ERA BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

On September 19, 1962, a source advised that the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, 101 West 22nd Street, Baltimore, Maryland, was organized by the Communist Party, Maryland - D. C. District, on July 30, 1952, with the sanction and financial backing of the Communist Party, USA. Its purpose is to sell communist literature and serve as a place where new Communist Party members might be recruited. The Book Shop is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, USA.

On May 22, 1967, a second source advised that since June, 1963, the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, has been located at 403 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It continues to be operated under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, USA. ROBERT LEE, Communist Party member, is managing the Book Shop.
APPENDIX

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL) Formerly
Known as the REVOLUTIONARY
COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 2, 1964, that the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCPI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCPI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were led by James Robertson.

A second source advised on March 4, 1964, that Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, sent a letter to all SWP branches in February, 1964, in which he advised that James Robertson announced on February 10, 1964, that his faction would publicly criticize the SWP and had followed this with a public organ called "Spartacist" in which they attacked the SWP.

A third source advised on September 7, 1965, that the RCPI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League (SL) at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1965. On September 4, 1965, it was stated that the objective of the RCPI is to destroy the capitalist system and create a workers' class society.

The May-June, 1967, issue of "Spartacist" discloses it is published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

12
The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1955, described the SDS as a part of the "Responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1962, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1965, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1508 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Baltimore, Maryland
February 23, 1958

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
BALTIMORE

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
5/24/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
5/9-24/68

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCE:

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:
Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, OSI, Baltimore. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore offices of SNCC. The report also contains information concerning one of the individuals associated with SNCC in Washington, D. C.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:
None

A COVER PAGE

Case #1: Approved. Pending over six months.  □ Yes □ No. Pending propagation over six months. □ Yes □ No.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Copies Made:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (REGIS. MAIL)
4 - 109th MI GP, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - NISO, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - OSI, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - WFO (Info) (100-41626) (REGIS. MAIL)
1 - Baltimore (100-23331)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Notations

Reconvened

Date Field

How Field

By
BA 100-23331

The information attributed to [REDACTED] was furnished confidentially and cannot be made public.

INFORMANTS:

<table>
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LEADS:

Baltimore Division

At Baltimore, Maryland

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

B* Cover page
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

4 - 109th M/ GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Copy to:

Date: MAY 24, 1968

Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: The Baltimore office of SNCC is located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. ROBERT MOORE is director and BETTYJEAN MURPHY is treasurer. Information concerning individuals associated with SNCC set out. Activities of SNCC in connection with organizing of individuals and groups within the Negro community at Baltimore set forth. Informants report that in March 1968 the Baltimore office of SNCC was not receiving any subsistence from National SNCC.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is located at 432 East North Avenue.

(On May 21, 1968)
B. Officers and Staff

A source advised that SHEILA LEWIS, LOIS WILLY, SELENE STEWART, and ANGEL MOSS do most of the work at the Baltimore Office of SNCC; and in the opinion of the informant, they should be considered staff members of SNCC in Baltimore. ANGEL MOSS appears to be regularly employed by SNCC.

DORIS WILSON, who lives in Baltimore, is an SNCC field representative on the national level.

II. ACTIVITIES:

The Sun, a newspaper published daily at Baltimore, Maryland, on March 5, 1968, contained a story dated March 4, 1968, at Cambridge, Maryland, which was captioned "Negro Militants Visit Cambridge." The article stated "For the last two Saturdays a group of Negro militants from Baltimore has come to Cambridge for strategy meetings on 'the coming spring offensive'--a proposed continuation of the civil disturbances which have plagued Cambridge since 1963." The story went on to say that Baltimore militants are from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, the Civic Interest Group (CIG), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). It said that they met in Cambridge behind closed doors with the Cambridge Black Action Federation (CBAF). They declined to discuss what went on
in the meetings which lasted for three or four hours each time, but they issued copies of a mimeographed "Free Black Press" calling for boycotts of white merchants and detailing what they feel are the injustices committed against the Negroes of Cambridge's second ward.

CORE and SCLC are nationally known civil rights organizations, both of which presently have offices in Baltimore. The CIG is a local Baltimore civil rights group which operates principally on the west side of Baltimore and has a limited membership. The CBAF is the local militant Negro organization in Cambridge, Maryland.

(but on March 13, 1968)

On March 12, 1968, a meeting was held at the Baltimore Office of SNCC. More than twenty persons were present many of whom were students from Morgan State College (MSC), Baltimore, Maryland, a predominantly Negro institution. They were trying to get organized to conduct some sort of demonstrations. Several persons were elected as officers of the newly formed organization. They were as follows:

JACKIE GILES, President
FRED MASON, Vice President
JOHN CLARK, Treasurer
GLORIA WILDER, Secretary.

Other persons known to be present were individuals named MICHAEL GREEN, JAN BAILEY, BILLY WILLIAMS, DAVID MARTIN, and SAMUEL DAVIS. One student, who was called "BUTCH," argued about JACKIE GILES being elected president. He was described as a "very hot-headed young man." The meeting
lasted from approximately 9:20 p.m. until 11:05 p.m. BOB MOORE left before the meeting started and SHEILA LEWIS also did not attend the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it was stated that they would meet on the following Tuesday.

on March 13, 1968)

on March 14, 1968)

on March 14, 1968)

On March 14, 1968, a small group of women met at SNCC Headquarters, and some of the Morgan students again met at SNCC Headquarters.

on March 18, 1968)
The SAAS will meet in Holmes Hall at MSC at 8:30 p.m. on March 21, 1968.

Beginning at about 1:00 p.m., March 20, 1968, DANIEL GANT, Director of the CORE Target City Project; WALTER LIVELY, Executive Director of the Urban Coalition and a former organizer for the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); ROBERT MOORE of SNCC; and JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., used a room in the Student Union Building at MSC to speak to students. Their talks lasted until approximately 4:00 p.m. and dealt with events that had occurred on a college campus at Orangeburg, South Carolina, during a riot at that institution. The talks also dealt with the necessity for more courses at MSC dealing with Negro culture and history. After leaving the MSC campus the same group went to Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and spoke for approximately an hour on the same topics. Coppin State College is also a predominantly Negro college.

During the afternoon hours on March 21, 1968, approximately 200 students conducted a demonstration at MSC in support of Howard University students who were then on strike in Washington, D. C. The president of MSC met with the students and cancelled all classes for March 22, 1968.

The demonstration at MSC was led by members of the newly formed SAAS.
On the evening of March 21, 1968, a meeting attended by approximately 400 MSC students was held in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, from approximately 5:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. This meeting was not sanctioned or approved by the school administration. No faculty or press were permitted to attend the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up demands to be made on the MSC administration.

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On March 22, 1968, Dr. MARTIN JENKINS, president of MSC, attended a scheduled meeting of faculty and students on the MSC campus during the afternoon hours. At this meeting a list of grievances was presented to the administration.

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At the meeting at MSC on March 22, 1968, members of the SAAS barred the door of the meeting and would not permit news men to enter despite the fact that the president of MSC had invited news men to be present.

(Baltimore Evening Sun, March 22, 1968)

On March 28, 1968, a meeting of the Human Rights Club was held at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, between 7:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Approximately 50 persons attended this meeting which dealt with opposition to the Selective Service draft. JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., was at this meeting. BAILEY is said to belong to a black anti-draft union, and he will organize six groups at various colleges in this general area of the country.

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Approximately 200 students met in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, on the evening of March 28, 1968. Some of them were heard to speak of burning the school down because of inferior building and inadequate facilities. The hard core of the meeting consisted of about 20 students who are members of the newly organized SAAS. JAN BAILEY of Washington
SNCC also attended this meeting, and he suggested that students take over the Administration Building and telephone switchboard and shut down the school completely. The meeting did not end until sometime after midnight. Bailey's suggestion was given to a committee of 12 to decide what action should be taken.

On March 29, 1968)

On March 30, 1968, Robert Moore, Baltimore Director of SNCC, filled a speaking engagement at Delaware State College as a substitute for Cleveland Sellers of SNCC, who was originally scheduled to speak. Moore gave a talk on the meaning of SNCC and how SNCC activities should be organized. He is believed to have received $150 for this speech.

On April 2, 1968)

On April 6, 1968)

Sometime around 4:30 to 5:00 p.m. on April 6, 1968, civil disturbances broke out in Baltimore on the near east side. These disturbances continued through April 11, 1968, and resulted in the subsequent mobilization of the State Police, Maryland National Guard, and Federal troops. 
SELENE STEWART has also organized and tutors a group of about 25 young boys called the Panthers. An informant has heard that JAN BAILEY and LESTER MC KINNIE, both of the Washington office of SNCC, had worked with this group called the Panthers about one time a week during the months of January and February 1968.

ROBERT MOORE, Director of Baltimore SNCC, and LORIS WILSON attended the First National Conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union held at the Diplomat Hotel, 128 West 43rd Street, New York, New York, April 12-14, 1968. JAN BAILEY of Washington and BOB MOORE were designated as regional chairmen for Baltimore and other areas. STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a fiery speech on April 12, 1968, in which among other things he said that "we" should destroy everything American.

On May 14, 1968, a panel discussion was held at the Grace Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic of the discussion was "Tell It Like It Is in Baltimore." Included as members of the panel were ROBERT MOORE and CLARENCE DAVIS. In his statement, MOORE said that America is built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor. He said that present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. America moves ever closer to committing genocide on black Americans. American society represents institutionalized racism. School systems are run by white people, Negro housing is substandard, and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in black neighborhoods, they do not stop crimes against black people.
The remarks of CLARENCE DAVIS followed the same pattern as those of MOORE concerning genocide and institutionalized racism. DAVIS said that he belongs to several groups at MSC and most of his friends think as he does—that there are no good white folks except maybe in the graveyard. He closed his remarks by saying "You call yourselves liberals. It's all right for you to consider yourselves liberal about my freedom, but I'm a fanatic about it."

on May 16, 1968)

III. FINANCES

The SNCC organization in Baltimore is in such poor financial shape that they are selling SCLC informational posters for $2 apiece to raise money.

on March 27, 1968)

IV. PUBLICATIONS

Some pamphlets handed out at the Baltimore office of SNCC are as follows:

One is a mimeographed sheet captioned "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN." It is purportedly dated at the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 21, 1968, which urges black people to fight for liberation. One sentence states "May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country." The last paragraph

on May 20, 1968)
states in effect, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you...then here is my life."

The second pamphlet is one captioned "An Act Beyond Murder." This pamphlet tells that in South Africa on March 21, 1960, about 3,000 blacks who were demonstrating were fired on and 85 black people were killed. Hundreds of others were shot. The pamphlet then goes on to liken incidents which occurred at Orangeburg, South Carolina, and in Mississippi, Alabama, and Washington, D. C., to the incident which occurred in South Africa. The pamphlet urges people to attend the rally at Howard University on March 21, 1968, for a march and demonstration to the South African Embassy.

A third piece of literature was a petition to Governor SPIRO T. AGNEW, Annapolis, Maryland, which demands that the Governor take immediate steps to correct the mistake the state made in "hastily and unjustly bringing charges of inciting to riot and arson against H. RAP BROWN."

V. MISCELLANEOUS

LOUIS PRICE, who has been associated with SNCC in Baltimore, is charged by the Baltimore City Police for inciting to riot; and he is still in jail following the civil disorders that took place in Baltimore, April 6-11, 1968, after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. There was some talk of SNCC organizing a demonstration during the trial of PRICE.

on March 21, 1968)

[Signature]

on April 25, 1968)
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
UNIVERSAL STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland
May 24, 1968

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference
Baltimore report of SA [redacted and captioned as above.]

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE   OFFICE OF ORIGIN   DATE   INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
Baltimore         Atlanta          8/23/68  8/21-28/68

TITLE OF CASE           REPORT MADE BY   TYPE BY
Student Nonviolent  SA [REDACTED]  Jme
Coordinating Committee

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC

REFERENCES:

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:
Copies of this report are being furnished locally
to the 109th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore. Copy is
also being furnished to WFO for information in view of the
fact that there is close contact between the Baltimore and
Washington, D.C., offices of SNCC.

COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

ACQUITALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR    □ YES    □ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS    □ YES    □ NO

APPROVED
DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Special Agent
in Charge

Copies Made:

SEE COVER PAGE B
2 - Baltimore (100-23331)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Request Rec'd Date Fwd. How Fwd.

61 Sep 11 1968

Notations
BA 100-23331

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (Registered Mail)
4 - 109th MI Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Registered Mail)
1 - WFO (info) (Registered Mail)
2 - Baltimore

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS:

Informants

Location

Instant Report

100-23331, 394, and 395

100-23331-348, 374, and 389

100-23331-383-384

COVER PAGE
LEADS:

Baltimore Division

At Baltimore, Maryland

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.
ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 632 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants have furnished information reflecting that MOORE has had close association with the Soul School at Baltimore, Maryland, and has indicated an intention of opening up black book stores and liberation schools in the Baltimore area; however, these plans have not been put into effect.

Literature distributed by SNCC or under the SNCC name attached.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

1. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
BA 100-23331

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is still located at 432 East North Avenue.

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be the Director of SNCC in Baltimore.

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

II. ACTIVITIES
On May 14, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, appeared as a panelist on a panel discussion held at the Grace Methodist Church, Charles Street and Belvedere Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." During this discussion MOORE stated that America was built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor and has a history of mistreating black people. He said that the present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. He said that American society represents "institutionalized racism". He said that the school systems are run by white people; Negro housing is sub-standard; and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in the black neighborhoods they do not try to stop crimes against black people.

(on May 16, 1968)

On May 19, 1968, between 5:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. about 150 persons visited the Soul School at 522 North Fremont Avenue for the purpose of observing an African style wedding ceremony and to participate in the festivities at the school. The groom in this particular ceremony was ROBERT MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, and the bride was SHEILA LEWIS, who has been frequently seen at the SNCC office.

(on May 22, 1968)

(on June 3, 1968)

3
On June 7, 1968, a meeting was held in the auditorium of the Northwestern High School located at Park Heights Avenue and Fallstaff Road. This meeting was attended by approximately 100 to 150 students, and it was addressed by ROBERT MOORE, Chairman of the Baltimore Chapter of SNCC, YUSEF KARRIEM (JAMES ARCHIE BOWLING) of the CORE Target City Project, and LEO ROBERTS of CORE. The program also included the playing of a record of a speech of MALCOLM X which invoked black action against the white man including violence. After the morning session of the meeting and during the luncheon period Major WILLIAM HARRIS of the Community Relations Division of the Baltimore Police Department appeared at the auditorium and ordered all individuals who were not students to leave. After calling the police a few names, the above mentioned individuals left the school. The student group continued the meeting and discussed problems of Negro students in the Baltimore School System.

BOB MOORE said that the SNCC in Baltimore was working closely with the Soul School which is located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

A pamphlet called "The Black Liberator", put out by the Soul School under date of June 21, 1968, which was furnished by confidential informant on July 19, 1968, states: "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education.
and action. It is composed of a Board of Directors and several work shops or committees. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

[redacted] advised on July 10, 1968, that ALI (LESTER VALLEY), a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and overthrow the "system". He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

The Baltimore Office of SNCC is planning to open a book store which will deal entirely with the dissemination of black literature. The purpose of the book store is twofold:

(1) It will make available to the black community in Baltimore black literature and information not available through the white mass media or through existing book stores in the area.

(2) The book store will provide needed revenue for SNCC staff members in the Baltimore area.

[redacted] on July 15, 1968)

BOB MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, attempted to start a coalition of civil rights groups in the Baltimore area; but the coalition was unsuccessful because of personality conflicts between the leaders of the various civil rights
groups. This was MOORE's attempt to start a front like the Black United Front. The Black United Front was an idea, name included, which originated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The purpose was to develop a black shield for all black people and their organizations. Initially CARMICHAEL wanted it to be a coordinating body. It appears, however, that the front became a moving arm of revolution instead, involving many persons who belonged to no other group but who are clearly militant.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE has stated that he wants to set up what are known as "liberation schools". These schools would operate on the same principle as does the Soul School in Baltimore. These schools would teach revolutionary tactics and methods. It is MOORE's idea that the money to set up these schools would come from profits made from the proposed book stores which MOORE intends to set up. Because the book stores have not yet been set up no Baltimore liberation school has been set up by MOORE to the best of the informant's knowledge.

[redacted] on July 17, 1968)

III. FINANCES

...
IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

On May 16, 1968, ROBERT MOORE passed out a leaflet captioned, "Our Fight is at Home", put out by NBEWADU. (Signed on May 17, 1968)

On August 16, 1968, confidential informant furnished copies of three pieces of literature which he received on August 12, 1968. Copies of this literature follow.
Agnew says,

"...KILL A LOOTER OVER A PAIR OF SHOES!"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally exploited the civil rights struggle to further his own ambitions.

Agnew has openly appealed for the racist vote by insulting and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Hap Brown to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin King's assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, "...kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our hams and elect our own political leaders.
Organize people in your block so that you can defend yourself against the police!

GET A GUN!!!

BLACK PEOPLE AND THEIR ENEMY

In every black neighborhood in this city you will find mad-dog policeman ready to shoot and kill one of the members of your community at the drop of a hat. Whenever a condition like this exist it needs to be taken seriously. Who will be killed next? Your brother? Your mother? Your sister? Whenever you have an enemy right in your neighborhood, everyone in that neighborhood is in danger of losing his or her life.

The best way to prevent this is for the people in that community to organize themselves and plan ways to attack that enemy. It's either one of your friends dead or a police dead. Take your pick. I am sure you would prefer seeing those honky police lying on the ground. You know what you have to do!

It's Justifiable Homicide!
COPS AND RACIST ON THE RAMPAGE

Who will protect us if we do not protect ourselves?

Over the weekend, racist cops killed an 18-year-old brother and wounded a 14-year-old brother.

Also over the weekend, white civil riding through the black community and wounded a brother and a sister. It could have been your sister, your mother, or your girlfriend.

Who will protect our weak arm yourself or harm yourself.
Confidential informant [redacted] on August 20, 1968, advised that on August 17, 1968, the Scul School sponsored a Black Arts Festival which was held on the playground of the Harlem Park Junior High School. Throughout the day crowds ranging up to about 400 were entertained by various musical groups playing music for the most part associated with African culture. During the festival three pieces of literature having to do with SNCC were distributed. This literature consisted of a "Baltimore SNCC Newsletter" dated August 19, 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "It's Beautiful to be Black. Black is Beautiful", and "Racism and Revolution". Copies of this literature follows.
Pigs on Rampage

In the midst of the black struggle for freedom, justice, and equality, the dreams of the future are filled with fear and the hope of a brighter day. All over the country, these dreams are shattered by the inhumane and brutal acts directed at the souls of black people. However, there are those among us who fight against these inhumane acts because a few reforms have been made. To deny them...
Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil," but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He seemed to want to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin King's assassination, he was arresting 200 Black College students. This July he told a group of Black youth, "... kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the policies and votes for "the lesser evil." We better get off our buts and elect our own political leaders.

Education - Community Schools

In a period of three or four months, there has been much discussion or controversy surrounding the concept of community schools. The discussion was stimulated by reactionaries and conservatives who had ulterior motives and interests which would come into danger with the success of a viable community school program. These reactionaries and school administrators—have implemented a pattern of obstructionism and subversion against the School-Community Relations programs since the spring of 1967. They have refused to provide strong and continuing support for the community school programs.

It would be beneficial for us to understand the reasons for the reaction to such all programs in a school system where student population is 70% Black. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the psychologist, says the American society is still...
The school is an alien institution to the lives of black students and parents of the black community and there is no role participation from the community.

Learning is based on the development of occupational skills which do not relate to the experience and the interests of black students.

Discipline is based on rules that are not applicable to the situation that exist within the black community.

The solution to assuring that black children get a decent education is black control of the school system. We must not allow white people to determine, that kind of education our children will receive. We must assume responsibility for the education of our children because we best understand that the needs of our children are. The success the community school program is the intention to make it, we because the people who run the school system know that they would lose some of their control. If the community school program is not up properly, it could allow for more participation.

The only hope for our children to be saved from an imperial and racist society which seems willing to destroy us because it is not willing to accept non-white society. There is a group in Watts which is attempting to construct the society and desegregation of the school system which involves grassroots community involvement.
James Baldwin: "We must now face the conundrum through the out-worked, but we will be brave, and for their freedom ballots, don't one death blow them though before us lies the open grave, like you we'll face the unknown, correctly pack, prepared to the well, dying but fighting." 

Bunting: "Neither the slave's ship nor the lyncher's rope nor the bayonet could kill our black belief." 

Frederick Douglass: "The whole history of the progress of liberty, shows that all successes are due to her own children, but I have been an honest agitator... if there is no struggle, there is no progress, there is no formation from the seeds of exile, and yet deprecating oppression, are we the Turk's crops without ploughing, they yield rain without summer and lightning. They were the rain without the wind roost of its own nature. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, but it must be a struggle... Once consider nothing else, nothing counted, it never did and it never will... Neat may not get all they may to their wish, but they certainly must pay for all they get. If we are to get free from the oppression and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifices and if need be, by our lives and all the blood of others."

Lincoln: "I believe in any-thing that is necessary to correct unjust conditions—political, economical, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed, and designed to get results."

Edward: "Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the world, has an alien root prevented reliance to a people on a silver platter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I say that a people's readiness and willingness to assume the responsibilities of self rule is the single criterion of their preparedness to undertake those responsibilities."
WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAW

Brothers and Sisters;

White people are saying that the uprisings of our people in almost 100 American cities, "must be contained." There is the real conspiracy. Black people across this country have known that the real conspiracy in this country is to run us out, keep us down, or kill us, if we don't act like the booky wants us to act.

We're fighting for our survival and for this, we are called criminals, outlaws and murderers. Who are the real criminals? Who stole us into Mexico? Who has been stealing our labor these past 450 years to build this country? Who are the real murderers? Why don't they call the police who gun us down in the streets every day, all year round, ... why don't they call them murderers?

Why don't they call Lyndon Johnson a murderer and an outlaw? He fights an illegal war with our brothers and our sons. He sends them to fight against other colored people who are fighting for their freedom.

Who are the real outlaw in this country? They say I am an outlaw. I am charged with inciting black people to "riot." It is against the "law" to riot. But did you or I have any say in passing this law? Do we have much of a say in any of the laws passed in this country? I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were made by a group of white "lawmakers" who do not let my people be represented in making these laws.
That government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without letting us be a part of that government... is an illegal government. The men who pass these laws are outlawed; the police who enforce these laws are outlaws and murderers.

It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to keep us down and keep us in our place. How can we be expected to have confidence in the whitesmen's court which interprets and enforces these laws. The white man makes all the laws, he dreads us before his courts, he accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us.

White America should not fool itself into believing that if it comes down harder on us... that will keep us from doing what we believe is right. History has shown that when a man's conscience is aroused, when a man really believes that he is doing, threats of jail and death do not turn that man back. The threat of jail or death will not turn us nor others like us from the path we have taken.

We stand on the eve of a black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for real revolution. For the men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambition, and nothing can turn men aside who have committed a strong sense of freedom.
More powerful than my fear of what could happen to me in prison is my hatred for what happens to my people in those outside prisons called black ghettos of this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to me that will change that hatred in me; it can only be changed by the removal of the racism and inhumanity which exists in this country.

A society which can mount a huge military action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time pleads that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered each year because they seek to make democracy in America a reality...is a sick, criminal and insane society. They talk about violence in the country's streets! Where are the Troops?

Each time a black body is found in the swamps of Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence on our land! Where are those murderers?

Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy.

Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teenager, that is urban crime! Where is the national leader who will go on T.V. and condemn police crime.

Black people see America for what it is. It is clear now that white America cannot condemn itself...cannot see the reality of its crimes against mankind. We see America...as we recognize our own.

July, 1967
Racism and Revolution

H. Rap Brown

Interview between National Guardian staff writer, Robert Allen and H. Rap Brown, reprinted from The National Guardian, June 19, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
160 Fifth Avenue, 8th Floor
New York, New York 10010

Donation $10
a thing so

I talked to her in a way that didn't allow us to

America is speaking on the principle that if you can

convict a man, you got no script. But she had failed in her

attempt to both convince and convert me. You know, in her attempt
to convince me that she puts me in jail, she just creates another
form. I can talk to brothers in jail who are more political, then
people on the streets, brothers who know what has to be done. In
her attempt to convert me, that's hopeless because I see America is
what it is, it's another country. It's the Fourth World. America
with Hitler's and Germany behind them, I thought.

It is because of America's racist that black people and col-
lored people around the world are oppressed. Throughout history,
black people who spoke out against America and her racism have
been subjected to exile, incarceration, murder, or imprisonment. So it's
happened to us in nothing new to different. Justice is a joke in this
country for black people, and it isn't just of the hypocrisy.
Justice in this country means "justice to white folks." Black people
must understand that there is no justice of government, in the court,
but only in the streets, through unrest, revolution, action.

The only reason that I'm willing to go before the right
court is that I'm an educational process for black people. Black
people should learn from my experiences. In other words, every
black man shouldn't have to go before a judge to know what I'm ex-
periencing. I was glad in Louisiana because the courtroom was filled
with black people, young black brothers and sisters every day. And
they learned, too, because legally we beat the government on the
first day. We made a motion to have State Judge Mitchell dismissed.
From the case because of prejudicial statements he made against me
during some of the bond hearings we had before. We motioned we have
to him, and he said, "Yeah, the prejudiced against him, but I'm not
gonna dismiss him."
I think that happens because of apathy and the lack of organization. Groups of people don't care how the country is governed. You have to get the people involved. You have to make them realize that they're a part of the country and that they have a say in how the country is run.

In my town, people are not afraid of the police. They're not afraid of the government. They're not afraid of the people. They're afraid of the government. In this country, there is nothing to fear from people. You have to have to come to the people and show them what the black people in the country are doing. We need to organize black people to the point where they can take over the government. But we need to do it now. We need to get the people to realize that they have a voice in how the country is run.

The black people in the country are the ones who can take over the government. We need to organize them and show them what we can do. We need to show them that they can take over the government.

But I don't think we can do it now. We need to organize them and show them what we can do. We need to get the people to realize that they have a voice in how the country is run.

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WHERE IS THE REQUIRED REVOLUTION BEING ORGANIZED?

I think the new population that will serve the masses into a body will have to forge the different kinds of groups into a body. If this point is not going to say that the new class of people in the masses is not served in the same way. But to say that a lot of these groups are new, and in the midst of political direction, they are going to serve together out of necessity in population increase.

IN MANY WAYS, THIS IS THE NUCLEUS POPULATION PROGENY.

TO BE HONESTLY, I don't think we can ignore ourselves to the traditional politics because it is important to black people. The only place I want to be to black people is the politics of revolution. This politics of culture is not in itself revolution.

I don't think we should be concerned with revitalizing culture at this point. To be black is not to be revolutionary. Poetry here is not a potential that we see. Every home is a potential thinker, and every black has to play a potential revolutionary - with perspective as potential. To be black is not as easy as to play a potential revolutionary. People have been hooked up in their culture's their eyes are closed about being black that they can't even think right.

Revolution groups don't afford to go around talking about cultural because the next test right now is a preparation for struggle and the initiation of that struggle. This is my position.

YOU YUP NOT BE HERE NO ANYTHING THEY THINK OF THEIR PEOPLE. LEADERSHIP COULD BE ACCUSED OF BEING PAPER PEOPLE. AT THIS STAGE OF THE GAME IS NOT TO BE REVOLUTIONARY. PEOPLE CAN'T BE HOOKED UP ON THEIR CULTURE'S THEIR EYES ARE CLOSER TO BEING BLACK THAT THEY CAN'T EVEN THINK RIGHT.

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An ordinary to deal with people. The thing has to be opened, but it has to be opened by the masses of people.
It is, however, very hard to figure out that a given black people or a certain set of oppressed black people can talk about ideology, but I don't think that they try to correct. Because no group can be called a racial political conscious group that has a monopoly on what it means to talk about ideology but that may mean, but it does not mean struggle among the mass of people.

Black Power

You might call that the black to self-determination is enough and I connect this. For example, you might see black power as black for black control of the black community, but they don't say out who is to control or in whole extent.

It is useful to talk about black people controlling their own community unless they control the whole country, as long as the man controls the water or electricity coming into your community it does you as good to control that community. And to control the community in an appreciable way, like the man, is not controllable. I think the real issue goes way beyond this idea of geographic control.

The slogan black power has been co-opted. You have white politicians talking about the virtues of black power and Kennedy even running around giving people the black power handshakes. We've begun that.

Where Have We Moved To?

People have to address themselves to struggle. I interpreted Dr. King's death in a rise of fascist in the country - I contend he was the executed.

What happens now is that you have two conceptions of power, exposed towards each other. You have white folks on this hand and black folks on the other hand, and the struggle to rise. There's nothing to between. You see, Dr. King had a large moral following in the white community, domestic and foreign. So when you eliminate Dr. King you set up a confrontation between these two groups and the police can then come down on the black community in the name of preventing a race war. The police can legitimate this repression by saying that they're dealing with the violent element, the element that's talking about anarchy.

I think this can be coupled with the riot commission report. This report gives too very distinct solutions to solve a problem in this country. They say you can either address the grievances of black people by legislation and pouring in money, or you can move toward a garrison state. Everybody looked at the first solution (but you don't see any legislation). I always examine the other position. There's an estimated 38 concentration camps in this country. I was in one in Petersburg, Va. - a federal prison camp. They are these camps being prepared for they might bring in Vietnam prisoners back. The Indians are on reservations. We can't say the state can't fill 39 camps.

This is a dangerous situation for black people! The men in black have been taught, but that's when they are taught, because he base black people can address this country to be that responsible representation.

I contend that the only reason they didn't shoot black people.
YOU ARE THE RESTORATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ARISING OUTSIDE

WHEN DO YOU "GET IT "

My position is that we have to get prepared to fight, and if
we do anything to fight with the blacks, we should not fight, if we
are to be strong, in a way that will fight them. We are not more of revolution-
ary elements in the white community, and if revolutionary people
are then they can be used in revolutionary struggle.

ON WHITE PEOPLE COMING AND BLACK PEOPLE ISOLATE, LIKE OF

I think some white people can sponsor and not come out, but
by law they can't. We have the law with the Fugitive
Act, where black people can't come out. It has always been out, so
let's nothing to talk about a policy in. White people have to
choose whether they have the human rights or the political rights.

A country.

I can give you an example of exploitation becoming exploitation
- say and they. Even sorry and they were from one out, they were
plural people, but since they got into a position to exploit, they
at 6.

DON'T THE WHITE PEOPLE BE 6 AND THEIR OWN RACE ISOLATE?

Yeah, and we going to do very soon as soon as next. I think
a pulling one of the biggest back-handed slips in the country.
Not taking any black people, it doesn't always declare.

It's always to the country and not to the black community then.
Six people have to purge him and his works from the 6th com-
unity. His latest record, (suffrage in 6th) in the concept of
let's hear, and going into those contradictions with (The President's)
phrase, I mean that going to have to those ideas if he supports
speech then he does not support the black community whether he
elicit it or not.

_END OF TAPING_

AT 6 RIDGE POSITION OR THE HYBRID RURAL ELECTRIC

I think it's irrelevant. I don't see but the candidate running
of talk 6 city Maine, and a whole lot of other followers by
people's names. It's a fact, and black people should discriminate
themselves totally from it. There's no choice. We have to be pre-
pared to fight anybody who gets in.

ON ABOUT THE COMMISSION AND PARDON

The only way we can use the vote to organize our people to
use themselves into both parties. To create a third party in the
fact that you can participate in the will, we participate in this
elective the vote can be used only to organize black vote to have them that the system doesn't want and propose that
black people be thought.

END OF INTERVIEW. ONLY ONE COPIED. THAT IS TO SAY, MIGHT-

YOUR COPY WILL BE CLEANER."
Title        STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character    INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference   Baltimore report dated and captioned as above.

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

STUDENT COUNCIL
COUNCIL ACTIVITY COMMITTEE

INFORMATION:


ATTACHMENTS:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 10th ME, PP, MLSO, and OSI, Baltimore.

This report is classified confidential, any unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by this report could result in the compromise of sources of critical national and reduce their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

Fines Savings Recoveries

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

- Bureau (109-403-8193) (REGIS, MAIL)
- 108-6104, LAKE (REGIS, MAIL)
- MLSO, BALTIMORE (REGIS, MAIL)
- OSI, BALTIMORE (REGIS, MAIL)
- Atlanta (120-9444) (REGIS, MAIL)
- Baltimore (109-92381)

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

NOTATIONS

COVER PAGE
AT PAXTON, MARYLAND

will continue to follow and report on activities of CLEI.
ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants advise that there has been practically no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore, although ROBERT MOORE has participated in some activities with other groups.

Informants advise that Baltimore office of SNCC is in poor financial condition and very little literature coming from Baltimore SNCC received.

**TABLE:**

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The SNCC maintains an office at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

NOTE: The document is marked with red ink and black redaction bars, possibly indicating it is a sensitive or classified document.
B. Start

ROBERT BAABER MOORE continued to be Director of the SNCC in Baltimore.

Robert Baaber Moore is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of its state members, which group is the actual operating arm of SNCC. From the 50 state members, a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of national SNCC.

Robert Baaber Moore, a student at Morgan State College, has been seen in the SNCC office from time to time.

11. Activities

Local

Between 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. on September 12, 1968, a group of about 750 persons attended a citizens' rally at the Dunbar High School, Baltimore, Maryland.

The principal reason for the rally was to bring to the attention of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners and to city officials the need for proper funding of Dunbar High School, which was described as a black school in a basically white community. Among the persons present at this meeting were Robert Moore, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC. There was no indication indicating that Moore took an active part in this meeting.

Robert Baaber Moore, on September 26, 1968; on November 26, 1968; on June 25, 1968; on November 26, 1968; on November 13, 1968;
I have received information that a black militant faction in Baltimore, including participants from the Soul School, the Black Panther Party (BPP), the SNCC, and the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), intended to coordinate their efforts to protest the hiring of J. W. HOPKINS, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, who is a Negro.

[Redacted on September 23, 1968]

Characterizations of the Soul School and the "Black Panthers" hereafter.

On the evening of September 22, 1968, and continuing until 1:30 a.m. on September 23, 1968, the Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore, Maryland, conducted a public hearing in the auditorium at Douglass High School concerning the proposed dismissal of Assistant Superintendent of Schools J. W. HOPKINS. Approximately 150 spectators were present.

During the hearing, the audience included many black militants in the audience. A total of one thousand protest handbills, which were mimeographed by the BPP, were mailed to city councilman and to teachers. Among the black militants present at this meeting was ROBERT HODGINS, head of the Baltimore chapter of SNCC.

[Redacted on September 30, 1968]

SNCO in Baltimore has experienced an organized militant group's public nature during the past three months. However, SNCO has been reluctant to label activities related to school board meetings.

On October 29, 1968, information was received from confidential informant [redacted] that certain individuals believed to be connected with the Central Committee of SNCC were seen in the vicinity of 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland. During a spot surveillance by a special unit of the FBI it was noted that about 13 males and 1 female were seen to either enter or leave the basement entrance of this building at various times between approximately 12:00 noon and 3:00 p.m.

A meeting of some of the top leaders of SNCC was apparently held at 433 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland on October 29, 1968. The meeting was of a very secret nature.

On October 30, 1968
The financial situation of the ISSC office in Bolivia is very poor.

on November 6, 1968

on November 13, 1968

on October 27, 1968
IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

Interventions and sources have furnished no literature going from the SMOQ of an Mulumore which has not previously been reported.
EGOS IN THE NEWS -- A Combo (1990)

In a recent address, the National Loyal Front, a far-right, white power, anti-black militia, led by David Freshwater, former member of the National Front, was reported by the FBI to be planning a series of attacks and raids in the San Francisco Bay Area. The group, which is known for its violent and racist ideology, has been linked to several incidents of hate crimes in the region.

The group's leader, Freshwater, has been a prominent figure in the white power movement, and has previously been convicted of hate crimes.

In response to the threat, local authorities have increased security measures in the area. Residents are encouraged to remain vigilant and report any suspicious activity to the police.

The National Loyal Front is the latest in a series of right-wing groups that have emerged in recent years, fueled by rising anti-immigrant and anti-black sentiments. The groups often operate in secret, making it difficult to track their activities.

The concern is not limited to the Bay Area, as similar groups have been reported in other parts of the country.

The FBI and local law enforcement agencies are coordinating efforts to monitor the situation and ensure public safety.

In a separate development, the San Francisco Police Department has announced an increase in police presence in the area, particularly in neighborhoods where the group is known to have been active.

Residents are advised to stay informed and report any suspicious activity to authorities.

The situation remains tense, and authorities are working to ensure the safety of the community.

For more information, please contact the San Francisco Police Department at 415-123-4567.
SOUL SCHOOL
Also Known As the Society of United Liberator, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fregon Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militarily to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fregon Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Macon Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-member organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1959.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to an oft-quoted year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the reawakening instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions than oppression become too great."

From May, 1965, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resides in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active in a temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brun, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
Title: STUDENT POLITICAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT POLITICAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Preliminary report on St. Martin situation and conditions as there.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communications have furnished reliable information in the past.
The reason in being classified "confidential" because publication could possibly result in the identi-
fication of a confidential informant or just any value and
compliance with a confidentiality policy.

In view of the fact that CRRA in Baltimore has
remained in no organized activity of a public nature since
the summer of 1969, and informants state since January, 1969,
the case has been dissolved in Baltimore, this case is being
reviewed in

Location

Travel Report

Instant Report

Washington, DC

D.C. Report
SOUL SCHOOL  
Also Known As the Society of United  
Librarians, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

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On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and overthrow the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 350-352 Helen Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionary politics throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that liberation will come only when there is total destruction of this red octopus-the capitalist system of the United States with all its life-sucking teats of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realist of black 1967, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced the party to control gradually the legitimacy of non-violence and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active in temporary chairmanship of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Robert Coniel Idle, commonly known as E. Ray Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating the deputy or vice chairmanship. The primary purpose for this change is to take the enforcement pressure off the single individual.
Title

Character

Reference

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are conceded in reference communication now furnished reliable information in the past.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 4 of 19 sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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<td>12/8/67</td>
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**TITLE OF CASE**
- COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
- STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**CHARACTER OF CASE**
- IS - SNCC

**REFERENCE**
Bureau letter dated 10/20/67.
- p*

**LEAD**
BOSTON:
AT BOSTON, MASS.
Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

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<tr>
<td>2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)</td>
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<td>2 - Boston (100-35267)</td>
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**Dissemination Record of Attached Report**

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**Notations**

- 2 DEC 13
- [Handwritten notes]
BS 100-35267

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location
100-37622-26, page 2

100-35267-IA7
100-35267-IA6
100-35267-139
100-35267-135

Instant report, page 1:

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified "Confidential" because
of information furnished by and which, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the compromise
of informants of continuing value, jeopardize their future
effectiveness, and adversely affect the national defense effort
of the United States.

- B* -
COVER PAGE
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

SNCC is located at 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass. CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the leader of SNCC in the Boston area. NEBLETT was arrested during 6/67, for his participation in a sit-in demonstration at the Welfare Office at 515 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., which precipitated a riot. WILLIAM LEE, JR., has been identified as a Field Secretary for SNCC.

Activity of SNCC has consisted of activity against the war in Vietnam and advancing the status of Negro people.

- P* -
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BS 100-35267

DETAILS: BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of SNCC or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

advised on August 9, 1967, that 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., is used as the headquarters for SNCC. This address is the residence for CARVER "CHICO" stublett and ROBERT and JOANNE EUBANKS.

ROBERT EUBANKS

on June 1, 1966, identified ROBERT EUBANKS as having been the acting chairman of a meeting of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, which was held in the Christian Center, 288 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., on May 25, 1966.

Characterization of SNCC

on December 13, 1963, furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership", and states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements."
"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program.

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South ....Mississippi - Southwest Georgia - Central Alabama - Eastern Arkansas - South Virginia.

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights.

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they
"have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear."

JOANNE EUBANKS

On November 1, 1967, advised that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Convention was held on October 26-29, 1967, and that JOANNE EUBANKS was in attendance.

The SWP is an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

B. OFFICERS

CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT

On June 26, 1967, advised that during a rally held at Franklin Field, Dorchester, Mass., on June 25, 1967, CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT publicly identified himself as the Secretary of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

On October 12, 1967, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill., advised that her records revealed that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT was born June 14, 1943, at Franklin, Ky., and entered this school during September 1961, but withdrew without completing any courses.
The October 20, 1967, issue of "Student Times", a weekly newspaper published at Boston, Mass., carried an article concerning the appearance of NEBLETT, head of SNCC in Massachusetts, before the Human Relations Club at Boston State College. According to the article, NEBLETT in his talk called on the black community to control its own destiny and liberate itself from the ghetto. He asked black power students to return to the black community and offer their academic knowledge. He stated in part as follows:

"No one gets excited when the Ku Klux Klan burns or kills, but just let a Negro pick up a gun. Is it an admission of guilt? Do I have a reason to shoot? If not, why should I want to retaliate."

On June 28, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that a demonstration against the war in Vietnam in the form of a rally and parade, which formed in the south end of Boston and paraded through the Roxbury section of Boston, was held and NEBLETT spoke at Franklin Park, Roxbury, Mass., and identified himself as the New England Director of SNCC.

[REDACTED] advised that NEBLETT was one of a group arrested for conducting a sit-in demonstration at the Welfare Building, 515 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., which was sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare. This sit-in demonstration precipitated a riot that lasted for three days.

NEBLETT was arrested on June 2, 1967, the first day of the riot and charged with trespassing, assault and battery.
WILLIAM LEE, JR.

on December 5, 1967, advised that WILLIAM LEE, JR., is a Field Secretary for SNCC and resides in the Boston, Mass., area.

advised on August 8, 1967, that on this date WILLIAM LEE, JR., spoke at a rally at Boston University, Boston, Mass., which was sponsored by the Boston University Student Mobilization Committee. During his speech, LEE, JR., spoke about black power and about President Johnson in obscene terms.
BS 100-35267

On March 2, 1967, furnished a leaflet, captioned "SNCC Defense Fund Appeal", which was distributed locally by the Boston Chapter of SNCC and Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. The leaflet appealed for a contribution of money to assist in freeing members of SNCC who had been arrested for various violations.

The leaflet stated that a contribution would help release these individuals for more activity against the draft and the war in Vietnam.

II. ACTIVITY

The "Bay State Farmer", a weekly Boston, Mass., newspaper, on April 21, 1967, carried an article captioned, "Afros Show Films for SNCC", which stated that a premiere film showing was to be sponsored by the Harvard Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-Americans for the benefit of SNCC.

The films to be shown were as follows:

1. "I Witness: North Vietnam"
2. "Good Times, Wonderful Times".

These films were scheduled to be shown at the Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, on April 28, 1967, at 7:30 p.m.

On March 17, 1967, advised that SNCC and the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, on February 25, 1967, met in the Northampton MBTA Station, Boston, Mass., for a funeral march through Roxbury, ending up at Grove Hall, Roxbury, Mass., and which was held to protest the war in Vietnam.

The leaders of the march were dressed in black and carried a coffin dressed in black.
JOANNE HUBANKS and JACKIE GUILDERSON helped to carry the coffin.

ROBERT HUBANKS was also marching near the coffin.

JACKIE GUILDERSON during January 1965 made available the New England Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) regional mailing list, which indicated the name of JACKIE GUILDERSON, 59 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.

A characterization of SDS appears in the Appendix.

"The Worker", an East Coast communist newspaper, on March 12, 1967, carried an article captioned "March in Boston", which described the funeral march through Roxbury, Mass., described above. This article stated that the march was being held to oppose the war in Vietnam and for the black men who died in Vietnam while their people suffer oppression in this country. According to the article, the marchers chanted "Fight in Roxbury, not in Vietnam."

on March 28, 1967, furnished a leaflet captioned "Three Years on the Georgia Chain Gang". This leaflet stated that an all-white jury for JOHNNY WILSON, a 19 year old SNCC worker, had sentenced WILSON to three years on the Georgia chain gang.

The leaflet stated that the case stemmed from demonstrations held on August 17, 1966, outside the induction center in Atlanta, in which twelve SNCC workers were peacefully picketing to protest induction or black men into the U.S. Armed Forces and their being sent to Vietnam. Following an incident between some demonstrators and Atlanta Police, the leaflet stated, that WILSON and eleven other demonstrators were arrested on city charges, convicted on various misdemeanors, and were sentenced to terms in the Atlanta City Stockade ranging from 30 to 120 days.

According to the leaflet, WILSON, captain of the picket line, was additionally charged with incitement, for which the penalty is death.
The prisoners, including WILSON, filed charges against the City of Atlanta and they were freed.

The leaflet stated that on February 1, 1967, WILSON stood trial on two state charges of assault and battery and two state charges of "obscene" language, and as a result of this trial, WILSON was convicted and sentenced to three years on the Georgia chain gang.

The leaflet solicited readers to contribute to the defense fund of WILSON and his friends and was distributed in the Boston area.

On February 1, 1967, I received a copy of the "MCC News", which identified itself as a report on MCC projects. On page 3 of this newsletter, an article captioned "Black History - New England Slave Trade" was carried and consisted of a history of New England people engaging in slave trade.

This newsletter carried an item concerning the arrest of two school children in Roxbury, Mass., for assault and battery on a teacher, and who were subsequently found guilty. The item asked, "When will black people control their own schools?"

On the reverse side of this newsletter were articles captioned "They Mess With Us Here" and "They Mess With Us in Vietnam".

The first article stated that schools are still controlled by theacist Mrs. LOUISE HICKS, a member of the Boston City School Council. It also stated that unemployment among black workers is twice that of whites, even though most of the young black men are forcibly employed in Vietnam.

In addition, it stated taxes are going up to pay for the war, and that prices on food soar upward while black children go hungry.

It was pointed out that there are 17% unemployed people moving from one dump to the trap to another while...
police go wild bopping black heads and shooting young Black men on "suspicion".

Finally, this article stated that racism and discrimination rule the country from city hall to the White House.

The second article stated that young black men, the cream of the crop of the Negro race, were dying by the thousands for so-called freedom in Vietnam when they had no freedom at home. It stated that more than thirty percent of the troops on the front lines in Vietnam are black troops.

According to this article, black troops on leave in Vietnam are discriminated against in bars, restaurants, etc., just like they are in the South in this country.

According to the article, black troops are forced to kill Vietnamese women and children while their own women and children are bombed, burned, and beaten in the United States.

On December 6, 1967, furnished a leaflet captioned "Black Power Revolution in Art", which stated that an exhibition of black power in art would be held at the Emerson Gallery, Arlington Street Church, 357 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., on December 4-22, 1967. One of the sponsors of this exhibition was listed as the "NAACP."

Some of the art pictures listed to be shown are as follows:

"Ain't Got No Job"
"Black Power Roar"n
"Bleeding Christ"
"Vietnam Widow"
"Memories of JFK"
"Angry Black Artist"

"Say It, Stokely!"

"What Difference Is There For Me, Bailey?"

"Roxbury Rebellion"
1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 103-39207

Boston, Massachusetts

December 6, 1967

TITLE: COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COMMUNIST TERRORIZATION

CHARACTER: INTERNAL SECURITY

REFERENCE: Report of SA (text censored) dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

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

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

TITLE OF CASE
1. STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

DATE: 3/14/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/27 - 3/6/68

REPORT MADE BY: [Redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC

REFERENCE: Report of SA 12/8/67, Boston. REC

LEADS

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

I will follow and report the activities of the Boston Chapter

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agent: [Redacted]

Racial Aff. Sect.

Notations

100-439190-5-21
14 MAR 18 1968
INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location
Instant Report, Page 1
Instant Report, Page 2

100-35267-161

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Confidential" since the information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] could logically result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future effectiveness.
On February 5, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
headquarters had moved from 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury (Boston), Massachusetts, and are now located at 255 Dudley St., Roxbury. This is a store front location known as United Militant Headquarters. In addition to Boston SNCC this location houses the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, which is a militant Negro group opposing United States Policy in the Vietnam war, and in particular Negro participation in that war. It is also the office of Rebellion News, a militant Negro newspaper published monthly in the Roxbury-Dorchester area of Boston.

5. Officers

On June 25, 1967, [redacted] advised that at a rally held at Franklin Park, Dorchester, Massachusetts, on June 25, 1967, CARVER "CHICO" NEBLET had publicly identified himself as Secretary of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

On March 5, 1966, [redacted] advised that WILLIAM LEE had identified himself in the past as a Field Secretary for SNCC in the Boston area.

On August 3, 1967, [redacted] advised that on that date WILLIAM LEE spoke at a rally at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Boston University Student Mobilization Committee. During his speech LEE spoke about Black Power and about President JOHNSON using obscene terms.
BS 100-35367

On January 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that CHARLES TURNER has been acting as the person in authority in behalf of Boston SNCC in the absence of CARVER NEBLETT. [Redacted] bases this statement on the fact that TURNER has chaired two meetings organized by SNCC at the Roxbury YMCA on January 15 and 25, 1968, which meetings were held for the purpose of attempting to form a United Front made up of representatives of all Negro organizations in the Greater Boston area.

The January 11, 1968 edition of the Bay State Banner, a weekly newspaper published in Roxbury, Massachusetts, carried an article written by CHARLES TURNER which identified him as Temporary Chairman of an organizing committee for a "United Front." The article stated that the idea of a United Front was suggested by STOKELY CARMICHAEL during the recent visit of CARMICHAEL to the Roxbury area.
II. ACTIVITY

On January 16, 1968, [name redacted] advised that an organizational meeting for a proposed United Front was held at the YMCA on Warren St., Roxbury, on January 15, 1968. Various representatives of Negro organizations were present by invitation. The purpose of the meeting was to consider a proposal to form a new organization which would be known as "United Front." [name redacted] stated that CHARLES TURNER, who appeared to be representing SNCC, acted as the leader of the meeting.

TURNER told the meeting that the idea of a United Front was introduced by STOKELY CARMICHAEL when he had been in Roxbury approximately a month before. CARMICHAEL's desire was to organize a United Front in each major city which would consist of a representative from every Negro organization. Once these United Fronts are formed a National United Front will be formed made up of representatives of the individual United Fronts. In this way a combine of black power will be built up which would be used to support programs for black people.

[name redacted] stated that the United Front proposal was received rather coldly by the members of the audience.

On January 27, 1968, [name redacted] advised that a second meeting was held at the YMCA in Roxbury on January 25, 1967 in an effort to organize the United Front. The meeting was late in starting and, in fact, did not start until CHARLES KINCAID appeared to act as Chairman. Later in the evening STOKELY CARMICHAEL appeared and spoke to the group telling them that the purpose behind the proposed United Front organization was to organize all phases of Negro life - stores should be organized, lawyers and even school children. He said the United Front would serve as an umbrella for the militant Negroes. He warned that the law would move on the militant Negroes unless they were backed by all organizations. [name redacted] stated that once again the representatives from the organizations were not impressed by the idea.
advised on February 19, 1967 that a third meeting was held at the Roxbury YMCA on February 7, 1968 in an effort to organize a United Front. CHARLES TURNER acted as Chairman of the meeting and represented Boston SNCC. He stated that the meeting got nowhere since every argument used by CHARLES TURNER in favor of forming a United Front was vigorously answered by KENNETH GUSCOTT, President of the Boston Branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

III. MISCELLANEOUS

On March 5, 1968, advised that CARVER NEBLETTE had not been seen in the Roxbury area by him during the months of January and February, 1968. He stated that on March 3, 1968, he observed CARVER NEBLETTE riding in an automobile in the Roxbury section of Boston.

The Aframerican News Service is published to serve the needs of the black community and to help build a nationwide communications network of all "involved in the struggle of the black community."
APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A pamphlet distributed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) captioned, "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" states in part as follows:

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program."

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership.

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South...."

The December 3, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal," a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained an article by Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak captioned, "Civil Rights: The Danger Ahead," which stated in part as follows:

"THE FIRST authentic revolutionary student movement in U. S. history is now trying to take over leadership of the Negro fight for equality."

The above article continued stating, "This new leadership, headed by young activists like James Foreman and
SNCC (CONTINUED)

2.

John Lewis of the SNCC is now identifying himself with the leadership of the emerging new nations of Africa and other underdeveloped parts of the world."

This article also stated, "In September half a dozen left-wing activists, including Lewis, Foreman and Robert Moses, the on-the-scene leader in Mississippi, went to Guinea as guests of President Sekou Toure. The State Department knew they were going, but was completely bypassed, and got no report despite two long sessions between the Negro leaders and President Sekou Toure himself. What worries responsible leaders of the civil rights movement is that SNCC will put into practice the revolutionary techniques of these emerging countries."

The above article stated further. "Whether and to what extent these new activists are Communist-infiltrated isn't wholly known. But it's significant that Moses was a speaker last week in New York at the annual dinner of the National Guardian, a publication widely regarded as the most flamboyant exponent of the Chinese Communist line in this country."


"THE PRESENCE OF Communist elements within the operations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is not really a case of diabolical Red infiltration. In the civil rights battle, SNCC simply has left the door open to all who want to enter.

"It would be a miracle if Communists had not attached themselves to SNCC. Instead, SNCC leaders make no secret of their refusal to bar Communists."
"And because SNCC is the inspiration for so many idealistic young collegians, this refusal to recognize the danger of Communist infiltration is tragic. By providing ammunition to the segregationists, it poses a long-range threat to the civil rights movement itself (as Communists almost wrecked U. S. labor a generation ago).

"EVER SINCE we first wrote of this danger, in August, 1963, we have been denounced by angry SNCC defenders challenging us to cite evidence. We do so now, but with these two caveats:

"First, extreme radicalism in SNCC is by no means solely or even principally due to Communist influences (for example, black racism is rising inside SNCC). Second, only an infinitesimal fraction of SNCC workers have Communist ties.

"But an infinitesimal fraction can be quite influential. Consider the fact that SNCC's legal arm, particularly in Mississippi voter registration, is virtually the same as the National Lawyers Guild, long-time follower of the Communist line. It was this legal advice that helped propel the Mississippi Freedom Party (a subsidiary of SNCC) to extremist positions at the 1964 Democratic Convention.

"Two Lawyers Guild members active in SNCC projects—Morton Stavis and Arthur Kinoy—are illustrative of many.

"Both have specialized in Communist clients (Kinoy participated in the defense of atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg). Both
have belonged to Communist fronts (Stavis took the Fifth Amendment before Congress in regard to Communist Party membership). Both have been attorneys for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (the notorious UE expelled from the CIO in 1950 because of Communist domination).

"MOREOVER, there is a clear connection between SNCC, the UE, and an ultraleftist publication called the National Guardian (which currently spews out the Chinese Communist line).

"Copies of the National Guardian are standard equipment at SNCC field offices. SNCC leaders have signed testimonials praising the Guardian. The Guardian's general manager is Russell Nixon, formerly of the UE. At the UE national convention last September, the 'potentiality' of 'laying 'labor' and civil rights was discussed by Ella J. Baker, a prominent SNCC adviser.

"It was Miss Baker, a veteran leftist, who harangued neophyte Mississippi Negro leaders into refusing a good compromise at the 1964 Democratic Convention. She also helps link SNCC with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), where she has intimate ties. SCEF, impregnated with pro-Communists, has provided financial and personnel assistance to SNCC.

"MORE OMINOUS are the ties between SNCC and Communist youths groups abroad. A SNCC representative named Reginald Robinson attended the Moscow World Youth Forum last September. SNCC workers plan to attend a Red-sponsored youth rally in Algeria this summer. And SNCC is seeking alliances with young radicals abroad.
"John Lewis, SNCC's national chairman, seems to be no Communist. But he is repeating the error of so many liberals of the past who believed they could use the Communists rather than be used."
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Boston, Massachusetts
March 14, 1968

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of ... dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

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

REPORTING OFFICE: BOSTON
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: BOSTON
DATE: 7/22/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 3/26/68 - 7/2/68

REPORT MADE BY: [Redacted]
TYPED BY: mac

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC


LEADS

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Will follow and report activities of the Boston Chapter of SNCC.

ACCOMPILMENTS CLAIMED: None

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ]
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ]

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE: [Redacted]

CASE DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

Key: [Redacted]

Date: 15 AUG 9 - 1968

Notations:

RECEIVED: 15 JUL 25 1968

REC-8

[Adams]
Will interview ANDREW CURTIS FAIRE, JR., whose automobile was used by CARVER NEBBLET to pick up STOKELEY CARMICHAEL at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, on June 28, 1968.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

100-35267-207

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since the information furnished by [redacted] could potentially result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and jeopardize their future effectiveness.

The arrival of STOKELEY CARMICHAEL and CARVER NEBBLET at Washington National Airport on June 9, 1968, was observed by SAs of the WFO, whose identities are unknown to the Boston Office.
CONFERMENTAL
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1-OSI, WESTOVER AIR FORCE BASE, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1-108th MI GROUP, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)
1-NISO, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]
Date: 7/22/68
Field Office File #: 100-35267
Office: Boston, Massachusetts
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:
CARVER G. NEBLETT is reported to be the Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Boston. CHARLES TURNER acts for SNCC in the absence of NEBLETT. STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited Boston on 3/22/68 under the auspices of SNCC and other black organizations. On 4/8/68, at a meeting of the United Front in Boston, a list of demands on the "white power structure" was drafted and NEBLETT demanded guns. NEBLETT, in 5/68, was described as one of three Ministers of Information of the Black Panther Party. On 6/28/68, CARMICHAEL visited Boston and spoke at a United Front meeting. He was met at airport by NEBLETT, among others. One of the reported reasons for CARMICHAEL's visit was to attempt to set up a branch of the Black Panther Party in Boston. If it is formed, NEBLETT will head it.

- P -

Details:

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

On June 13, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the new store front office at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, next door to the office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), had been reported to him as a new SNCC office.

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

On June 5, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the Chairman of SNCC in the Boston area.

II. FINANCIAL
III. ACTIVITIES

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on March 22, 1968, a group in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had invited STOKELY CARMICHAEL, MUHAMMED ALI, and ODINGA ODINGA of Kenya, to a Black People's Forum at Boston Technical High School. The subject of the Forum was to be "Black Revolution". Only STOKELY CARMICHAEL showed up and it was explained that the other two scheduled speakers were prevented by unexplained reasons from being present.

JOHN YOUNG of CORE acted as the moderator of the Forum, which actually started about 45 minutes later than its scheduled 6:30 p.m. starting time. Only black people were permitted into the Forum and white members of the press were turned away at the door.

[redacted] stated the first speaker was JOHN WILSON of SNCC who talked about the war in Vietnam and why black people should not be giving their lives there and still be living under a white racist society. He told people if they needed help in resisting the draft to contact SNCC or CORE where they could get the proper advice. Another man in African dress was JAMES FORMAN, who talked about how black people should inform other black people concerning what was going on in the country. He spoke of the possibility of many people being killed this summer and that this might be necessary for the survival of the black race.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL then took the platform and spoke about the self-identity of black people. He spoke of Africa as the mother land and the United States as a country which has raped every other country and taken its worldly goods. He said the white man took everything from Africa, then he took the people. He spoke of the white racist society's educational system being geared to teach black children that the white man is superior.

CARMICHAEL spoke of his travels to other countries and told of how the United States was telling other countries of things in the United States which were not true. He said that people in Africa were under the impression that Mississippi had sent some black people to the Democratic National Convention in 1964. He discussed how white people were just fooling black people with voting rights, etc. He stated that things were still geared to the white man's advantage.

CARMICHAEL indicated no African country but one had won their independence through violence and this is why...
one never hears any African nation speaking out against United States policies in the United Nations. He said they were still under the domination of their former slave masters. He indicated the only way for the black people in the United States to gain their independence is to fight for it.

CARMICHAEL then read a letter from H. RAP BROWN, written in prison, entitled "No Slave Should Die a Natural Death". People were then asked to contribute money to aid in RAP BROWN's defense.

After the Forum was finished, CARMICHAEL was seen at 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts (the residence address of CARVER NEELETT). CARMICHAEL was to meet some youths of the community the next day, but did not know where the meeting was held or what took place.

On April 9, 1968, advised that on the evening of April 8, 1968, a meeting of the United Front was held in Roxbury. Representatives of some of the groups making up the United Front were present, including KENNETH GUSCOTT of the National Association of Colored People (NAACP), JOHN YOUNG of CORE, and CARVER NEELETT of SNCC. A list of demands on the "white power structure" was drafted and a very militant discussion was had. CARVER NEELETT, according to demanded guns.

The United Front is made up of representatives of local Negro organizations for the purpose of unifying Black Power. It was suggested by STOKELY CARMICHAEL during a visit to Boston, according to the January 11, 1968 edition of the Bay State Banner, a weekly newspaper published in Roxbury, Massachusetts, which carried an article written by CHARLES TURNER, who identified himself as Temporary Chairman of an organizing committee for a "United Front".

On May 31, 1968, advised that on May 30, 1968, a closed meeting of the Black Panther Party (BPP) was held at Richmond, California. Approximately 150 individuals, all males and all purportedly members of the BPP, were present. It was stated that prior to entering the premises where this meeting was held, all participants were required to support the fact they were BPP members.

The source stated that BOBBY SHALE, Minister of Information, BPP, was the main speaker and he outlined the organizational structure of the BPP. Included among the officers of the BPP were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister;
H. RAP BROWN, Minister of Black Justice, and CHICO NEBLETT, one of three Ministers of Justice. The source also advised that the officers named by SEALE are considered as the Central Committee and only the Central Committee can give orders to move into any particular area before attack.

A characterization of the BPP is appended to this report.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL visited HUEY NEWTON in the jail shortly after 1:00 p.m. on May 31, 1968. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by CARVER NEBLETT and two other individuals. (NEWTON, Minister of Defense for the BPP, was in jail awaiting trial for the murder of an Oakland, California policeman.)

On June 4, 1968, [redacted] advised that in his judgment, Boston SNCC is relatively unimportant among civil rights groups in Boston. If it has any importance it is certainly not outwardly apparent and must be behind the scenes.

The same is true of SNCC's Chairman for Boston, [redacted]. NEBLETT sees him occasionally in the Roxbury area but he never seems to be associating with known militant figures. He does not appear to work, but dresses very well and must have some source of income. NEBLETT does not impress this source as having leadership qualities and in his public appearances, has borrowed from the speeches of H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL in words and style of delivery.

[redacted] also advised that RENEE NEBLETT, nee CHEATHAM, CHICO's wife, is a young woman who finds fault with everything in the white man's world. If she waits for service in a store a little longer than she believes necessary, she is convinced it is a deliberate affront because of the color of her skin.

[redacted] also stated that the situation in Roxbury is apparently on an even keel. There appears to be no aggravated racial tension and no planned militant action by SNCC of which he is aware.

On June 9, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, accompanied by CARVER NEBLETT and one other individual, was observed by Agents of the FBI to arrive at National Airport, Washington, D.C., on a flight from Detroit, Michigan.
On June 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that on the evening of June 14, 1968, a meeting of the United Front was held at the Roxbury branch of the YMCA. This meeting was reported to be by invitation only and those invited had been told that STOKELY CARMICHAEL might be present. CARMICHAEL did not show up and very few persons were in attendance. The meeting was chaired by JOHN YOUNG of Boston CORE and the only speakers, other than persons who spoke from the floor, were "CHICO" NEBLETT and CHARLES TURNER of Boston SNCC. The purpose of the meeting, according to NEBLETT, was to organize a branch of the BPP in Roxbury. NEBLETT said the purpose of the BPP was to protect the Negro citizen.

"CHUCK" TURNER spoke in favor of the BPP and pointed out the need existing in the community for such an organization. One of the areas where the BPP could operate is in the Massachusetts Avenue area and in the area from Washington Street to Huntington Avenue, Roxbury, according to NEBLETT and TURNER. They particularly hate the "white hunter", the white man who cruises the area in an automobile for the purpose of picking up a prostitute.

[redacted] stated the meeting started at 7:30 p.m. on June 14, 1968, and not a great deal was accomplished. Much of the evening was spent in bickering on meaningless points. One unidentified Negro present, who appeared to be a black student from Africa, thought the whole meeting was laughable. He remarked to one person, "This group will never accomplish anything. They don't know how to go about it."

[redacted] advised that during the meeting, CARVER NEBLETT was told that the Mafia controls prostitution. NEBLETT was asked if he contemplated taking on the Mafia. NEBLETT evaded answering this. It was also mentioned at the meeting that STOKELY CARMICHAEL would be present in two weeks' time to help organize the Black Panther Party.

[redacted] also advised that BRYANT ROLLINGS of the Urban League, stated that CHICO NEBLETT and Boston SNCC exert very little influence in Roxbury and that no one actually listens to SNCC unless SNCC is in agreement with the other groups making up the community.

On June 25, 1968, [redacted] advised his office had obtained a copy of a handbill advertising
a United Front meeting which set forth the following data:

"United Front Meeting. Date: June 28, 1968; Time: 7:30 P.M. Place: Roxbury Y.M.C.A. Agenda: To be announced at the meeting; there will be opportunity for groups to add new items to the agenda. Barring an emergency, STOKELY CARMICHAEL has given his word to be at the meeting to discuss the progress of the United Front in Washington."

[Redacted] stated also that an attachment to the handbill stated as follows:

"The United Front has been operating on an informal basis for a number of months; we believe that if the Front is to become effective in Boston we must begin to solidify the structure.

"As a first step toward this end we are requesting that all organizations committed to participation in the Front, complete the enclosed form and either send it to the United Front - 12 Morely Street, Roxbury, Mass., or bring it to the next United Front meeting.

"Co-Chairmen: John Young, Charles Turner."

[Redacted] stated that CHARLES TURNER resided at 12 Morley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

The following form was attached, according to

"Black United Front Statement of Commitment"

"Gentlemen:

"The official policy making body (or authorized officer) of [Name of Organization] is committed to the creation of a Black United Front in Boston.

"Our commitment is hereby demonstrated by the appointment from this organization of an authorized representative to the United Front—this person [Name of Person] is authorized to vote for our organization on all matters that come before the United Front.

- 14 -
"With this statement of commitment, our organization understands that

"A. Regardless of racial composition of the organization, our official representative to the United Front will be a black person.

"B. All business of the United Front will be on the basis of majority rule.

"President or Official Officer of Organization:

Name of such person

Date:

On June 28, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed at Logan International Airport, East Boston, Massachusetts, at about 4:30 p.m., by [redacted], who was advised on July 2, 1968, that he recognized CARMICHAEL, who he had seen on prior occasions at the airport. [Redacted] advised on July 2, 1968, that he had first observed CARMICHAEL in the vicinity of the American Airlines terminal at the airport. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by four Negro males, two of whom were carrying suitcases of some sort and two of whom had no baggage. He described the two without baggage as follows:

No. 1: Negro male, age approximately 35, short and stocky build, moustache, wearing a white sports shirt and dark trousers;

No. 2: Negro male, very tall - approximately 6'3'', "African" style haircut, wearing military fatigues, military boots and a military field jacket.

On July 2, 1968, [redacted] identified a photograph of CARVER NELLETT as the tall Negro who accompanied CARMICHAEL from the airport on June 28, 1968. [Redacted] stated that he believed that he had seen NELLETT waiting around the airport at about 2:30 p.m. on June 28, 1968, and noted that most flights on that date were delayed due to inclement weather. CARMICHAEL accompanied by other Negroes, was observed by [redacted] to enter a white Plymouth automobile at the airport. This vehicle bore Massachusetts registration L47-743.
On June 28, 1968, personnel of the Massachusetts Registry of Motor Vehicles, 100 Nashua Street, Boston, Massachusetts, advised that Massachusetts registration L47-743 was listed to ANDREW CURTIS PAIRE, JR., 55 Lawrence Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, for a 1965 white Plymouth sedan.

On June 28, 1968, an officer of the Roxbury YMCA, Warren Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had entered the YMCA about 8:15 p.m. on that date and was attending a meeting in one of the conference rooms in the YMCA. This meeting was concluded at 10:50 p.m.

On July 1, 1968, an officer advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke to a meeting of the United Front at the Roxbury YMCA at 8:15 p.m. on June 28, 1968. CARMICHAEL said it is a necessity that black groups organize to work together instead of being separated and divided as the white man wants. He discussed the fact that the United Front in Boston has $150,000 to distribute to worthwhile causes.

CARMICHAEL spoke in revolutionary tones when he discussed the subject of curfews being imposed by the white man as a control over blacks. He suggested that the white hippies be utilized to break the curfew. He told the assembled group to tell the hippies that if they want to be black to go out during curfews and "shoot a cop". He said to tell them that black people shoot cops.
The source also stated that he understands that one of CARMICHAEL's purposes in coming to Boston was to try to help set up a group of the Black Panther Party in Boston. If it comes into existence, CARVER NEBLETT of SNCC will head it.
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEAL, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality" to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of gun and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEAL, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEAL was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1957, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1957, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 23, 1957, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1957.

The November 4, 1957 issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Report of SA dated and captioned as above at Boston.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.
RECEIPT No. 7 dated 7/26/60

1. Will examine and report activities of the victim
   on July 26th.

2. Will review checking accounts listed to SCI or
   bank in the Boston area.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

AHEAD: ACSI, N. CSI: SEC. SER:  ( )
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HOW PURCHASED: CS
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Indices of the Boston Office contain no permanent data concerning individuals listed in records located at Pineville, Alabama, other than as set forth in the appendix of persons.

Information regarding the use of marijuana has been furnished to the Narcotic Bureau locally.
Copy: 1  

1 - O51, VESTROYF AIR FORCE BASE, MASSACHUSETTS (RM) 
1 - 108TH MI GROUP, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM) 
1 - Mrs. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (RM) 

Report Dated: 10/27/63 

Field Office File #: 100-35237 

Case: Boston, Massachusetts 

Docket #: 100-435190 

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) 

Character: RACIAL MATTERS 

Synopsis:

This document contains nothing recommendative or conclusive or definitive. It is the property of the FBI and is being held in your agency. All the contents are not to be discussed or used.
DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

On August 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office is located at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts. The source noted that this office now has a typewriter and file cabinet in it.

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the appendix.

B. Officers

On August 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the head of SNCC in the Boston area. [redacted] further advised that CHARLES TURNER is believed by him to be second in authority of Boston SNCC.

NEBLETT continues to reside at 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, according to the source and is married to RENEE NEBLETT, nee CHEATHAM.

II. ACTIVITIES
On July 19, 1968, [redacted] advised that GUIDO ST. LAURENT, a militant Boston Negro and the head of the New England Grass Roots Organization (NEGRO) is an associate of the members of the Boston SNCC. The source stated that members of the Boston area SNCC are for the most part persons who have come from out-of-state in the past several years. The source stated that NEGRO is an organization which is dedicated to assisting black people who live in the ghetto area.

On August 28, 1968 [redacted] advised that members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) hang out at the office of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) at 373 Blue Hill Avenue, and at the office of SNCC at 375 Blue Hill Avenue. This source stated that CARVER NEBLET is the head of the BPP in the Boston area and holds the rank of captain. This source understands that members of the BPP wear a distinguishing badge on the left side of their vest. They have attended several "Summerthing" productions which were run under the auspices of the City of Boston. The source explained that these productions were for the entertainment of residents of the ghetto areas and other residents of the City of Boston. They consisted of ballet, rock and roll groups, and stage productions. The purpose of the attendance by the BPP members at these affairs was to help keep order during and after these shows. A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix section of this report.

On July 10, 1968, [redacted] advised that there are currently approximately fifty staff members of SNCC throughout the country. These individuals have a voting right when meetings of the staff are called. From these fifty staff members, a fifteen member Central Committee is elected, which committee functions as the policy making organ for the entire SNCC operation. National officers of the SNCC are selected from the fifteen member Central Committee and under recent reorganization of SNCC, they will be composed of ten Deputy Chairmen and a Program Secretary. Included in a list of current staff members furnished by [redacted] was "CHICO" NEBLET, Boston, Massachusetts.

On August 30, 1968 [redacted] advised that a meeting of the BPP was held on or about August 22, 1968, at the Opportunities Industrialization Center Hall which is located in the old Hibernian Hall on Dudley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts.
The source said the BPP group in Boston has grown in size. Its membership is made up almost entirely of members of the Youth Alliance Inc., the Freedom Security Patrol and SNCC. There appears to be no central office for the BPP according to this source, and the members utilize the CORE and SNCC offices adjacent to each other at 373 and 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On June 17, 1968, [Redacted] had advised that the Youth Alliance Inc., is a militant Negro teen-age group whose office is located at 352 Blue Hill Avenue in the Roxbury section of Boston, Massachusetts. Its stated purpose is to prevent Negro school dropouts, assist Negro youths in obtaining jobs and job training and to prevent delinquency and crime among Negro youths. The Freedom Security Patrol was organized to patrol Roxbury and is made up primarily of members of the Youth Alliance Inc. The Freedom Security Patrol patrols Roxbury streets to prevent crime and to assist police in locating potential trouble spots. The Freedom Security Patrol observes police arrests to determine if "police brutality" exists. The Freedom Security Patrol has a communication system which utilizes the Citizens Broadcast Band and which radio system is controlled by the Youth Alliance Inc.

On September 16, 1968, [Redacted] advised that the BPP in Boston is composed of fifteen to eighteen members. "Chico" HERRATI is the leader of the BPP in Boston. The Boston branch of the BPP was started by four Negroes who came from California and one of the leaders was one of the four who came from California, known to the source as JERRY (Last Name Unknown). This source has not seen JERRY for over one month, and he does not know if he still is in the Boston area.
Further advised that the RPP uses the Boston SNCC office, at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts, as a hangout. He noted that the RPP is very militant in their talk but as far as this source is aware, they have committed no acts of sabotage or violence in the Boston area. The source stated that Boston SNCC and the RPP have become one and the same, but both identities are being maintained and the source has heard nothing indicating that they have merged. However, both SNCC and the RPP use the same quarters and "CHICO" NELMOTT is a leader in both and it is hard to distinguish one from the other.

Concerning "CHICO" NELMOTT, the source advised that NELMOTT is one of those Negroes who trusts no white men and if he consented to be interviewed, the source believes he would give a prepared talk which he keeps for such occasions and would not let any one know what he really thinks or feels. The source stated he personally likes NELMOTT although he is opposed to NELMOTT's way of thinking. He stated that NELMOTT has rather high moral
principles and he noted that on several occasions he has seen girls who have been attracted by NEBLETT'S reputation "throw themselves" at him. It is obvious that NEBLETT could have "had them" but he politely avoided them, taking care not to hurt their feelings. The source noted that NEBLETT drinks but knows his limit and stays within it. Few people, if any, are close to NEBLETT and he keeps his personal business to himself. NEBLETT carries a 22 automatic according to this source who also stated he had seen five or six hand guns in the SNCC or BPP office at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts.

On September 12, 1968, [redacted] advised that the BPP has been holding its meeting at the Opportunities Industrialization Center, 156 Dudley Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts. Its members "hang around" the Boston SNCC office at 375 Dudley Street, and are also in and out of the Boston CORE office at 373 Dudley Street. The source noted that "CHICO" NEBLETT is the head of the Black Panthers and the source believes that OSCAR EARL, a militant Negro in the Boston area, is also a member. The BPP participated in the Gibson School boycott in Dorchester, Massachusetts according to the source. The source advised that the Gibson School boycott involved a group of black parents who withdrew their children from the Gibson School in the Roxbury section of Boston in an attempt to force the school committee to name a black principal for the school. The children who were taken out of the school, were sent by the parent group to a "liberation school" for classes. The issue as to whether the school committee can prevent the removal of these children is to be heard in the Boston courts.

[Redacted] further advised that some members of the BPP stationed themselves in the area of the "liberation school" in an attempt to stop mothers from bringing their children to that school. They told these mothers to send their children to the "liberation school" which was being run by BENJAMIN F. SCOTT, a Negro chemist, whom the parents would like to be named as principal of the Gibson School. [Redacted] noted that in his opinion, SCOTT is a fanatic and a psychoneurotic who he considered dangerous. The source stated that many of the children going to the "liberation school" go there because their parents are afraid not to send them.

On August 2, 1968, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JOHN MICHAEL WALTON were arrested at the residence of JOHN MIE LEDJACKSON.
Box 191, Hayneville, Alabama as fugitives. They were wanted for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for murder. They were arrested by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of
Investigation and local and state authorities. The residence in which the WALTONS were found was used by STOKELY
CARMICHAEL when he visited Lowndes County in March, 1965. The building has, in the past, been referred to as the
"Freedom House" and has been used to hold meetings of Black Nationalists and SNCC sympathizers. At the time of the arrest of the WALTONS on August 2, 1963, a search, incidental to arrests, was made of the premises of the "Freedom House".

Among the items seized in the above search were the following:

Item number one - 111 3X5 cards, most of which were dated in 1965, bearing names and addresses of persons, organizations and institutions, with notations as to amounts of money, clothing and books sent from various states in the United States and Canada. The back of one of the cards is stamped "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee contributions" and "for deposit only, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee contributions".

Item number two - Lists of friends of SNCC in various areas of the United States, including the Boston, Massachusetts area. These lists were typed and undated.

Item number three - One copy of SNCC staff directory, (first draft), undated.

Item number four - Undated, mimeograph, single sheet entitled "SNCC Staff" lists SNCC staff members and their addresses.

Item number five - 12 typed, undated pages containing two and three columns of names and addresses and persons throughout the United States and, in one case, England, which appears to be a mailing list.

The top of these pages contained the typed notation "No Friends of SNCC" (the significance of this caption is not known but it is unlikely, due to the large number of names and wide territorial addresses given, that they are friends of SNCC).
Set forth on the following pages are the names of individuals in the New England area which were contained in the above groups of names.
ZELLNER, JOHN ROBERT
71 Chestnut St, Cam.

ORRIS, PETER
A 32 Mass Hall
Harvard College
Cambridge, Mass.
ITEM III

Boston

DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER
(Married) Coord. Boston area fund raising. $5/week.

ITEM IV

SNCC Staff

ITEM V
A characterization of some of the individuals listed above is contained in the appendix section of this report.
On September 6, 1968, [redacted] advised that during a recent temporary stop-over in Atlanta, Georgia of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, CARMICHAEL was accompanied by "CHICO" NEBLETT and NEBLETT's wife and another unidentified individual. The source stated that NEBLETT is no longer associated with SNCC but is believed to be associated with the BPP. This source advised that to his knowledge, NEBLETT has not been in Atlanta, Georgia on behalf of SNCC in the past year or two. However, the source had no proof to substantiate NEBLETT's disassociation with SNCC and current affiliation with the BPP.

The records of the Paschal Motor Motel, 830 Hunter Street, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia reflect that on August 30, 1968, Mr. and Mrs. CARVER NEBLETT, 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, were registered in room 419. Upon registering
at the motel, NEBLETT indicated that he was representing "Black Panther".

It is noted that 116 Homestead Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts is the current residence of Mr. and Mrs. CARVER NEBLETT.

On September 30, 1968, [redacted] advised that "CHICO" NEBLETT continues to operate from an office located at 375 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts. [redacted] stated that NEBLETT apparently continues to hold the dual position as head of Boston SNCC and the BPP and there is no clear indication that SNCC has ceased to operate in the Boston area.
APPENDIX OF INDIVIDUALS
BARBARA EASTON

On June 9, 1966, [redacted] advised that the First session of the Communist Party (CP) USA, New England District Convention was held at the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Massachusetts, June 4, 1966 with thirty-seven delegates, plus four visitors, all members of the CP in attendance. Among those present was BARBARA EASTON, who was named to the Credentials Committee.

PETER ORVIS

On September 30, 1966, [redacted] advised that as of September 30, 1966, PETER ORVIS was a member of the CP USA, New England District Convention.

BARBARA MULHICK

On September 30, 1966, [redacted] identified BARBARA MULHICK as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts.

A characterization of the Socialist Workers Party is contained in the appendix of this report.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FLORENCE DUSCOM 37
On March 7, 1965, DOROTHY BACHILLER ZELLNER
advised on the occasion of picketing at the Federal Building, Post Office
Square, Boston, Massachusetts, by SNCC on the same date, that she was co-chairman of SNCC. She said
the picketing was being conducted to register opposition to the conduct of Agents of the State of
Alabama in repelling the "Right to Vote March" conducted by Negro marchers in Selma, Alabama on

On the May 10, 1965, issue of "Aim,"
self described as the Bulletin of the
American Independent Movement and published by the
Independent Political Action Committee,
reveals on page one, in an article captioned,
"Robert Zellner: Campaign Manager," that ZELLNER is
the manager of the "Cook for Congress Campaign."

ROBERT M. COOK, Assistant Professor of
Sociology, Yale University, New Haven,
Connecticut, was running for Congress from the
3rd Congressional District. His headquarters, known
to SNCC as the Independent Political Action Committee, were
located in Room 43, 241 Orange Street, New Haven,
Connecticut.

This article reveals that ZELLNER studied sociology in the Graduate School at Brandeis
University until November, 1963, when he "returned
to the South" to do research on Alabama politics
for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC). It was pointed out that ZELLNER was the
first white field secretary of SNCC and served as
a member of the Executive Board and that he and Mrs. ZELLNER,
"DOROTHY," and daughter, "LAUDELL MICHIE", presently
reside at New Haven, Connecticut.
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

A source advised on March 23, 1953, that the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, was formed in the latter part of the 1920s. This source stated that as of July, 1953, this group was the Boston local of the Socialist Workers Party.

A second source stated that as of May 7, 1952, the Socialist Workers Party, Boston, Massachusetts, is the local affiliate of and follows the aims and purposes of the national Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, a.k.a.
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for
Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister
of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEAL, Chairman, in December, 1966,
as a militant black nationalist political organization to
combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to
determine the destiny of black communities. The political
philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of
Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was
changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther
Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP
advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent
revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, HELBRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of
Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of
Justice, BPP, upon H. HAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization
which preaches black supremacy.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund
are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 330-332 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this and other--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its inescapable tenets of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to structure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNION STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts
October 25, 1968

Title
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference
Report of SA dated and captioned as above at Boston, Massachusetts.

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

Section 5 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DATE: 1/26/68  INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 12/11/67 - 1/24/68

REPORT MADE BY:  
CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC

REPRESENTATIVES: Bureau airmail to Buffalo, dated 12/22/67.

LEADS

BUFFALO

At Buffalo, New York

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC. Buffalo, New York

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations:

REPORT SIGNED: [Handwritten Signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

From: C-6, Syracuse, New York (RM)
1 - N.Y., New York, New York (RM)
1 - CST, Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York (RM)

To: Buffalo, New York

Date: 2/20/66

Field Office File #: 157-613

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COordinating Committee (SNCC)

Change in: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
INVESTIGATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION IS NOT INTENDED TO CONCERN THE LEGITIMATE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION BUT IS DRAINED AT DETERMINING ANY COMMUNIST INFLUENCE ON THE ORGANIZATION. THIS INQUIRY CONCERNS WHETHER THE ORGANIZATION IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK, HAS AN ABILITY TO PLAN OR ORGANIZE IN VIOLATION OF LAW.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

NOTED FEBRUARY 6, 1966 THAT THREE MEETINGS OF THE BUFFALO CHAPTER OF SNCC HAVE BEEN HELD SINCE ITS FORMATION IN SEPTEMBER OF 1965. ONE MEETING WAS HELD AT THE PEACE CORRESPONDENCE YOUTH CENTER, 47 MARION STREET, BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

IT IS NOTED THAT THE CHAPTER HAS NO PERMANENT MEETING PLACE WHERE THE MEMBERSHIP IS TOO SMALL TO ATTEND MEETINGS. FUTURE MEETINGS OF THIS CHAPTER WILL BE HELD AT THE SAME ADDRESS OR AT THE HOME OF ONE OF THE MEMBERS.

III. OFFICERS

Mr. [Name]

It is noted that the leader of the chapter is a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and that he is in charge of the chapter. The chapter is identified as follows:

BUFFALO CHAPTER OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

[Signature]

MRS. [Name]
REVISED "SHARON WEST is a Student at Millard Fillmore College, State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY), Buffalo, New York.

Advised "FRED HUDSON is presently in Detroit, Michigan, recuperating from an illness and is expected to return to Buffalo at the end of January of 1959.

Stated "ROBERT GILLEY is a Student at the State University College at Buffalo (SUNY). GILLEY is also Chairman of the Fruit Belt Youth Federation.

Advised "GEORGE GRAHAM recently dropped out of Harvard University and may possibly be a Student at SUNY.

ROBERT HILL, according to, is an employee of the Imperial Gas Company at Buffalo.
ON THE COVER-UP

On October 24, 1974, the press was startled by a story in the New York Times
about a bizarre incident involving an unidentified object that had been
reported to the authorities in the area. The object, described as a large, dark,
shiny sphere, had been observed by several witnesses and had caused a
considerable amount of speculation and concern among the local
community.

The incident took place in a remote area of the country, and the object
was reported to have moved in a direction that was not consistent with any
known natural phenomena. This caused a great deal of speculation and
rumors to circulate among the local residents.

However, the authorities were quick to issue a statement denying any
knowledge of an object of that nature. They stressed that there was no evidence
of any object in the area and that any reports were simply the result of
misinterpretation.

Despite this, the incident continued to generate interest and speculation among
the public. Many people reported seeing similar objects in the area, and there
were even claims of contact with extraterrestrial entities.

In the end, the mystery of the object remained unsolved. The authorities
continued to insist that there was no evidence of any such object, and the
public was left to speculate on the nature of the incident.
On December 19, 1967, the statement in the "Buffalo Courier-Express" in September of 1967 officially listing PARKS as Chairman and HUDSON as Program Director.

On December 19, 1967, it was advised that a new organization was formed in the fall of 1967 on the campus of SU-CAB by JOHN READING, brother of FREDERICK DOCK READING, which is known as "SNCC Associates." This group has no official connection with SNCC either locally or in New York City. A dance was held on the SU-CAB campus in early December of 1967 which raised $185.00.

IV. FUNDS

On December 19, 1967 and January 8, 1968, it was advised the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC has no funds available. Several small contributions have been received from members but this money has been used to defray local expenses of leaflet distribution.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON SNCC

It was advised on January 11, 1968 that he is familiar with a majority of the racial organizations in the City of Buffalo.
Informant said he believed HARRIS was not interested in any program in which any subversive organization would involve themselves and HARRIS seemed to be averse to the possibility of Communist Party (CP) involvement.

Informant also said he further believes that the Buffalo chapter of SNCC will probably not grow to any size because the local leadership will be unable to devote enough time to organizing it properly. Furthermore, the majority of Negroes in Buffalo are not attracted to the militant position SNCC has adopted nationally.
was made available two months later as the Peace Table of the "Peace
Forum for SE Asia" at SUNYAR. These documents
were signed by the leaders of the "Peace Forum
for SE Asia" and were sent to Geneva. The signatories
of this paper, however, did not attend the
Meeting at Geneva to discuss the matter.

General Secretary of the "Peace
Forum for SE Asia" sent a hall to Geneva to
attend the Meeting.

Such activity at the meeting on
the peace forum had a chance to discuss
the competing views of SE Asia.
groups have merged to form the Buffalo Student Mobilization Committee. The chief focus of activity has moved from the campus to the community." The article disclosed the program of Buffalo SMC will encompass peace activities, including anti-Viet Nam war action, draft resistance, and a community education program.

In August of 1967, [REDACTED] advised that Buffalo SMC, during the summer of 1967, has been meeting regularly on the SUNYAB campus. Its membership and leadership is comprised of the "New Left," which consistently opposes all phases of United States policy, both foreign and domestic. The local publication which usually carries the line of the Buffalo SMC is "The Buffalo Insider."

VI. PROGRAMS OF SNCC
IN VolVING PLANNING
OF OR ENGAGING IN
VIOLENCE

[REDACTED] advised on January 8, 1968 that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC has no present program of any kind and is not planning or engaging in any activity leading to racial violence. The three regular meetings held thus far of this Chapter have been devoted to a discussion of whether or not to continue the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC or to change its name to some more appealing title, such as "Black Liberation Movement" or "Black Awareness Coordinating Committee." Most of the present members feel that the latter name has the greatest appeal.

Informant advised leaders of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC have had practically no communication from either
the National Headquarters of SNCC or the New York City Office. Chairman GEORGE HARRIS received a form letter from New York City appealing for help to overcome a Court ruling that prevents National Chairman H. RAP BROWN from leaving New York City. Headquarters is apparently trying to ease these restrictions so that BROWN can travel more frequently.

Also, in meetings held thus far, the individual members seem to be more interested in their own pet projects rather than combining their efforts to work just for SNCC.

advised on December 19, 1967 and January 6, 1968 that SNCC Chairman GEORGE HARRIS had made it clear that he does not condone racial violence and that this will not be the policy of SNCC in Buffalo as long as he is Chairman. Informant said HARRIS is occupied through his employment as Youth Director of the Neighborhood Youth Center with young Negros and is trying to channel their energies into useful activities and recreation.
APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1948 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention on April 19 to 20, 1948 at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working-class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, of Tuesday, April 20, 1948, on page 37, reported a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 19.

The latter was named PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON GOLDS, New York, President; and WILLIAM EPTON, New York, and HOWE SODER, San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A member national committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article "the Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1947 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Soder for they were expelled from the Communist party. It is a bitterly anti-communist line."


The April 1947 issue of "Challenge," on page 14, noted, "This issue is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their factories, police, courts, and the entire government of every level."
A second court, advised on September 17, 1966, that the ILP utilized the address of General Post Office Box 960, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, One Union Square, W., New York City, where ILP publications are prepared.
APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY - BUFFALO
Formerly Progressive Labor Movement

A source advised in May of 1966 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in Buffalo, New York, formerly the Progressive Labor Movement, is an affiliate of the National Progressive Labor Party, and follows the aims and principles of the National organization, New York, New York.

This same source, on May 10, 1967, furnished information that the PLP no longer has a formal organization in Buffalo, but its adherents maintain contact with the National PLP through receipt of literature and maintain contact with each other through periodic meetings of what they refer to as Marxist-Leninist classes.
APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June of 1962. SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the Draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a Conscientious Objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the War in Viet Nam, and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students.

OS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of the United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described SDS as part of the "responsible left," which the Party has "going for us."

At the June 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of the "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated there were some Communists in SDS and they are welcome.

The National Headquarters of this organization, as of April 12, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
January 26, 1968

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Title
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
(Buffalo file 157-217)

Reference
Report of SA [redacted], dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.
REPORT MADE BY: [Redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCES:

Report of SA 1/26/68, at Buffalo.

-P-

LEADS

BUFFALO

At Buffalo, New York, will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC, Buffalo, New York.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

SPECIAL AGENT

IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Date: 22 JUL 3 1968

Reg: 4

Ex: 103

DETERMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

Notations

RACIAL MYSTIQUE

57 JUL 3 1968
INFORMANTS

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157-213-153

Instant report
pages 2 through 7

Instant report
page 5

ADMINISTRATIVE

Instant report is classified "Confidential"
since data from and could reasonably
result in the identification of confidential sources of
continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.
ADMINISTRATIVE, cont'd.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - G-2, Syracuse, New York (RM)
1 - N1C, New York, New York (RM)
1 - OSI, Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York (RM)

Copy to:

Office: Buffalo, New York

Report of:
Date: 6/27/68

Bureau File #: 100-439180

Field Office File #: 257-213

Title:UDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:
Buffalo Chapter of SNCC opened
headquarters at 289 High Street,
Buffalo, N.Y., on about 4/1/68, but
was evicted in early May, 1968, for
non-payment of rent and internal
strife. Chairman GEORGE WILLIAM HARRIS,
planning to open a book and record
shop at Peach and High Streets,
Buffalo, on or about 7/1/68, which
will serve as cover for future SNCC
activity. Buffalo SNCC Chapter has
no funds, not presently holding
regular meetings and has no official
membership. No indication of recent
interest by Communist Party in Buffalo
Chapter of SNCC.

-P-

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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

I. BASIS

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any Communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization in Buffalo, New York, has any intention of planning or engaging in violence.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

On March 23, 1968, [redacted] advised that GEORGE WILL HARRIS, Chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC, announced that arrangements had been made for future meetings of SNCC to be held at a newly acquired location at 353 High Street, Buffalo, New York.

On May 1, 1968, [redacted] advised that SNCC had held several meetings at 353 High Street during April, 1968, and that several young Negro males had periodically come to this address to handle routine clerical functions in the headquarters.

On May 20, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC had been evicted from its headquarters at 353 High Street for non-payment of rent for the month of April, 1968, and because the landlord for this address was disturbed by an internal struggle which had taken place at SNCC headquarters on May 9, 1968, which attracted considerable neighborhood attention to activities going on there, resulting in unfavorable publicity. Informant pointed out that on May 9, 1968, Chairman GEORGE WILL HARRIS had been personally assaulted by several militant young Negro males who had invaded SNCC headquarters on the afternoon of that day and had attempted to take over control of
SNCC. Informant advised that HARRIS returned to SNCC headquarters on the following day with a group of supporters and regained possession of SNCC headquarters. Informant identified several of the group who attempted to seize control of SNCC at CLEO JENKINS, a laborer at the Bethlehem Steel Company, Lackawanna, New York. GEORGE JEFFERY, JR., DAVID WILSON, and, with his wife, MILDRED WILSON, had made a number of appearances at SNCC headquarters during April, 1968, and ROM HILL.

On June 24, 1968, the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC plans to resume operations on or about July 1, 1968, in a small store building at the corner of 24th and High Street, across the street from the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, which is located at 318 High Street. Informant said that GEORGE WILLIAM HARRIS recently indicated that a book shop and record store will be operated in the store room and SNCC will maintain a desk in the basement of the building from which future SNCC operations will be directed. Informant said that HARRIS hopes to attract a group of young militant Negroes to SNCC through the medium of the book and record shop.

III. MEMBERSHIP

On March 27, 1968, the Office of the Executive Director of the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC, ERNEST HODSON, formerly considered the program director, left the office in Detroit, Michigan, with his family and no longer interested in returning to Buffalo, New York. DR. RICHARD KNEITZ continued to indicate an interest in SNCC activities but no longer held the post of Executive Secretary.

Further advised on March 27, 1968, that former members ROBERT SIDNEY, formerly identified as ROBERT D'AGNES, ROBERT HILL and JAMES KITIS could no longer be considered as SNCC members. GEORGE GRAHAM was still at that time considered a member of SNCC.

On April 14, 1968, one of the young people that showed up at the new SNCC headquarters at 289 High Street,
Buffalo, N.Y., where she attended training at a training in
the office of the New York County, N.Y.

VANDANA
1300 Main Street in Buffalo, N.Y.

on June 24, 1968, that
had spent the last month in "Resurrection City," in
Washington, D.C., site of the Poor People's Campaign sponsored
by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Ms. Gill returned to Buffalo, N.Y., with a contingent
of representatives of the Poor People's Campaign on June 20,
1968, and indicated that she might return to Washington,
D.C., after a short stay in Buffalo of several days.

Informant indicated that she would probably remain in
activity in N.Y. on her return to Buffalo.

In May 1968, that Dorothy
Davis, SCLC's chairman, had prepared a membership applica-
tion form for SCLC member and that several people had
filled out the application form during April 1968.

In June 1968, the
advised that GEORGE WILLI
and S. W. BROWN travelled together to
Washington, D.C., where they visited "Resurrection City"
The influence of the Communist party on the SMC

On May 15, 1932, the Erie County Commission of the SMC undertook no key measures to influence the local matter of SMCS and has made no overtures toward its chairman, George Will Harris.
Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 220-262 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 15, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later, in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FBI

In the

File No.

CURRENT AGE: 59

GROWING戶 \ OF \ THE

RACIAL \ MATTERS- RNCC

Effective: Week 17/213

Character

Relevance

Report of RNCC and RNCC dated and captioned as above.

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

This document is intended for recommendation and not execution of the policy of the FBI and is contained in your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BUFFALO OFFICE

ATLANTA OFFICE

DATE: 9/25/63

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 9/25-9/26-63

REPORT NO: 1YR

TYPE: I15

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE: FM


LEADS

BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, N.Y.

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of SNCC, Buffalo, N.Y.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [ ] NO

PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [ ] NO

Acquittal

Case Has Been

Approved

Special Agent

Agent in Charge

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

DEC 26

F 106

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Cover Page
INFORMANTS

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ADMINISTRATIVE

Instant report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" since data from ____________ could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise his future effectiveness.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of
Case
Field Office File #

Character

Synopsis:
Buffalo Chapter of CIO was closed in mid-
September, 1940, for a period of 2 years
due to charges of mismanaging the Union. The district
chancellor then transferred leadership to the
Buffalo Chapter and several other local
unions. In late summer, 1940, the district
chancellor requested that the ike be authorized
without delay.

Audio.

Infill. in attached narrative.

E. F. K.

Investigation of the Buffalo Non-Welder
Coordinating Committee (CIO) by an Federal Bureau
of Investigation is not intended to concern the
legitimacy of services of this organization but is
aimed at determining any remarks delibirations of
CIO and whether this organization in Buffalo, N.Y.
has any intention of planning or engaging in
violence.

"Footnote."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
On July 17, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of SMCO, [redacted], HARRIS, announced his resignation from the Martin Luther Community House, 97 Connect Street, Buffalo. This occurred to be effective August 1, 1968.

HARRIS indicated that SMCO meetings and activities could no longer be conducted from the Martin Luther Community House. He added that he had opened in the same building which would be known as the "Twenty O'Clock Mart," 317 High Street, Buffalo, a neighborhood store, which would sell drugs such as aspirin, beauty aids, household items, soft drinks and candy.

HARRIS stated that there is a basement room in this store which is adequate for the holding of SMCO meetings and which would also provide an office area for conducting of SMCO business.

On August 21, 1968, [redacted] advised that SMCO 24 HOURS 7 DAYS HARRIS had conducted several so-called meetings in the basement at 317 High Street for the purpose of trying to organize a chapter of SMCO in Buffalo. These meetings were attended by some 15-20 youths, both male and female, who had expressed an interest in affiliating with SMCO.

On September 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that SNCC HARRIS had closed the "Twenty O'Clock Mart" and sold the store. This action was brought about by an attack on HARRIS by a former employee, HERMAN HARVE. In an interview named MURPHY LITTHI, a recent parolee from Illinois.

[redacted] pointed out that HARRIS had been away from Buffalo, New York, during the last week in August, 1968, visiting Chicago, Illinois, to observe the Democratic National Convention.
In August 20, 1969, the National and SHC Chairman's office had recently received a form called the Registration Record indicating that this was the document establishing an intention to join SHC. It called for the listing of an individual's name, address, employment, education, and other relevant data. Informant advised that the 15-20 people who participated in the gatherings at 374 High Street, Harrisburg, between August 20, 1968, were given this form to complete.

SHC, according to the informant, had plans preliminary plans in anticipation of the establishment of a local chapter of SHC, to assign official positions to certain individuals. The informant indicated they had the ability to control the subsequent actions.
Informant advised that the average young Negro in this area looked upon the organizing efforts of HARRIS as an excuse to get together, form a gang, and make plans to attack some rival gang either in the "Fruit Belt" area or in some other section of the ghetto. These Negro youths resented HARRIS' efforts to steer them away from acts of violence, either toward the community or toward other rival organizations, to activity with a more reasonable purpose. Informant said that this was largely why HARRIS was unable to get a SNCC organization operational. Those Negro youths who had the education and intelligence to understand what Chairman HARRIS was trying to achieve were not interested in SNCC because they did not accept its national policy. They apparently prefer to work through other local youth organizations.

[Redacted] advised on September 17, 1968, that with the departure of GEORGE WILL HARRIS, no arrangements were made for the transfer of leadership from HARRIS to anyone else in the Buffalo area to assume the leadership of SNCC. As a result, there are no longer any members of SNCC in the Buffalo, New York, area; and there are no plans for any organized SNCC meetings or activities.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON SNCC

[Redacted] advised on September 11, 1968, that there had been no overt steps by any individuals possibly connected with the Communist Party to infiltrate or control the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC or to make any approach to its Chairman, GEORGE WILL HARRIS.
VI. PROGRAM OF SNCC
EVOLVING PLANNING
OR ENGAGING IN
VIOLENCE

On August 31, 1966, it was advised that the Buffalo Chapter of SNCC had held several meetings on Saturday afternoons at 357 High Street, Buffalo, New York, in August, 1966. One meeting was held which included a discussion on the topic, "Survival for the Black Woman."

It was stated that the Chairman, LEWIS HARRIS, had recently distributed a printed leaflet entitled, "Survival for the Black Woman," containing the following message:

"Dear Sisters, do you know what to do during a rebellion?

"1. Can you administer first aid to the injured?

"2. Are you able to protect yourself?

"3. Are you able to move through the streets during a pressing condition in safety?

"If so, SNCC is offering a course in:

"Every WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY night!

"Time - 7:00-9:00 pm

"357 High Street

"Corner of Garth Street"

Informant said that he learned that LEWIS HARRIS had picked up information concerning the above topic when he attended the National Black Anti-war - Anti-draft Union Conference held in New York City in April, 1966, sponsored by the SNCC.

-6-
On April 21, 1960, only one meeting was ever held on the site. The site was bought by the city of
Los Angeles. If you want to see the dedication of the park on
a purely personal basis, we did not present it to the
area itself. The dedication ceremony to uniform action in
this area to a federal resolution to the site in June.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Buffalo, New York
September 27, 1968

Title

Character

Reference

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

RACIAL MATTERS
(Buffalo file 162-213)

Report of SA [redacted and censored as above.]

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

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

Document

ADDITIONAL NEW YORK

... it depends whether CHGC reactivates Court in the

additional area.

ANY ADDITIONAL NEW YORK

Will exhibit photographs of individuals entering
or leaving the Hotel Diplomat: New York City, during the
period 9/12-9/29/68, etc. There was "other" in the
National Conference of the National Labor
Council-Steel Union (NUMCU), which was present at that
time.

INTERVENTIONS


ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Conf

It is from the "Ind" reasonably so that information will be
of a sensitive nature. Information of more sensitive nature
will be withheld.

There are no pending cases or potential conflicts in this
Division.

- B* -

COVER PAGE
I. BASIS

Investigation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) by the FBI is not intended to concern the legitimate activities of this organization but is aimed at determining any Communist infiltration of SNCC and whether this organization, in New York, has any intention of planning to engage in violence.

This document contains material not to be distributed outside your agency; it and its contents are not to be discussed outside your agency.
On December 10, 1969, it was decided that the Buffalo chapter of the SWCC had discontinued operations in September 1969. The SWCC chapter in Buffalo has ceased operations completely and no longer exists.

A characterization of SWCC is attached as an appendix to this report.
APENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta,
Georgia, is a non-membership organization, which was born out
of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South
beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization
in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be
successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary
ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic
milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people
in the United States and the year that revolutionaries
throughout the world began to understand more fully the
impact of the Black movement. SNCC declared that "liber-
ation will come only when there is final destruction of the
racist European-American capitalist system of the United States
with all its life-smothering tentacles of exploitation and
repression that shape the people of Africa, Asia and Latin
America. The realities of black life, together with the
recognition revealed in SNCC workers forced its members
to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and
rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, SOOKLY
CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1966,
CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was
affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary Chairman of
a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was
replaced by RUBERT HEROLD BROWN, commonly known as H.
RAE BROWN, who served until June, 1968.
In June, 1969, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[Redacted]

Title: COORDINATING OFFICER (SCO)

Character: [Redacted]


All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are contained in the reference communication have failed to verify information in the past.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 6 of 19 sections
REFERENCES: Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67, entitled, "STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, IS - SNCC"

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Will forward and report any communist infiltration of SNCC and revolutionary type activities of this organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential because it contains

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190 - 9 - 34X10

17 DEC 8 1967
Information from [redacted] which was so classified and whose identity, if disclosed, would not be in the best interests of this country.

[redacted], mentioned in the details, is a source of the Chicago Office. Due to the relative inactivity of SIUCC he has been unable to make contact with the Chicago Office, SIUCC.
Chicago File
157-1687
157-2332
157-2281
157-2235
157-2195
157-2004
157-2333

Chicago File
100-41977
100-41635

Informants

Source

Location
Instant report,
100-40342-1473

100-40342-1538

-C-
COVER PAGE
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (Via Courier)
1 - Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA
Date: DEC 6 1967
Office: Chicago

Field Office File #: 100-40342
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Confidential
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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

On May 5, 1967, SA United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files which were then at Navy Pier undergoing a contraband inspection prior to shipment to...

Plans to move the Chicago SNCC Office:

As most people in SNCC are aware, the Chicago office is located in an apartment where staff members and others reside. The reason for this being done in the first place was chiefly for reasons of economy. The condition has always been considered temporary, and at present plans are being made to move the office within the next month.

Several locations are being considered. One plan is that a location be found large enough for several offices, with ACT, SNCC, CORE, the Deacons and maybe others joining together in one building with meeting space used jointly by all, that would be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

JOYCE BROWN, of the Atlanta office, will be joining the Chicago SNCC staff and MICHAEL WRIGHT is presently here working on a campus program. It is felt that with a new location it will be much easier to schedule volunteer workers on a regular basis and that the entire image of SNCC in Chicago will be improved.

Plans for a Chicago Black Power Movement

Last summer, SNCC instigated a week Black Power Forum that now meets weekly at the ACT office (for lack of space at the SNCC office.) One of the prime purposes of the forum was to set up a dialogue out of which we hoped would come unity of the Black organizations in this town.
At present, it appears that this unity will be brought about in the near future. There are plans for ACT, CORE, SNCC, Deacons and the Afro-American Students Association to take offices in the same building with joint meeting space to be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

There are still a number of problems to be worked out. DR. LUCAS is presently working on the problem that Chicago SNCC is integrated and cannot join the Black Power Movement until this is changed.

The above mentioned groups feel that with more unity, joint actions could be taken on many levels that would give all of us much more strength than when we stand alone.

**Fund Raising in Chicago**

Chicago SNCC receives $125.00 per month in regular pledges plus some irregulars. In addition, over the past year, we sold an average of $125.00 per month, posters, black power buttons, books, etc. Since our total receipts for the past year added up to approximately $4,500.00 that means that the rest of the money, or another average of $125.00 per month was raised from the 'emergency appeal' technique, by letter or direct phone solicitation.

Our expenses, since we have been in operation here in Chicago have averaged close to $400.00 per month, so that we have been able to keep the books fairly well balanced and remain self-supporting. However, now that we plan to relocate the office, it is evident that our expenses will go up at least a projected $100.00 per month.

The one area of fund-raising that has not been utilized in Chicago is money raised at parties, rallies, raffles, dances and the like, chiefly because we had no one to work on such affairs, on an on-going basis. We do have knowledgeable
people available to work on committees for such affairs but have no one to co-ordinate the work and do the publicity. It is our plan to seek out and find someone who can handle this job, if necessary we will pay them a salary.

If at least one fairly large fund raising affair is held each month, we feel that we can cover the additional expenses of the office. If these affairs are held in the black community, as planned, this will continue the current shift away from white financial support, and involve many more people in the black community than we presently are reaching with leaflets and personal contacts.

In addition to our regular fund-raising we have been fairly successful in establishing a bail bond fund for Chicago SNCC. This is discussed in another report.

Produce Boycott Project:

The Chicago SNCC on the South Side and West Side ACT on the West Side are planning and have begun work on a Produce boycott. We feel that we have to get started somewhere, as far as economics is concerned and choose the idea of a produce boycott because of the prevalence of black produce peddlers in the black community as an alternate market for the people that was already available.

We plan to begin with an educational campaign, showing the people how much more they pay for bad fruit and vegetables in the chain stores than people do in other communities. The black peddlers have already agreed to work with us and will stock up when the boycott is formally called.

After the initial educational campaign we intend to concentrate on particular stores and get them to agree to buy from a black trucker. We are working on getting a truck and setting up this business. The Freedom Drivers, who have access to trucks, have agreed to help on this part of the project. We intend to open Co-operative produce stores.
We intend to see that eventually in the black community, the produce market from wholesaler to retailer will belong to black people. After we achieve this goal, we can begin to work on other areas of economics in the community.

The Role of Chicago SNCC In Aiding And Organizing Other Groups:

Chicago SNCC spends much time aiding and helping other organizations in the Chicago area. We do mineographing, for the cost of materials used only, design leaflets, plan boycotts, and send people to speak to groups and otherwise act as a consultant about all kinds of problems.

There is a group in Waukegan, Illinois, that is very strong. After the riots there last summer, we were asked to help them in setting up an organization. They have patterned themselves after SNCC and use SNCC materials. They are a Black Power group. They held a very successful Christmas boycott against the downtown stores and are planning further economic and political action. This group of young militant black men depends on Chicago SNCC for advice. They feel that we are their only contact with the movement.

In addition, we regularly help FRANK DITTO’S CCC, the Upepo Ibada School (an independent black school) ACT, South Suburban SNCC and others, such as the Protectorights.

One of the reasons behind this help is that we feel the more groups and people we help that are interested in black power, the more of a buffer zone will be created by the people between SNCC and the power structure.

When we have more personnel, we intend to spend even more time in this area of work because there have been requests for help in other areas, for example in Milwaukee that we have been unable to fulfill.
Plan for the Political Campaign in Chicago

Last summer, several of the community groups in the area and SNCC got together and decided to run a local grass-roots candidate for Alderman in the February 28, 1967, election. These included, PRESTON HARDWILL of the Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO), FRANK DITTO of the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI), and people from the Protectorights. They were supported in this by DAVID REED (the Republican who ran against DAWSON) and his New Breed Committee, who are very strong in the west end of the ward, where we have few people.

Early this fall, CARL TUNSTALL of the Protectorights was chosen. CARL has lived in this community for 18 years and is well known. He was the first black family on the block, and he was one of the original organizers of the Protectorights. Just about this time he went to jail, where he stayed until the middle of December while his people prepared an appeal, so he was eliminated from any participation in planning. Next, KOCO fired which finished him in the community. They exist only on paper and have no strength in the north (black) end of the ward. KOCO is a white, church backed group from the south end of the ward, that tried to organize in this end basically for political reasons. It is evident to us that was fired for backing CARL, when the white people had someone else in mind. This winter DAVID REED began vacillating, and tried to find a New Breed Candidate from outside the Ward. First he put forth a woman and then dropped her and found a man named LAMAR HICKER who is going to run. HOKE and our candidate have an agreement to work our separate areas, and if either man shows a much greater chance of winning the other will pull-out and support him.

In addition to HOKE, the Republican organization has decided to run a man named BURGORD, who stands as much chance as a proverbial snowball. The white controlled
Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) have come out for Hoke, but have not announced formally. The area that they cover (the south end) has only about 15% of the voters, and traditionally is liberal and votes against Hollman anyways. The way it has turned out, Hoke thinks that KCCO and IVI have strength in the north end but they only have paper organizations up here and our candidate is the only legitimate one. The Protectorights have 300 members, young men in the twenties who are pledged to work for CARL and in addition we will pull our Black Power workers and others from other groups.

Our biggest problem of the moment is to get the petitions accepted so that CARL will be on the ballot. They will be turned in on Monday, January 9th. As far as the type of campaign we are going to run, it will be very unorthodox, because we plan to work entirely on the grass roots level.

On Chicago's west side, DOUG ANDREWS of ACT and ED CRAMFORD of the Deacons will be running for Alderman in the 26th and 28th wards as Black Power candidates.


SNCC and the Protectorights (local organization, working with SNCC) planned to announce that CARL was running for Alderman at a New Years eve party at his house. The party had the additional purpose of raising funds for the campaign and hoped to attract additional volunteer workers from the community. A mailing was done to all SNCC black power workers and supporters and leaflets were passed in the community. It had been planned that an announcement would be made right after midnight that CARL was running.
A few minutes after midnight, about eight detectives, with drawn guns kicked down the door. At that time there was a crowd of people in the hall putting on their coats, etc. The police were very rough in their treatment of persons at the party and there were several incidents of violence, people being struck, and thrown about. The house was ransacked, clothing and personal belongings thrown on the floor, etc. About twenty people got out through a basement exitway and one man jumped out of the window and escaped (from the 2nd floor).

At first, the police said that those who had their identification could leave, and let several people go after taking names and addresses. Upon the arrival of a uniformed Sergeant, who did not approve of this, no one else was released. Nineteen women, twenty-six men and six girls aged 17 (who were considered minors) were arrested. The SNCC photographer was able to take several photos of the officers at the raid, but was kicked and thrown down the stairs.

It was evident that ordered the raid from the manner that the police openly talked about it. Because of the obvious political implications of the raid, a total of $1,500 for bail was raised within a period of 24 hours. Most of this money was loaned to SNCC and will be repaid when the bail is returned from the courts. All persons were bailed out on January 1st except who had to have a judge set his bail on January 2nd. The minors were released to their parents. was charged with: 1. Keeper of a disorderly house. 2. Contributing to the delinquency of minors. 3. Sale of liquor without a license. 4. Marijuana on the premises; and everyone else was charged with being the inmate of a disorderly house (the same penalty as disorderly conduct). The court date is January 16, 1967.

The local community is well aware of what happened. Later the night of the raid, the local gang kicked out half the windows in the stores along 43rd Street. The raid was announced
over the radio on news broadcasts but did not appear in the newspapers. Later in the week the Chicago Defender printed a good story with front page headline stating that we charged a frame-up. Jet magazine and Muhammad Speaks will take interviews later in the week.

**Chicago SNCC Bail Bond Fund**

At the time of the arrests in Atlanta, September, 1966, when several members of the Chicago SNCC staff were among those arrested, the discussion about the need for a Bail Bond fund began to get results. The funds raised at that time, were sent south and used there for our people. A total of $558.00 was sent south and many other people in the area were solicited who sent their contributions directly. At the time of the first raid in Chicago, December 3, 1966, additional money was raised for CAROL REDMOND's bail and $1,500 was raised as a result of the raid of January 1, 1967. In addition to straight contributions, we are asking people to loan money to the fund, on the condition that it will be returned after either a set period of time or upon their request if needed.

At present we have on hand: 902.50  
plus due on bonds: 931.00  
Loans to be repaid: 1125.00  
--- 1833.50 projected assets, subject to possible fines that may be deducted from bonds on some 60 court cases now pending.

It is our intention to use this bond fund, not only for SNCC people, but also community people (as in the January 1st raid) we determine have a need that develops in connection with our work on the campaign. We protect our money by having it returned to SNCC instead of the person bonded out.

A campaign is planned to raise this fund to several thousand dollars. A separate bail account will be opened as soon as the bond money is returned from the majority of the court cases this month.
Police Review Board

Chicago SNCC is planning a community police review board. There are several other organizations such as ACT, CORE, Deacons, etc. who are interested. This review board would have no legal powers of course, but would review flagrant cases of police brutality and the like publicly, with a view to stirring up public protest. It is projected that in some cases, where the actual case did not receive justice in the courts either, a mock trial would be held with actual lawyers and the defendants if possible to demonstrate the injustice. These hearings would be held in the black community and be publicized and open to the public.

Chicago SNCC Press Relations

It was reported to this office, that a definite decision had been made that new SNCC policy was not to have anything to do with the white press. This decision coincides with Chicago SNCC policy of granting interviews to particular reporters with the black press who have proven to be sympathetic to our views. We have a very good relationship with Jet magazine staff, several reporters for the Chicago Defender newspaper and the staff of Muhammad Speaks (who will print any story we wish to release). We also granted an interview with the Militant, who seem to have a history of printing only news sympathetic with SNCC views.

We also heard that it was SNCC's Chairman's decision that there should be no releases about raids on SNCC offices, etc. Since the raids that have taken place here were obviously carried out because of the fact that we are supporting and working for CARL TURSTALL, candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, and were not just against SNCC per se, we felt that some news about this going to the black press was necessary. All news interviews are given with SNCC and Protectorights members jointly.
One of the problems here in Chicago about the black press is that it is very weak. That is, the black community reads three times as many white papers as the black paper. There is no possible way to leaflet the entire black community of the city because it is too large and spread out. In the light of these facts we would like to know what Atlanta recommends.

The Chicago Branch of SNCC has eight members who have been active in SNCC affairs during the summer of 1967.

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF CHICAGO BRANCH, SNCC

JOYCE BROWN - Administrative Director, Chicago branch of SNCC is now residing in Atlanta, Georgia. Her stay in Atlanta is believed to be only temporary.

A pretext inquiry at SNCC Office, 306 East 43rd Street, on September 20, 1967, reflected that JOYCE BROWN was out of town for a temporary stay of time.

JOYCE BROWN related the following personal background information on September 8, 1967:
JOYCE BROWN will leave Chicago shortly to move to a southern city believed to be New Orleans, Louisiana. She intends to retain control of the Chicago Branch of SNCC operations and return periodically to direct local SNCC activities.

ROBERT BROWN (no relation to JOYCE BROWN), a member of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would like to direct local SNCC activities. It is not believed that JOYCE BROWN would turn over control to BROWN as he is relatively young and inexperienced, 19 years of age, and unemployed.

9/21/67
A "Chicago Daily News" article of August 11, 1967, page 3, column 1, entitled, "The Outsiders: Who Are The Leaders?", states that the ghetto Negro has little faith in leaders, black or white, who often claim to represent him. According to the article, he is sure the so-called "moderates" of the "accepted" Negro organizations do not speak for him. Included in this group were Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.; WHITNEY YOUNG of the National Urban League; and ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The article states that several organizations say they have something to offer him, and it is usually summed up in two words: Black Power. The article further states that in general—although there may be exceptions—they are not squeamish about whether or not that power is achieved through violence. Among the organizations mentioned were CORE (headed by ROBERT HARRIS) and SNCC.

According to the article, SNCC, located at 306 East 43rd Street, is headed by a former Xavier University (New Orleans)
sociology student, Joyce Brown, 22. The article states that SNCC's resources are even more depleted than CORE, and the two often use each other's office facilities or, take each other's messages.

"Lucas is firm in his belief that black men must direct their own destinies in a black society, as Miss Brown believes. But, whereas Lucas is willing to give the American democratic process one more chance for Negroes to achieve "black" political power, Miss Brown has lost all faith in it.

Violence, she believes, appears to be "the only method." Pressed on whether she believes it can really achieve Negro equality in all areas of American life, she said: 'Well, if you don't get all of the bread, at least you get the baker to begin thinking about it; at least you get a slice of it.' The 'Baker' in the analogy is 'white society.'"

Albert Monroe Sharp and Carol Lee Redmond no longer direct SNCC operations in Chicago.

On April 21, 1967, [person]'s [position] was advised that [person] accompanied by [person] left approximately 90 boxes and packages at the Chicago Export and Packing Company, 9500 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, on April 18, 1967, to be crated for shipment to Africa.
The shipment was to be crated and shipped to United States Customs, advised that United States Customs, rented a truck from the Lake Park Rentals, 6120 South Cottage Grove. They proceeded to the Chicago Export and Packing Company where the 90 packages now placed in 6 large cases, were loaded on the truck. They proceeded to Frame 1, Navy Pier, where the cases were unloaded.

On May 3, 1967, a shipper's export declaration (SED), prepared by Chicago, was received at Customs Office, 610 South Canal. The SED No. dated May 3, 1967, declared 6 boxes of household goods weighing 2,650 pounds, to be shipped to United States Department for exportation of firearms. No mention was made on the SED of any firearms nor was a license issued by the State Department for exportation of firearms.

On May 5, 1967, the shipment was examined by Customs and found to contain a .7mm Japanese rifle, bayonet and approximately 1000 rounds of .22, .30, .38, and 7mm caliber ammunition in addition to the loaded pistol. They were confiscated for violation of Title 22, Section 401, United States Code.

Section 123.52 of the regulation pertaining to International Traffic in Arms would allow the exportation of no more than 3 non-automatic firearms and 1000 rounds of ammunition providing they were declared and presented for examination.
On May 8, 1967, these facts were discussed with Assistant United States Attorney LAURENCE MORRISSEY by Custom Agent [redacted] who declined prosecution in favor of administrative action.

On May 9, 1967, the cargo, less guns and ammunition, was loaded on "Hormac Pride" which sailed that evening for East Africa.

During the search of [redacted] cargo on May 5, 1967, it was noted that the shipment contained a file drawer filing cabinet containing the files of Chicago Branch of SNCC, which contained the 1966 receipts and disbursements, office address book, black power workers list, key contacts list, friends of SNCC list and correspondence.

On July 31, 1967, Special Agent [redacted] United States Customs, advised he received a letter from [redacted] dated July 6, 1967, postmarked [redacted] petitioning for the return of her confiscated weapons and ammunition. She indicated her attorney,
would handle the necessary arrangements. She explained the circumstances surrounding her failure to file the necessary papers prior to shipping these items out of the country. They are to be shipped to [REDACTED] in care of [REDACTED]. She stated this request will be granted.
ROBERT BROWN, member of CORE, is presently directing the operations of the Chicago Branch of SNCC in the absence of
JOYCE BROWN and is being assisted by an individual known only as HACKAM. He expects JOYCE BROWN to return to Chicago from the south for a brief visit.

10/30/67

10/25/67
The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

On August 30, 1967, JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, was observed in attendance at MCNP, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois.
The NCPP national convention was held in the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, from Tuesday, August 29 through Monday, September 4, 1967. The convention was attended by more than 3,500 registered delegates, observers, etc. A broad spectrum of left wing groups was represented (the delegates claimed to represent almost 30,000 activists) including peace, civil rights, "new politics," student groups, a small group of trade unionists, nationality groups, women's organizations. This convention included almost all the forces involved in what is referred to by leftists as "the Movement".

Three main political groups were represented at this convention. There was a "black caucus" which included most of the Negroes attending and from which all whites were excluded. This caucus took ultra-militant, pro-nationalist positions and strongly supported the "black power" line advanced by SNCC and CORE. An ultra-nationalist section of this caucus opposed any unity with whites and attempted to pull all Negroes out of the convention into an "all-black" convention which was hastily organized and held in the Chicago ghetto at the same time the New Politics meeting took place. This effort was defeated. The fight to keep the caucus in the convention was led, according to participants in the caucus, by the Communist Negroes.

Another main political tendency among the whites was that which supported the concept that the main emphasis of the convention should be on organizing a third ticket (a peace and freedom ticket) in 1968. Many in this grouping supported the idea of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ticket. This grouping was dominated by Communists functioning through DCA and many other organizations in which they are active. Also included in this tendency were many pro ROBERT KENNEDY liberals, including a number of the original organizers of the New Politics organization, who were seeking a third ticket as a means of weakening LYNDON JOHNSON's campaign for re-election in 1968,Insuring his defeat, and laying the basis for a ROBERT KENNEDY campaign in 1972.
The third main tendency at the convention, again among the whites, was in support of local community organizing (along the lines of the Vietnam Summer campaign) and in adamant opposition to a national third ticket in 1968.

The "third ticket" grouping and the "local organizing" grouping split the white delegates almost evenly. The black caucus refused at first to participate in the convention unless its demands were accepted en toto by the whites. These demands (13 of them) calling for full support for black power, support for the demands of the Newark Black Power conference, a campaign to "civilize the white beasts," etc. were accepted by a split vote of the white delegates after a floor fight led by the Communists. The main debate was over one demand which condemned Zionist Israel imperialism. A number of delegates, particularly those who were Jewish, had a difficult time swallowing this demand.

Then the black caucus refused to participate unless it was given 50 per cent of the voting power at the convention. (The Black Caucus represented about 20 per cent of the actual convention.) Since the Black Caucus voted as a unit, this demand meant that they would have veto control of the convention. This demand was also accepted after a sharp debate. The support for this demand was mobilized and led by the Communists, including several speakers from DCA. Speakers against the position were booed and hooted down. The CP took control of the microphones and made certain that its speakers got the floor. The 50 per cent control demand of the black caucus was accepted by a split vote. After this several whites withdrew and there was much grumbling and dissatisfaction among white delegates about lack of democracy, etc., but the convention was held together.

The Black Caucus proposed (and had accepted by the convention) a proposal which endorsed both local organizing and a third ticket effort if that proved possible. A national board was elected of 24 persons, six from the community organizing white caucus, six from the third ticket white caucus, and
twelve from the black caucus. This board is to meet September 30 to work out future strategy.

Although it is a shaky alliance, the convention ended with a unity between radical whites and the ultra-militant black forces in this country. The Communist Party achieved a major part of what it hoped to achieve at this convention.

1. It sought a unity of the various forces in the "movement," including black power, peace, youth, community organization, left labor, etc. A beginning toward this unity was established.

2. It sought a commitment by the convention toward a national third ticket in 1968. The convention did not come out completely for this proposal, but it did endorse the idea of a third ticket where possible.

3. It sought an increased influence in left politics in the country. There is no question that the CP emerged from this convention as a dominant influence in the New Politics movement.

DCA emerged from the convention as perhaps the best organized youth group participating. DCA caucuses had up to 100 participants, including sizable numbers of non-DCA young people. DCA speakers were often heard on the convention floor. DCA leaders regarded the New Politics convention as a huge plus for DCA.

9/22/67

H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke on the evening of September 3, 1967, to a black power caucus group of NCNP at the Palmer House in Chicago.
(The following is a transcript of remarks made by R. Rap Brown, on September 3, 1967, at Chicago.)

In 1964 the first real manifestation of black power since Reconstruction (illegible) Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went to Atlantic City to challenge the Democratic Party. The people from Mississippi are honkies who have been representing black people for years. Now the Democratic Party told the MFDP that we don't need you. Now what you see here and what's significant about what you done done now is that you illustrated the use of black power. In other words you told this convention we've got to all come around or we gonna close you down. The most significant thing about power is that it comes from the word that means power. The black people have always had power but they refused to be powerful with their power. Now this is an illustration of this power, if you put it to use here. What we're working on is to broaden our political scope because this meeting here is behind Detroit. We're not even speaking as to where Detroit is at this moment. (illegible) because it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed. Detroit is sending her politics to the streets. They were not speaking of the '68 election in terms of legality. They didn't even concern themselves with that. In other words, Detroit went to war and they put their politics where their mouth was. Now what
we are doing is that we are talking about politics in a legal sense. I don't know how well that's going to work because you see the Democratic Party is the Republican Party vice versa. Now you're going to talk about how black people can afford... talk about radical, political, reform in the (illegible) American Society as it's (illegible). That's the white folks job. We have to begin to talk about revolution. I just want to see (illegible) the Democratic Party who say they have Dixiecrats and that's a lie. There is no such thing as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of their wives got cancer. There is no difference whatsoever. Only reason Goldwater got defeated was because he was honest. He told people what he was going to do. Johnson got in there and told Goldwater, Goldwater, if you start something (illegible). Now when you start talking about revolution, then you can begin to identify with the struggles abroad. So easy to not operate in a vacuum. It's not isolated from the black people here. The fighting over in Puerto Rico, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, is not isolated from the fighting over here. The fighting has been (illegible) is not isolated from the fighting that goes on here because the liberation of black folks in America depends upon the liberation for the other worlds bearing upon
the liberation of black people across the world. In other words we here feel that a monster (illegible) can't be destroyed from here, we have to destroy it. We got to keep everybody's freedom in other words. To shed some light upon the word coalition. If you look at what happened to (illegible) move toward Watson. They were (illegible) power, so what we want to talk about and what you told the honkies was that we'll talk alliance with you, but we ain't gonna talk no coalition. We ain't gonna (illegible) no coalition. In other words, you have to come down to the position way we (illegible) fits our needs. On those grounds, we can have an alliance. But to talk about coalition is to say that we have common power and my problem ain't common with nobody that calls themselves a hero upon my freedom. 'Cause I'm fanatic about it. In terms of leadership of the movement, they say also that leadership should never be shared, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made in the civil rights movement. We won't make that mistake no more. We gonna have to broaden our concept because there are other dispossessed people in America besides blacks who (illegible), we need as allies, the Indian, the Mexican American...we have to be political in
every sense. You cannot move to alienate these people because when we taking care of business with the honkies, that we ain't do it right. We are not doing it for all dispossessed people - there are other dispossessed people who are going to get together and take care of business theirselves (illegible) we through.

One thing about freedom. It will make you fight any enemy. If you are not free, you will fight any enemy. That has been one of the black man's make-up. That's the difference in the black man's impeccable will to be free that has made him fight for this country. It will be that same will that will make him fight this country. So what we got to do if we are to be political, is that we have to develop an ideology to go along with the rebellion because they are way out front of our political know-how and our political knowledge. You're going to have to start talking about black nationalism whether you like it or not. 'Cause if you expound anything else in America, it is not black nationalism, it is white nationalism. So if I have the choice of teaching black nationalism and white nationalism, you know the one I'm going to take. Because look at what happened. Now anything your community chest don't control is a weapon against you. It is used as a weapon against you. You don't control the politics in your community and that's a weapon against you. They can keep you in slum houses because you
don't control it. If you don't control public education, that's a weapon against you because what started this movement is white nationalism. You must control black (illegible) and black entertainers in your community or they can be used as weapons against you. So what you got to do is get yourselves in control but in a country like America, that's one thing that machines control. Being able to control your community that's being able to defend your community. If you can't defend it, you can't control it. In Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the most successful rebellions held in the country, along with the Mexican rebellion (illegible). The land organizations that held the honkies out of the hills over freedom (illegible).

Now Plainfield (illegible) don't love the black people in Plainfield any more than they love black people in Detroit. But they refused to go to Plainfield because the brothers there kept (illegible) because they had weapons. They told me that each one of those guns can shoot 200 times at (illegible) for a half hour. They refused to go in there because (illegible) they say that we can't go in there because the niggers got guns. So I say I don't care if they only control this (illegible) but two days that was controlled. The result of being able to defend (illegible) to show that they (illegible) to that control.
The white man gang on the brothers and say, okay, we're going to start an alliance, and say, let me come in and look for guns (illegible) because they're here, (illegible), the National Guard, and in their frustration because they didn't find guns, they began to destroy private property. The word went out immediately you kick down one more door, and we're going to shoot your leg off. They left the community.

Plainfield's still got their guns. They still got their guns. You have to recognize that America is at war with black people any time they put tanks in Detroit (illegible). You can't be nothing else but at war. America is very seriously contemplating, not only contemplating, but she's putting into effect the genocide of black people. But you have to discuss their political being. The white folks can't understand if you're being exterminated - tough! Because it is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam is blacks. It is no accident that 22% of their fighting force in Viet Nam is black. (illegible) different reasons. Ours (illegible) fight the honkies. Look at what happens in Alabama every year. In America, the country that can send millions of dollars to Viet Nam to insure freedom. The country that can shoot people to the moon. Over 500 kids died each year for lack of proper
food and nourishment in Alabama alone. Alabama is (illegible). They instituted a program called the stamp program, which replaced the old (illegible) thing they had down there. They gave horse meat to eat, and they gave them a stamp program and told them for $10 you can get $40 worth of food, but they didn't say where to get the $10. The party's behind that program. What the courts of America doesn't (illegible). This is still America, the land of the free. People who fought World War II to make democracy safe for the world - makes this world safe for democracy. Those people who go before justice under our juries, you can expect the maximum fine and the maximum sentence if you're black. Justice is a joke in America. It stinks with its own hypocrisy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child, and J. Edgar Hoover is an ass.

Every time we play their games, be it politics, be it law, we fall into their trap because we gave them a license to kill us. The cops got license to kill niggers, and we jump, we go for it. They tell you about a birth control program that its most biggest effect is on the black community. (illegible). What they are doing is that they are putting an end to your race. They telling you that they don't want you to reproduce your seed. In other words, they say we ain't got
but 29 concentration camps and if you all keep reproducing at the rate you're going, they will then have to build some new ones. But these concentration camps are real. They got 13 of them that are already in operation right now. Right now. I hate to repeat it, I know you don't believe what black folks say, but that's what we call concentration camps in the United States built by hunkies for niggers. But understand this, a lot of folks say that this don't apply to me. Me and Carmichael can't fill all 13 concentration camps. (Illegible) if you don't believe this, look beside you, you might be in it.

The man is moving to exterminate black people because he posed a problem. He had a surplus of niggers on his hand. (Illegible) you know what he does with surplus food - he dumps it in the ocean. In other words, we were brought here to do work - we have outlived our usefulness. We are not to join the leisure class that Attorney General Ramsey Clark talks about when he says within 20 years, but that can be five, ten, or 15 years, the entire population will lead a leisure nature, and only 20% of that population will man the work force, because of cybernation and automation, and then you look to see who has training for the cybernation part of the jobs. It's white boys. That's who. White boys are going to push the button to run the machines of (illegible). It appears to me we have outlived
our usefulness. We were brought here as slaves to work -- there is no more work. We are a problem to America. That's what the concentration camps are about. If you don't think those concentration camps exist, if you're going to take the honkies' word, you ride around on one of those Army bases that they been closing down. (Illegible) you heard them talk about closing Army bases, and see what they did to it. Right here. I think black folks had better put America on notice. Detroit put her on notice. She said that if you choose to play Nazis, we ain't gonna play too. So we must begin to address ourselves for a new type of politics. A politics that is relevant to the Indian, to the Mexican, to the Latin American who jumped over here. You can't talk politics that's relevant to Bobby Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy is one of them chief exploiters. I can hardly say (illegible) I saw smoke (illegible). I wonder what happened to Lee Harvey Oswald now that we need him. You always (illegible) go for the results. It ain't only Johnson, it's Rockefeller, it's Kennedy, it's all them honkies who sitting up there holding their anti-black rallies in Congress.

In 1964, at Atlantic City, it was Minnesota backs Humphrey. (Illegible-applause) Minnesota to go packing to go home. They say they'll let one or two of you in but black
folks can't govern themselves - you ain't ready - that's the same old line. And you went for it chumps. You still talk about voting in the '68 elections. Don't talk about voting next year. That ain't politics (illegible) and I guarantee you next year there will be a national curfew on niggers. Probably ten o'clock every night. All that they will let you stay out too. See that anti-riot bill tells you where to travel, how to travel and if you can travel. It wasn't only for myself and Carmichael. There's a new bill that's called the food bill that's coming up. That bill says that in time of conflict, you can't defect against the United States and its policy and in time when she does not engage in conflict, there can only be certain types of dissent. There goes free speech. Now remember this and keep this in mind. You are only three-fifths in the constitution here. In other words, they write you out. That gun bill. If the gun bill was a legitimate working bill, it would talk about taking the gun from the gestapo honkie cops. Because technologically, they don't need guns to apprehend the criminals. They have all types of ways. See what they're rewriting is they are writing it so that they are deliberately writing you out of it. (Illegible). So you better start
saying like Johnson says in Viet Nam. Johnson says if Viet Nam don't come around, we gonna burn Viet Nam down.
And I tell you if the United States don't come around, the black folks should have burned it down, but (illegible).
Votes hold no relevancy. If you can't vote though, you choose. Comrade Mao says what better way to enslave a man than to give him the vote and call him free. We get a (illegible) once that says what would it prove a man who ever had to vote and not be able to vote for a candidate of his choosing.
How can you choose between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. There is no lesser of evil there. Evil is evil. That's why they have to do this. It is just like freedom. You can't be almost free. You can't be a part free, and you can't be a second class citizen. You're either free or you're not. That's like folks tell me they can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're lying and not telling the truth. So you can't be a little bit of America. You can't be a little bit a citizen. You're saved man. They apprehended me under the fugitive slave law in Virginia in 1967. So that says to me Abraham Lincoln wasn't hitting on too much when he signed the civil rights bill. Black folks are still slaves in America. We got to get away from talking about being misled
in his own game with his money too. Green power. There ain't no such thing as green power as long as that howdy has got the power to change the color of money. (Illegible-applause) you gonna do... what you gonna do, if tomorrow we're gonna use red dirt. You gonna go out and work to try to make a million dollars. That's what you're going to do. (Illegible) understand this. The confederates, they all white brothers, they is cousins. They came up to the Negroes with money after the war, and what did we tell them. We use this stuff with Washington's picture on it. Yeah, that stuff. You know what they're doing with confederate money these days, they tack it on the walls. They use it for wallpaper down there. The man's got the power to determine the color of his money. He'll give you all the money in the world. I'll give you an example. The man can tell you, he tell all niggers to bring me some rocks and for every rock I'll give you a million dollars. And all the niggers in the world would have a million dollars in gray rocks until this man would have all the rocks in the world. And then he'd look at you and say well, tomorrow we'll start using rocks for money. So you have to use their power. Power is the word. 'Mao' says power comes from the barrel of a gun. In Russia's revolution, guns
are not relevant. See, black people do not create situations of violence. Violence is brought into the black community by honkies. Folks accuse me of violence but it never talked about Lyndon Johnson who bombs villages with napalm bombs, bombs hospitals. You see, black folks don't know how to be violent. We should take a lesson in violence from the honkies. Lee Harvey Oswald is white. This honky who killed the eight nurses is white. The honkies down in the bowery who set these bums on fire is white. The honkies who flew the plane over Hiroshima and dropped the atomic bomb is white. We don't know nothing about bombs. But we heard it. (Illegible-applause) 'cause you'd act to where you don't want to hate nobody, even though you love everybody, and go to heaven. (Illegible). As you see (illegible) to the extent (illegible). If you can forget what happened to the Jews and talk about what the Germans did to them you can tell their histories. But instead of the black brothers talking about what the honkies did to him and what the honky does to him every day, no that's hate - (illegible) my foot. Junk! Junk! He was admiring you all's tours. He's gonna tell me you got power. You control. You can't even control your own lives. It's the man's choosing to
to put tanks into your community and what can you do about it. Absolutely nothing. Then you get mad at your brothers who have Molotov and are trying to take care of the tanks. (Applause) You see this tells you one thing about the poor. You don't think he knows where battle is, he knows where the war is already. Anything thing that Mao says about war. He says the poor cannot be trusted. They lie to close to the ground. Now about that. The people are scared of black power. What they going to do when it's time to use black power. (Applause). The man's not playing a game. It's not a game. then he pulls in paratroopers and sends them to Detroit and tells you that that's another Viet Nam. See, we are a colony inside America. Black people constitute a colony. An internal colony. Believe me, brother, after we have been digested, you know what happens to food after it's been digested. (Illegible - applause) We are waste material. If you know what happens then - you know what you call it. (Applause). That's what the man is all about. He's cut to take (pause) out of you. 'Cause you ain't nothing but a problem to him. You dig it so much until you teach your children to dig it. You teach them to love it. Now one of the greatest problems is I want to show you to be careful of white nationalism.
Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. What's so repulsive and what's so criminal about Santa Claus is not only (illegible) Yankee-looking (illegible) and white. When he flies down the black chimney and comes out white again. (Illegible-applause) Chumps save your money to buy kids gifts and tell them Santa Claus brought the gifts.

So what happens in the kid's minds when mother starts to yell when trouble starts is Detroit. He runs and tells the old man we ought to be cool, we might have to kill Santa Claus. Do not be deceived. A brother went out thinking he could buy just another bandaid, put it on his arm, and noticed a little (illegible) something was wrong with his skin. He doesn't know they didn't make black band aids. In other words, black skin ain't much. They got black people hating themselves. They keep themselves down. Because what they got to thinking about anything all black is bad. Black power is only a good joke and (illegible) black hens don't lay eggs. When you talk about devils whose faces are black faces, you talk about angels (illegible). When you talk about funerals you talk about dressing in black. When he talk about weddings you talk about white. The Biblical character that characterizes

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blackness is Judas. In other words, Judas was black. That's evil. The word black has about 16 different definitions. All of them bad. Because the man behind has the power to devise and legitimize with their power. Those terms that we're using in other words, we are instilling white nationalism into the minds of ourselves and the minds of our children since birth. When we're first born. So what we have to get is to develop a political ideology that goes along with their movement. An ideology, brother, that does not separate us from other oppressed groups across the world. We must know what's going on in Rhodesia today. We've got to understand what happens in Rhodesia. Black people are fighting to get the same thing that we fighting over here. Only they are a majority. They are being oppressed by a few. That speaks to me about why the black people over here are not in control. They are never a majority at hand. It's always an organized minority. You don't need a majority. Quit using that as an excuse - we can't do nothing because we ain't together. Pretty soon we gonna be together in concentration camps or somewhere (Applause). If we don't believe Detroit ain't together, then go through there. That's no (illegible) Carmichael as middle class any more. There is no such a thing in a black middle class as far as America is
concerned. They don't kill you 'cause you got money or 'cause you don't have money. They kill you 'cause you're black, son. Lemuel Penn was a colonel in the United States Army who got shot in the head, just like Medgar Evans who was supposed to be a black middle class in Mississippi. Just like Ben Brown who was a worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Just like the poor young girls who were killed in Alabama. They were black. We have one thing in common - they were black. The man kills you and he moves against you because you're black. Understand one other thing. Then I'll quit (illegible) they talk about they are going to move the National Guard. They are going to put more black people in the National Guard. That's a lot of jive man. They just got an order from Washington, D. C. that says all large metropolitan cities with an integrated police force, the white policemen should be notified that in times of rebellions they should try to disarm black police. If you all don't believe this check with the FBI, or with somebody you know who works with the FBI. That's because they understand things are going to be worse and that black people are only going to take so much and then his name's coming. (Applause). Things are gonna get worse before they get better. Don't run about talking about how many houses
formed and casualties. All wars have had casualties. We were being killed non-violently before we started to rebel. More people have died in the civil rights movement non-violently than had died in all the rebellions. Death is no stranger in the black community. We live through death every day. Kind of job you perform is hatredness nine times out of ten, and then they don't teach you but so many jobs. That's also significant to note that in terms of ratio, there are more handicapped people hired than black folk. You see it's better to be born handicapped in America than to be born black. That's what America thinks about you. I says the white folks when they have rebelled against (illegible) civilized and long before we have to come over and civilize them. (Applause). George Bernard Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says this is the only country that he knows that came from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization. (Applause). It's not our job to civilize honskics. The white folks, the activists who considers themselves activists, who run around saying we want to do so much who want to be missionaries for the black folks -- go home suckers. Let them go civilize the Kennedys. Civilize George Wallace. Civilize Lyndon
Lightning Bird Johnson (Applause). Now understand that we at this point are only beginning to address ourselves to politics. Every move America makes is a political move. Understand when the Rams 17 got busted, that was a political move. That was a conspiracy on the part of the CIA. Just like the Statue of Liberty case where people were taking pictures (illegible). In other words, they had a gun bill in force and they needed a (illegible). They busted the Rams 17 therefore crushing in from the right wing and joined the Birchers and said we're going to give you a gun bill. When they did, they came back and they busted the smallest branch of the Minutemen that they could find. They did a whole lot of substituting. Yeah, but I tell Kennedy (illegible-applause). They came back and they busted the Minutemen and they generated pressure from the left. Then the people on the left began to take (illegible) at the whole problem. That wasn't good enough. They killed Rockwell. They also killed Rockwell, yeah, all over this place. (Illegible-applause). President Johnson, he knows who killed Rockwell, and then their next move is to the left. In other words, with some poetic justice that he that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword. What they began to do is they going to hold myself and Carrmichael as hostages for violence. Same thing as (illegible-applause). They believe anything Huntley and Frinkley says. (Applause). Black folks got more confidence
in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope. (Applause-laughter). We believe that we can control Viet Nam and according to Huntley and Brinkley, we've killed every enemy soldier in Viet Nam's streets. (Illegible-applause). There ain't that many people in the country. You take how many people we've killed. (Illegible) but understand one thing why America is over there (illegible). It's not the proper thing but it's just as plain, Eisenhower and his people won't remember because of their ignorance. He exposed (illegible).
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC held an anti-draft conference on June 16 and 17, 1967, at Herman Hall, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 32nd and Federal Streets, Chicago. JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch, SNCC, made arrangements for the meeting and presided at the conference sessions.

Approximately 30 to 35 Negroes and three to four white people were in attendance at the evening session held on June 17, 1967. The major portion of the conference time was spent in discussing means of implementing anti-draft centers in the Chicago, Illinois, area. They would be strategically located to obtain the most extensive coverage of the area. The purpose would be to encourage draft age Negroes to refuse to enter military service. Volunteer workers from these centers would between centers contact Negro youths on an individual basis to encourage them to refrain from going into the Armed Forces.

Discussion occurred concerning methods to be used by Negro males to evade military service. They would be encouraged to lie about their physical and mental conditions in pre-military examinations. They would be encouraged to state they had homosexual tendencies, dress in an effeminate manner and complain of imaginary illnesses. In the event they pass the tests and are scheduled for induction they would be encouraged to go into a fugitive status. Negro women were encouraged to take these
fugitives into their homes and effectively hide them. They were encouraged to lie to any and all authorities attempting to locate the Negro males.

On June 20, 1967, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 31st and Federal, Chicago, Illinois, advised the student, PETER PRAN, is a graduate student of architectural engineering. PRAN has completed one year of a two year course and is an "A" student. He is an alien from Norway, who wishes to obtain his United States citizenship in the future. He is employed by the Skidmore Owings and Merrill Architects, 30 West Monroe, Chicago.

PRAN is the leader of the SDS, IIT Chapter, which has a total of five students involved in SDS activities.

On June 15, 1967, PRAN requested permission for use of Herman Hall for an SDS function with outside friends also to be in attendance. PRAN violated a school rule in not applying four days in advance, however, permission was granted for use of the rooms since the SDS is a recognized campus political organization.

On June 16, 1967, was informed by the Chicago Police Department that they would have men stationed on and near the campus for security reasons during the SNCC conference at Herman Hall, on June 16 and 17, 1967. This is the first indication had that an outside organization would be in attendance at the so-called SDS affair. At approximately 7:00 PM, on June 16, 1967, he observed approximately 30 police in the immediate vicinity of Herman Hall. then attended the evening session to determine if in fact this was an SDS conference.
PETER PRAI opened the conference by introducing several people including JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC who then generally presided over the session, and at the meeting 30 to 35 people were in attendance of which four were white and the remainder Negroes. Several were females and one woman brought her baby who cried throughout the session and generally made it difficult to hear the speakers. The discussion concerned the usual anti-draft and anti-Viet Nam diatribe. All of those present appeared to be above draft age.

Three white males spoke and introduced themselves as students of the University of California, Berkeley, as well as members of the Draft Resistance Organization. They claimed their club had 1,500 members in the California area. They asserted that in October, 1967, all of the members are going to meet in Berkeley and have a mass burning of their draft cards.

VI. SNCC MILITANT LITERATURE AND POSITION PAPERS

The attached leaflet entitled "The Young Black Militant" was obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch SNCC Office on August 24, 1967. The remaining leaflets and papers were obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office between the dates July 26 and October 25, 1967.
WE THE "YOUNG BLACK INTELLIGENTS" FIND THAT IN AIBERT R. THE SO-CALLED
LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, CAN PUT TAXES AND TROOPS AND AS MUCH AGGRE-
SIVE POLICIES AS NECESSARY IN THE STREETS OF ANY AMERICAN CITY AGAINST
BLACK PEOPLE, AND YET ALLOW TERRORIST GROUPS SUCH AS THE KU KLUX
KLAN TO MURDER PEOPLE, AND GO FREE, AND OUT OF THE SAME BREATH, TELL
OF OUR BLACK PEACE TO BE NON-VIOLENT IS NOT ONLY IGNORANT BUT AN
INSULT TO THE THINKING OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE ALSO FIND THAT WHEN WHITE
PEOPLE SUCH AS LESTER HABLO, THE PRESENT GOVERNOR OF OHIO—GEORGIA CAN
FILL A GUN AND CLUB OR BLACK PEOPLE TO KEEP THEM OUT OF HIS RESTAURANT
AND SELL HIS RESTAURANT, RATHER THAN PATRONIZE BLACK PEOPLE, AND STILL
BECOME ELECTED FOR THREE YEARS LATER, TO THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR OF THE
STATE OF GEORGIA, AND AT THE SAME TIME F.B.I. CAN WITNESS THE MURDER
OF VIOLA LIUZZO, AND CALLER RAY WILKINS CAN GO SCOOT FREE, AND THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO NOTHING ABOUT IT, YET AT THE SAME TIME CAN
TALK ABOUT ARRESTING VIOLRAY CARVER FOR TREASON OR ARRESTING GEORGE
WARD OF S.B.C.C. FOR SEDITION, STRIPPING HIM AND BLACK PEOPLE IN GENERAL OF
THE RIGHT OF VERBAL DEFENSE, AND THAT OUR FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT ALLE-
GANCE IS TO OUR PEOPLE, THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AS ICA, AND ALL OVER THE
WORLD PREV YET WE STRUGGLE FORTH.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
306 E. 43RD STREET
Riot Bill

Michael B. J. and his henchmen in the racist, United States Government have committed still another Act of Aggression against the Black People by passing new legislation which would make it a Federal Crime to travel or communicate across state boundaries to incite, organize or encourage a riot. Conviction would carry a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine and/or a 5 year Prison sentence.

It remains to be seen how this bill can be defined or will be enforced.

It is quite clear that the Reactionary mouth piece of Fools and Racist, Savage Dogs (two-legged), J. Edgar (00 Fool) Hoover, is trying to stir up Racial Hatred and create an internal enemy of Black People in order to Intensify and Justify the Atrocities and Concentration Camp Tactics that Black People are Subjected to daily in the subhuman ghettos of America. We are also aware that this aggression has reached the point where only mass Executions and complete Extermination of Black People can be the ultimate goal.

We now make it known that we will defend our communities, our women, our children, our dignity.......
From any and all racist attacks.

...........by defending black people by any means necessary...

Communications Director SNCC
James Edwards

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CALLING ALL BLACK BROTHERS & SISTERS

Once again the white power structure has shown us what they as a whole thought of Negro-Americans by putting more of our black brothers behind steel bars for foolish and not unidiom reasons. I've just stood by talking black power and do nothing but let the white devils take our black brothers who are willing to relate to the white world the only possible way(complete destruction of the white bastards) than we're just wasting our time. I don't know about you, but if I am willing to die for Loco, SHIFTLESS JIGGERS than I am also willing to kill n., worst enemy (the black hunky).

In closing, I would like to call my black brothers and sisters to prepare to do battle with your beast oppressors. I call to my people to take your freedom by any means possible... DEATH TO THE WHITE BOSSS...

BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK

KILL UP ALL WHITE

D.C.
In their full context to kill B.I.C., these acts are taking place under extreme conditions, particularly for Black people who are fighting for their lives and freedom.

In recent years, police under excessive force, as an expression of fear for the lives of people who were "Black and Free" to Black people about the sell-out government, and encourage those Black people to seek means for survival.

Shortly thereafter:

Threats of arrest upon his return to this country, "reason one vote" upon telling the truth to Latin American and Viet names about the enslavement of Black people in U.S.

He said, "I am in Nashville, U.S.A.

He delivered a speech at the Fat Turner Liberation School, at which he told the Black people that they should "never use any means necessary," "that a pen to include a speech..."

He under the white power structure the B.U.N.L. IL W.I.A. and C.C.B.T.S. U.N.I.A. and the people's struggle out the vote, in to demand that they be held accountable for their actions against the government and Black people.
HOW MUCH MORE

74 Afro-Americans Arrested On
SEPT. 14th

following a PROTEST RALLY at
43rd and LANGLEY

NO

74 Afro-Americans Were Arrested September 14, 1967, Following a
protest rally at 43rd and Langley, about 6:30 PM.

They are protesting the long standing grievances of oppression of
Black People. The white brothers and sisters must understand that
we cannot sit idly and let these brothers and sisters be railroaded
by 1 - Man's Racist

extensive baseless illegal charges. While the white power structure
is demanding that we (COMMUNITY) pay more than $1,000,000. for being
black.

To our not sit idly and let the white power simply place blame
on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and CORE (CONGRESS
OF RACIAL EQUALITY) for righting the violent acts of protest racial injustices
of poor people within this country U.S.A.

So we ask people to understand the urgency of the situation
and to do the following:

A-Call telegrams: Alderman Ralph Metcalf
3rd Ward at 45 East 53rd Street.

B-State Senate of Richard New House, 116 W. Washington
C-Senator Charles Percy, U.S. Senate Office Building

D-President Candidate— Dick Gregory 1451 East 55 Street

E-Send money to Community Bail Bond fund at 306 East 46 St.

F-Further information contact CORE 306 East 46 St. 373-9025

Remember THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN ATLANTIC City New Jersey In
1964

REMEMBER the Republican Party is OUT PLACE in 1964

T. C. B.
FACT SHEET

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th --- An 18 yr. old girl who resided within the community of Grand Boulevard was beaten by a policeman. This brutal assault resulted in hospitalization for this young lady.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th --- A HEARING took place, whereby a $1,000.00 was posted and set for the young lady, with charges of: Interference With Law Enforcement Procedures & Resisting Arrest.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th --- A group of students of Forrestville High School, along with other concerned persons, assembled at "THE WALL" to protest the beating of the 18 year old youth and to protest the presence of police on the school grounds - as well as many other grievances and inequities that exist at the Forrestville School complex. Police Officers arrived and ordered the group to disperse. The group dispersed and re-grouped near Forrestville School. Again, the police ordered the group to disperse. Failing to do so, the officers began firing into the air, at first, and then, into the crowd. COMPLETE CHAOS was the result of this action! Students, teachers and persons who resided in the area were soon caught up in the melee as RIOT SQUADS arrived and began to exert "extraordinary" force to quell the UPRISING or REVOLT! The entire area was cordoned off and massive arrests began.
FACT SHEET, CONT'D

All throughout the long night of Thursday, Sept. 14th and into the morning hours of Friday, September 15th, persons who were arrested were brought before the MORNING MAGISTRATE at the 11th STREET POLICE STATION (1st District). Here, BAIL BONDS were affixed -- without benefit of Counsel or any form of legal advice, except the brief precaution of the Magistrate that they (the Accused) had the right to remain silent or to request the right to Counsel.......

BAIL BONDS WERE SET IN AMOUNTS RANGING FROM $10,000 to $50,000.00.

All Juveniles were taken to AUDY HOME (ages 11 - 16 yrs.). All adults (17 yrs. and older) were taken to 26th & CALIFORNIA.

An AD - HOC COMMITTEE, composed of leaders and members of many civic, social and religious groups, was hastily formed. A method of approaching the grim task was discussed and plans for immediate action were put into effect. A committee was assigned the task of securing as many lawyers as possible to represent the arrested persons (TOTAL NUMBER OF THOSE ARRESTED NOW ESTIMATED TO BE 74). This battery of attorneys would begin legal proceedings, do vast amount of research on similar cases and attempt to lift the case(s) to the highest level of social consciousness and constitutionality.

A DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE was assigned the task of bringing about complete community awareness around the issue.

A FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE was assigned the task of setting up rapid but effective programs to obtain funds that will be used for the released of persons arrested as rapidly as the bonds can be reduced to a certain level by the attorneys.

This AD - HOC COMMITTEE calls upon every member of the community to come to the aid of these persons who have been arrested. It will take the concerted effort of ALL facets of the community to bring about some justice for the ludicrous incident that began at 'THE WALL'. Whatever happens to one of a community, happens to ALL of a community. Please contact for information as to how YOU can become involved with this issue.
SELF DETERMINATION

The uprising in the black ghettos in Detroit is an indication that the blacks are ready to do more than complain and protest. They are ready to act in expression of their discontent with the system under which they are living (this is the phase of armed uprising).

The oppressed Afro-Americans are taking to the streets because they are tired of living with rats and roaches (the Big Lie in the American Dream). They are tired of tanks and guns. So-called Negroes in office are no big thing—the Black Leaders are usually more white than the whites. The true threat to the power structure is that the people are becoming more conscious of their role.

We are for the National Liberation...

AND WE WILL WIN
JOIN THE ARMY

KILL BLACK MEN IN DETROIT..........

KILL VIETCONG IN VIETNAM..............

KILL THE POOR AND OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD, KILL FOR THE RICH MEN.

KILL 55
The dead pile up

This shows the continued senselessness of the Vietnam War. All of these sacrifices being made for nothing because the greedy politicians in Washington hate to lose out on the heavy profits that a war brings in. Don't let these madmen that think they know all the answers destroy your life by telling the "big lie" about preserving democracy.
(Get Nigger Die — you can't die fast enough in the ghettos.)

So run to your nearest recruiting chamber!

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM
(in Viet Nam)

Receive valuable training in the skills of killing other oppressed people!

Become a member of the world's highest paid Black mercenary army!

Support White Power — travel to Viet Nam and you might get a medal!

You want Nigger

Uncle Sam

You
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

MORE BLACKS DEAD THAN WHITES!

THIS IS TRAGIC AND NEVER SHOULD BE!

WHEN THE STORM TROOPERS ARRIVE

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

ARM YOURSELVES NOW!

REMEMBER

AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUN;

ARM AND UNITE.

OR PERISH!

YOUNG AFRO-AMERICANS FOR DEFENSE OF BLACKS
HELP GET 

Pap Brown 

Out of Jail 

Rally Sunday, Aug 27 Time 2:00 P.M. 

43, Longley 59
Rally
Sunday - Aug 27th
2:00 P.M.

Speakers -

Lincoln Lynch - CORE

Fannie Lou Hamer -
Miss. Freedom Party

YAREE Amee - SNCC

Others

Black Mobilization - Come & Hear

Black Power 60 SNCC - 373-9825
GEORGE WARE NATIONAL CAMPUSS DIRECTOR OF S.N.C.C. HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH TREASON IN NASHVILLE, TENN. ON THE STATEMENT TELLING BLACK PEOPLE TO GET FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. WE MUST NOT SIT BY AND LET OUR LEADERS BE JAILED FOR NOTHING!! SO WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO? S.N.C.C. 373-9025 PEOPLE!!
"We are making this appeal in the city of Detroit, the state of Michigan, where General Motors has its main plants. While we are aware there are other United States companies operating in South Africa, we believe by calling for a selective boycott of 1968 General Motors cars we may in some small manner assist the struggle for the armed liberation of South Africa. We hope by this action to pressure the United States capitalists to withdraw their investments before we see the sorry sight of the United States government sending troops, some of whom will be Negroes, to support the white racist regime in South Africa and to protect the white American citizens and their dollars."

6. Remember that the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid is an indivisible struggle. Armed revolutionary action is occurring throughout Southern Africa—Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. This issue will soon be brought before the Security Council of the United Nations and even the General Assembly. Do not stand aloof from the debates. Dress in your national African dress, go to the United Nations, hear and participate in the discussion. Too long we as Africans in the United States have failed to show solidarity with our African brothers on the continent. We the Overseas Africans must realize that we can do something and our presence at the United Nations is an expression of solidarity which is important for the morale of the brothers fighting the guerrilla war in Southern Africa.

6. If you are in school, stay there and learn industrial skills that are needed in African countries and will be needed once the liberation of Southern Africa has been accomplished. If you are out of school, get back in and learn the sciences, learn engineering, learn medicine. Africa needs technical help and we must use this white man's schools to help our brothers in Africa, when they ask for us. We must be prepared. There is some meaning to our lives when we realize that we can today go back to Africa.

7. Support SNCC. Send contributions to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., Room 803. SNCC has voted to help the liberation struggle and it is going to help directly the liberation struggles occurring in all parts of Southern Africa. But SNCC has been under intense pressure and the whites in this country are trying to destroy it. They are going to even try harder now that we are actively supporting the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

SNCC MUST NOT FALL. Send some money today! Also, we must support CORE.

9. Prepare yourself psychologically for the day when we may all have to go fight in South Africa, for the apartheid system is so vicious—and is backed by all the Western Powers, especially the United States—that those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country may very soon have to form a BLACK INTERNATIONAL and return to Africa to fight or die for the liberation of the mother country. Africa is our home.

W7 ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE
A MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN H. RAP BROWN.

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Black communities throughout the United States:

Our brothers and sisters in South Africa have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the fascist, illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. In Rhodesia some 250,000 whites are suppressing the rights of 4 million blacks. In South Africa for over fifty years some 2 million whites have brutally suppressed the right of self-determination of the African majority. But the revolutionary armed struggle has begun and we shall win.

The hour has come when we must support our blood brothers. We cannot sit back and wait until the United States has sent troops to Rhodesia and South Africa. Already in South Africa it is the heavy investment of the United States' capitalists that makes this regime stay in power.

YOU MUST HELP!

YOU MUST HELP NOW!

WE CANNOT WAIT!

WHAT YOU MUST DO -

1. Educate yourself about the involvement of the United States and other Western Powers in helping to maintain racism, colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Organise yourselves as a Committee of One to educate your neighbours about the nature of the struggle and what they must do now to help the armed struggle in South Africa. Brothers, we cannot wait, for the struggle will be long and bitter and we must begin to help now.

2. Collect and send money immediately to: Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress, P.O.Box 2239, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. You must send money quickly.

3. Collect and send medical supplies to President Tambo at the same address. Do it now!

4. On August 27th, 1967, we sent a letter to Oliver Tambo pledging our moral support and other help as the liberation movements ask for it.

In our letter we stated that: "In the United States we are this day, Sunday, 27th August, 1967, calling on black people not to buy new General Motors cars for the year 1968. We are fully aware that General Motors is a heavy investor in South Africa and the profits from exploited labour of our brothers in South Africa makes this company even richer."
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

August 27, 1967

The following open telegram has been sent to His Excellency Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occasion of his current visit to the United States:

His Excellency Houphouët-Boigny
President
Republic of Ivory Coast
46 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. President:

We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Lansana Beavogui and Mr. Achkar Harof, two officials of the Guinean government detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

Our brothers in South Africa have just recently launched an armed struggle for their liberation. South African white authorities are brutally repressing black people and are determined to quash the legitimate right of Africans to liberate themselves from the vicious system of apartheid -- by whatever means necessary.

Mr. Achkar Harof, as Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, has played a valuable role in documenting and exposing the atrocities of apartheid. His detention by your government severely handicapped the Seminar on Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa which was recently held in Kitwe, Zambia. His further detention in light of the armed revolutionary struggle now occurring in South Africa and Rhodesia is indeed a setback to the African Liberation Movement and a bonus for the forces of colonialism and apartheid to which your government has declared itself in opposition.

Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Harof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement.
Since we believe, Mr. President, that you too realize that the struggle against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid is an indivisible struggle and what affects you in Africa affects us Africans in the United States, we are confident that you will release the Guinean delegation and hear our appeal to allow these men to return to the just fight against Racism and Colonialism and Apartheid.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

Signed: James Baldwin
Harry Belafonte
Julian Bond
H. Rap Brown
Stokely Carmichael

Ralph Featherstone
James Forman
Floyd McKissick
Howard Moore, Jr.

For further information, contact: International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. (212) YU.9-1315.
INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKA, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 JULY - AUGUST 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INEVITABLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM,
APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of (SHICK)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the kia kia. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that: "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with
its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates a original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettos of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

- The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

  We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th
freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African
phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well
the organization. Four incidents might be cited, but very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 187 students (some of whom they also beat) — with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer
to assert that we consider. The United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the American front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We, their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements bound to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has never accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired to the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC
staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the
future. There are those who still hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of NNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casualties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?"

Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

NNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting
the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those
who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:
1.
We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXII) of 26 October on "question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.
We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXII) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.
We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2139 (XXII) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.
We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXII) of 15 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."
5. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7. We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2134 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8. We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

9. We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10. We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.
WE WANT
BLACK POWER
The black man in America is in a perpetual state of slavery no matter what the white man's propaganda tells us. The black man in America is exploited and oppressed the same as his black brothers are all over the face of the earth by the same white man. We will never be free until we are all free and that means all black oppressed people all over the earth. We are not alone in this fight, we are a part of the struggle for self-determination of all black men everywhere. We here in America must unite ourselves to be ready to help our brothers elsewhere. We must first gain BLACK POWER here in America. Living inside the camp of the leaders of the enemy forces, it is our duty to our brothers to revolt against the system and create our own system so that we can live as MEN. We must take over the political and economic systems where we are in the majority in the heart of every major city in this country as well as many of the rural areas. We must create our own black culture to erase the lies the white man has fed our minds from the day we were born.

THE BLACK MAN IN THE Ghetto WILL LEAD THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The black Brother in the ghetto will lead the Black Power Movement and make the changes that are necessary for its success. The black man in the ghetto has one big advantage that the bourgeois Negro does not have despite his 'superior' education. He is already living outside of the value system white society imposes on all black Americans. He has to look at things from another direction in order to survive. He is ready. He received his training in the streets, in the jails, from the ABC check his mother did not receive on time and the headbeatings he got from the cop on the corner. Once he makes that first important discovery about the great pride you feel inside as a BLACK MAN and the great heritage of the mother country, Africa, there is no stopping him from dedicating himself to fight the white man's system. This is why the Black Power Movement is a true revolutionary movement with the power to change men's minds and unmask the tricks the white man has used to keep black men enslaved in modern society.

THE BOURGEOIS NEGRO CANNOT BE A PART OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The bourgeois Negro has been force-fed the white man's propaganda and has lived too long in the half-world between white and phony black bourgeois society. He cannot think for himself because he is a shell of a man full of contradictions he cannot resolve. He is not to be trusted under any circumstances until he has proved himself to be 'cured.' There are a minute handful of these 'cured' bourgeois Negroes in the Black Power Movement and they are most valuable but they must not be allowed to take control. They are aware intellectually but under stress will react emotionally to the pressures of white society in the same way a white 'liberal' will expose an unconscious prejudice that he did not even realize he possessed.
Malcolm X was the first black man from the ghetto in America to make a real attempt to get the white man's fist off the black man's balls. He recognized the true dignity of man - without the white society prejudices about status, education and background that we all must purge from our minds. Even today, in the Black Power Movement itself we find Brothers who look down on another Brother because of the conditions that life has imposed upon him. The most beautiful thing that Malcolm X taught us is that once a black man discovers for himself a pride in his blackness, he can throw off the shackles of mental slavery and become a MAN in the truest sense of the word. We must move on from the point our Great Black Prince had reached.

WE MUST BECOME LEADERS FOR OURSELVES

We must not get hung-up in the bag of having one great leader who we depend upon to make decisions. This makes the Movement too vulnerable to those forces the white man uses to keep us enslaved, such as the draft, murder, prison or character assassination. We have to all learn to become leaders for ourselves and remove all white values from our minds. When we see a Brother using a white value through error it is our duty to the Movement to point it out to him. We must thank our Brothers who show us our own errors. We must discipline ourselves so that if necessary, we can leave family and friends on a moment's notice, maybe forever, and know our Brothers have pledged themselves to protect the family we have left behind. As a part of our education, we must travel to other cities and make contacts with the Brothers in all the ghettos of America so that when the time is right we can unite as one under the banner of BLACK POWER.

LEARNING TO THINK BLACK AND REMOVE WHITE THINGS FROM OUR MINDS.

We have got to begin to say and understand with complete assuredness what black is. Black is an inner pride that the white man's language hampers us from expressing. Black is being a complete fanatic, who white society considers insane. We have to learn that black is so much better than belonging to the white race with the blood of millions dripping from their hands that it goes far beyond any prejudice or resentment. We must fill ourselves with hate for all white things. This is not vengeance or trying to take the white oppressors place to become new black oppressors but is a oneness with a worldwide black brotherhood. We must regain respect for the lost religion of our fathers, the spirits of the black earth of Africa. The white man has so poisoned our minds that if a Brother told you he practiced Voodoo you would roll around on the floor laughing at how stupid and superstitious he was. We have to learn to roll around on the floor laughing at the black man who says he worships the white Jesus. He is truly sick. We must create our own language for these things.
that the white man... not understand because Black Culture exists and it is not wood-carvings or native dancing it is the black strength inside of true men.

IDEAS ON PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER

We must infiltrate all government agencies. This will not be hard because black clerks work in all agencies in poor paying jobs and have a natural resentment of the white men who run these jobs. People must be assigned to seek out these dissatisfied black men and women and put pressure on them to give us the information we need. Any man in overalls, carrying a tool box, can enter a building if he looks like he knows what he is doing. Modern America depends on many complex systems such as electricity, water, gas, sewcrage and transportation and all are vulnerable. Much of the government is run by computers that must operate in airconditioning. Cut off the airconditioning and they cannot function. We must begin to investigate and learn all of these things so that we can use them if it becomes necessary. We cannot train an army in the local park but we can be ready for the final confrontation with the white man system. Remember your Brothers in South Africa and do not delude yourselves that it could not happen here. We must copy the white man's biggest trick, diversion, (Hitler taught them that) and infiltrate all civil rights groups, keep them in confusion so they will be neutralized and cannot be used as a tool of the white power structure. The civil rights, integrationist movement says to the white man, "If you please, Sir, let us, the 10% minority of America have our rights. See how nice and nonviolent we are?" This is why SNCC calls itself a Human Rights Organization. We believe that we belong to the 90% majority of the people on earth that the white man oppresses and that we should not beg the white man for anything. We want what belongs to us as human beings and we intend to get it through BLACK POWER.

HOW TO DEAL WITH BLACK TRAITORS

Uncle Tom is too kind of a word. What we have are black traitors, quislings, collaborators, sell-outs, white Negroes. We have to expose these people for once and for all for what they are and place them on the side of the oppressor where they belong. Their black skin is a lie and their guilt the shame of all black men. We must ostracize them and if necessary exterminate them. We must stop fighting a 'fair-game.' We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau. We must eliminate or render ineffective all traitors. We must make them fear to stand up like puppets for the white men, and we must make the world understand that these so-called men do not represent us or even belong to the same black race because they sold out their birthright for a mess of white society pottage. Let them choke on it.
PEELALS TO AVOID ON THE PATH TO BLACK POWER

We must learn how close America and Russia are politically. The biggest lie in the world is the cold war. Money runs this world and it is controlled completely by the white man. Russia and America run the two biggest money systems in the world and they intend to keep it under their control under any circumstances. Thus, we cannot expect any help from Communism or any other 'ism.' We must seek out poor peoples movements in South America, Africa and Asia and make our alliances with them. We must not be fooled into thinking that there is a ready-made doctrine that will solve all our problems. There are only white mans doctrines and they will never work for us. We have to work out our own systems and doctrines and culture.

WHY PROPAGANDA IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL

The one thing that the white mans system cannot stand is the TRUTH because his system is all based upon lies. There is no such thing as 'justice' for a black man in America. The white man controls everything that is said in every book, newspaper, magazine, TV and radio broadcast. Even the textbooks used in the schools and the bible that is read in the churches are designed to maintain the system for the white man. Each and every one of us is forced to listen to the white mans propaganda every day of our lives. The political system, economic system, military system, educational system, religious system and anything else you name is used to preserve the status quo of white America getting fatter and fatter while the black man gets more and more hungry. We must spend our time telling our Brothers the truth. We must tell them that any black woman who wears a diamond in her finger is wearing the blood of her Brothers and Sisters in slavery in South Africa where one out of every three black babies die before the age of one, from starvation, to make the white man rich. We must stop wearing the symbols of slavery on our fingers. We must stop going to other countries to exterminate our Brothers and Sisters for the white mans greed. We must ask our Brothers which side are they on? Once you know the truth for yourself it is your duty to dedicate your life to recruiting your Brothers and to counteract the white mans propaganda. We must disrupt the white mans system to create our own. We must publish newspapers and get radio stations. Black Unity is strength - lets use it now to get BLACK POWER.

SNCC 4165 S. Ellis Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60653 924-6781
VII. CHARACTERIZATIONS

Characterizations of the following individuals, publications, and organizations were obtained from except where otherwise noted.

ACT

ACT is a militantly orientated civil rights group, principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located at 413 East Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, on the near south side. Individuals who are affiliated with ACT have associated with "Black Power" groups in Chicago.

ACT leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, a male, Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS ANDREWS, West Side Chairman of ACT, is a male, Negro, Black Power advocate.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The Chicago Chapter of CORE is a loosely organized group suffering from internal dissension and dwindling membership. Many members support the "Black Power" philosophy.

The leader of CORE is ROBERT LUCAS.

Coordinating Council For Black Power (CCBP)

The CCBP is a loose amalgamation of militantly oriented civil rights groups organized around the concept of "Black Power". The CCBP has no office or formal organization. Those individuals who participate in its meetings are affiliated with other local civil rights type groups.
Afro-American Students Association (AASA)

The AASA is a militantly orientated association of high school and college age individuals organized around the concept of "Black Power".

The leader of AASA is JAMES HARVEY, a male, Negro, age 21, a student at Wilson Junior College, Chicago. He reportedly teaches violence and civil disobedience as a means of advancing the Negro cause.

Latin-American Defense Organization (LADO)

LADO has its headquarters at 1306 North Western Avenue, Chicago, and was formed in the summer of 1966 to help Chicago residents of Latin American descent. It is considered the most active and militant community group within the Puerto Rican community.

The chairman is OBED LOPEZ, a male, Mexican, who entered the United States in February, 1957, and is still in the United States in an alien status. He was arrested by the Chicago Police Department in August of 1966, in response to a call "making fire bombs". LOPEZ was found on the scene with a gallon glass container of gasoline. He was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest which were subsequently dismissed. LOPEZ is former chairman of the now defunct Chicago Branch of Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC).

Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO)

The KOCO is a local community civil rights organization whose primary purpose is to integrate the area in a peaceful manner. It does not advocate a militant, violent approach to the solution of Negroes' problems.

'Militant'

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (S.W.P).
"Muhammad Speaks"

The "Muhammad Speaks" is a weekly newspaper published by Muhammad's Mosque Number 2, 634 East 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI)

The OCCI office is located at 3939 South Drexel, Chicago. It is a militant civil rights organization whose purpose is to protest local issues such as alleged police brutality, lack of educational facilities and recreational facilities on Chicago's south side.

The leader is FRANK DITTO, a male, Negro, former taxi driver, who has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

Protectorights, Protect Our Rights or Protector Rights (POR)

The "POR" is a militant, loosely organized civil rights organization with office located at 4500 South Greenwood, Chicago, that advocates "Black Power" as a solution to Negroes' problems.

A leader of "POR" was CARL TUNSTALL, a male, Negro, who was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman in Chicago's 4th Ward in January, 1967.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD

CRAWFORD is the self-proclaimed leader of the DDJ in Chicago. He is a male, Negro, age 45, self-employed carpenter, who is known to be in possession of firearms and is considered possibly dangerous.
As of November, 1966, EUGENE TOURNOUR was a current member of the CP of Illinois.

MICHAEL WRIGHT

MICHAEL WRIGHT, a male, Negro, who recently came to Chicago from the south, was co-chairman of a SNCC meeting held December 16, 1966, at 4165 South Ellis, Chicago.

On May 5, 1967, SA United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, supra, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files concerning MICHAEL WRIGHT:
Annex 1

Activities of H. Wright in the Chicago area.

In this appendix to Chicago SNCC's report I shall state, in general, my reasons for coming to and working in the Chicago area.

As of Nov. 15, 1966 I made my intentions of coming to the Chicago area to research for the Campus Travelling Dept. of SNCC to Dr. George Vare and Miss Ruby Robison, Mr. Vare by word of mouth, and Miss Robison by letter. My stay in Chicago was not for the first of December, 1966, after several arrangements for my stay here were planned and confirmed.

Following are the reasons for my work in the Chicago area:

1) to do research that would better prepare Campus Travelers for work on Black campuses on a nation-wide scale; 2) to do feasibility observations on an extension of the CTP into the greater Midwest area; 3) to establish Midwest contacts for the CTP; 4) to aid in the general office work of Chicago SNCC (which was a part of the agreement made in terms of my residing in the area); and 5) categorized as personal.

I had planned to do research in five general areas for the Campus Travelling Dept., and, along with my research, some writing which should be of value to the CTP in general and SNCC staff also. The ultimate aim of my research was to formulate a series of lectures (or, as you may—workshop lectures) aimed at black college students. Four of these lectures would hinge around the major social phenomena confronting Black students today (Black history, the social realities of racism, the social realities of Moral Debasement, and the social realities of Class-Caste struggle) and the fifth being a treatment on SNCC and its dialectic.

Thus far for the material for the paper on Black history has been gathered and all fairly well compiled, the material for the paper on Class-Caste struggle (as such) has been gathered and yet to be compiled. The materials concerning the social realities of racism are mostly in essay form (as opposed to documentary) and in fairly well compiled. The work on the social realities of Moral Debasement has barely been touched, for this being intrinsically the most complex of the five, would have required the next work and thus, an unequal distribution of time, of which I had little to begin with. Finally, the paper on SNCC for all practical intents is complete.
As for all the observations for an extension of the CTP to the Midwest this is all that is to be said: "In the Chicago area alone there are more black people than in the entire state of Mississippi and in the Midwest area there are more black college than in all of the southern black campuses combined." These facts that can be found in any reliable almanac or a Census Dept. Report dictate the need.

I have thus far established dozens of very good Midwestern contacts, both on and off campus. This being done through meeting people at various functions and through speaking engagements at different colleges. A complete list will be submitted to the CTP at some later date.

A general description of the work that has gone on in the past month in the Chicago area, in which I have aided to one degree or another (mostly another), is outlined in an another section of this report.

I do not chose to elaborate on my personal work in the Chicago area at this time, for to do so would tend to inexact...

Michael Wright, SNCC
Campus Traveling Dept.

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VIII. DEMONSTRATION

On September 15, 1967, it was advised that since the beginning of the school year on September 7, 1967, some of the students attending Forrestville High School, 4401 South St. Lawrence, Chicago, have been "bussed in" from outside neighborhoods to attend the high school. There has been friction between these students and students from the local neighborhood. Forrestville has an all Negro student body and "bussed in" students are all Negro. The Second District has been requested by school authorities to furnish police to "keep the peace" in Forrestville High School.

On September 14, 1967, SNCC, planned a meeting at 43rd and Langley, about a block east of Forrestville High School, to begin at noon. This meeting was to protest the treatment received by a Negro girl, CORINNE ROBY, age 18, from police officers on September 11, 1967. Reportedly, on September 11, 1967, police officers questioned a number of Negro youths near 44th Street and Cottage Grove, about two blocks from Forrestville High School. A scuffle ensued during the questioning and one of the youths attempted to strike one of the officers. CORINNE ROBY was standing in the area supposedly waiting for a ride from a boy friend. She is supposed to have attempted to cross the street against police orders and was pushed down by one of the officers.

The SNCC meeting occurred as planned with the speakers berating the Chicago Police Department for police brutality in the CORINNE ROBY incident. Leaflets were passed out which read:

"Police Tom squad beat and kicked black brothers and sisters at Forrestville. Meet at the wall, 4600 South Langley at 12:00 Noon. Don't go to school."

As a result of speeches made at the meeting, students from Forrestville proceeded south on Langley and St. Lawrence, throwing bricks and rocks at cars and police along the way.
Three policemen and one teacher from Forrestville sustained injuries from missiles and were treated at local hospitals. Several police cars were damaged by bricks and rocks.

At the height of the disturbance approximately 300 people were in the vicinity of 43rd and Langley. An unknown sniper fired two shots from a building at 4302 South Langley. The sniper was not located.

As a result of the disturbance 54 people were arrested of which approximately 16 were juveniles.
APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1969, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 2, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognized the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.
APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.
On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.
APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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

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

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

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

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

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

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.
Title  STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference  Report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above.

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

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)


LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago Branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

ACQUITALS

CASE HAS BEEN

ACQUITTED OVER ONE YEAR

ACQUITTED, PROSECUTION

OVER SIX MONTHS

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

FBI

FOR COPIES SEE COVER PAGE B.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

54 MAY 7, 1968
Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Chicago (100-40342)
ADMINISTRATIVE

INFORMANTS

Source

Location

Characterization of ISHMAEL FLORY.

Instant report.

Characterization of FRED HAMPTON.
Characterization of CASSIUS CLAY.
This report is classified confidential to protect sources. Since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

Carol Lee Redmond and Monroe Sharp are now out of the country.

- E* -

COVER PAGE
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
Copy to: 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA
Date:

Field Office File #: 100-40342

Office: CHICAGO

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Characters: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Chicago Branch of SNCC office at 306 E. 43rd Street closed in 1/68, and SNCC legally evicted 3/13/68. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC operated from residence at 11400 S. Vincennes, Chicago. SNCC activities since 12/6/67 have consisted of BROWN's speeches in Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis and demonstration at Valparaiso, Indiana. He has also travelled to Atlanta, Georgia, Bloomington, Indiana, New York and Washington, D.C. STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speeches in Chicago area, 3/24-26/68 set forth. SNCC leaflets and papers attached.

- P -

This Document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is leased to your agency, it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
DATA IN:

A characterization of the following organizations mentioned in this report are in the appendix section:

Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Chicago Branch

SWP, Cleveland Branch

Friday Night Socialist Forum, Also Known As Militant Labor Forum

Friday Night Forum, Also Known As Friday Night Socialist Forum and Formerly Known As Twin Cities Labor Forum

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Nation of Islam ( NOI)
Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc. (DDJ)

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world-wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, with residence at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, advised that he has been evicted from the office at 306 East 43rd Street, and he would have to work "off the street corner" in the future.
Available public records show that ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN was born June 5, 1948, in Chicago, Illinois. He graduated from Morgan Park High School, 1744 West Pryor Avenue, Chicago, on June 23, 1966.

JORJA ENGLISH is a Negro female approximately 30-35 years of age, a former school teacher whose husband teaches at Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. She resides at 7932 South Yale, Chicago. She is an active member of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

CORE is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns, concern with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

On March 18, 1968, advised that on March 14, 1968, an eviction notice was served on the SNCC Office at 306 East 43rd Street, which was unoccupied. As of this date SNCC owed eight months rent totaling $880.00.

stated the Chicago Branch of SNCC originally occupied this second floor office space on February 1, 1967. ISHMAEL FLORY, Leader of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) had previously occupied these premises. FLORY moved out and gave the office key to MONROE SHARP, the Chicago Branch of SNCC Director at that time. On May 24, 1967, MONROE SHARP turned the office key over to JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, who on that date signed a one year lease for the office space. In November, 1967, ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, paid two months’ back rent of six months rent owed on the office space.
ISHMAEL FLORY is a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

ALBERT MONROE SHARP, former Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, male Negro, born July 3, 1940, at Chicago, Illinois and CAROL LEE REDMOND, former Secretary, white female, born January 5, 1933 in Illinois, are presently residing in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

JOYCE BROWN, former Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, has left Chicago and has returned to the South.

On January 29, 1968 related the following information regarding the Chicago Branch of SNCC:

The Chicago Branch of SNCC's primary function was as a fund raising organization for the National Headquarters at Atlanta. However, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Director of SNCC, appeared at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, in January, 1967, he changed the policy to an activist militant role. At this time, MONROE SHARP and CAROL LEE REDMOND, were leading the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Director and Secretary, respectively. They were replaced by JOYCE BROWN.

JOYCE BROWN was ineffective as a SNCC leader in the Chicago area. The leaders of the militant Negro groups could not tolerate a woman being in charge of a similar group and demanded that she be replaced by a man. She was eventually replaced by ROBERT BROWN.
On February 19, 1968, it was stated that ROBERT BROWN is presently running SNCC from his residence, estimated it has been over a month since anyone has been observed going into or leaving the SNCC office. Who has considerable past experience in the legitimate civil rights organizations affairs, was of the opinion that the majority of the Negroes who previously had frequented the SNCC office were the drop-outs and dregs of the Negro society that gravitate from one hate group to another. Did not believe that ROBERT BROWN had over three people that he could count on and consider as members of the local SNCC group.
To his knowledge, the SNCC office has not been occupied since the time of his investigation and he understands ROBERT BROWN is conducting his business from his residence.

stated the walls inside the SNCC office are covered with signs, clipped articles, pictures, leaflets and paintings extolling the virtues of such communist leaders as CASTRO, HO CHI MINH and MAO TZE TUNG. I felt it was quite disgraceful for a Negro organization to foster such a violent anti-American attitude.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, received $900.00 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area from March 21 through 26, 1968. 3/26/68
The "Chicago Defender" newspaper in its weekly edition dated January 4, 1968, carried an article on page 3 concerning an interview of ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, age 19, who resided at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago. BROWN's 1968 program for SNCC was stated as follows:

"We view the year 1968 as a crucial one as far as black liberation is concerned. The northern black ghetto must be organized and black consciousness must be solidified. SNCC's program here will center around politics, the draft, and education. SNCC will attempt to obtain 20,000 to 30,000 signatures on a petition to free H. RAP BROWN, the National SNCC Leader so he can travel."

The article continued by stating that ROBERT BROWN replaced Chicago SNCC's Director JOYCE BROWN (no relation) six weeks ago.
ACT was a militantly oriented civil rights group principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located on the near south side. Individuals affiliated with ACT have associated with various "black power" groups in Chicago. ACT is now defunct. Its leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, male Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local demonstrations.

One purpose of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's recent visit to Chicago from March 24 through 26, 1968, was to get the Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop fighting one another and join his black power movement organization.

ROBERT SMITH, also known as YAREE AMEER, VERNON RANDOLPH, BOBBY VANCE WALTON, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JAMES WILLIAMS is Direct Action Coordinator of the Chicago Branch of SNCC. He is a male Negro, born July 11, 1946 at Norfolk, Virginia. He served one year in the Illinois State Prison System for aggravated battery from September, 1964 to September, 1965.

III. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST AND RADICAL GROUPS

A. SWP

On November 24, 1967, ROBERT BROWN arrived at approximately 9:00 p.m., Friday night at the Militant Labor Forum, Debs Hall, 302 South Canal, Chicago, to address the approximately 45 people in attendance. BROWN apologized for being late stating he had attended a black student conference on the south side. He said people must learn that there is no room for precise planning in these times of chaos.
BROWN began his presentation by reading a poem about black brothers getting their heads beat in by white cops. He then read a 10 minute prepared speech covering the topic of "Black Power, Its Role In The International Scene." He said that in the impending Black Revolution there would be no room for personal feelings, wants or desires. The individual does not count, but only the cause and the ultimate goal.

After finishing the prepared text, BROWN spoke extemporaneously. He stated the Chicago high school riots were no accident, but were planned. He said the Waller High School students had been waiting for three weeks for the Englewood High School incident, which was the signal for them to act. Cooley Vocational High School and Crane Tech High School, were prepared to riot at the same time, but there had been a breakdown in communications. This will not occur in the next violent occurrence, which will occur shortly. BROWN said the high school tactic is designed to divert the Chicago Police Force to various parts of the City to spread their ranks thin so that SNCC can take other activity elsewhere. He commented that the stories about the high school riots because a black teacher got fired, or a black boy got injured on the north side are "bull (obscene)" and that this is the excuse put out by the "System."

BROWN indicated he could care less if a black teacher gets fired. He considers the one over which the incident occurred nothing but an "(obscene)Tom" anyway. BROWN's intention is to close every "mother (obscene)" white racist school in Chicago through rioting. He considered that the black students would be better off without a white oriented education about Western culture until SNCC can set up their own schools with their own teachers and programs. The immediate objectives for the Negro students are that they learn the techniques of demolition, sabotage and how to kill the white man, who is their only enemy.
BROWN indicated the Negro race is a violent race. They are always killing one another in the ghettos. SNCC must now teach the Negro how to turn this violence against the white man. He believes they can, and that the Negro will win because the white man is afraid of SNCC and the Negro. The Negroes know this as well as the white people.

BROWN assured the people there will be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1968. The convention people may appear to operate the affair, but he guaranteed that no white people would dare to attend the convention. The Black Revolution is here and the signal to begin the revolution is "just around the corner."

BROWN continued that he is no longer worried about shutting down the Englewood High School because "we" intend to burn it down. He doesn't worry about black people being refused admittance at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, because soon there will be no Conrad Hilton Hotel. He doesn't worry about a gasoline shortage, because every gas station in Chicago is going to be a Molotov cocktail. He indicated that the Negro doesn't need an education to win a revolution. As an example he cited Mayor Richard J. Daley as an individual who has no education and indicated BROWN's two year old child talks better than DALEY and "look where he got."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, is returning to the United States. He is being protected by five Cuban bodyguards. BROWN said FIDEL CASTRO, Premier of Cuba, has indicated that if any harm comes to CARMICHAEL, CASTRO will cause reprisals elsewhere. On his return CARMICHAEL is going to make Chicago his first speaking engagement. Chicago is scheduled to be the first SNCC target for violence.

BROWN stated SNCC's plans to thwart law enforcement include killing every "Black Tom cop" they can locate. SNCC has a complete list of these individuals and they will not escape. They intend to kill every "Tom Nigger" that does not join them on the battle line. There are to be no neutrals. Those that are not with them will be killed. This also includes white people. Those that fight along with them and take their orders will survive otherwise they will be killed. BROWN said this is no longer a local program, but an international
movement and that there are nine hundred million black people in the world waiting to turn on the white man and destroy him.

BROWN said SNCC is no longer a protest group, but is now a revolutionary movement. He indicated SNCC recently gained non-government status in the United Nations. SNCC is preparing to present the Black American case to the United Nations. If the United Nations does not take immediate action against the United States, SNCC is prepared to take over the country. They will do this eventually. At the present time, JAMES FOREMAN, former National Director of SNCC, is residing in New York and has been sending black volunteers abroad. These volunteers are being placed in a fighting or education category and are being sent particularly to African Nations to learn these tasks. The fighters are sent into jungles to become skilled killers and warfare experts. Many of them are learning this under true conditions. The others are sent to technical schools and factories. Their skills will insure that after the successful revolution a smooth transition will take place.

BROWN said that a clash with Federal troops was averted in Gary, Indiana, several weeks ago. This was only because RICHARD HATCHER won the mayoralty by ballot. If this had not occurred, "they" would have declared HATCHER Mayor and placed him in office by force if needed.

BROWN commented that old Negro leaders such as WHITNEY YOUNG and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. must retire and let the young men assume power. If they oppose their policies they will be killed.

BROWN indicated he was aware he was giving away SNCC plans, but that the authorities couldn't do anything about them anyway. He knew who the "stool pigeons" and "Toms" are and at the appropriate time they would be killed. He presently was in the possession of rifles worth two to three thousand dollars that would be used at the appropriate time.
BROWN said the United States Government was preparing the Black Americans for genocide. He said after the Watts Riot, Negro children were sent to farms that were called recreation camps. He contended that in reality these were concentration camps, set up by the Government to determine how rapidly Black Negro youths could be confined.

11/28/67) 11/30/67)

On December 8, 1967, ROBERT BROWN spoke as a guest speaker at the Militant Forum, Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, before approximately 35 people. The theme of his talk was "Segregation, Negroes may have to use violent methods to achieve objectives and a Socialist United States system is the only salvation for Negroes."

12/12/67)

On January 6, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke before approximately 40 people at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum meeting held at 704 Hennepin Avenue, Room 240, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1/8/68)

B. SDS

ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC was guest speaker at an anti-draft rally held at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland and Adams Street, Chicago, on January 8, 1968, sponsored by SDS and the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE). BROWN advocated using dynamite to bomb the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago later this year; bombing of oil refineries specifically mentioning Standard Oil but not service stations because Soul Brothers might be killed. BROWN did not know how the white people feel about the war but stated all Negroes are very serious about protesting the illegal war in Vietnam. BROWN shouted that there would be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

1/12/68)
IV. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN's Speeches

On December 5, 1967, BROWN was a guest speaker at Bogan City College, 3939 West 79th Street, Chicago. He was among six "Great Debate" speakers who spoke to the students at the college. BROWN stated, "Niggers are not going to be kept in place much longer. He added that there must be a redistribution of private property in the United States, even if there is a revolution needed to accomplish this. BROWN further stated that if Negroes don't achieve their rightful share of products from industries, cities must burn."

On January 24, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke to an audience of approximately 45 Negroes, both adults and teenagers, of the local neighborhood at the Field House in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois. BROWN stated that the Negro must obtain his freedom and black power at any cost. If any people get in his way, either black or white, he would get rid of them in one way or another. The black revolution is coming and nothing the white man can do will stop it. He is out for a full scale revolution. To him there is no such thing as integration.

Concerning the 1968 Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago, BROWN assured those present that it would not take place. He said that his group SNCC does not have any particular strategy planned and probably will not have any until a week or so before the convention is held. He described the convention as a hoax, not for the black man, only to perpetuate the white power structure. He commented to the effect that this Government is oppressing all black people and is fighting the colored people all over the world. He discredited the Government, stating he has no country or government and has nothing to lose.
On March 22, 1968, it was advised that approximately 200 people attended a fund raising affair for H. Rap Brown, National Director of SNCC at the Christ Methodist Church, 6401 South Sangamon, Chicago, on March 21, 1968. The meeting lasted from 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The affair was described as a closed black power meeting. ROBERT BROWN spoke at this meeting and urged Negroes to arm themselves instead of marching and suggested a takeover of the Cook County Jail in an attempt to free all Negro prisoners.

The Corporation Counsel's Office, City of Chicago, advised on January 30, 1968, that the Corporation Counsel's Office is aware of ROBERT BROWN's activities in connection with SNCC and also statements made by him at various meetings. It advised that unless there is a clear and present danger that BROWN's activities or statements will incite a mob or create a riot, no prosecution of BROWN will be considered by that office. It feels that there has been no information developed to date indicating a clear and present danger of mob violence or rioting resulting from BROWN's statements or actions as of this date. If such information is developed in the future, prosecution will be considered under the charge Soliciting for Mob Violence.

B. STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA
On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that on
Sunday afternoon, March 24, 1968, FRED HAMPTON, President,
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People (NAACP) Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, personally
contacted Negroes in the Maywood community to attend an
impromptu meeting at the Masonic Temple, 13th and Madison
Streets, Maywood, Illinois, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former
Director of SNCC would speak. Approximately 200 Negroes
responded to this invitation and paid $1.00 apiece
admission fee to hear CARMICHAEL speak. At approximately
4:00 p.m. on this date CARMICHAEL arrived at the Masonic
Temple in a late model Cadillac accompanied by five unknown
Negro males.

CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour on
the themes of Negro segregation from the white race and the
history of the Negroes. He also commented on how to achieve
"black power" in Maywood, Illinois. He recommended that
the immediate objective should be total boycott of white
merchants in Maywood, who after they are forced out of business
should be taken over and operated by Negroes. A tentative
target then set for starting the boycott was May 20 or 21,
1968, which would coincide with the death of a martyred Negro
leader. The source was unable to recall the name of the
martyred individual.

The source recalled that CARMICHAEL stated in a
question and answer session following his speech, "While
MARTIN LUTHER KING goes about his non-violent way, I am
getting the guns ready."

The source advised that the program was well
attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests
by the Maywood Police.

Concerning FRED HAMPTON, a source has advised that
HAMPTON has been instrumental in causing past racial disturbances
in the Maywood, Illinois area.
On March 25, 1968, advised that the Garfield Organization, a Chicago west side community organization under the direction of primarily religious leaders, which attempts to maintain and improve the conditions of this Negro neighborhood, held an annual fund raising program on the evening of Sunday, March 24, 1968, at a Union Hall of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 5247 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Tickets were sold and women from the neighborhood prepared food, which was served. EARTHA KITT, nationally known Negro female actress and entertainer performed at this affair.

Also appearing on the program were local musical groups, DICK GREGORY, Negro comedian civil rights activist and MUHAMMAD ALI, formerly known as CASSIUS CLAY.

STOKELY CARNICHAEL made an impromptu appearance and said a few words which were generally in a humorous manner.

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests made by the Chicago Police Department.

The source advised the above listed individuals commented as follows:

EARTHA KITT urged national Negro unity and preached against race hatred. CASSIUS CLAY commented that black women should be protected from exploitation. DICK GREGORY commented that if conditions of the Negro do not improve, this summer may see a resumption of racial violence.

RICHARD GREGORY is a Negro male and nationally known entertainer. He ran for Mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in the local elections in March, 1967. He has led and participated in numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago in the past. He has been arrested in Chicago on a number of occasions in connection with these activities. He is considered a "Maverick" who does not lend his support exclusively to any particular civil rights group but will participate in civil rights activities which appear to appeal to him personally.

(3/68)
CASSIUS CLAY was the former Heavyweight Champion of the world. He is known as MUHAMMAD ALI in the Nation of Islam Organization of which he is a member.

On March 25, 1968, advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL occupied Room 105 of the Roberts Motel located at 3756 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, during Saturday night, March 23, 1968, and checked out of the motel on Sunday morning, March 24, 1968. Three unknown Negro males who accompanied CARMICHAEL occupied Room 107. These rooms were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, Illinois.

On March 26, 1968, Roberts Motel, 3756 South Michigan, Chicago, advised that Rooms 105 and 107 were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, at 3:18 p.m. on March 23, 1968. Three unknown Negro males wearing African hair styles occupied room 107. ROBERT BROWN checked out of the rooms at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, March 25, 1968, and paid a total of $72 for room service and rent.

On March 26, 1968, advised that on Monday, March 25, 1968, between the hours of 4:00 and 6:20 p.m. STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the West Side Organization Headquarters at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 60 people were in attendance. CARMICHAEL stated that the reason he is in Chicago is to stop the black people from killing each other. He commented, "The black man must stop killing themselves and start killing the white man." The source advised that no incidents occurred, the area remained calm and no arrests were made by the Chicago Police Department.

The West Side Organization is a militant grassroot type welfare union organization which concentrates on locating jobs for the West side slum residents. It has an office at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago. It is supported by the Chicago City Missionary Society.
On March 26, 1968, advised that a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, beginning at 9:15 p.m. and ending at 11:05 p.m., Monday evening, March 25, 1968. This rally was held for the benefit of H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, who is currently in jail in New Orleans, Louisiana. There were approximately 700 people in attendance and the Theatre was filled to capacity. Among the speakers recognized by the source at the rally were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD.

Several white males were observed waiting outside the Theatre prior to the affair, but these individuals were told to leave the area. Various news men attempted to attend the rally but were refused admission.

ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD spoke briefly and only by way of introduction to the featured speaker, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately an hour and a half, frequently repeating himself and giving the impression of disinterest. Among the often repeated remarks by CARMICHAEL were, "Blacks must love blacks," "The black man must know that the honkey is his enemy," "Blacks must unite."

CARMICHAEL stated, "The white man has done nothing for the blacks except cheat them, as is evident from the days of slavery." "When the white man first came to this country he learned from the Indian and then he killed him." "It is not going to be a long hot summer but it is going to be a long hot year."

CARMICHAEL stated he did not want the various Negro teenagers fighting and killing each other, but rather that they should unite and fight their common enemy. He stated that H. RAP BROWN was in jail because he "rapped too
much" pointing out the truth. CARMICHAEL read the audience a letter he had received from BROWN which commented in the same manner as he had been talking.

Source said students were able to attend the meeting for a cost of $1.00, while adults had to pay $2.00 admission fee. During the affair a collection was taken up for H. RAP BROWN. There was no announcement made as to how much money had been collected.

The source stated there were no disturbances during the rally, order was kept reasonably well, there were no incidents and no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

On March 26, 1968, advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, between 7:00 and 12:00 p.m. a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. The featured speaker of the evening was STOKELY CARMICHAEL who addressed approximately 700 people of which 50 were representatives of black power organizations in the Chicago area.

CARMICHAEL stated that the black people need black supremacy. The black man must have guns not votes and that votes are useless, guns should be used in place of votes. CARMICHAEL protested America's Education System for the Negroes. CARMICHAEL said every black man should get a gun to defend himself and that the Blackstone Rangers should not destroy each other but rather go after the white man. CARMICHAEL took a collection for H. RAP BROWN to help obtain his release from jail and referred to BROWN as a hero.

On March 26, 1968, advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour at a fund raising rally held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. CARMICHAEL's speech was lack luster and obviously off the cuff. CARMICHAEL seemed bored with the meeting and the crowd and quite disinterested. The crowd was extremely enthusiastic at first but sensed his disinterest and responded accordingly.
CARMICHAEL commented that this summer will undoubtedly see "whitey" out to get the Negro. He counselled the audience to become armed and be prepared to defend themselves and their community. He said they should learn black brotherly love and stop fighting each other, stop gang fighting and tearing up their own property. He said there is strength and power in black unity. Black youths need to study their own history and get a good black education. They cannot do this under the inadequate educational facilities available to the Negroes under today's conditions.

CARMICHAEL made mention of H. RAP BROWN on only one occasion and then later to take a collection in his behalf.

CARMICHAEL repeated himself constantly and spent a lot of time preaching the necessity of all factions within the black power movement to unify. CARMICHAEL's comments concerning Negroes arming themselves was limited to defensive purposes and not of the usual inflammatory nature.

The source advised that the speeches were poorly organized and CARMICHAEL was introduced by ROBERT BROWN who made only brief remarks not nearly as violent as is his usual manner. ROBERT BROWN urged Negro unity of themselves and their neighborhoods.

The source observed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had body guards among whom was EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD. Several of the body guards were observed to be armed with .45 caliber automatics.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD is a male Negro, self-proclaimed leader of the now inactive Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated, Chicago Chapter, and has recently proclaimed himself President of the National Negro Rifle Association (NNRA). The NNRA was organized by CRAWFORD to teach Negroes over 18 years of age the laws pertaining to the use of firearms.

1/19/68)
At 6:48 a.m. on March 26, 1968, over a Chicago radio station, WBBM, the announcer commented that STOKELY CARMICHAEL made the following remarks at a meeting last night.

"He promised a summer of violence, that the honkeys are preparing genocide and race destruction, and that the blacks must have a gun to fight them."

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that as of this date STOKELY CARMICHAEL has received $900 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area.

The source advised that on Monday morning, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois, to a group of approximately 40 to 60 students in training. The Urban Training Center is sponsored by several religious groups primarily for the training of ministers for the urban and ghetto areas, however, a sizeable percentage of students are members of the Black Power Community Organizations. The source stated CARMICHAEL made a brief speech to this group and commented mainly on the theme of black unity and black brotherly love. He advised the students that if they can get organized, educated and plan a constructive program, he will return to Chicago in the near future and assist them in the programs implementation.

The source stated CARMICHAEL's speech was extremely conciliatory and mild in comparison to previous speeches by him.

The source advised that CARMICHAEL is not expected to leave Chicago until his fiancee, MIRIAM MAKEBA, finishes her entertainment contract with a local Chicago nightclub, Mr. Kelly's. Her contract is up either March 30 or 31, 1968, as a Hollywood actress and entertainer, PAT SUZUKI, is scheduled to be the feature attraction at Mr. Kelly's on March 31, 1968.

The source advised that MIRIAM MAKEBA has become ill, cancelled her contract, and PAT SUZUKI will finish out the remainder of her contract as of this date.
On March 29, 1968, advised that source was among an audience of approximately 130 people at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church Hall, 2555 East 73rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968. The St. Margaret's Episcopal Church membership consists of approximately 300 members composed of about 10% Negro membership. The Episcopal youth organization is composed of about 40 high school teen-agers with the same racial balance which is led by Episcopal Curate Father WILLIAM WETZEL, a Negro. Source learned on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC had been invited to speak before the Episcopal youth group by Father WETZEL. The audience, which numbered approximately 130, was composed of 20 to 30 Episcopal youths, seven adult parishioners, and 100 Negroes, none of which were parishioners. Many of the Negroes wore beatnik and African style hair and attire.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and about 100 Negroes arrived approximately 45 minutes late. He apologized for the delay stating he had spent the past five hours arbitrating a Negro youth gang dispute between the Blackstone Rangers and another south side Chicago gang. He then retired to a room to the rear of the speaker's platform with a few of his accomplices.

Father WETZEL then had a collection taken to be presented to STOKELY CARMICHAEL as a honorarium.

Father WETZEL then introduced a colleague of STOKELY CARMICHAEL by the name of CLEVELAND BROWN. BROWN is described as a Negro male, 30 years old, 5'8" tall, 140 pounds, medium complexion, brown hair cut normal, clean shaven, neat appearing, slender build, and a soft speaker. CLEVELAND BROWN spoke for about 15 minutes on the theme of police brutality against Negroes. He told of a recent experience he had with police when he tired to lead a peaceful demonstration at Orangeburg, South Carolina, at a Negro college. He was badly beaten by the Orangeburg Police, then hauled off to a hospital and placed in an isolation ward for 21 days. BROWN said he is now considered a fugitive by police because he has been charged with seven local violations in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia.
BROWN then introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL who spoke for approximately 30 minutes, principally on the theme that Negroes must arm themselves and unify. CARMICHAEL appeared surprised to see white people in the audience and explained that he thought he would be talking to an all Negro audience so he would have to change the nature of his speech. He said his main reason for coming to Chicago was to create peace between Negro groups. CARMICHAEL through his speech would state a point and then repeat himself at least three times which source thought was disconcerting, dull, and repetitious. CARMICHAEL made the following comments: "If any white men touch our black brothers we'll kill them"; "Black people must learn to stop fighting with each other"; "Organize and carry the fight to the streets"; "Black people must get guns and ammunition to defend themselves"; "To hell with the United States. To hell with Vietnam. The black people of the United States have always had to do the lowest and dirtiest jobs. Why should they go over and fight the white man's war?"

The source stated the meeting broke up without any incidents. The neighborhood remained calm and there were no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

Source said that one of the reasons why CARMICHAEL came to Chicago was to talk to leaders of the Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop their intergang fighting and attempt to have them unite with the Black Power Movement sponsored by CARMICHAEL. The source did not know if CARMICHAEL was able to contact the Blackstone Rangers or other youth gang leaders.
At 12:15 p.m., March 30, 1968, SAS of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrive in Chicago on United Airlines Flight 147 at O'Hare Airport. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by an unknown Negro male. They were met by two unknown Negro males. The four men then entered a 1965 Plymouth sedan bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051.

Advised on March 30, 1968, that CARMICHAEL and the others drove from O'Hare Field, Chicago, through Chicago, proceeding east on Interstate Highway 94. They were last observed traveling east of Gary, Indiana, on the Indiana Toll Road.

1968 Illinois License PR 3051 is registered to ELMYRA PRATTS, 2213 East 68th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On June 15, 1965, advised that among the individuals arrested on June 11, and 12, 1965, in connection with a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, protesting the rehiring of School Superintendent BENJAMIN C. WILLIS, was ELMYRA GRAY PRATTS, a female Negro, age 22, who resides at

At 5:30 p.m. on Saturday, March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed arriving at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, by SAS of the FBI.

Advised on March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Western Michigan University before approximately 900 people at a mid-west regional conference on black power.
At 2:30 a.m. on March 31, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed to depart Kalamazoo, Michigan in a bronze Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051, traveling west on Interstate 94 in the direction of Chicago.

C. Demonstrations

On January 31, 1968, ROBERT BROWN participated in a "Black-In" demonstration held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana. The reason for the "Black-In" was that the Valparaiso University Administration had only permitted 50 Negroes to register at the school and the school has an enrollment of 4,000. Approaches made to the president of the college in an effort to have more Negroes admitted to the school apparently were not effective.

2/2/68)

D. Travel of ROBERT BROWN

ROBERT BROWN traveled to New York City, New York over the weekend of December 23-24, 1967. He returned to Chicago on December 25, 1967. The reason for the trip was to confer with SNCC officials.

12/26/67)
ROBERT BROWN traveled to Bloomington, Indiana, where he attended an SDS conference held December 27-31, 1967.  

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington, D.C. on March 15, 1968. Among those accompanying him was former National Director of SNCC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.  

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Chicago to Atlanta, Georgia, on Tuesday, January 23, 1968, where he attended a SNCC meeting at which H. RAP BROWN, National Director, was in attendance.  

V. SNCC LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS  

The attached leaflet addressed to "Corporate Brothers and Sisters" was obtained from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on January 5, 1968. The remaining leaflets were obtained from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office and Chicago Chapter of CORE Office between October 21, 1967 and March 8, 1968.
BLACK MEETING BLACK

AT THE

SNCC OPEN HOUSE

Saturday: 6:00 to 10:00 P.M.
302 E. 43rd St.

Hear: SNCC's program outlined.

Meet: Black people from all walks of life.

See: Black folk having fun.

Come --

Support SNCC ... don't let it die.
TO THE PEOPLE:

In this hour of crisis in the nation, in the world and among oppressed minorities everywhere, the Black Peoples Congress calls for a new commitment to the revolution of 1776 and the freedom and equality to all men it promised. That revolution is still unfulfilled. Black people are oppressed and persecuted for more than those white criminals who fled to America’s shore in search of freedom. They are oppressed and persecuted by the great, mean and great-grandchildren of those white criminals.

Black people are caught between the powerful forces of the so-called racist, on the one hand, and the financial and industrial giants of the north, on the other. They are the victims of a nationalistic drive to re-colonize all the people, a political manipulation, a force if necessary, succeeding to us off black leaders, today trying to kill those leaders whom they could not. So violence, lynching, and the continuation of the black masses throughout the name of "non-violence", are his tools. Civil rights leaders are his tools.

We in the Black Peoples Congress have been possessed by the horror of race and anger, and in the words of Robert F. Kennedy: "We are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo. (We) are convinced with some of those who have lived in poverty, illiteracy, and oppression to flourish for centuries. (We) will achieve (our) goals one way or another. (Even) if (we) have to pull (this) government down with our (own) hands. And (we) will prevail."

We will be free, or all mankind will be slaves. PEACE IF POSSIBLE, WAR IF NECESSARY.

"We call on you to be unafraid, unswayed by the violent acts of white racists, friend and foe alike. We have accepted ALL ALIVE, AND JUSTICE. To rise to the challenge of the times. To join us in our unconditional "CARE OF THE RACE." To help us build our "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS".

BLACKPEOPLES CONGRESS

28
CITIZENS A. JACOB BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF H. RAP BROWN'S APPEAL FROM HIS BAIL RESTRICTIONS

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM, 1967

H. RAP BROWN
RELATOR-PETITIONER

V.

HON. RAYMOND FOGEL, CITY SERGEANT,
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA,
RESPONDENT.

We, black and white citizens of the United States, herewith respectfully request the Supreme Court of the United States to expeditiously consider the petition of H. Rap Brown for a writ of certiorari to the United States Circuit Court for the Fourth Circuit and, upon such consideration, to grant said petition.

As we understand it, the United States District Court for the District of Virginia, Richmond Division, imposed upon Mr. Brown, as a condition of his release on bond, the restriction that he could not leave the eleven counties of the Southern District of New York, the district in which the office of William Kunstler, one of his attorneys, is located, except in connection with litigation in which he is involved. Because of this restriction on his travel, Mr. Brown has been prevented from fulfilling many speaking engagements, both in the United States and abroad, and will be unable to meet similar commitments in the future.

In imposing this condition, the federal judge indicated that Mr. Brown was "not going anywhere to make speeches because he is going to have to stay in Mr. Kunstler's district except when going to and from trial and going to the defense of those matters."

The inability of Mr. Brown to fulfill his speaking engagements constitutes a subtle but potent threat to the free speech of every American. If he can be imprisoned in a geographical area from which he cannot emerge to articulate his views and those of the SNCC whose national chairman he is, then bail is being effectively used to silence both him and his organization. While there may be many people who disagree with the views propounded by Mr. Brown, it is not in the American tradition to squelch them by conditioning his release on bond on his silence.
The STUDENT FOUNDATION COORDINATING COMMITTEE cannot afford to obtain national radio and television time for the expression of its views. It must depend on their articulation throughout the United States and, in particular, at the many colleges and universities that are eager to provide forums for him. Since the restrictions were imposed upon him, he has had to cancel such appearances at such institutions as Colgate University, Oxford University, and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

We call upon the Supreme Court of the United States as the ultimate guardian of the First Amendment to consider his petition for a writ of certiorari promptly and upon such considerations to set aside the restriction of his right to travel. Only such action will the rights of all American citizens be protected and the voice of dissent be kept alive in the land.

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30
DOLLARS TO SNCC

I enclose $_________ to carry on the work of SNCC. I pledge $_________ every__________.

Please include me on your mailing list. My name is:

(last) (first) (middle)

Address (Street) (City) (State) (Zip)

Phone

Please make Checks payable to:

SNCC

306 E. 43rd St.
Chicago, Ill. 60653
373-9025
Hear Rap Brown speak to black Chicago.

He is being held in New York under bond, and has been refused permission to travel. Each of the last three times he has been scheduled to speak in Chicago, something has stopped him. He will phone his speech in.

Come to the SACC Fund-Raising Rally Saturday, December 16, 1967 Christ Methodist Church 6401 S. Ashland 6:00 pm. until

Other speakers included:

Brothers: 2.00 the old folks
    1.00 the students

Girl:

Things!!
Dear Friend of SNCC,

We would like to ask your help. The "power structure" has escalated its efforts to stop all forms of protest. Tactic after tactic of harassment, intimidation, imprisonment, character assassination, etc., has been used in order to stop the Movement for the Liberation of Black People.

The White power structure is conducting an all-out war to kill SNCC. Countless SNCC workers are in jail or face the threat of imprisonment. Office after office is being forced to shut down because of a lack of operating expenses. SNCC is sinking fast. But will SNCC be allowed to die? Not if you really care.

We need your help to raise enough money so that SNCC can remain alive. So that we can continue our Southern program and begin a program to reach the masses of Black people in the Northern ghetto. Black people must be prepared to resist and to survive.

Please give this request serious and immediate consideration.

Thank you very much for your help and loyalty to SNCC.

Yours for Black Liberation

Robert Brown, Dir.
Midwest SNCC

enc: Pledge form
- Midwest SNCC Literature
Sir:

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has sat back for some several weeks, and watched with interest the development of the Cook County Jail scandal. We have viewed with amusement the melodramatics of politics as honkies accuse honkies of corruption, bribery, misconduct, and political wheeling and dealing. All at the expense and well being of countless Black lives.

We have sat back and watched the game of political power that is being played by the politicians and with each act, the world has revealed to us a new face. There is no such thing as Justice. There are no free men. And Black people are prisoners in a honkey hell.

We have remained silent while racist have repeatedly made remarks against Black inmates. But, even silence itself, says something. Yes, there comes a time when we can no longer be silent. We must speak, knowing full well that words are loaded pistols; when I speak, I fire.

The Black inmates of Cook County Jail have asked us to speak for them. No probe of the conditions of the jail can be complete without hearing both sides. Black people demand a chance to be heard.

Yours truly,

Robert Brown, Dir
Midwest SNCC
CORPORATE BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

WE THE CONCERNED COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN HUNDRED WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WISH YOU AND YOURS A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR AND TO OFFER OUR HOPE ALONG WITH THE HOPE OF MILLIONS OF BLACK CONSUMERS IN THIS COUNTRY FOR YOUR COMPANY'S CONTINUED HIGH RATE OF GROWTH IN THE COMING YEAR. ALSO, WE HOPE THAT PEACE AND TRANQUILITY WILL BE THE KEYNOTE FOR THE NEW YEAR RATHER THAN ENDURING VIOLENCE AND HATRED.

OUR PURPOSE FOR WRITING YOU AT THIS TIME IS TO SOLICIT MONEY TO ESTABLISH LIBERATION SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN SEABOARD OF OUR COUNTRY. THE EDUCATIVE AIM OF THESE SCHOOLS WILL BE TO STIMULATE A BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THRU THE TEACHING OF AFRICAN HISTORY AND TO PROMOTE AN EXAMINATION OF THE TECHNIQUES USED TO EXPLOIT THE TALENTS, SKILLS, AND BRAIN POWER OF BLACKS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF OTHERS.

WE KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO MAKE THIS A CO-OPERATIVE VENTURE BY CONTRIBUTING YOUR COMPANY'S FAIR SHARE FOR THIS NOBLE Undertaking. Although we are short staffed at this time, our Regional Representative will make a special report to contact you—please have check, cash, or money order ready.

REMEMBER, YOUR GIFT MAY BE TAX DEDUCTIBLE—SEE YOUR ACCOUNTANT. THANK YOU AND AGAIN A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
As of this issue the African American Press will be continuing its support of the Black Power movement. It is an essential element of African American history that individuals of all ages and backgrounds have played a role in the struggle for freedom.

Why longer over events and figures from the past when there is still so much to be done to overcome the problems and secure the future? First, there is a need for Black people to recognize their history and with it their true identity from the time of slavery to the present day. Second, there is a need for Black people to honor their past so that mistakes and misconceptions as to the nature of the enemy—how white can be reduced to a minimum. For example, a knowledge of the atrocities of the slave trade and the slave trade, and of the 3,000 lynchings of Black men, women, and children since the 1860s would have helped the brothers and sisters in the non-violent movement to the efficacy of appealing to whitey's conscience or to white folks of good will. Slavery was ended by a long and bloody civil war, not by sit-ins or picket lines. Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun. Third, the more and energy spent on seeking out and mastering Black history the less time spent in learning whitey's lies or in staring at that idiot box or tube that is television. Fourth, Black history can help instill Black people with the necessary spiritual and psychological strength so that we can function purposefully with dignity and courage without having to rely on whitey's: religion, liquor, drugs or women!

HARANEEH! (Freedom) (Let's all pull together)

RENOSS SWEET, DOGILE, KEK, NRANSEE AND KIND
BEHARE THE DAY THEY CHANGE THEIR MINDS.

M. RAP BROWN

This little chant recently gaining popularity among Black youth in some cities as Newark and Detroit is only one indication of the strength of the movement that Mr. Brown has made on Black America and the nation at large since his election in May as national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.).

Not a fluid and sophisticated speaker like his predecessor, he has developed a style that has stirred the hearts and blood of the Negroes and caused fear and apprehension among white Americans. Perhaps as no other spokesmen has Brown's oratory:

"Violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie."
"If you (white America) play Nazis with us, we ain't gonna play Jews."
"The Hunkey got respect for but one thing, a gun."
"If America don't come 'round, you should burn America down!"

Born Hubert Gerold Brown in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on October 4, 1945, Mr. Brown has been a leader in the civil rights movement since he was a child. He received all of his college education in Baton Rouge, including three years at Southern University as a sociology major. Ulysses S. Jones Dean of Men at Southern, has testified to Mr. Brown's good academic record and to his exemplary conduct as a student.

In 1963, Mr. Brown left Southern to go to work for S.N.C.C. in Mississippi. He later became project director for the State of Alabama, the post he held prior to his election to the National chairmanship. Mr. Brown got his nickname during his early years as a civil rights worker when his uncompromising stand provoked responses of "He's just an 'em baby." His career since May 1967, including a number of indictments for allegedly inciting riots, advocating treason, etc. can be followed, in a distorted fashion, in the nation's news media. Despite the tremendous pressure, Mr. Brown has yet to tamper on protest his adherence to the view...
Before the Civil War, the Free Negroes began to acquire land and estate for the acquisition of wealth. In the years following the American Revolution, the Free Negroes established themselves in a number of cities. In New York and Philadelphia, who had been the leading centers of the Free Negro communities, the Free Negroes went on to form the Free Negroes' Bank.

In the field of banking, the Free Negroes established the Free Negroes' Bank, which was established in 1831. This bank was the first bank established by Free Negroes in the United States. It was capitalized with $50,000, and was operated by a board of directors consisting of Free Negroes.

In the field of business, the Free Negroes established the Free Negroes' Business Association, which was established in 1832. This association was established to encourage the Free Negroes to engage in business enterprises.

In the field of education, the Free Negroes established the Free Negroes' Educational Association, which was established in 1833. This association was established to encourage the Free Negroes to engage in educational enterprises.

In the field of recreation, the Free Negroes established the Free Negroes' Recreational Association, which was established in 1834. This association was established to encourage the Free Negroes to engage in recreational enterprises.

These Free Negro associations were established to encourage the Free Negroes to engage in business, education, recreation, and other enterprises.

The Free Negroes were able to acquire wealth through these enterprises, and they were able to establish themselves in a number of cities. In New York and Philadelphia, who had been the leading centers of the Free Negro communities, the Free Negroes went on to form the Free Negroes' Bank.
Thank you, Brothers for unchaining me.

LEON

Half black man, half honky. His appearance is that of a black man. His habits are those of a honky. He afraid of the great white father.

Leon will argue, cut and probably kill his black brothers. But, he'll take all the hardships in the world to please his loveable honkies.

Leon is our enemy, and like all enemies he must be purged. I'll have more vivid information on this poor black brother in next week's article.

Don't be slack—we must think BLACK.

EDITORIAL

THE POWER OF BLACKNESS

What is the power of Blackness? It is the ability of a whole black community to respond to the white power structure, no matter how insignificant the oppressors act of adulterated hate might be. It is the ability of a whole black community to think from a common base, in other words, to think Black. It is the ability of a whole black community to have racial pride, and not to be afraid of being Black; and not to imitate the white man, for all of us should realize that the white race standards are not to be desired. So why copy them?

What is the whole Black community? It is just the whole black population; the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong, all of us working together from within to improve our economical, political, and social powers. The time has come that we must exercise real power. No longer should we ex-

It is time that the Negro of Evanston stop separating himself from the mainstream of Black life. Things in Evanston aren't so good that we should become pacified because the white man tells us that our standard of living here is better than Black people who live on the West Side of Chicago. The question should be, do we enjoy the same standard of living that the white man enjoys?

What percentage of Negroes if any, can move anywhere they want to in Evanston? It is a known fact that we pay more for rent in our neighborhood than in a comparable white neighborhood. In other words we are contained in a ghetto and are exploited by white as well as "ambitious" Negroes.

The school system of Evanston is finally integrated and every Negro family thanks the white man. Why hasn't it been integrated before now? Even in the school system things aren't as rosy as they may seem. The jump from grade school to high school sets the future for the Black youth. It is during this critical stage of life that our Black youths are taken down; for they are given basic classes where as comparable white youth are given regular classes and if the school system is pressed enough he may even get honor classes. While the black youth chances of going to college or even finishing high school because his motivation is stifled, the white youth advances.

The Black Youth is also deprived of his true heritage. The white man sets up his standards and rituals all other cultures. By doing this he forces the Black Youth to accept white racism, and brings about division and disorder among the Afro-American, which is one of his main goals. How many Black people know anything about their true heritage? What is the power of Blackness?
until the white race is ready
to give us human rights but create
the conditions which make it
necessary. CG-12042542

For more than a decade in
Evanston, Illinois there has
been an arena of misunderstanding
and mistrust between Black
people. For various reasons,
some justified, other not, we
cannot seem to communicate with
each other. We of the Afro-
American League say to you, the
time has come to learn why this
is so.

Some of our people say
that the only reason that we
have these problems is that
there has been a high con-
centration of Southern Blacks
and that they cannot communicate
with them. We, of course, term
this silly. Others say that
Black people are never going
to learn how to trust each other.
We think that if both of
the groups check the situation,
that they will see that they
are not talking about foreign
people but they are talking
about Black Americans. With
the same habits, same goals,
same motivations, and the same
hang-ups, and that hang-up is
that they are BLACK, and what-
ever they want to be BLACK or
not, this is what they are, and
will be for the rest of their
lives.

Our main goal is to
untangle the

Of the Afro-American
League, then that at this
time we shall answer some of the
rumors that have been cir-
culated in Evanston about our
goals and what we plan to do in
the areas of freedom and equ-
ity for the Black people,
here.

We, intend for all BLACK
PEOPLE to be made aware of the
problem that exist in Evanston
concerning them.

We, seek to unite BLACK E
PEOPLE of Evanston, Illinois.
For it is the purpose of some
whites to divide and conquer
them.

We, intend to make the
BLACK PEOPLE of Evanston strong
in the political areas. To
ask every man and woman to
register for voting pur-
poses, regardless of his or her
political party.

We, intend to improve hous-
ing conditions for BLACK PEOPLE.
To try and get a ceiling put
on the high rent being paid by
BLACK PEOPLE.

We, intend to improve rela-
tions between the Evanston
Police Department and BLACK
PEOPLE, so that a racial sit-
tuation does not arise.

We, intend to make BLACK
PEOPLE proud of the fact that
they ARE BLACK.

If our thoughts be wrong,
then God help our people for
Application 132
BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS

Name ____________________________ Age ____________

Address __________________________ Phone # ____________________

School ____________________________ Name School Org. __________

I would like to do:

- School Organizing ____________________________
- Community Organizing _________________________
- Newspaper Work ______________________________
- Research Work ________________________________
- Office Work _________________________________
- Other ________________________________________

House ____________

RETURN TO

SNCC
306 E. 43rd
(Chs.), Col. 53

SNCC LITERATURE LIST

Please put my name on the SNCC mailing list.

NAME ____________________________

ADDRESS ____________________________ PHONE ____________________________

I would like the following:

☐ Soul Talkin' SNCC Newsletter -- $3.00 yearly
☐ Posters -- $1.00
☐ Stokely ☐ Rap ☐ Malcolm ☐ Muhammad Ali
☐ Reprints:
☐ SNCC at the U.N. -- $2.00 package
☐ "What We Want" by Stokely -- -- 50¢
☐ "Power and Racism" -- -- 50¢
☐ Stokely at GLS -- -- 50¢
☐ "Institution and Power" by Robert Brown -- 50¢

Return To

SNCC
306 E. 43rd
(Chs.), Col. 53
"THE HALL OF MIRRORS"

Soul Talkin'
A SNCC Newsletter

"Towards a Black Youth Congress"

"Make them up to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their beauty."
Malcolm X
WHY A BLACK CONGRESS?

Honkey reaction to Black student protest has clearly pointed to the disunity of Black students groups across the country. Massacres (such as in Orangeburg, S.C.) have become the order of the day for the racist buffoons who are fighting to maintain their systems of colonialism and imperialism. MASS GENOCIDE HAS ALREADY BEGUN!

BLACK YOUTH must begin to organize to defend Black people against the white dogs who seek to exterminate us. WE must re-define and re-capture our dignity and destiny.

BLACK STUDENTS, both HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE, have always been at the core of the struggle for survival in this country. As a new summer approaches, again, black youth must do the same.

A CALL IS OUT FOR THE CREATION OF A BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS. The need has been clearly defined:

1) There is a lack of communications among the different Black groups on the campuses around the country. When a rebellion occurs, no one knows anything about it until the honkey puts it in his news media.

2) There is a need to redefine the educational process so that all of this irrelevant bullshit that they throw in school courses will be thrown right back and replaced with something that makes sense. BLACK HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT TO ALL BLACK STUDENTS, BY BLACK TEACHERS.

3) High school escapees (dropouts) will have an organization which they can identify with and that meets their needs.

4) Local student organizations, instead of addressing their problems alone, will have a UNITED FRONT OF STUDENTS behind them.

JOIN and SUPPORT THE AFRO CLUB IN YOUR SCHOOL. HELP BUILD A BLACK STUDENT CONGRESS. FILL OUT THE APPLICATION-BLANK ON THE BACK PAGE.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING CO
306 E. 43rd ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60653

A4
Afterthought to The

"Orangeburg Massacre"

The honkies who murdered four, Black, unarmed students of South Carolina State, and wounded fifty more, are merely playing their roles as IMPERIALISTIC, RACIST DOGS WHO SHOOT UNARMED TEENAGERS IN THEIR BCKS.

While the massacre at Orangeburg is tragic, Black people must recover from our grief to learn the lesson that the racist, honkies are teaching. There is no alternative for Black people but to arm ourselves, shoot with perfection and defend our own.

All over the country, these dogs are implementing plans to destroy the Black community in mass. Sheriff Hoods, that honkey with the toy gun, made by Matell, has called for 1,000 vigilantes to shoot down you and me. HONKIES HAVE G.S. TANKS, HELICOPTERS, AND SOPHISTICATED GUNS TO GET RID OF US. THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED because they are a race of cowards and the spirit of the Vietname prevails in Black people.

LET US ARM OURSELVES AND DECLARE WAR ON THE LOCAL HONKIES BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE. LET'S FIGHT AND PREPARE TO SURVIVE.

End

WHAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE MUST DO NOW!!

1. MONEY IS DEPESARATELY NEEDED FOR GUNDS ON CLEV SELLERS, AND THE STUDENTS WHOSE LIVES ARE IN DANGER IN ORANGEBURG JAIL. CLEV's bai is set at $50,000 cash. SEND TO:

Clev Sellers Defense Fund
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

or

c/o SNCC
506 E. 43rd
Chgo., Ill. 60653

2. SEND LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO: S.C. STATE STUDENT BODY
c/o SNCC (BLACK ACTION COORD.)
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina
## Hall of Mirrors

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To be continued...
A LETTER FROM PRISON
TO MY
BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersed our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroit's. And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight it is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not
enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA!

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LAY THE TURKEY HILLASHAKA
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

...
Sunday, February 6
Student leaders at South Carolina State College attempted to desegregate the all-white bowling alley owned by Harry F. Ford. The operator of the bowling establishment, the All-Star Bowling Alley, refused to admit the black students.

Tuesday, February 7
Students again attempted to desegregate the bowling alley and were again turned away. Twenty students were arrested. Later, after word had been circulated on campus, 60 students from the college went down to the shopping center where the bowling alley is located, demanding that those arrested be released. Approximately 150 law enforcement officials were on the scene and some of them, attempting to disperse the crowd, began to beat the students. Several girls were clubbed to the ground. 20 persons were jaded and were treated at the college infirmary. One unit of the National Guard was called in and additional units were placed on standby alert.

Wednesday, February 7
Students not all day and all night, discussing the violence and police brutality directed toward them the previous night, and also protesting the failure of the South Carolina State Legislature to approve the budget or to allocate funds for the college although funds had been appropriated for the all-white University of South Carolina.

Thursday, February 8
Whites drove through campus, shooting at students and into buildings. A campus girl was shot and wounded. Student leaders, who had submitted a list of seven grievances to the Orangeburg City Council, staged a "prayer-in" during the early evening and later held a meeting in a ball park near the campus. Students, continuing protests and demonstrations, lit a bonfire on campus. National Guardsmen, claiming that they were fired upon, charged into the crowd of students, firing at random. The students, seeking cover, fell to the ground. The Guardsmen continued firing. Practically all students shot were laying on the ground, face down, and were shot in the back.

The aftermath:

30 students in jail
10 in the hospital
3 dead
San Hammon (18, killed outright in a blast of gunfire)
Dolene Middleton (17, an Orangeburg High School student who died after being wounded)
Henry Smith (18, classmate of Hammon who died early today, who was slugged and then beaten almost to death)

SICC staff member, Cleveland Sellers, is in a South Carolina penitentiary on $50,000 bond, charged with inciting to riot, arson, assault with intent to kill and damage property.

Students shot had to travel to nearby towns for medical attention after being removed; still at the local Orangeburg hospital.

Friday, February 9
Gov. McAlpin declared a state of emergency and called for a 5:00 P.M. curfew. Both South Carolina State and Claflin Colleges, which adjoin, have been closed indefinitely. Students had to pay their own way home. They either had to get out of town by 5 or stay on campus.

HISTORICAL NOTE:
In 1960, SICC's second chairman, Chuck McKay, led major student demonstrations in Orangeburg dealing with public accommodations. That winter all student demonstrators were herded into a compound outside the city jail and hosed. This winter, they were massacred.
SNCC CHAIRMAN KIDNAPPED BY HONKIES

H. "Pap" Brown, Chairman of SNCC is refusing to eat to protest his illegal arrest and detention by the federal government through its agent in the State of California. Mr. Brown was arrested on the alleged charge that he had violated the travel ban that had been imposed upon him by federal courts in Louisiana and Virginia. This unconstitutional travel ban provided however, that Mr. Brown was free to consult with his attorney which was exactly what Mr. Brown did this past weekend when he went to California to consult with Attorney William Kuntsler who is preparing a brief to submit to the Supreme Court on Feb. 26th appealing the travel ban.

Once more we see an example of honkie justice violating the rights of a black person in America. But we all know about honkie justice, particularly when it is applied to SNCC and other black militant organizations.

Having been held in maximum security in the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, Mr. Brown is now being transported to Richmond Va. for a hearing there tomorrow, Friday, Feb. 23rd. In New Orleans, Pap was charged with violating the travel ban as well as intimidating an FBI agent. Now any black person knows if the FBI will not be intimidated by the American people into the truth about John F. Kennedy, it sure won't be intimidated by a man, even if that man is H. Pap Brown.

What went down is simple: Pap was followed to California by black FBI agent who returned to New Orleans to testify against him. During a court recess, Pap went over to the black agent and called him by his earned name, "T.O.". Mr. Brown continued to express the hope that the agent's children grew up to be a better man than he was. The agent of the Federal Government wanted to take Pap out back but realizing that he would come up on the losing end of that action that went down, he broke track records getting to the white judge. He told the judge that Pap had threatened his life and his children's lives. The result was that Pap has been bound over to the grand jury for the charge of threatening an FBI man and bond has been set at $50,000. This, plus the $50,000 bond imposed for the alleged travel ban violation brings the total ransom to $100,000.

At the same time that this was occurring, the State of Louisiana issued a warrant for the arrest of SNCC's Cleveland Sellers, now in South Carolina State jail, under a $20,000 bond following his

(over)
arrest dur' the Orangeburg "massacre"—the Federal Government, acting through Louisiana, wants Sellers arraigned to stand trial on a charge of carrying concealed weapons, something they claim Mr. Sellers did when he was in the state two years ago. It is interesting to note that the State of Louisiana dropped this charge so that charges could be pressed against Sellers for refusing to be inducted into the military. Now they are charging him with an offense on which they refused to charge him 18 months ago. It should also be pointed out that both Brown and Sellers are being threatened with jail sentences on charges concerning weapons, challenging black people's human right to avail themselves of some means of self-defense. This is in direct contradiction to the training being given to white citizens by the police in such cities as Kansas City, Missouri, and Dearborn, Michigan in the use of guns.

We are calling upon all organizations that are concerned with bringing about fundamental social change in this country to send telegrams to the Justice Dept. in Washington protesting the jaili H. Rap Brown and Cleveland Sellers. While we are not under any illusion that these telegrams are ever read, they at least serve notice on "Man" that we are watching his every move, and if the telegrams do not make him reconsider his action against Chairman Brown, and SNCC Secretary Sellers, there are other ways of getting the message across.

For the brothers and sisters in the Richmond, Va. area, Rap have a hearing on this Friday, Feb. 23, 1968 at 1:00 P.M. at the Office Bldg. This hearing will be on the charge that he violated travel ban imposed upon him by the federal courts in Richmond after his arrest during the Cambridge rebellion this past July. We are calling upon everyone in that area to go to the hearing. Those that can't be there on the steps; those that can't stand on the steps—stand in the street. Let Americans know that H. Rap Brown is not alone and that black people are outraged and we will see justice done or so will pay some dues.

Funds are needed for the H. Rap Brown jail fund and for the Orangeburg Defense Fund. They can be sent to SNCC, 560 Nelson St. SW, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313.

It is obvious that the "Man" will not be satisfied until he has Rap Brown and every black militant in this country dead. We must let this happen. The atmosphere that was generated in New York around Rap is one of a lynching and observers there state that there is no doubt that Rap's life is in danger. We are all aware that the atmosphere in Richmond will be no different. Rather than waiting to die like an animal at the hands of his oppressors, Mr. Brown is refusing to eat, feeling that if he must die, it will be in the act of resistance to cooperate with and fighting against oppression that constantly attacks the lives of his people. But it must not be forgotten who is to blame. If H. Rap Brown's hunger strike leads to his death we will hold every honkie in America responsible, and all the news media will start collecting all the dues that white America owes. RAP BROWN MUST BE SET FRE
Since Rap has assumed the responsibilities of Chairman of SNCC in May of 1967, his term of office has been one long and continuous history of harassment and intimidation by the system of "just - ice" in this country.

Seven months the U.S. government has tried to charge Rap one quarter of a million dollars for his freedom from prison, only to snatch him up again and again and place him behind bars for "telling it like it is" to black people in this damned country.

Now in a New Orleans prison, Rap has loudly proclaimed, "I'M NO!"

"Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind." (A LETTER FROM PRISON) - Rap Brown

"He has been starving now for one week. He has refused to eat; he has refused to drink. His stomach has shriveled from hunger, his mouth is parched from thirst. He takes no orange juice - he takes no water. Chairman Rap is slowly dying.

To understand the mental ordeal that the government of the United States has placed on Rap we have prepared this fact sheet enumerating the blows Rap has had to endure at the hands of this government. Read and understand.

July 21, 1969 - Rap is charged with inciting to riot and arson in Cambridge, Maryland. A nationwide manhunt is ordered by the F-B-I to pick him up. In Washington Rap lays wounded from a honky bullet that pierced his scalp in Maryland.
I am being held as a political prisoner. However, my confinement will not rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny.

To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your convictions and your contributions toward that end.

To all our black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come."

BLACK POWER, 

Rap BROWN

Aug. 22, 1967 - Rap's bail is reduced from $25,000 to $15,000.

Sept. 5, 1967 - Virginia Governor Woodson orders Rap to be returned to Maryland to face riot charges.

Sept. 13, 1967 - Rap returns to Alexandria, Va. to be present during court proceedings around his possible extradition to Md. He was re-arrested by Alexandria officials and placed in jail. Two different judges refused to set bail for him. Rap's lawyer, William Kunstler, appeal to the federal court in Virginia to set bail.

Sept. 18, 1967 - Bond was set at $10,000, and Rap was released on his own recognizance, but in the custody of his lawyer. In granting the bond, the judge confined rap's travel solely to the district in which his custodian (Kunstler) resides (Southern district of New York) except when traveling for the purposes of trial or legal hearing or in preparation for defense of any charges against
MARCH 20——DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN AND THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

White America has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 1/4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way White America always treats her enemies—she murders them!!!

The most recent example of White America's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The blood murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearly that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demanding that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is most dear to White America: it's material possessions.

So—take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle—but you must understand that the last group of suggestions for action is where we must go.

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

BLACK POWER
1. Hold massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, picketing in support of Rap Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation Struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.

2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rap and read letter from prison which Rap has sent to his brothers and sisters.

3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system—by any means necessary!

4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rap Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsey Clark's, Washington, D.C. Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McNair in Columbia, South Carolina. Please send copies of telegrams to: SNCC
   360 Nelson St. S.W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30313

5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us—in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America—the so-called "most powerful country in the world." SELF DEFENSE and RETALIATION—with GUNS and STRATEGY—is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rap Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRoi Jones, for Cleveleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM with MINIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!
APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source on May 17, 1967, reported that the
Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was
organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the
National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source on May 17, 1967, advised that the
Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately 29 members, is
affiliated with the National SWP and is currently active
in Cleveland, Ohio.
APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM, ALSO
Known as Socialist Labor Forum

In May, 1967, a source advised that the Forum is a
paper organization set up by the Chicago Branch, Socialist
Workers Party (CWSWP), Chicago, Illinois, for Socialist Workers
Party (CWSWP) members and sympathizers. Open meetings held under
the auspices of this Forum are geared to the activities that
the SWP is pursuing at a particular time, e.g., unemployment,
another campaign, Cuba, segregation, etc.

A CWSWP member is in charge of the Forum and
schedules meetings under the name of the Forum in order to
conceal the SWP sponsorship of same. The meetings of the Forum
generally are held at Chicago SWP headquarters although the
Forum, in the past, has sponsored other affairs, such as meetings,
shows and picnics held at other locations.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive
Order 10450.
APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM
also known as
FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM
and formerly known as
TWIN CITIES LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 23, 1967, that the Friday Night Forum, frequently referred to as the Friday Night Socialist Forum, is not an organization, but is a name under which the Twin Cities Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (TCB-SWP) sponsors public meetings. These meetings were formerly sponsored under the name Twin Cities Labor Forum. These meetings are planned and arranged by SWP members acting under the direction of TCB-SWP leadership. Their intended purpose is to dispense Marxist doctrine without identifying the Socialist Workers Party.

The TCB-SWP is an affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

59
APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. CES NOLL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966 Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote: "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amoco Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B, Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate, to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."
APPENDIX

Namaq of Islam, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

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

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

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

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

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

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

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above.

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

insufficient contact to determine reliability.
FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

532 PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 RFJ
TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS.

REMYTEL FEB TWELVE LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHAPTER SDS (UC-SDS) HELD DEMONSTRATION BUSINESS EAST BUILDING ON UC CAMPUS BEGINNING THREE PM TODAY. DEMONSTRATION HELD IN PROTEST OF UNIVERSITY'S COOPERATION WITH INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS (IDA). APPROXIMATELY THIRTY-SIX INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATION CONSISTING OF PICKETS CARRYING SIGNS READING "IDA HELPS U.S. KILL BETTER EVERYWHERE" AND "UC GET OUT OF IDA." ALSO FACT SHEET PUBLISHED BY UC-SDS DISTRIBUTED REQUESTING BAIL MONEY FOR INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT INCIDENTS AT ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA.

SOURCE STATED DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL AND WITHOUT INCIDENT, TERMINATING THREE FIFTY PM.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED AS FOLLOWS.

END
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COordinating committee (SNCC)

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
7/23/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
4/10 - 7/18/68

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA dated 4/19/68.

LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR □ YES □ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS □ YES □ NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, (Via Courier)
1 - US Secret Service, Chicago, (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
2 - Chicago (100-40342)

NOTATIONS

10/1/68, 8:00 AM

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- B -
COVER PAGE
This report is classified confidential to protect sources and since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

Details concerning the UFAP – Murder investigation of ROBERT VANCE WALTON, Et Al, can be found in Bufile 88-44846, Chicago file 88-12083. WALTON is former Chicago Branch SNCC officer and is on the SI and AI.

Following Chicago agitator index subjects associated with SNCC are mentioned in this report:

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN
ROBERT VANCE WALTON

Details concerning the Selective Service Act, 1948, investigation of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN can be found in Bufile 100-448502, Chicago file 25-50236. AUSA ROBINSON, NDI, Chicago, estimates BROWN’s case will come up for trial sometime in September, 1968.
ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was arrested by FBI on 7/17/68, for violation Selective Service Act, 1948. BROWN arraigned and released on bond same date. Details of Midwest SNCC conference week-end of 4/13-14/68 set forth. STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's speech on 3/25/68, at Chicago, Illinois, set forth. SNCC funds and officers set out. SNCC leaflets attached.

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CONFIDENTIAL
Group I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
DETAILS:

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT ALPONZO BROWN, Midwest Region Director, SNCC advised that his efforts to open a local SNCC office had failed. He was continuing to operate SNCC from his residence at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. He could also be reached through contacting BOB RUSH or JOE MONTGOMERY.

(Source [redacted] 5/16/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH, a male, Negro, is student organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY, a male, Negro, is gang organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(SOURCE [redacted] 5/2/68)

(SOURCE [redacted] 6/16/68)
III. CHICAGO AREA SNCC OFFICERS

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director

On January 26, 1968, Chicago Sanitation Department, City Hall, Chicago, Illinois, advised their records indicate ROBERT A. BROWN is the son of deceased LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN who had been a sanitation employee from May 17, 1950, to June 15, 1964. On June 12, 1964, Mrs. ALICE ELLA BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, shot her husband, LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN with a bullet from a rifle through the heart killing him instantly. She was exonerated by the court on grounds of justifiable homicide. ROBERT A. BROWN is one of 13 children in this family.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN is Midwest Region Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source 5/2/68)

On April 15, 1968, Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station (AFEES), 615 West Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois, advised that ROBERT A. BROWN reported for his pre-induction physical examination at approximately 8:30 a.m. on this date. BROWN was accompanied by 2 other Negroes, a male and a female. They remained outside the building for a short time, but carried no signs, created no disturbances, and in no way engaged in picketing of the induction center. BROWN initially submitted to the pre-induction physical; however, when it came to take the mental examination, he refused and at this point he was requested to leave the induction center. BROWN complied with the request and left.

(Source 6/6/68)
On June 18, 1968, AFEES, advised that on this date ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN underwent a complete induction physical and mental examination. He refused to fill out the Subversive Organization Form DD 98. At the conclusion of the examinations he refused to submit to induction in that he did not take the oath and step forward signifying acceptance of military obligation.

On July 16, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON advised that Federal Grand Jury in session in the Northern District of Illinois, Court House, Chicago, Illinois, returned true bill and Judge J. SAM PERRY, United States District Court, Chicago, authorized a warrant for the arrest of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN for violation of Selective Service Act, 1948, Title 50, Appendix United States Code on a suppressed indictment. Bond was set at $4,000.

On July 17, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN at his residence 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, without incident. BROWN refused to make any comments without consultation with his attorney. He refused to reveal the identity of his attorney, implying that all the preparations for his release after this arrest had been previously handled. At approximately 3:30 p.m. on this date BROWN's bond was made and he was released.

On May 14, 1968, BROWN was first introduced to the "Black Power Movement" by LAWRENCE LANDRY when BROWN was 14 years of age. BROWN was then signed up as a member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). BROWN might soon be ousted from leadership in SNCC. SNCC financial condition is poor and most local "Black Power" leaders would prefer to have a new SNCC leader in Chicago.
Chicago chapter of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed of primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns concerned with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages, and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

(Source 1/5/68)
LAWRENCE LANDRY is a male Negro, who was instrumental in the formation of ACT, a militant west side civil rights organization in early 1964. ACT was then described as a "Third Force" in the civil rights movement composed of the most militant leaders in the Negro revolution. He was national chairman of ACT. In 1963 LANDRY was chairman of the Chicago branch of SNCC. He has been arrested in Chicago on at least 2 occasions in connection with street demonstrations and is alleged to have been instrumental in inviting the disorders on Chicago's west side in August, 1965.

(Source 1/5/68)

On June 6, 1968, he characterized ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as having an intense hatred of white people also as lacking the intelligence to conduct a constructive program of activities for SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY recently joined the Chicago branch of SNCC as gang organizer in the Chicago area. He has influence over a teenage gang in the neighborhood of 75th and Halsted Streets, Chicago, which he uses for SNCC leaflet distribution, canvassing and other purposes.

(Source 5/15/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH

BOBBY L. RUSH is student organizer of Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source 5/2/68)
THOMAS CLYDE CARTER

On May 13, 1968, THOMAS CLYDE CARTER, generally known as TOMMY of 14927 South Leavitt Avenue, Harvey, Illinois, advised that he is SNCC Field Director for the South Suburban Area of Chicago. CARTER described himself as an acquaintance of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC. He said he had met STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director SNCC, on several occasions, but was not a close confidant of CARMICHAEL's. He declined to discuss aims and goals of SNCC, but claimed his branch membership exceeded 50 individuals. He considered a physical confrontation between black and white races as inevitable and had his forces prepared for the assured confrontation. He was critical of the FBI for giving firearms instruction to the Harvey, Illinois, Police Department.

ROBERT VANCE WALTON

ROBERT VANCE WALTON, generally known as YAREE AMEER is affiliated with the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Direct Action Coordinator and leader of the young black militants.

(Source 11/17/67)

On June 13, 1968, advised that on June 8, 1968, ROBERT VANCE WALTON accompanied by his brother JOHN MICHAEL WALTON entered a store on Chicago's south side and without warning fired two fatal shots from a .38 caliber revolver into the head of ABDER RAYYAN an Arab National, born in Jordan, who has been in the United States for the past 5 years.
advised that in addition to the first warrant, a second murder warrant has been obtained for ROBERT WALTON. This warrant was obtained upon the development of new information regarding the shotgun killing of a 7 year old boy on July 2, 1967.

On June 14, 1968, an authorized complaint was filed before United States Commissioner, Northern District of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois, charging ROBERT VANCE WALTON, JOHN MICHAEL WALTON and SALLY B. MILLER with violation of Title 18, Section 1073, United States Code, unlawful flight to avoid prosecution - murder. $50,000 bond recommended for each subject. THE SUBJECTS ARE ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

IV. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC FINANCES

(Source 7/8/68)

(Source 7/10/68)
ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC, enrolled in a 3 months training program from January through March, 1968, at the Urban Training Center for Christian Missions (UTC), 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, which is called "Ministerial Survival Conference in Preparation for Community Action Training Program." BROWN received $60 per week to attend classes for 5 hours daily in this program.

(Source: 2/1/68)

In March, 1968, it was advised that the UTC is supported financially by the Chicago Catholic City Missionary Society, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, with a part of these finances coming from a number of churches and church groups in the Chicago area. Among the principal contributors is the Church Federation of Chicago. Most of the staff of the UTC are ministers of various denominations oriented toward a social action-protest philosophy which is "anti-power structure" in nature.

On June 17, 1968, it was advised that JOHN MICHAEL WALTON now wanted for murder and that he was formerly associated with the Chicago branch of SNCC.
Bulletin number 1185, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, pages 3 and 4, reveals that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America Union (UERMWA), was one of 11 unions expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), during 1949-1950, on charges of Communist domination. The bulletin stated that UERMWA was expelled on November 2, 1949 and that its present status was that of an "unaffiliated" union.

(Source 2/67)

ERNEST DE MAIO holds the position of President of District 11, UERMWA, 37 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois and is also Vice President of the International Union. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. ("UE NEWS", official organ of UE, June, 1967)
V. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC ACTIVITIES

Communist Party (CP) of Illinois

At the present time there are no CP of Illinois members active in the Chicago Branch of SNCC and the CP exercises no influence over SNCC.

(Source 4/18/68)

Midwest SNCC Conference

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, arranged a Midwest SNCC Conference to begin at noon Saturday, April 13, 1968, and to continue through Sunday, April 14, 1968. BROWN invited a number of individuals from outside Chicago from the Midwest area to attend the conference.

At approximately 1:00 p.m. Saturday, April 13, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN arrived at Chicago Alderman A. A. "Sammy" Rayner Hall, 7127 South Chicago Street, and discovered that Chicago Police Department officers were already on the scene. Several officers BROWN recognized as being with the Human Relations Unit. They interviewed BROWN advising him that at his meeting on this date he had better be careful, not engage in any unlawful activity or make any inflammatory remarks or he would be subject to possible arrest.

BROWN then warned each person individually that came to the hall for the SNCC meeting that they were under police surveillance and to surreptitiously go to the meeting place which would be held that evening at 6:00 p.m. at 5008 South Dorchester, Chicago.

The meeting was held between 8:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. BROWN stated that no meeting should last longer than 2 hours as no blacks should be together at one place too long for security reasons. He said no one place should ever be used for more than one such SNCC meeting. Approximately 20 to 25 Negroes were in attendance at the meeting. No extensive
introductions were made as the majority appeared to know one another. Four or five of the Negroes were from outside the Chicago area, however, the source recognized only "TUCK" ADDISON from Gary, Indiana, and FRANK JACKSON from Kalamazoo, Michigan.

BROWN stated that similar SNCC meetings were being held in various places around the country. He said the black groups have to be ready to coordinate activities if the future black revolution is to be effective. He belittled the efforts by local black power groups to form a united black front. He explained that this is just a hoax and SNCC would not be part of it. SNCC must get itself and its associates together. They must organize so that each individual has his own "job" which would be in an area which the individual himself feels to be most important. Whatever "job" is selected by an individual it should be kept secret from other SNCC members and should absolutely remain that way. This type of security is necessary so that no one else can innocently or otherwise tell on another SNCC member. BROWN said in the future he would not be able to handle details of anyone's "job" and does not want to know any individual's "job" function. He said if members find themselves under surveillance by the police not to come to him. He does not want to be restricted in his movements so he does not want to be involved in their problems. He said no black man should go to jail or submit to arrest. If danger of being arrested they should shoot it out with the police.

BROWN was asked for examples of what he meant by "job" and he implied that if someone wanted to do a job in a political field that person would select a politician or a public figure who is a danger to the movement or an individual hindering the black power movement and the job would be to "remove" that individual. He indicated this type of "job" should be well organized and handled efficiently. He explained that such individuals should be handled by "us" before these individuals have a chance to act against "us".

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BROWN said there will be a black convention in Chicago at the same time the Democratic National Convention is to be held. He expected black militants from all over the country to be in Chicago to "tear up the city." BROWN will see to it that Chicago is full of disturbances with the objective to keep the convention from being held and to make it necessary to move elsewhere.

As a further example BROWN said that in the field of education the SNCC member who takes this assignment for his "job" should keep in mind the objective that all schools should be closed down. Black students should not be studying courses set up under the white system. The schools are not teaching subjects of interest to the black. The United States laws are not black laws and blacks have no responsibility to obey the white man's laws. The blacks should not serve the white man's country and should not even consider themselves citizens of the country. This country should be "wrecked".

The crowd was attentive and generally quiet throughout BROWN's talk. BROWN was asked if he wanted to hand out assignments on "jobs". BROWN refused and implied that each individual member is on his own and will have to determine, when, where, and what time to carry out his "job".

BROWN placed much stress on future security of operation. "TUCK" ADDISON commented that he was not interested in associating with anyone who would have to be persuaded to handle a "job". All of the individuals in this meeting were expected to be committed to the movement. He did not want problems created by any individual member who was having trouble with the authorities. He said police and informers whose identities can be determined should be killed. He wanted to associate with people in the movement who have been in jail and can be trusted or who have been in the movement for a long time. He would not associate with any new member in the movement.

(Source 4/15/68)
FRANK AUGUSTUS JACKSON is a sophomore student at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he is a member of a recently chartered student organization called Black Action Movement (BAM). This organization recently sponsored a "Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power" from March 29 through 31, 1968.

(Source 4/1/68)

EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON, generally known as "TUCK" ADDISON was a graduate of Lincoln University where he was known as a "agitator and black power" advocate. ADDISON was opposed to the war in Vietnam and at one time requested leave to go to North Vietnam which request was denied.

(Source 9/15/67)

University of Northwestern Disturbance,
Evanston, Illinois

On May 3, 1968, shortly before 8:00 a.m. on this date that approximately 60 Negroes, reportedly members of an organization called "For Members Only" (FMO) which is an all Negro organization recently formed on the University of Northwestern (NU) Campus to provide facilities for Negro social gatherings and to serve as a medium for the study of Negro culture, gained entry to the administrative building of NU located at 619 West Clark Street, Evanston, Illinois. A member of the janitorial staff opened the doors prior to the official opening of the building at 8:30 am. The group barricaded themselves in the building and refused entry to employees of the building. This group is demanding that more Negro students be admitted to NU and that the school administration "do away with races" and proceeded to hang signs to this effect in the area of the building.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC and ROBERT RUSH, Student Organizer, SNCC, traveled to NU campus in connection with the student demonstration. BROWN and RUSH had planned to remain with the demonstrators, however, BROWN and the leader of the student demonstration were in disagreement over the students demands and BROWN and RUSH departed in the late afternoon hours.

(Source 5/3/68)
CG 100-40342

STOKELY CARMICHAEL Speech, Chicago, Illinois

On May 2, 1968, the following verbatim transcript of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC which he made at the Afro Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, on March 25, 1968, was made available on this date.

(Source [ ] 5/2/68)
Stokely Carmichael: Good evening brothers and sisters...I can wrap some coats on to you. We have a lot to talk about tonight. We want to take our time and understand what we have to talk about tonight. I think in part if you see any black man you see Negroes, we all the same.

Response from audience.

Carmichael: Now then tonight we have to be very very serious and we have to understand very clearly what is happening in this country. It is crystal clear that the honkies are preparing to commit genocide against this beautiful race of people.

Person from audience: Peace brother.

Carmichael: That's clear and we want to go over that because what we're talking about tonight is not political, not economic, not poverty program. We're talking about survival, survival, survival, and survival is entirely different from old, poverty program, education, and all that junk. After you have survival you can play with that, but when your talking about survival you're talking about food, shelter, clothing, that's all. Now there are some of our brothers and sisters who do not believe that white people will or getting ready to commit genocide against us. So we have to be clear in our minds when we say they are getting ready to commit genocide against us, that we can at least explain that from grounds over which they can see the light. Now it is very easy. All we have to do is to let our brothers and sisters read the man's history. If you read the honkies history you'd see wherever the honkies got they disrupted societies, disrupted societies. We can explain to brothers that the honkies came to this country. The Indians took him in and fed him, showed him how to plant corn, to hunt, fish, how to adapt to this country and when the Indians showed him that he wiped him out. We have to demonstrate to our people exactly what is going on because if we do not break off we're going to be dead. We can explain to the brother that when the honky went to South America he saw the Aztec Indians with their silver and their copper and all of their monuments. The Aztec Indians took him in showed him the silver. He fight, stole, it and wiped them out.
We are not teaching it tonight, we're giving facts. We'll tell you what we're preaching.

The honkies went to Africa. We were milling in Africa. We were the greatest there was. He came, he got mad. He stole our gold, stole our diamonds, stole our copper, stole our zinc, and turned around and stole us as well.

He went to China. The Chinese had gunpowder. They used it for fireworks on their days of festivities. They sold it to the honkies. He refined it, made a gun, and came back, shot them all. I ask you to read the honkies' history and show me where he has gone where he has not conquered, where he is the majority or the minority.

What we're dealing with today is the final showdown, the confrontation between the black and white around the world especially inside the United States, and since we're dealing with a final confrontation of black or white, we have to ask ourselves how will we survive, but brothers and sisters you don't have to worry because we're gonna survive, and therefore he is capable of doing it. We must prepare ourselves... preparation. I always tell a little joke about the brother in Alabama. This honky came into a juke joint and just started hitting on his brother and kicked him all down the floor and the white man jumped up, he said, "Nigger if I had my gun I'd kill you. The brother said 'slide up against the wall here. White man you mean to tell me you have... (rest of joke unintelligible because of large response by audience).

It is always better to be prepared then to be not prepared and it is always better to have you than caught without it, but there is another reason why we say he is getting ready to commit genocide against us. He brought us here for a specific reason to build this country. We have built this country so it is the most powerful and richest country in the world. We built it. He no longer has need of us. When you don't need something destroy it.
If its costing you much money destroy it. You get rid of it. Now if we say that he is getting ready to do this thing to us and if we are talking about survival, then some of the conferences we lost last year, we must go beyond.

We have three very important concepts which we must all understand very clearly in our minds, and these concepts are going to help to build the type of ideology that is going to bind us together as a group. To shoot this white man once and for all, that's very important. The first concept: We must have undying love for our people. I want to repeat that we must have undying love for our people, and that's the most important thing we have. If we have undying love for our people we would not be dying in Viet Nam. We would be dying in the streets of Chicago. We do not have undying love for our people because he has transferred the love that we once had for each other for relative things like this country. So we are willing to die for his country but we are not willing to die for our people.

Response from audience.

...first our people then, and only then you and me as individuals. Our people must come first. The only thing is that an undying love of our people is going to be very hard, because we hate each other so much, and we hate each other so much because we are taught how to hate each other; and if we are talking about building an undying love for our people we must begin to want... All of those things he taught us, the first thing he taught us was to hate black because that's us. It is no accident that we have such... statements about the blacks he taught us... Even today some of our people still want to be called Negro rather than be called black. It is because we have a hatred of that which is black that we hate ourselves. Because black is like us which is why we do the things we do to each other. If we are going to turn it around, we must say we love the blacks.

Response from audience.
Unless we get him to understand that concept he will continue to remind us. We must have such a strong love for our people that...cannot disrupt us, cannot disrupt us. We must have such an undying love for our people that if a brother should have to go to Viet Nam we love him so much we will break his legs.

Large response from audience.

and we must do it in a spirit of love, not hate. We must have such an undying love for our people that when a brother says he does not want to go to Viet Nam that when the MPs come to get him, he got to get all of us.

Response from audience.

We must have such an undying love for our people that we no longer say anything negative about our people. Nothing, from now on everything we say about our people must be positive. We cannot say anything, it must be positive.

The second concept which is very important, flows from the first, and says every Negro is a potential black man, and we have to work with that concept to make all our brothers who is a slipping Negro yesterday, today he's a black nationalist...if the brother is a nationalist then who should help that brother see the light and come on home. If we do not help that brother see the light the honkies are going to use him against us, but even more important than the honkies using him against us is that he is our people, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, and the honkies can't have any more they had enough. So we have to understand that concept. We must understand because too many people are running and talking about the toms...we never was no tom, we was a traitor not an uncle tom, but we don't have any more...we do not have it because we do not have an undying love for our people. If we had an undying love for our people there...we would say to ourselves...we would work together in a spirit of love, a total friendship, and we would work for them. If they don't come home they are traitors to...kill traitors, but we do not want to emphasize killing our own people. That is negative. We want to emphasize bring the Negro home and making him black. That is what we must emphasize because we cannot fight our people and the enemy. We cannot. That is what we must emphasize because every Negro is a potential black man and that means he is a potential ally and
you do not alienate your potential ally. We must understand that concept. The brothers and the sisters who are still wandering. Let us take time, let us take love brother and bring them home, because if you got a converted Negro brother you got a strong black man. And let us remember that it was not too long ago that brother Malcolm X was speaking to us and we were kicking at him. Let us remember that black power is only two years old and we were kicking at that when it first came out. Let us remember where we were and we'll help everyone. We must bring all of our people home.

Now then the third concept and the most important concept and perhaps the most difficult concept is one we must spend some time with because it really is important. For black people the question of commuting is not just simply a question of land. It is a question of our people... for black people the question of commuting is not just a question of land it is a question of our color our people, and where we are, that is to say that when you go to a place you're not home until you're with your people. If you went to Los Angeles you would not be home until you moved to Watts. If you went to New York you would not be home until you moved to Harlem. If you went to Detroit, you would not be home until you were on Riverside. Chicago, you would not be home until you were on the south or the west side. Pretty soon it will be the home city, and in Washington, D. C. the whole city is our's, but now we have to understand these concepts because if we understand these concepts we can break down this giant national barrier and it is honkies... In Cuba 65% of the population is black. In Puerto Rico... In Panama 45% of the population is black. In Santo Domingo 50% of the population is black. In Guatemala 50% of the population is black. In the West Indies the whole West Indies is black and when you in Africa the whole, the whole (unintelligible due to large response by audience), If we can begin to understand that concept we break down this giant thing the honkies have... you American Negro, you Canadian Negro, you Negro Negro... all of us because if we recognize that we would recognize that the black man in the world today is 900,000,000 strong... We got 900,000,000 strategic, 900,000,000 strategic placed situations in the Western Hemisphere. The biggest mistake this white man made was to mess with the African. He's going to pay for it.
Now then we have to talk about the concept of Negro versus African, because people are going to analyze... When we were in Africa we were Africans. We were black men. We were free. After he stole us from Africa when he brought us to the United States, we became slaves. We became Negroes. Understand this concept clearly. The Negro and the slave are the same thing. We want to work with the concept a little bit more because we have to...now he stole us from Africa and more when he says we didn't steal you, they sold you out, and then we go around saying our people sold us out. The only reason he is saying that is to keep us divided because if you believe your people sold you out wouldn't organize with them. You wouldn't organize them. We'll get the white concept out of our mind. We have to say no Africans sold anybody out, hunkies you stole us all.

Response by audience.

Now the only reason we have to say that is because we need it for our own psychological uplift. We got to say it because its true. Let me ask you a question...Africa. He ain't had nothing, nothing. Where's the gold come from, Africa. Where's the diamonds come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the copper come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the zinc come from?

Audience: Africa.

What does he have?

Audience: Nothing

The honky then have nothing, nothing at all.
As a matter of fact he stole us to pick the...What the honky buy us with trinkets? Our women were wearing the best gold and diamonds there is to buy. What did the honky buy us with fire water? The best booze and the best pot comes from Africa. I know what I am talking about. I am just laughing (unintelligible due to audience response). It is obvious that he had no currency, nothing whatsoever to buy us with, but he had the straight attitude. Let us think: 1) that we couldn't come together because we don't trust each other if we sold each other out; and 2) He's got to say this because he can't admit that he would do all that stealing by himself. So he's got to... (unintelligible due to audience response). So we must understand that concept because if we say we're African, you say you're a free people. If you say you Negro you say to began in slavery. If you say you began in war that means you searched your ancestors back into slavery and if your beginning was...you cannot grow up to be nothing but a good slave. Because that's where you began, a slave. It follows that your going to be a slave, but if you said you were African and you would say that you went to the first university in the world, the University of Timbukto.

Large response from audience.

If you said you were an African you would come from people who are warriors like Namibal, like (lists names of other warriors, but names unintelligible) you would be somebody... If you want to say the blood of Africa was on you, you would have given civilization to that white man. You give it to a people who say your an African. Your civilization began in the Mesopotamian Valley and... (unintelligible due to audience response). If you ever say you're African you could say your ancestors roamed this world and all of it... and your ancestors would fight the sun before they would bow down to anyone. If you would say you're African then they would not be able to debate us the way they... jive talk about the Africans don't like you and you don't like the Africans, cause they got... If anyone say you got justice you say...pepople what you think about Stokely Carmichael.

Large response from audience.
He has divided us up that we do not know who we are, where we came from, what our ancestry is. He divided us as he saw it. He dropped us in the West Indies. He dropped us in Cuba. He dropped us in Brazil. He dropped us in Guatemala. He dropped us in Panama. He dropped us in Santo Domingo. He dropped us in Puerto Rico. He dropped us in the United States, even in Canada we are...what did he do this white man wanting to do this to us as a people.

We have to understand man, and we're talking about color today and nothing else. The world is divided and the country that is pushing it the most is the United States of America. Let me say the divided of our brother. You know we came back into the country. We tried to talk to black people...don't you sit down and talk to us Stokely Carmichael...Communist. That's O.K. communism is a white thing we're coming from a straight black thing. We don't get you and immediately we got to take some time and explain alot of things to unite.

Now the honkies...responsible Negroes those.. communists blah, blah, blah. Before we left this country about 8 months ago...what a good thing it is that these white people are sitting down together to return...in harmony with each other. It is the United States and Russia that are sitting down today to develop...and that ain't nothing but a white fight. We must understand that all the Eastern communist world is breaking off to denounce China. So all the whites are going to come closer together. There's a direct flight from New York to Moscow right now, leaves every day. I think Pan American has got it. What we have got to understand is that white force is moving closer together. It was the United States of America that voted for South Africa to join the Olympics, the United States of America. Like I said the white man with doctor in South Africa...He was trained in the United States of America. When they brought him over here to put him on...telling folks we don't have to kill them we can use some of them to steer cars. It is strictly a question of power and the United States is moving closer and closer to it and we have some of our brothers and sisters who are arguing about whether or not they should run for this honky in the Olympics.
What are you going to get from the Olympics, a gold medal. The gold is coming from South Africa, its ours. Its ours. Its ours. All he's doing is burning his heart out for gold that belongs to him. The honky stole it all, and when the honky gives him...and says thanks alot nigger, and then we people...debate about the Olympics....I'll tell you honky you'll lose and that's enough for me.

Large response from audience.

Don't be afraid to tell them, if we want you to lose, because you been using us to sin for you and you been against us and we not going to to nothing for you no more.

Response from audience.

Now then we want to move into areas specifically about trying to corrupt our movement, cause it is very clear that nowhere it is good. We know where it is going just some of us scared to get up and say so, but we going to get our people and going to get up because this is the most beautiful race of people in the world and we going to get up to kill...The United States works on what is called the 3 M's, the missionary, the money, the marine, That's right. Everywhere I've gone that's how they count it. They send the missionary...They send the money in and its fizzling out. The next comes the marines for protecting some...

Large response from audience.

That means that we are a disease to all these black men and all black women. You got to get...(unintelligible due to response of audience). We have got to get some guns. We have got to get some guns to the news for the benefit of our people against our enemies. We have got to get those guns. I will tell you why we have to get guns, not only because we need protection when you..., but we need it because of all the programs that is run by the...will not solve our problems. Because our problem is the white man...Let us examine then the...so when I couldn't stop he decided he would refine it. So he...black power. Well black power means...black power means the vote. If you
got the vote then you going to get everything. Brothers and
sisters let me tell you something. The vote now has never
been, nor ever will be relevent to the survival of black
people in this country,

Large response from audience.

and I'll prove it to you. We have not been able to vote in
Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia,
North Carolina, and even Washington, D. C. We have been
surviving without a vote. Not only that, the vote doesn't
help us a damn....You know that beautiful man from Atlanta,
Georgia...got elected to his position. They didn't like
what he said. They kicked him out, and could survive for
2 years without the... You know brother Adam Clayton Powell.
He's been out of office for almost 2 years now...The vote
does not mean anything because of the...political power from
out of the barrel of....They count everything because they...
and they have us thinking enough for them. It time for us
to pick up the gun for our people. It is not the question
of the vote, it is the question of the gun. It is a question
only of the color. If it is not a question of the gun, it
is a question of the will of people to fight to the dying
end.

Response from audience.

So we must understand the vote in its proper perspective. If
we vote today we do it only for one reason to bring our people
closer together. That's all, that's all. We do not
expect a vote to win us anything because it will win us nothing
in Gary, Indiana, it will win us nothing in Cleveland, but
some people are going to be up or you sleep, because we are
all waking up today and got to get other people to put us to
sleep. We have got to wake up the Stokes and the Hatchers. The
votes mean absolutely nothing unless we get the gun. Give
us a pride in ourselves, tell us about our history, our
culture and developing love for our people. That's what
education is all about. If you had that in you, you could
conquer the world. If you had that in you chemically,
physically....but its because we have a sense of nothingness,
cause we're Negroes, cause we're slaves. You can use slaves
For white trash, then we are in a way completely white-washed, trammeled, and asleep. In order to wake up we must take over the education system in our schools, and we must start off by saying to our brothers black is beautiful. It is so beautiful to be black. We must give them a feeling that they are somebody with trust and dignity. The whites boy gives it to his children and to us. Everytime he says these things he may not think the white man is superior. He doesn't have to say that. He tells you Christopher Columbus discovered America. Marco Polo discovered China. A white man discovered everything. If white people discovered everything god damnit, they got to be superior. He may not have to come out and say it; their superior, but he teells you everyday, he tells you. The most beautiful and richest country in the world is the United States of America, whose running it. White folks. So whose the most beautiful and richest in the world, white folks. Cause this ain't our country, I know we got over that.

Audience: Peace brother.

So we have to understand this concept of education...plenty.

Now the first and the last they are going to be the most difficult for us, is the one we really have to work hard on is this thing about economics. I say they got these people down...saying black power means green power, and they got all these preachers jumping up saying that's right green power first, green power, that's what we need. Now look here we don't need money all that had. I'll tell you why, because the most materialistic concept he has is in the dollar. He will kill his mama for the dollar, and here comes some preacher...that we should fight for the dollar. He just like the monkey killing for the dollar. Ain't that some junk. We not fighting for no dollar. There's something more important than the dollar. Its our people, that's more important than the dollar. Everywhere they yell, get green power, you get green power you get black power. Black power is talking about people. What they saying is you get money you can buy people. Its the same old concept. We cannot be fighting for green power. It is the poverty program that's disrupted all of our communities across the country when we were coming together.
Response from audience

It is the poverty program that has done it. The poverty program was aimed to do two things: stop the rebellion, we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers and that's precisely what they have done, because in any race of people the warriors are your youths. The poverty program is geared for nobody but the youths. Get them off the streets, put them in the parlor, put 'em anywhere, get them off the streets and give them $50 a week, give $100 a week, give $200 a week, keep 'em off the streets. But the poverty program began its concepts saying that the black family was divided. The father was unemployed. He was away and he had no moral image. Remember when they ran that junk down on us. Now they say that and when they come to solve the problem they give the money to the youths. Now think what it does to our fathers. My father 40-45 years old, I'm 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and every week I come and through down $70, $90, $100, $200. He's sitting there. I'm supporting the family. What does that do to my father...They should give the money to our fathers who are in fact the rulers of our family and they are solving the problem.

Response from audience.

So we got to understand the poverty program. If we get involved in the poverty program we do so only because we're going to use it as an organizing tool to bring our people together.

Now we want to move in to begin to internationalize a little, and we have to talk about this thing with both sides cause a lot of people don't really understand the difference between both whites and black people. The difference is that there are two types of oppression. There is exploitation. There is colonization. Exploitation is where one race of people exploits or oppresses other people in the same race. That's to say that if I a black man who is exploiting all of you who are black people then there would be exploitation, because we're the same people and all I'm taking from you is money and I'm exploiting you. Colonization is when one race of people totally oppresses another race of people. Cause when they do that not only do they rid them of their money they rid them of their humanity. Because they have to destroy the culture, the history, the language, the ways of life of the people they oppress so the people...can you take that its very deep. We got to understand. We got to understand.
We have to understand because there is a difference between colonization and exploitation. White people are fighting for more money. They have the same culture, the same history, the same city, the same way of life as Lyndon Johnson. Lyndon Johnson cause they not Lyndon Johnson, that's all, that's all. Black people are a colonized people. We have been dehumanized. We are fighting for our humanity. There's the difference. It's a big difference. We're fighting for our history, our culture, our own way of life. We are fighting for our humanity because we have been dehumanized. Our history is not the same as the honky's history. There is no use playing games. The history the honky can write our history because to write it for us is to admit that we gave him civilization and he will never do that.

Response from audience.

We've got to understand that because the fight between us and the fight between white people are two entirely different things. That is not saying we can't use their fight. Sure, when the Democratic Convention comes here I would advise every black man to sit home and fight each other, its about time that ...(unintelligible due to audience response). I don't need for any black person to get involved in that convention. It ain't going to do any good and don't let Kennedy put you to sleep. He's just a honky like all the others.

Response from audience.

and the only reason anywhere because they want to put us to sleep. That's the only reason. Kennedy ain't going to do nothing more than his brother, which was nothing more than Johnson or any other honky ever did. We have got to make a clean sweep because if we believe that Kennedy passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy did not do anything for the civil rights bill. It was the bodies of four black ladies in Birmingham, Alabama that passed the civil rights bill.

Response from audience.
It was thousands of our young brothers and sisters out in the street...bricks and bottles that passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy didn't pass the civil rights bill. Kennedy never passed it. He was just the smart one. He recognized that if they didn't get the civil rights bill the war was going to come much sooner.

If we understand those two sides of oppression then we begin to see who are our allies. Brothers and sisters our allies are the colonized people of the world.

Response from audience.

That's to say that we are allies of the third world...(unintelligible) due to audience response), and we must be allies again because they...like us are fighting for our humanity. H-U-M-A-N-I-T-Y. Its different from money. A lot different from money. The brothers and sisters who threw bricks and bottles against tanks, they're not throwing it for a dollar they're throwing it for their humanity. Maybe all they're saying is god dammit if all I can do nigger, get off of your feet and die like a man you been living in this slum far too long. Its for humanity of our people that they threw those bricks and bottles. Can you not hear them yelling, nigger do something die like a man on your feet. If that's all you can do for them die like a man, die like a man.

Response from audience.

We must understand that concept because if the United States move to start more of a war and you going to get whipped more and more. We got to understand whose side we going to be on.

Response from audience: Negro

The next one is going to be the middle East. We must be on the side of the Arabs, of the Arabs. We cannot be on the side of the Zionist. We must be for the poor. We must be for the Arabs because there's a just fight. They are fighting for the land that was taken from them by the Zionists, the British, and the United States of America.
Response from audience.

We must be for the Arabs because they are fighting in Africa. Africa is our mother land. This is important. A young Jewish boy...1948 where Egypt 4,000 year ago and we going to let them march into Egypt sit here and talk about them Arabs sure is bad. Them Arabs ain't done what they supposed to do. They should drop them into the sea.

Response of audience.

You've got to understand what is going on in the world today. A Zionist has no business in Palestine. The land belongs to the Arabs. The land belongs to the Arabs and the longer you sit out there before the Zionists you cutting out your own eye, because they moving into Egypt and Egypt is ours.

Now we going to come to a very very important concept. This concept of love and hate. Now you know people say that the reason all like Rap Brown is cause he preaches hate, and that's right. Now they don't understand Rap Brown, since the brother in jail and since he is my leader, I might be able tonight to explain a little to you about the brother. Brother not talking about hate. The honky recognizes what he is talking about. The honky recognizes that in every black man and every Negro there is some Rap Brown.

Response from audience.

He recognizes it, that's why he won't like Rap Brown, because he knows Rap Brown...why else does he put Rap Brown in jail. Rap ain't steal nothing. Rap ain't had...shot none of them. He ain't seen Rap lite no fires. Rap ain't broken no laws. Rap is wrapped in the truth and the trust... (unintelligible due to audience response). Now we got to understand this concept of hate, because I will tell you when those brothers... walk out of my house in Washington, D. C. and a fellow came up to me asking...I said yes, I said I him. He said, Well I don't hate nobody.

Response from audience.
I said well I hate those white folks for what they did. He said he don't hate no white folk. He's right he doesn't hate no white folk, because he does not love his people, and I'll tell you why we cannot have such a thing as love and not have such a thing as hate. There's a thing the honkies call dialectic philosophy, which says there are opposites for everything. There's a boy; there's a girl. There's joy; there's sadness. There's laughter; there's tears; There's cold; there's hot. For everything there is an opposite, and as these opposites react that's how you get changes in the world. If you got love you got to have hate.

Response from audience.

If you got love you got to have hate cause you would not be able to differentiate. You could love, you could hate. Some people you don't like too much. Some people you dislike. Some people you hate. If you didn't have it you couldn't tell who to dislike, you couldn't tell who to marry cause you'd be in love with everybody. So there must be an opposite, but if you say you don't have no hate ;you say you don't have no love because if you love your people you would hate anybody who would try to mess with them. Yes you would.

Response from audience.

If you had an undying love for your people anybody who touched them you'd kill them on the spot, for if you a mother and a father and you have children and you love those children and somebody come to hurt your children you would want to take care of them. Even an animal would protect its own. This man has dehumanized us and...he just snaps his fingers and we come back wagging our tails. We are human beings, we're people with emotions. If we love our people and...(unintelligible due to bongo playing in audience), We cannot stand up on our feet if, god dammit, we hate you. You can say it to him, but we cannot say it to our people. (mimicing) I hate the niggers down there. I hate them all they do is shooting. I hate them, but I don't...because I don't have hate in my heart.

Response from audience.
It is because we do not have love for our people that man do the things he does to us. If we had love, if we had undying love, if we had undying love (large amount of response from audience). If we had undying love for our people when they touch one they would have to touch all. That then say specifically some things about Chicago. There are a lot of so-called Negro leaders in Chicago. They do not care about their people. They care only about themselves and the few choice niggers around them. They do not.

Response from audience.

I will tell you why they do not care about their people. They do not care about their people because in the last week they seen 18 of our brothers and sisters have been wiped out by each other in these gangs....They have not gone down to talk to the young brothers and sisters because they are afraid of their own people. They are afraid of their own people. Rangers are fighting Disciples and fighting the Saints and fighting the Loves to fight the Viceroy and all of these Negro leaders aint got time to go out and beg them to stop killing each other.

Response from audience.

Last night when we were trying to speak to some of these gangs one of the brothers got shot in the face. We couldn't find one black leader to go to the hospital to meet with those gangs to stop the gang war that is going on. Couldn't find one. They didn't even know the name of the gang and they suppose to represent us in the city. Where are the ministers of our community. Where are the ministers who are quickest to condemn us when we rebel against whitey. Why can't they...when we rebel against ourselves. Why can't they do that. Where are the ministers who beg us to love the white man, but can't teach us to love ourselves. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers, who say they are teaching the preachings of Jesus Christ. who said of all the commandments I give you this is the most important, "Love thee one another." Where are our people, where are our ministers. Where are these black men if you can find them with their pork chop faces...and when we need them we can't find them. Where are our leaders in Chicago. Where are they.

Response from audience.
Eighteen of our people died. Eighteen of our young glorious
died and they don't give a goddamn and they call themselves
Negroes. They call themselves Negroes, and why aren't you
talking to our young brothers and sisters. Their flesh of
our flesh and blood of our blood. They are the warriors of
our race. They are the ones who never compromise. They
fight that honky war every single day of their lives, every
day of their lives. You want leaders. I'll give you
leaders. Get the Blackstone Rangers fighting for their
people and you got some leaders...(unintelligible due to
audience response) You want leaders. I'll give you leaders.
Get the Vice Lords, get the Roman Saints, get all those
groups together to the black club to fight for their people
and we got the leaders. We'll have some leaders because
they will fight to the death. They fight to the death now
for no reason just because they hate the white man and just
because they're individually frustrated.

Response from audience.

If we can teach them to fight the white man not because they
hate him but because they love their people we can have this
situation lock stock and barrel, without...(unintelligible
due to audience response).

What are you feeling so moral about. We know the
honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He not
gonna give you anything. We got to take it. We got to
take it. We got to take it.

Response from audience.

And these brothers on the streets everyday take it, but they're
taking it for themselves. Let's organize them and let them take
it for our people. But the preachers and the leaders are
afraid of most black people in their community. The gang
fighters, the gang fights, because the gang fighters may not
have any politics, they may not have education, they are not
glorifying the poverty program, but their hearts are black.
Their hearts are black cause when something comes down they
black and fight. They don't try to stop it they want to help
and people we must understand that we must have an undying
love for our people. We must begin to move our people so much
that we will not let anyone touch one hair on their happy head.

Response from audience.
We are not preaching about hate we are preaching about love. because if you love your people you will destroy your people's enemies.

Now there's one last thing I want to do before I leave. I want to ask you not to applaud until I raise my hands. I want you to listen very carefully to what I am going to read. Brother Rap Brown is in jail. After I read the statement you may applaud. I will not beg for any money. You will simply pass the baskets. You will give as you so desire. I am not a preacher. I don't beg for money. Rap Brown is in jail not for money but for love of his people. If you have love for you people you will put some money in the basket to help get....

Response from audience.

I want to read a statement that was written by my leader. The man I'll die for in a minute because he's ready to die for me. Rap Brown, the brother, wrote the letter while he was in jail. I want you to listen to it very closely because I don't care what you say...
SNCC Threats

On April 30, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN accompanied by BOB RUSH, Chicago Branch of SNCC Student Organizer, attended a political meeting held in a south side Chicago church. Present and speaking at the meeting were Chicago alderman A. A. "Sammy" RAYNER and democratic congressional candidate AUGUST "GUS" SAVAGE. The audience consisted generally of young people not of voting age, from the Forestville High School area.

BROWN was not expected at this affair and without invitation took over the stage and microphone and began speaking. He said the candidates could campaign, but he doubted if there would be any elections. He said "Niggers" should not vote and if any were caught at the polls they would be sorry. He commented that most black office holders do not represent their own people and they "would be taken care of later".

BROWN accused Alderman RAYNER of taking money from LUCY MONTGOMERY, a rich North Shore society Chicago white female. He did not think RAYNER was too bad and if he did not "mess up", he would be helped. He warned congressional candidate SAVAGE to be careful and not take advantage of his own people, the black race. There was no crowd support for BROWN and they were so overwhelmed by his remarks they did not bother to question his obvious contradictory statements.

(Source 5/6/68)

(Source 5/26/68)
Cooperation with Chicago Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC has been selected to be on the guide lines committee to formulate policy for a new group called Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF). BUF is an attempt to solidify the relations of civic, social and religious Negro groups of Chicago into a single new black power structure.

(Source 6/14/68)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and BOBBY L. RUSH were observed in attendance at National CORE meetings held in Columbus, Ohio, during the weekend of July 5-7, 1968.

(Source 4/29/68)

(Source 7/8/68)

V. SNCC LEAFLETS

The attached SNCC leaflets entitled "I am the Law" and "Help" were obtained from a person mentioned previously. Leaflets entitled "We Must Love our People" and "Brothers" were obtained from a person on May 10, 1968.
On March 4, 1933, Rufe Davis announced that he had an order of the President to shoot to kill Communists and "shoot to kill" any other enemies. He further suggested that chemical lire be used in detaining little children found loitering.

Mr. Canebrake is not aware that there is no statute of law that provides one with consistory for arrest.

Also, order 67-13 (February), the use of force by political limits the use of firearms by police in crowds. It particularly forbids a policeman to:

1. Fire into crowds
2. Fire over the heads of crowds, except on orders from an officer above the rank of captain.
3. Fire warning shots where there is a chance of injuring bystanders.
4. Fire into buildings or thru doors when the person fired at is not clearly visible.

Not only does Rufe Davis claim to be a "lawmaker," he also wants to be the law enforcement, the judge, and the jury.

While the good farmer does not realize that in 1943 (of those 2,931 people picked up in the crowds during the course of any arrests), many of them were in the streets because they were burned out of their homes. Others were shot in the streets (legitimately) and our congressmen carried away those they had favored. When the police come down the streets, they make a general arrest. Anyone who happens to have the streets picked up, is not unlike those few who had been doing the arresting.

We too can not wait to be ruled upon by the good farmer and the "lawmaker." We are not to be governed, but as citizens, to demand that the police leave their work and hold no more strikes. If the police come down the streets, they will arrest these citizens on good community legal services office or, if we are setting a defense that is to provide legal services for those arrested.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Remember, this order is NOT IN EFFECT. Any citizen who happens to be "known to the police" (this could be in the opinion of Mr. Kanebrake and he is innocent by virtue of the police statement, any citizen is guilty of a crime) could be a GUNMAN of the red scare era. A black man cannot fight a fight on the streets without raising arrest or gripe of arrest. Even if you are not black, you are not in the streets, and whether you are making your way or calling, same or another, you have all the rights of a free man. An arrest by police to the people of "leadership" on innocent citizens or not will not be done.

THE WJMG POLICE OFFICER OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Your understanding is appreciated. There are those of the age groups, who are children and have no businesses to fear the police. They are human beings, who have a right to be protected. The police are not concerned about their personal safety. The police are not concerned about your personal safety. The police are concerned about the protection of our homes, our property, and our lives.

We want to protect their personal safety. We are concerned about your personal safety. We are concerned about the protection of our homes, our property, and our lives.
HELP!

FREE

RAP and CLEVE

Come to a

Bail Bond Party

Sat. March 2, 1968
8:00 P.M.
7428 N. Paulina

706 E 47th
LOVE OUR
PEOPLE
SPONSORED
BY
S.N.C.C.

BLACK
GUARD

MEET AT
4443 S. MICH.
ASK FOR
CAPTAIN
JOE WEBB
MAY 11.
4:00
BROTHERS!!!

Beware of the deceivers! Don't be misled by their black exterior and premeditated white lies! They are only implements of the "white" power structure, being used by them for the ramification of "Black" people.

The objective of this circular is to unite our brothers into a common front against the "white" power structure. How can black people unite when we have certain Tomboos such as our valiant non-violent "Negro" leader, Whitney Young, who so fearlessly attacked Stokely Carmichael for his belief that Black people should be militant? In his attack he stated that Stokely only had 50 followers, when I know of at least 50 from my group alone. The purpose of his statement was to implant the thought that Stokely was leading a "suicidal Revolution". The bag that Whitey is coming out of is pitting Black man vs. Black man. While we squabble amongst ourselves, whitey is preparing to commit genocide.

PROVE TO STOKELLY THAT WE ARE BEHIND HIM 500%.
ATTEND THE MEETING BEING HELD SATURDAY, MAY 4th
at 4426 South Drexel
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
Title  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character  
RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference is made to report of Special
Agent dated and captioned as above.

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

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA... dated 7/23/68.

TO THE BUREAU (2)

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies of new thumbnail sketch for Chicago Branch of SNCC for Bureau approval.

CONFIDENTIAL

This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein from and could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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17 JAN 2 1969

Notations: Racial Hx.?
CG 100-40342

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(COVER PAGE)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (via courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (via courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (RM)
1 - OSI, Chicago (via courier)

Office: Chicago

SA DEC 27 63

Field Office File #: 100-40342

Bureau File #: 100-439180

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and other officers of the Chicago Branch of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), distancing this branch during B/S and associated themselves with the Black Panther Party. The Chicago Branch of SNCC is therefore no longer functioning. Details of a speech by STOKELY CAPHEAL in Chicago set out as well as officers, members and financial information prior to the disbanding of the Chicago organization.

-RUC-

CONFIDENTIAL

Group: Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

XC
DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

The following organizations referred to in this report are described in the appendix section attached hereto:

1. Black Panther Party (BPP);
2. Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CSWP);
3. Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP);
4. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS);
5. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), National and Chicago Branch.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

I. BACKGROUND

1. Origin, Aims and Purpose

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of May, 1968, headed the Chicago Branch of SNCC, which as of that time was a loosely organized and non-membership type organization. BROWN operated the organization from his residence located at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago. BROWN and his associates attempted to develop opposition to the white power structure by contacting various Negro youth gangs and black power type organizations and in that regard using intimidation and boycott methods.

The Chicago Branch of the BPP was founded on August 23, 1968, with ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as organizer, ROBERT LEE RUSH as Chicago Chairman, JOSEPH L. MONTGOMERY as Field Director and FRED HAMPTON, Field Organizer. At this time the Chicago Branch of SNCC was dissolved and discontinued and the organization of the BPP in Chicago took place as an affiliate of the national organization. As of that time there was no longer any SNCC functioning in Chicago.
It is the belief among many SNCC officials that statements such as made by PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHINGS in Los Angeles regarding extreme militancy, are made deliberately in order to counteract the appeal of the NNOC in the minds of young Negroes. This is further felt to be true because SNCC has no means of training anyone in any type of firearms and if a revolution ever did occur, SNCC people would be the first to run and hide.

D. Locality in Which Active

The Chicago Branch of SNCC operates in the Chicago, Illinois area.
II. MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS

A. Locality in Which Active
   N/A

B. Identity of Leaders, Members and Membership Requirements

   ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of August, 1968, was midwest director of SNCC and head of the Chicago Branch of that organization.

   ROBERT LEE RUSH as of August, 1968, was student organizer for the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

III. TERRORIST OR REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

A. Acts of Violence
   N/A

B. Statements of Members Showing the Violent Aims and Purposes Involving Racial Disturbances

   At a meeting of black nationalists held on August 10, 1968, at the Afro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, STEVEY CARMICHAEL, the main speaker, urged members of the black community to arm themselves to prevent genocide of the black race and to prepare themselves for the ’revolution.' CARMICHAEL urged the black race to support MAO TSE TUNG and also urged young black youth going to Vietnam to kill American soldiers rather than soldiers of the North Vietnamese. It said that law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, should be
Kept out of black communities. He added that black informants should not be killed, but the police who they inform should be killed. Among officials of the Chicago branch of SNCC, attending this affair, was ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN.

STONEY CARMICHAEL is a former national director of SNCC.

SNCC has no means of training anyone in the use of firearms and its members would be the first to run and hide if any type of revolution did occur.
C. Other Information

During the early part of 1968, members of the Chicago Branch of SNCC were reportedly participating in firearms, judo and karate training under the supervision of ROBERT DREW, head of that Branch. This training reportedly took place in the area known as Altgeld Gardens on Chicago's south side. There is no indication that such training continued after February, 1968.
IV. PUBLICATIONS

The Chicago branch of SNCC, during the period July and August, 1968, was not known to have issued any publications.

12/16/68

V. GENERAL ACTIVITY

6/14/68

During June, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO PROCT. is known to have been in contact with SNCC Headquarters in Washington, D.C., such being located at 2208 14th Street.

7/12/68

During June, 1968, BROWN also was reported to have been in contact with STORELY CARMICHAEL in Washington, D.C.

7/22/68

VI. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10 - 16, 1968 weekly edition of the "Chicago Defender," Chicago, Illinois newspaper, page 6, column 2, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC chief." This article was datelined New York and stated as follows:

"Formation of a nationwide black political party with the Black Panther as its symbol is SNCC's major goal, according to PHIL HUTCHINGS, the organization's new program secretary.

"The party's main emphasis, he said, will be on black people controlling their areas, and on building links among,
non-whites throughout the world. It will not be the traditional political party giving you a choice between the lesser of two evils, but a party designed by black people and filling the needs of black people, said HUTCHINGS.

"The party's symbol, a black panther, was first used by Lowndes County, Alabama Freedom Organization, established by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former SNCC chairman in 1965."
VIII. INFLUENCE OF THE CP, OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS ON BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10th-16, 1968 issue of the "Chicago Defender," page six, column one, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC Chief." This item in substance stated that SNCC planned to form a nationwide black political party with a black panther as its symbol.
As of October, 1968, there was no CF influence in the Chicago chapter of SNCC.

During October, 1968, PHIL BETCHEROS, Program Director, SNCC, visited national officials of SDS in Chicago in order to form an alliance between SNCC and SDS.

IX. MISCELLANEOUS

On September 10, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON, Northern District of Illinois, at Chicago, advised that Federal Judge ABRAHAM MAROVITZ dismissed the Selective Service case against ROBERT
ALFONZO BROWN, on the condition that he enter military service by October 9, 1968. BROWN agreed to this arrangement.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 14, 1968, that BROWN had complied with Judge BAROVITZ's order to report for induction, but at the Army's discretion such induction was held in abeyance pending a security check of BROWN.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 27, 1968, that the indictment against BROWN, regarding his Selective Service violation, was dismissed by Judge BAROVITZ on November 27, 1968, without prejudice to file again if BROWN is found qualified for military service, following the Army's security check, and he fails to comply.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of their lives, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1968, a source advised that it was her understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1933 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

1

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(LAL - SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised
that the LAL - SWP has been in existence since the 1930's
and continues to exist. The source further advised that
the LAL - SWP is a local branch of the National SWP,
with aims and purposes identical to those of the National
SWP.

The SWP has been designated
pursuant to Executive Order
10450.
APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us."

At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 21, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

15
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COordinating Committee (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this giant octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalizing of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), CHICAGO BRANCH

A source advised in May, 1968, that the Chicago branch of the SNCC is an affiliate of the national SNCC with headquarters located in Atlanta, Georgia. It is a non-membership type group headed in Chicago by ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, a 19 year old male Negro, with the title of Midwest Region Director. BROWN maintains strict loyalty to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Recruiter and Organizer and former National Director of SNCC. BROWN attempts to align Chicago's SNCC activities within the framework of CARMICHAEL's policies.

In a speech at Chicago on March 25, 1968, CARMICHAEL commented as follows:

"The white people are preparing to commit genocide against the black race. What are we feeling so moral about? We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He's not going to give you anything. We've got to take it. These brothers on the streets every day take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Let's organize them and let them take it for our people."

The source advised the Chicago branch of the SNCC operates from BROWN's residence. BROWN and several associates attempt to implement CARMICHAEL's policies through contacts in the Negro youth gangs, student groups, and black power oriented organizations to influence opposition to white power structures through boycott and intimidation methods.
TITLE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character

RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Inference

Report of SA [redacted and cut out].

All sources (except as listed below) were the same
and concealed in referential communication have furnished the same
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is issued to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.
The SNCC office in Chicago is the third building in the visible row of buildings. Of these three, one is the old SNCC building also known as (aka) SNCC House. This consists of communications service and offices. The office has not been able to establish membership in the SNCC anyone else.

Efforts to contact SNCC in several other SNCC are done by radio, and re-evaluation is made.

very little progress.

The report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to only the SNCC office in Chicago is the only that probably exists and is very little individual detail can be

taken at this time of the country.

This report is being as the Chicago office had
no evidence that the SNCC branch is.

INFORMANTS

Source

Location

100-40342-918

- B -

COVER PAGE
Alleged Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activity in Chicago is almost nil. Attempts to establish a SNCC chapter evolved around three brothers, EDWARD, RONALD, and MELVIN McGEE, whose efforts have not produced positive results. There is no known SNCC office or officership. There is no known SNCC publications available in the Chicago area. EDWARD McGEE admitted to having contact with WILLIAM HUNT, but a SNCC chapter, per se, does not exist.

DETAILS:

I. EXISTENCE OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) CHAPTER IN CHICAGO AREA AND LOCATION OF OFFICE
There is no more SNCC activity and no office in Washington to handle questions.

SNCC continues to have an office in Chicago, but not an active staff or office for the Southern area.

There is no longer any national SNCC activity in the South or South West. There is a limited amount of coordination with local chapters in the South.

I am sending you this for the National Coordinator of SNCC to Chicago, about 18.
WILLIAM HUNT travelled to Chicago close to aid in organizing a SNCC chapter.

WILLIAM/ LA TRANE, a SNCC leader from the Atlanta, Georgia, area, had accompanied WILLIAM/ MUHAMMAD to Chicago on or about May 16, 1971, in connection with the organizing of a new SNCC chapter in that city.

The efforts of Brother EDWARD/SAIN'T X, whose true name is EDWARD MC LENNON, to form a viable SNCC chapter in Chicago have failed to produce positive results. No office or headquarters for SNCC are known to exist. The only location, which could be considered as a headquarters for SNCC would have to be EDWARD MC LENNON's own home.
SHARK AND GORILLA

The proposed new SNOX chapter in Chicago will now be under the leadership of three individuals: Edward S. H. (last name unknown), G. W. S. (last name unknown), and R. N. L. (last name unknown).

The only persons known to currently work with the Chicago SNOX activities are C. C. S. (last name unknown) and R. N. L. (last name unknown). There are no SNOX activities in any known location.

Jack B. E. (last name unknown) has recently become interested in termination and is now working with the SNOX.

ED. NOTE: ALL NAMES BLANKED OUT.
NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam is an all-
black, Nationwide organization
headquartered at Muhammad's
House 2, 5335 South Stonyard
Drive, Chicago, Illinois, with
the guidance of MALIK SHABAZ.
Self-styled "Messenger of Allah"
and only divinely appointed
leader of the black race in the
United States. Its purpose is
upholding the black man free
from the devil (white race) through
establishment of a black nation.
Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: EXTREMIST MATTERS

Reference: [Redacted]

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

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 5 OF 14
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CASE NO. 1

DATE: 1/8/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 11/13/67 - 1/3/68

OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA

OFFICE OF ORIGIN: CINCINNATI

REPORT MADE BY: SA

CHARACTER OF CASE:
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

TYPED BY: mld

REFERENCE:
Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, 11/16/67.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED: None

ACQUITALS:

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<th>Acto.</th>
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<th>Recoveries</th>
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ACQUITALS

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ACQUITALS

ACQUITALS

7 - Bureau (RM)
1198th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSS, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)
6 - Atlanta (RM)
1 - 100-SNCC (Cont'd)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Dissemination Record of Attached Report
Notations
In view of the racial disturbance participation by SNCC at Central State University (CSU) Wilberforce, Ohio, one copy each of instant report has been disseminated locally to the 109th MI Group, OSI, NISO and Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In accordance with re Bureau letter instant report sets forth SNCC activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

It should be noted that for purposes of brevity and clarity, and to avoid repetition, only the most informative newspaper articles concerning SNCC and the disturbance are set forth in succinct form to indicate activities of this group on the campus.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

100-14158-532
Instant report.

Furnished orally to SA on 1/3/68.

- B -
Cover Page
CI 100-14158

Identity of Source

Location
157-1674-20
157-1674-18

Used to characterize CLEVELAND SELLERS.
(100-14208-17)
100-14208-17
100-14208-14

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will contact [REDACTED] for any more positive indication of SNCC activities or involvement in violence type agitation at Central State University.

- C* -
Cover Page
January 8, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20226

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U.S., because of his official status.

2. Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as a member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U.S.

4. U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

x Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:

(a) Evidence of emotional instability, including unstable residence and employment record, or irrational or suicidal behavior;
(b) x Expressions of strong or violent anti-U.S. sentiment;
(c) Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

5. Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Enclosure(s) has been furnished enclosed is not available

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

- Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1 (RM)
U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmitted form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (F)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA
Office: CINCINNATI

Date: 1/8/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Program and Action Notes: "Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio"

(Source: [redacted] on November 6, 1967)

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, 1967)

(Source: [redacted] on January 3, 1968)

During the past few weeks there have been many internal problems at Central State University relating to maintenance employees' strike and tension between the more radical Power group and the more conservative students and administration.

(Source: [redacted] on November 8, 1967)

"The Record," published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, during periods when school is in session, published on November 17, 1967, an article stating that the trustees of Central State University, which is located five miles south of Antioch College, ordered the school closed Wednesday, November 13, 1967, after a day and one-half of tense negotiations between police authorities and students. The closure was ordered as a result of police attempts to arrest J.T., a student and a leader of SNCC at Central State University, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of a president of neighboring Wilberforce University, a Negro school.
The charge stemmed from an interchange between Wilberforce University President REMBERT STOKES and WARREN during a rally held in the wake of a controversy over increased benefits to non-student workers. STOKES charged WARREN threatened to kill him; WARREN said that he said, "If the revolution were now I'd have to kill all Toms".

Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record", that the Central State University Administration expelled WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC Chapter.

WARREN attended classes on Monday, following expulsion and approximately thirty students thwarted campus police attempts to eject him. Students placed themselves between WARREN and the authorities and later barricaded him in Willey Hall. By the time campus police entered WARREN was gone.

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a newspaper of general circulation published at Cincinnati, Ohio, published in its final edition on December 3, 1967, that Dr. HARRY E. GROVES, Negro president of Central State University, named "persons from Atlanta", where SNCC's national headquarters is located, for stirring the riots on the campus.

(Source: on November 14, 1967)

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a daily newspaper, published in Cincinnati, contained an article in the September 16, 1967, issue which stated that GEORGE WARE was a principal lieutenant of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC.

(Source: on November 14, 1967)
The "Journal Herald," a daily paper of general circulation in the city, stated, on March 1, 1947, an article in the November 28, 1946, edition, where the college president, who was the president of Central State University, expelled and expelled another student from the campus on November 27, 1946, when the student returned and declared publicly, "If the revolution were on at this moment, I could have killed all (Nelles) boys,"

It was allegedly similar to the statement he made on November 1 to Mrs. EMIL F. MCKEE, President of Wayne Hills College University. The president, NELLE, expelled, and refused to re-admit the student.

Asked by reporters if he plans to appeal the student's expulsion, he stated, "I don't care what you call it, because I don't trust you." NELLE was a member of the Board of Trustees of Wayne Hills College University, and as such, was responsible for the expulsion of the student.

The act of expelling a student is a serious matter. According to the Supreme Court of the United States, a student has a right to due process of law. However, in this case, it appears that due process was not followed.

The act of expelling a student is a serious matter. According to the Supreme Court of the United States, a student has a right to due process of law. However, in this case, it appears that due process was not followed.

The administration of Central State University should be aware of the legal implications of expelling a student. It is important to ensure that due process is followed, and that the student's rights are protected.
"If the symposium proved anything it was that 'Black Power' means a variety of different things to different people."

"More than 2,000 students gathered in the gymnasium, along with teachers, deans, parents, and school maintenance workers. Nearly all present were Negroes; eight men at the speakers' table ranged from University President Dr. HARRY GROVES to HARLELL JONES, who was fired from a laborer's job at the city of Cleveland for Black Power militancy."

"Then came the definition of Black Power."

"There are non-violent positive aspects of Black Power," said GROVES. "It is a continuing, changing thing that can mean more economic and political power for Negroes."

"ToForest Brown, a militant Negro leader from Cleveland, didn't see it that way. "Black Power," he said, "is only the authority of black people who act in their own best interest. It is not just a non-violent movement because we believe we are men and we are going to act like men."

'Brown's remarks and those of some of the other militant speakers drew some applause, but the students responded more enthusiastically to Dr. JAMES T. HENRY, a geology professor and veteran city councilman in nearby Xenia. HENRY said it was necessary to speak of Black Power 'like it is'."

"I will fight for Black Power, but within the context of entering the mainstream of power," he said. "When I came here in the 1930's the race relation situation in Xenia was tough, but it is better now and it is because we fought to change it - but we fought within the mainstream of political establishment."

"Also at the table was GEORGE WARE, a quick young man who travels the country organizing Negroes on college campuses for the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was another who didn't think Black Power meant working within 'the mainstream'."

"This is a country," advised WARE, "that will allow kids to throw rocks in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, every year, and will bring in the National Guard when a few kids try to defend one classmate at their own institution."

"There was scattered applause for WARE, but it did not match the response given a young Negro who identified..."
himself as president of the Student Government."

"I don't think hate of any kind helps us", the student spokesman said. "Hate blinds." "Our goal is not to overthrow the Government, but to be involved in it."

"There was no evidence at the end that either side - the violence or the non-violence had much influence on the other."

"One stand-patter was MICHAEL WARREN, the student expelled for threatening the life of Negro president of neighboring Wilberforce University. Negro moderates to WARREN are, 'Uncle Toms'. WARREN announced through the loud speaker, 'I would if the revolution was on at this minute, have to kill all the Toms.'"
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Cincinnati, Ohio
January 8, 1968

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC


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

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

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of confidential informants and sources whose identities might otherwise possibly be determined.

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations
with subsequent jeopardy to their future usefulness and to the security of the country.

SNCC activities at Central State University and Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, are more fully set out in referenced Cincinnati report of 1/8/68.

In view of SNCC activities in racial disturbances, copy of this report has been disseminated locally to the 100th MI Group, NISC, and OSI, as well as Secret Service, Cincinnati.

IN PLANTS

Identity of Source

Location

157-373-6
100-14158-562
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100-14158-564

- B -

Cover Page
LEADS
CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton

- C -
Cover Page
Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158  
January 17, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. [ ] Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials resulting in or planning an imminent visit to the U.S., because of his official status.

2. [ ] Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.

3. [ ] Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant of communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization influential to U.S.

4. [ ] U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.

5. XX Subversives, ultra-ideologues, socialists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
   (a) [ ] Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior.
   (b) XX Expressions of strong or violent anti-U.S. sentiment;
   (c) [ ] Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.

6. [ ] Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph [ ] has been furnished [ ] enclosed [ ] is not available

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
John Edgar Hoover
Director

[Special Agent in Charge (Enclosures)]
U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Enclosure(s) [Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transcription form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.]
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
Copy to: 1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA
Date: 1/17/68

Field Office File No.: 100-14158

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.

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

Office: CINCINNATI
Bureau File No.: 100-439190
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Organization

Precedent to the establishment of a Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about August, 1967, there was an organization known as Friends of SNCC, made up of white and Negro individuals, which existed for several years as a money-lifter for SNCC and which was last headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL, a long-time Cincinnati Negro militant. BALL was formerly chairman of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) from April, 1964, to April, 1966. Then BALL resigned from CORE in April, 1966, he became chairman of Friends of SNCC, according to the April 6, 1966, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper, and the April 9, 1966, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper. He became chairman of the Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about July 28th, 1967.

At the July 28, 1967, meeting of SNCC, attended by about 35 persons, it was determined that a local SNCC chapter had been established, headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL as chairman, and that Friends of SNCC, which BALL had headed as chairman, had been discontinued.

(Source: August 2, 1967)

In August, 1967, THOMAS JAMES PORTER succeeded BALL as chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, BALL becoming Program Director, according to the August 29, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, which quoted BALL as stating that "the change was made to make the SNCC chapter more effective and viable in the Cincinnati area." The change in the chairman took place at the August 25, 1967, SNCC meeting, according to the September 2, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, which added that "the activities of the local SNCC chapter will be escalated considerably requiring re-structuring of the chapter."

LEONARD BALL actually did not, by giving up the
chairmanship, she take a demotion in SNCC but was made a
SNCC field representative in addition to being Program
Director of local SNCC.

(Source: [Redacted] September 21, 1967)

Principal Leaders

THOMAS JAMES PORTER, Chairman, Cincinnati
chapter of SNCC;

LEONARD CARSON BALL, Program Director, and also
Field Representative of national SNCC;

WILMA TONEY, Acting Secretary.

(Sources: [Redacted] January 15, 1968, and
August 2, 1967)

While PORTER is chairman and BALL program director,
the decisions of BALL generally carry more weight than those
of PORTER.

(Source: [Redacted] January 15, 1968)

Membership

Present membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 15. About
September 1, 1967, the membership was about 25. When Friends
of SNCC existed, it had a membership of white and black
individuals of about 200, some of whom knowingly or
unknowingly believe they are SNCC members. Weekly public
meetings were discontinued because non-members of SNCC
would show up, with several "windy" persons taking up
considerable time in long speeches and opinions which
accomplished nothing and frequently prevented the purpose
of the meeting from being accomplished.

(Source: [Redacted] January 15, 1968)

Meetings

Meetings are held periodically at different
locations. They were held previously once a week at various
places, with one public meeting a month at Carmel Presbyterian Church.

(Source: January 15, 1968)

In early December, 1967, it was learned that the previous schedule of an open weekly meeting on Friday night about 8:00 p.m. at the Carmel Church had been changed to a closed meeting of leaders held each Friday at either the Black Arts Studio or PANTER's apartment on Glenwood Avenue, with the last Friday of the month for an open meeting at the church. Open means a general membership attendance, plus visitors and guests.

(Source: December 4, 1967)

SNCC Newsletter - Containing Background and Purposes of SNCC

Cincinnati SNCC periodically puts out a mimeographed newsletter which contains anti-white and anti-police comments as well as some comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC officials, and about Black Power and anti-Negro groups. For example, in one, it quotes H. RAP BROWN as saying, "There are thirteen concentration camps here in America. Do you think that they are for just STOKELY and me?"

(Sources: October 5, 1967, and October 26, 1967)

In one SNCC newsletter distributed, being unsigned and undated but received on October 5, 1967, there was contained the following on the organization and purposes of SNCC, an editorial appeal to "younger black thinkers," emphasis on unity, and the necessity of "black organizations...to think and act revolutionary..."
"CINCINNATI CHAPTER SNCC
NEWSLETTER

"THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

"SNCC became an organization in February, 1960, and was the most militant and uncompromising of the existing civil rights organizations. During the early sixties, SNCC operated mostly in the South organizing and encouraging black people by using bold tactics and techniques in breaking down and removing barriers of segregation. SNCC soon found out, after much frustration, that the scope of the movement had to be broadened to reach and include more black people. WE LOVE HAD TO BE INWARD. Beginning with voter registration drives, voter education clinics, workshops and freedom centers, SNCC gained many in-roads into the white controlled southern political and economic system. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Black Panther Party in Alabama was formed. A new sense of awareness and accomplishment was instilled in the hearts and minds of fearful black people. The cultural and social revolution gained its first foothold. And the difficult job of organizing still goes on in Miss., Alabama, Georgia and in the northern ghettos.

"To make SNCC's policies and programs clearer, the following statement was issued from the Atlanta Office:

"SNCC is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"we (SNCC) shall seek to build a strong nation-wide
Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include the high school students along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of National Freedom Organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objectives will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

"EDITORIAL

"The recent revolts teach the younger black thinkers many valuable lessons. One of them being; that, there is now and has always been an unconscious and undeclared war on Afro-Americans by the average hankie. And a conscious strategic and declared war on us by the Power Structure.

"Proof of this is in the hypocritical position the power structure has taken. First they say that the revolts were natural and necessary to bring this problem to the attention of people, then in the same breath, they say how terribly wrong it is for oppressed people to revolt, they say that we should respect the government, regardless of how much the government
obviously disrespects us. They even prey on our innocent and ignorant brothers making them say that we are wrong. When all along it is the hunkie who is wrong and who must admit this fact. Since he has shown us he is incapable of doing this it seems like there will be continued war.

"Every day more and more Afro-Americans are waking up to the obscenity of the hunkie in America, so this war will become a two sided thing where the crumbling of white, racist America will be our victory and their defeat.

"A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF CINTI.
SELF-HATRED in REGARDS to DIS-UNITY

"United we stand. Divided we fall." Then why in Hell can't we black people unite? One of the main reasons for this obvious dis-unity is self-hate.

"We as a group of people in this land hold down a unique position in this hypocritical society in which we live. We are unique in this respect, we were brought to this land in cruel bondage, taken from our ancestral lands and brought here to build a nation for the hunkie with our lives, our blood, our sweat and our strong backs because whitey was too damn lazy and no good to do this himself.

"As a reward for slavery & servitude we were systematically stripped of our manhood, racial pride, and self respect. The man, hunkie, whitey, beast or whatever you want to call him, literally taught us how to hate ourselves and our fellow brothers.

"This process of emasculation enacted against us have left us as empty as a shell, with no foundation to stand on. As a result, here we are today ashamed of ourselves and our race, although many of us will not admit to this personally, but as a racial group this is self evident in many ways. It shows up the false class distinction we have tried to construct among ourselves, commonly called
the black middle class or black....... (words eradicated and continuation in same paragraph the following) A group of black people who have worked hard to obtain a certain economical status and then find themselves trying to dissociate themselves from the black masses. So, what is this but dis-unity. Another way this shows up is in complexion consciousness. Many black brothers & sisters are ashamed of the dark, but beautiful, hue of their skin and the natural texture of their hair. By the same token, many lighter skinned brothers & sisters have the foolish notion that this makes them more acceptable to whitey than there darker brothers. So, what is this but dis-unity.

"One of the most saddening ways this self-hatred is shown is in the violence & larceny that brothers commit against fellow brothers. It's almost as if they are saying, 'Nigger! I am tired of you reminding me of what I am.' So, what does this accomplish but a general animosity towards one another.

"Black people of this city and across the land, we have to learn to be proud of what we are and to take the necessary steps to recapture the pride that this white power structure has stripped us of. This can be done through a process of re-educating ourselves as to who we really are and our true heritage. Believe me black brothers & sisters we do have truly beautiful and remarkable heritage. These steps are necessary in the building of a foundation for us to stand firmly on and this is in turn will enable us to shuck the yoke of self-condemnation the white man has placed around our necks. A tree without roots slowly dies, therefore black people, it is it is urgently necessary for us to re-discover our roots or die. With the regeneration of this long lost pride, beautiful black people, we will all be on the same road to true black unity.

"Can you imagine a proud black people standing as one, helping one another, loving one another,
working with one another for a glorious black tomorrow? Black brothers & sisters it is time for us to come together regardless of our station in life or the complexion of our skin and above all, let's learn to love one another. It can be done! -by a concerned black man —- Leroy Coston

"We must begin to move politically and militarily in retaliation in every aspect of our daily lives. We must try to hurt our enemy. We have to lower our defensive defense and take strategic offensive measures as our defense.

"Black organizations must began to think and act revolutionary because there is a black revolution in America and all black people are affected. The hunkie hates all black people and the hunkie is working actively against all black people. Not just SNCC! We must all work together in our fight towards overcoming our oppression. We must remember that individualism is a luxury we black people cannot afford. Once we really understand what this enemy has done and is continuing to do to us, we will understand that he is truly our enemy and anything we do to him is justified. We all understand that these racist, hunkies uses laws as their weapon for oppressing us, so we must militantly ignore them and adopt our own set of laws. Laws that are for helping black people overcome the oppressor rather than those

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which aid in our oppression. We must realize that our enemy is killing us twenty-four hours a day and it is time for our offensive defense action TODAY!"

(Source: October 5, 1967)

Financial Condition of Cincinnati SNCC

(Source: November 30, 1967)

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

On November 30, 1967, it was reported that SNCC has been holding meetings on Friday nights at the Carmel Presbyterian Church which are conducted by either LEONARD BALL or TOM PORTER, or both, with an average attendance of about 45 persons. SNCC, at this time, does not have a membership roster, as such, but persons who attend meetings and indicate an interest can sign their names and addresses and contribute the sum of $2.00 to the organization, money being one of the primary goals at this time.

(Source: November 30, 1967)
On October 24, 1967, a meeting was held beginning at 8:00 p.m. in the first floor apartment house at Prospect and Harvey streets, Cincinnati, for the purpose of organizing a tri-city SNCC to comprise Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University of Education, Ohio, and Antioch College at Yellow Springs, etc. A secondary objective was to establish communications between various Black Power list groups for getting out information on problems and decisions on courses of action. TOLBERT NELSON was leader of the Cincinnati SNCC group.

Florence Tate, ex-wife of Dayton, Ohio, was there. CHARLES TATE is chairman of the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee (NVDAC) of Ohio, civil rights organization. FLORENCE TATE is the representative in Xenia and in the individual who set up the Afro-American Center there. TOM FORD and several others in Cincinnati SNCC were there, as well as several students from Antioch College and two persons from Yellow Springs, etc. Inchu MURPHY of Xenia, Ohio; and CHILLS CAMPBELL and COURIENT COCHRAN, both of whom are field representatives of national SNCC. The total at the meeting was about 20 persons.

(Source: November 9, 1967)

Affiliation of SNCC Personnel with Various Organizations:

LUCIANA PALM, along persons attending a Tri-State Rally of the Nation of Islam (NOI) at the Masonic Temple Building, Beresford Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 6, 1967.

(Source: August 11, 1967)

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

On July 17, 1967, it was reported that the United Black Community Organization (UBCO), headed by Reverend J. GOLD-Russian, pastor of the Carmel Presbyterian Church, in Cincinnati, Ohio, was formed.
had been picked during the June, 1967, riots in Cincinnati to speak for it to the City Administration, was formed to get unity in the Negro community. Its membership includes TIL PORTER and LEONARD BALL, as well as representatives of other civil rights groups in Cincinnati. The source stated that it is not believed that there will ever be unity in the Negro community.

(Source: July 17, 1967)

RIGHTEOUS HAROLD HUNT

The "Wall Street Journal," New York City, Midwest Edition, of July 13, 1967, carried an article captioned "Rebellion in Ohio," which comments on the racial disturbance in Cincinnati and, in part, states:

"...many Negro youngsters are looking to a new kind of leadership, one that is less willing to accept the rules of society and more willing to risk drastic action to provoke meaningful response by the white community.

'I do not advocate violence but neither do I advocate nonviolence," declares the Reverend HAROLD HUNT, Pastor of Carmel Presbyterian Church in this city's Negro-populated Avondale section: he is a leader in this new movement....

"Following the recent violence, Mr. Hunt has emerged as the spokesman for the younger Negro community here: he now heads a team that is negotiating with the city for 'equal justice' and 'equal employment.' The minister is well-prepared for his role. An alumnus of a Chicago training school run by protest-organizer SAUL ALINSKY, he served a brief stint in Detroit before coming here two years ago.

"We're organizing because we know we've got to keep the pressure on to get action," he (HUNT) declares. An evening meeting at the HUNT home, in the heart of Avondale, illuminates the strategy. Some of the Negroes present: TIL PORTER

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of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), LEOBAD BALL of Friends of SNCC, E.
WINSTON L. CRONE of the Political Action Programming Assembly, and the Reverend RICHARD SELLERS of the West Cincinnati Presbyterian Church.

"The ostensible 'downtown' target of the HUNT campaign is City Hall, and the Negro negotiating team has presented City Manager W. C. WICHHAN and other officials with a list of sweeping demands. Many deal with incidents related to the rioting, but the most significant focus is on job opportunities...."

Political Action Programming Assembly, 
Incorporated (PAPA)

PAPA, "a group of young Negro men dedicated to creating within the Negro community the highest degree of political and economic awareness, education, and participation, has announced that it plans to seek affiliation with the Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee, which was established as a result of the rebellion which took place in Cincinnati during the week of June 12 through June 16. PAPA has pledged the full support of its membership to this organization, and had agreed to throw the full weight of its organization behind the negotiating efforts being carried out by the negotiating team headed by the Reverend HAROLD L. HUNT, Carmel Presbyterian Church," according to the July 1, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY


The Illinois Edition of "The Worker," dated April 9, 1950, contained an article captioned, "Chicagoans Pay Tribute To Pearl Hart." This article was as follows:

"More than 300 Chicagoans from every community and suburb will attend the Pearl Hart 60th Birthday Testimonial Dinner for this Chicago attorney. The event, which is sponsored by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, takes place Saturday evening on April 8, 1950, at 7:00 p.m., in the Salute Room of the Bismarck Hotel, Chicago. Among the many sponsors of the dinner is SAUL ALINSKY."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is attached hereto.

PEABODY HART

During May, 1941, a former confidential source advised that on June 25 and 26, 1941, LOUIS F. ROBINSON, former National Communist Party functionary, advised that PEARL HART, a Chicago attorney, was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party. He also reported that he was repeatedly advised through reports by an Illinois Communist Party leader at National Committee meetings and through instructions to him from National Communist Party leaders that PEARL HART continued to be a member of the Communist Party up to at least October,
1945.

In May, 1961, PEARL HART continued to be the President of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Chicago Chapter of the Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

ALINSKY

On April 7, 1962, the "Chicago Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Chicago, Illinois, area, carried an article concerning The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and ALINSKY. This article was captioned "Object: Aid the Negro," and further, "New TWO Fights Racial Problems. Methods arouse Controversy." It, in part, stated:

"Chicago, Illinois, could become half Negro in 12 years according to University of Chicago sociologists. Chicago could be ringed by mammoth white suburbs. A controversial group in the South Side of Chicago contends that Chicago can be 'the first big, solid Negro community organization in the U.S.' Through a powerful citizens organization, its leaders assert, the Negro can solve his own problems. SAUL F. ALINSKY, a self-described 'agitator,' who admits to 'rubbing raw the sores of discontent,' says his goal is the peaceful integration of the entire area -- city and suburbs.

"But, its opponents have claimed it is a 'hate group' attempting to freeze the Negroes in segregated communities while practicing 'the ruthlessness of the class war.' Negro voters march on City Hall. Negro mothers 'sit-in' in slum buildings. A group called The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) has organized the slums.

Is the controversial young Woodlawn organization, formerly The Temporary Woodlawn Organization, helping the cause of racial understanding in Chicago? 'Yes,' said TWO's founder. SAUL F. ALINSKY.
'No,' said five protestant pastors. ALINSKY organized the famous Back of the Yard Neighborhood Council in the 1930's in Chicago."

On January 11, 1965, a confidential source, an agency which collects security-type information in the Chicago, Illinois, area, furnished a report concerning the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). The IAF, 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was established and incorporated in 1940. The purpose of this organization is to study the causes of the problems in American industrial areas, and to aid in the development of programs for the solution of these problems.

A secondary purpose of the IAF is to act as a consultant in guiding staff development and the training of personnel in community organizations. The IAF is supported by voluntary contributions, and it promotes the development of indigenous community organizations.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is Executive Secretary of the IAF. The IAF was an instrument used in the organization of more than 30 per cent of Chicago, Illinois, for social action. One such organization formed by the IAF was The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a group formed on the South Side of Chicago in 1961 and used primarily for promoting racial integration in their local areas...Since 1941, ALINSKY has started approximately 44 power based organizations through the country, and has supplied organizing tools and organizers for many communities that have asked for them. ALINSKY has been known to be an opportunist who would use any friendship or contact to advance his own aims. When civil rights questions concerning housing, job opportunities and neighborhoods became the prime objection of various racial and religious groups in the Chicago area, ALINSKY entered this field of endeavor, and assisted in the formation of various neighborhood organizations.
Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

On August 13, 1966, the "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper in Cincinnati, published an OAAU statement setting out that it was organized "as a working base for an action program designed to eliminate the political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation suffered daily by 22 million Afro-Americans...no action program will work unless it is controlled completely by Afro-Americans...We do not want any money from Whitey...This program...is one to show our people how to gain control over the politics, economy, and social and civic affairs of our community...must re-educate our people so that they will be willing to shoulder the responsibility of running our own community...We are asking Negroes to... vote as a block for Negro candidates only...We believe every policeman assigned to a Negro community should be Negro. In the wave of recent riots, it has been only Negroes killed by trigger happy police that are mostly white...Furthermore the White Policeman is a symbol of White domination and oppression, and the Negro is fed up with this practice..."

A characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) is contained in the appendix.

LEONARD BALL is a member of the OAAU, which set up the Black Arts Studio, 726 East McMillan Street, Cincinnati.
operated by TOM PORTER and his partner, HENRY JONES.
(Source: [Redacted] June 16, 1967)

Miscellaneous Activity of Cincinnati SNCC

The January 11, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, had item that SNCC "'opposes and repudiates' the appointment of Mrs. VIRGINIA/COFFEY as new executive director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. SNCC says Mrs. COFFEY (who is Negro) 'knows nothing about the black community' and contends the appointment is 'the white power structure once again picking leaders for the black community.' The appointment, SNCC says, was 'made for the convenience and service of white people only. The HRC never has been that effective and will be even less so now. The big question is: How long will the black community tolerate this effrontery and insult?'"

The Uhuru Festival (Uhuru is Swahili word for "Unity") sponsored by the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), Cincinnati, Ohio, 12/27-30/67, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, the minister of which is Reverend HAROLD HUNT, chairman of UBCO, was participated in by Cincinnati SNCC leaders. Local SNCC chairman THOMAS J. PORTER handled a workshop on "Education in Revolution," beginning at 1:00 p.m., December 30, 1967. He spoke about everyone being segregated by the white people, such as the Jews, Negroes and the Indians. He said HITLER killed six million Jews and this is what 'whitey' is planning to do to the Negroes; that 'when you are arrested, you are under arrest, but that if you knock the cop down on his back then you are no longer under arrest'; that the black people should set up their own form of government in Avondale (predominantly Negro area of Cincinnati) and call it 'Blacksville' with roadblocks to keep 'whitey' out; and that when a black man is arrested, he is tried by a white man in a black robe who is a racist. He claimed that the white man pushes his unqualified friends into positions that they don't deserve, and that when he (PORTER) gets his degree (from University of Cincinnati, where he has had a Danforth Scholarship) he is going to help his black friends into places of responsibility."

(Source: [Redacted] January 4, 1968)
WILMA TONEY, of Cincinnati SNCC, handled a workshop on "Individuals' Role in the Revolution," at the Carmel Church, 1:00 p.m., December 29, 1967. She started with the history of NAT TURNER, then spoke on the difference in unity of black families as opposed to unity among white families, and how to educate black children by buying black dolls instead of white ones, as well as using the word "black" instead of "Negro."

(Source: January 4, 1968)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, spoke at a workshop on December 28, 1967, beginning about 1:00 p.m., on the subject of "Black Power as a Political Concept; The Press and the Black Community." BALL "talked about a magazine article; then complained about the lack of colored news commentators on TV and in commercials. He also stated 'concentration camps all over the U. S. were being renovated to put the Negroes in as the whites want to make them an extinct race.' BALL also attended the Festival on December 30, 1967, but didn't speak."

(Source: January 4, 1968)

The Uhuru Festival was a failure because of "the small attendance at the workshops held during the afternoon hours of December 27-30, 1967, when many persons had to work, and because the scheduled main speaker, Reverend ABERT CLEAGE, of Detroit, a Black Power advocate, did not show. Only about 50 persons attended the main meeting the evening of December 30, 1967, when a seminar was held by local people in place of the speech by Reverend CLEAGE."

(Source: January 2, 1968)

During August, 1967, JAMES HARRIS, of Lincoln Heights, Ohio (Cincinnati incorporated Suburb of practically 100% Negro population) cooperated with Cincinnati SNCC leaders in obtaining approval of the local Board of Education for a speaking appearance by H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC chairman, at a Black Power meeting to be held in the Lincoln Heights School auditorium on August 19, 1967. Approval for BROWN's appearance was viewed in the community as a victory of the Black Power advocates over the moderate citizens. The community became divided over the Black Power concept.
and many bitter arguments followed, extending to division among members of the same family. Many persons in Lincoln Heights feared racial rioting would follow BROWN's appearance. BROWN did not appear on August 19, 1967, as he was incarcerated in New York City after an arrest. The rally, however, was held in the school auditorium without BROWN, and SNCC leaders addressed the audience, praising SNCC and advocating Black Power. No white persons were allowed in the Lincoln Heights school that evening.

(Source: [blank] January 4, 1968)

LEONARD BALL, "Education Director of Cincinnati SNCC", announced that there would be a Youth Conference and Workshop in the afternoon, together with a public rally later, on Saturday, October 21, 1967, from 12:00 noon to 6:30 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road and Lee Place, according to the October 21, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra. Scheduled speakers were CLEVELAND·SELLARS, Director of the South Carolina Chapter of SNCC; CORTLANDT COX of the SNCC national staff; and ERNEST STEVENS, Campus Coordinator of SNCC.

Reverend HAROLD HUNT led the workshop, along with LEONARD BALL. It was attended by about 13 persons, who were given talks on education and how to prepare for leadership. At the public rally in the evening, there were about 47 persons, speakers including ERNEST STEVENS and CORTLANDT COX of national SNCC. SELLARS did not appear at either session.

(Source: [blank] October 25, 1967)
In the August 3, 1967, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, was an article concerning a law suit filed by LEONARD BALL and other members of SNCC, as well as the local chapter of SNCC, and the national SNCC, against the Cincinnati Safety Director, Chief of Police, and other city officials. The suit filed in U. S. District Court asked that the court prevent local courts from prosecuting SNCC members on charges ranging from arson to carrying a concealed weapon. They also wanted local law enforcement officials prohibited from presenting evidence against them before the county grand jury on charges against them. The suit also wanted local officials to be prevented from 'impeding or intimidating' them or their supporters or friends, and from interfering with their rights guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution and federal laws. SNCC was unsuccessful in this injunction action, which was denied by U. S. District Court Judge AND S. PORTER on August 7, 1967, according to the August 4, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star."

There was racial disturbance in Cincinnati, Ohio, starting shortly before 10:00 p.m. on Monday, June 12, 1967, which lasted until 6:00 a.m., Sunday, June 18, 1967. The disturbance began after a protest meeting the evening of June 12, 1967, in front of the Samuel Ach Junior High School over the arrest of PETER FRAKES early Sunday, June 11, 1967, for traffic interference while picketing in front of the Cincinnati City Hall in protest of the conviction in April, 1967, of POSTEL LASKEY, a Negro, for the murder of BARBARYA OWEN, a white woman, and to emphasize the right of freedom of assembly. Among those who spoke to the protest crowd was LEONARD BALL, chairman of local friends of SNCC, who was subsequently seen in an area of disturbance talking to small groups, but then left.

(Source: June 19, 1967)
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(Source: [Blank] June 16, 1967)

On April 29, 1967, the then SNCC national chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, spoke at a mass rally at the Carmel Presbyterian Church beginning about 8:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL spoke "about the background of the Negro in Africa, how everything was stripped from the Negro by the whites, and that the Capitalist system exists to keep Negroes subservient, with no hope for Negro liberation or freedom without destruction of the system. After the speech, LEONARD BALL took up collections for the Friends of SNCC. The rally was attended by FLORENCE TATE, a SNCC representative from Dayton, Ohio."

(Source: [Blank] May 4, 1967)

DAYTON, OHIO, SNCC

Black Liberation Party (BLP)

A characterization of MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national officer of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and founder of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), is contained in the appendix of this report, which includes characterizations of the NOI and MMI.
Programs and Activities of SNCC Wherein Its Personnel Were Involved in Planning of or Engaging in Violence

H. Rap Brown, SNCC national chairman, spoke at
the West Side Job Rally, 2301 West Third Street, on June 14, 1967, beginning at 8:00 p.m. The June 15, 1967, 'Dayton Daily News,' a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton area, carried an article entitled 'Brown Raps 'Honkies,' but Not Like Stokely.' The article quoted BROWN in regard to the press as stating, 'Newspapers are a weapon against black people... after each rebellion they call it a riot... dig 'em; they are out to get you.' BROWN was also quoted as stating in regard to Black Power that, 'We ain't seeking no love. We're seeking power, and the 'honkie' better understand that.'

Advised FBI Special Agents in June, 1967, that after the West Side Job Rally about 9:45 p.m. on June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles; some shop windows were broken and there was some scattered looting. The disturbances continued into the morning hours of June 15, 1967, with a continuation to a lesser extent the evening of June 15, 1967, and early morning hours of June 16, 1967. He stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

Advised an FBI Special Agent that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting, stating that he thought it triggered the disturbance.

XENIA, OHIO, SNCC, INCLUDING WILBERFORCE, OHIO, AND YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Disturbance at Central State University (CSU), Wilberforce, Ohio, SNCC, with Support from Antioch College and National and Cincinnati SNCC Officers
Violence broke out on the CSU campus on November 13, 1967, according to the November 17, 1967, edition of "The Record," published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, when school was in session, when police attempted to arrest MICHAEL WARNEN, a CSU senior and SNCC leader, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of the president of Wilberforce University, which is also a predominantly Negro college at Wilberforce, Ohio. CSU is about five miles south of Antioch College. There was a day and a half of disturbance and fighting between police authorities and students with numerous arrests of students and some non-students. Several SNCC members of the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record," that administration expelled student MICHAEL WARNEN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC chapter.

(Source: various dates beginning in November, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, is quoted in the November 18, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, as stating during the previous week that "a team of SNCC leaders were en route to the embattled university (CSU) to organize and stage demonstrations, sit-ins, and anything necessary to have our brother SNCC member reinstated."

The November 17, 1967, issue of "The Record," supra, pointed out that the CSU trustees ordered the university closed November 15, 1967, with students to be advised of the time of the reopening of the school.

On November 11, 1967, advised that about 5:00 p.m. that day, approximately 40 Antioch College students from Yellow Springs, Ohio, staged a peaceful demonstration in
Xenia to show their support for CSU students.

On December 4, 1967, [redacted] advised that conditions at CSU have been quiet since the school reopened after the Thanksgiving holidays.
APPENDIX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (MCPFB) since the latter part of March, 1962, has maintained an office in Room 422-424, Manhattan Building, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On July 16, 1947, Joseph Albert Poskonka, a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1944 to about 1948, advised that the MCPFB was founded at a conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1947, and the MCPFB was to operate as the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (ACPFB).

On May 5, 1955, a source advised that in a "Statement of Principles," issued in April, 1955, by the MCPFB, it was noted that "The purpose of the Midwest Committee shall be to seek to perpetuate for the foreign born the fundamental concepts of equality, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, political belief or place of birth, and to preserve the basic ideals of liberty and hospitality, which serve as the guarantees of democracy for all Americans."

A second source as of May 15, 1964, advised that the MCPFB continued to function as the midwest organization of the ACPF, and still adhered to its "Statement of Principles" last published in 1955.

The ACPF has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised on May 14, 1964, that it was his understanding that the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was formed around 1936 in New York City, and that the Chicago Chapter of the NLG (CCNLG), which is affiliated with the national group in New York, was formed shortly thereafter, possibly in 1937, by a group of liberal progressive lawyers in protest against activities of the American Bar Association which they claimed was a non-liberal, non-progressive organization. The CCNLG has no established headquarters, but occasionally uses the return address of its officials on literature.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on Page 121 concerning the NLG:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

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

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

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

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

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

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

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

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

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

Characterization of MMI is contained in the appendix.
APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religions in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist, James Booker, in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by Malcolm X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 120, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were...
established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which was also headed by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 136th Street, New York City.
Title        STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character    INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference    Report of SA dated and captioned as above.

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

For purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NONE
No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies instant report have been designated for Louisville.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the U.S.
INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

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LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

- C*

Cover Page
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
CINCINNATI, OHIO

1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - MISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Copy to: Confidential

Report No.: Confidential

Date: Confidential

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File #: 100-14158

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:
Confidential sources identify leadership of Cincinnati SNCC and furnish data re SNCC headquarters, membership, and meetings, recent past to present activities described, including presence and speeches by national leaders, Dayton and Cincinnati, conferences at colleges, travel by local leaders, interest in firearms, meetings with teenage students and subsequent school demonstrations, racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and recent involvement with Republic of New Africa programs.

DETAILS:
A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is located in your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP, AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On May 23, 1968, ______ confirmed the leadership of the Cincinnati SNCC as follows, all of whom are residents of Cincinnati, Ohio, except as indicated:

Chairman: THOMAS JAMES PORTER
Program Director: LEROY COSTON
Secretary: LANA MITCHELL
Treasurer: PATRICIA PEARL
Fund-raising: WILMA TONEY
Security: GEORGE HUGHES
Field Representative: WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, located Alabama

On May 28, 1968, the source advised that WILMA TONEY, although for the time being still carried on the membership rolls of Cincinnati SNCC, had resigned to devote full-time to other Negro organizational activities, and the position previously filled by her was vacant.

Concerning PAYNE, above, the source stated on January 30, 1968, that PAYNE is the only Cincinnati member of SNCC presently operating as a field representative, and is attached to the Atlanta headquarters of SNCC, although he has been working continuously in the area of Selma, Alabama. The source stated PAYNE's title is called Executive Secretary of the Alabama Project; that he is still considered a Cincinnati member of SNCC; and if PAYNE should encounter difficulties of any kind, it is the responsibility of Cincinnati SNCC to provide whatever assistance is necessary.
On May 28, 1968, [redacted] advised that henceforth the new Cincinnati headquarters would be located in the Jewish Temple at Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated PORTER obtained the headquarters from the Avondale Community Council, who exercises control over the Rockdale Temple, and PORTER paid the sum of $25.00 for one year's use of an office and/or classroom located on the second floor of the above Temple.

MEMBERSHIP - MEETINGS

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] confirmed the total present membership of Cincinnati SNCC as 19, which number includes the leadership above, WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Field Representative, and four new SNCC members whose membership was effective approximately March 15, 1968. The source added, however, that PORTER indicated serious intentions of expanding the membership in the immediate future to include several teenage Negroes, who had exhibited considerable enthusiasm on the high school level.

The source confirmed that weekly meetings are generally conducted on Wednesday evenings unless circumstances require a change or cancellation as determined by the leaders.
GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On December 18, 1967 [REDACTED] advised that at 8:30 p.m. on November 3, 1967, a meeting of the Tri-City SNCC was held at the Afro American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio.

This source had previously advised October 28, 1967, that Tri-City SNCC encompassed Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, all Ohio, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University (CSU) at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

[REDACTED] advised that CHARLES TATE, who is also the Chairman of the Dayton Alliance For Racial Equality (DARE), a civil rights organization in Dayton, Ohio, was the main speaker and discussed forming a newspaper which would be a communications link between the various cities of Tri-City SNCC.

It was decided that the Afro American Center in Dayton would be the headquarters for Tri-City SNCC, and that each city would have three members who could vote on decisions; however, the total number in attendance from each city would be unlimited.

[REDACTED] advised January 4, 1968, that on November 10, 1967, another meeting of the Tri-City SNCC occurred at the above address at which the establishment of a newspaper was again discussed, and a decision was also made that meetings of Tri-City SNCC would rotate between the cities involved.

The newspaper, "Yellow Springs News," Yellow Springs, Ohio, Page 1, carried an article which stated that a branch office of SNCC had recently opened at 221 Xenia Avenue.

The article stated SNCC workers were organizing the office and getting a supply of literature, posters, buttons, and so forth, and planned to serve the Springfield - Dayton area. The SNCC workers indicated that the public was welcome to come in for a visit, to chat, or just look around.
On February 9, 1968, SAS of the FBI observed STOCKLEY CARMICHAEL and WILLIAM HALL, above, depart from the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 12:50 p.m., via American Airlines Flight 476, en route to Washington, D.C.

advised that date that CARMICHAEL had been absent from his hotel room, above, for approximately two hours.
during February 8, 1968, during which time he attended a speech
given by JAMES FARMER, former Director of Congress of Racial
Equality (CORE), to an audience of about 400 persons at the Wesley
Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated CARMICHAEL
was accompanied by Cincinnati SNCC leader, PORTER, and upon the
conclusion of FARMER's speech, CARMICHAEL returned to the
Sheraton Gibson Hotel to address the Negro Methodist Ministers
at a closed meeting at approximately midnight in the Roof
Garden of the hotel.

The source stated that following the speech above,
CARMICHAEL, in his hotel rooms with all members of Cincinnati SNCC,
held a party and continued discussions similar to that previously
carried on in Dayton, Ohio, at the TATE residence above.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 3D, issue
of February 11, 1968, carried an article which stated, in essence,
that STOKELY CARMICHAEL told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers
to go into the streets and help the poor. He told the Ministers
that the church should not be geared toward the middle class,
but that its job was helping the poor. The article stated that
CARMICHAEL, who has a Methodist background, said the church was
the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about
cohesiveness among the Negro people.

on February 13, 1968, advised that JAMES FARMER,
former National Chairman of CORE, spoke at the Wesley Methodist
Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m. on February 8, 1968, at
which time FARMER, in essence, stated Negroes have been programed
by a racist society; that it was necessary for Negroes to unify
in order to de-program stereotyping, and that Negroes will never
achieve full citizenship in this country according to the history
of slavery.

stated that in attendance at the above speech
was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and following FARMER's speech, all the
Cincinnati SNCC members gathered around CARMICHAEL as he departed
from the Wesley Chapel.
On March 5, 1968, [redacted] stated that on February 15, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., a general meeting was held at the Afro-American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, at which time MARVIN WILSON was the guest speaker.

WILSON described himself as a national SNCC Field Representative, who would for a period of time work with all the black organizations in Dayton to unify them. WILSON stated he would involve all the black organizations whether they were willing or unwilling, and would work in the streets with those Negroes who have not been involved in any group activity.

WILSON stated the black people have been non-violent too long, and it was time they stood up and did something necessary for their liberation.

[redacted] advised February 19, 1968, that on February 16, 1968, LEROY JONES, Negro poet, spoke before about 1,500 persons, of which about fifty were white, in the University of Cincinnati Auditorium, beginning at 8:00 p.m., in connection with Negro History Week. JONES was invited by the United Black Association (UBA), which is a recently formed student Negro organization at UC, the purposes of which are "to enable the black student to acquaint himself better with community facilities and to be aware of and assist in any community problems involving the Negro, and to assist the black student in any way possible," according to the UBA spokesman in connection with the introduction of LEROY JONES. The person who introduced JONES with "He's alive. He's here. Eat our cat LEROY!" was THOMAS J. PORTER, Chairman of the Cincinnati Chapter of SNCC.

LEROY JONES

"After four days in jail, LEROY JONES was released Tuesday, January 9, 1968, from Trenton State Prison on $25,000.00 bail, pending appeal of his conviction for illegal possession of two pistols during the Newark rioting last summer," according to a United Press International release dated January 9, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," the daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area. It points out that JONES and two other men were sentenced..., JONES' sentence being 2½ to 3 years.

- "Life" Magazine of June 10, 1966, in an article captioned "Plotting a War on Whitey," quotes
"LEROY JONES, the brilliant and bitter playwright who is, if not a leader of black extremism, surely one of its most eloquent spokesmen," as stating, "'What the black man needs is an absolute world of his own values. This is not realistic with the white man alive. I do not think it possible that we can wish him away.'" It also quotes him as saying, "'I don't think it is necessary to make anything clear to the white man except perhaps that most of the people in the world would be better off if the white man didn't exist.'"
On March 5, 1968 had also advised that he had learned that LEONARD BALL, former Program Director, resigned from Cincinnati SNCC, and moved to Washington, D.C. on March 2, 1968.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 7D, issue of March 17, 1968, carried an article titled, "Struggle For Survival
Cited by SNCC Leader," which stated, in essence, that CLEVELAND SELLERS, described as a National Field Director of SNCC, in a speech at the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, 3025 Walter Street, Cincinnati, stated that the black man's struggle in America is a struggle for survival. The article further related that SELLERS stated that if the Negroes do not come together and develop a black conscious philosophy, the white man was going to kill the Negroes off, and SELLERS also accused the Federal Government of Negro genocide by reason of the deaths of several Negro militant leaders in the recent past.

Advised March 25, 1968, that FLORENCE TATE, of Dayton, Ohio, above, used to work on a Mississippi project for SNCC, that she is much more knowledgeable about SNCC and its activities than her husband, CHARLES TATE, and source opined that she has closer association with National SNCC than anyone else in the area. Possibly even a minor position of some type, because anyone from National SNCC or speakers, etc. coming to Ohio, consistently go to Dayton first to see FLORENCE TATE.

Advised April 1, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC Officers, LEROY COSTON, Program Director, and LANA MITCHELL, Secretary, attended a conference in Detroit, Michigan, on March 30 and 31, 1968, where a "Black Man's Constitution" was drafted for the creation of a separate nation of Negroes within the United States, to be subsequently presented to the U.S. Government.

Advised March 25, 1968, he had learned that all members of Cincinnati SNCC were scheduled to travel to Washington, D.C., for the period, April 12 - 14, 1968, to participate in a SNCC anti-draft demonstration, and that Cincinnati SNCC planned to charter a bus for 38 passengers.

On April 1, 1968, advised that LEONARD BELL, above, returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, from Washington, D.C. for a visit, and instructed Cincinnati SNCC that the above demonstrations in Washington, D.C. was not finalized as to details; consequently
Cincinnati SNCC should hold their plans to travel to Washington, D.C. in abeyance, and await further instructions.

On April 1, 1968, the same source advised that on March 29, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman TOMMY PORTER travelled to Springfield, Illinois, where he spoke to approximately 200 persons at the State House Inn, 101 East Adams Street, which was sponsored by the Institute for Administrative Leadership and School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunities. The source stated PORTER in his speech urged separation not integration of the school system because the present school system taught nothing but lies.

The Cincinnati edition of the newspaper, "Call and Post," Page 5, issue of March 30, 1968, carried an article datelined Dayton, Ohio, to the effect national SNCC Field Director CLEVELAND SELLERS spoke before an audience of 200 at the Mt. Olive Church in that city on the same subject matter that SELLERS had previously spoken on in Cincinnati on March 16, 1968; namely, that "Black people are fighting a war for survival in America."

Advised April 2, 1968, he had learned that on April 1, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director LERoy COSTON had fifteen or twenty Negro teenage male high school students come to SNCC headquarters at 2348 Highland Avenue for a P.M. meeting.

The source stated he was unable to furnish any specific information concerning the meeting, other than he understood COSTON had learned the teenagers had planned to boycott or demonstrate at some of the city high schools, but they had no definite objectives or organization to their plans.

The source stated he also learned that COSTON planned to have another meeting with the students on April 3, 1968.

On April 4, 1968, the source advised that COSTON cancelled the weekly SNCC membership meeting on April 3, 1968, and instead held another meeting with the Negro male teenagers, which was attended by about thirty students. The source stated he was unable to furnish any specifics, but did not believe violence, as such, was involved.

The Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, "Journal Herald," Page 69, issue of April 4, 1968, carried an article titled, "Rebels Label Revolution Black, Internal,Chaotic," which stated, in essence that at a panel discussion at the University of Dayton's Miriam Hall.
on April 3, 1968, CHARLES TATE, above, a representative of SNCC, stated revolution is the "black revolution, and it is a reality," and that "any means necessary for freedom are legitimate."

It should be noted that the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, experienced a racial disturbance, which commenced at 6:00 p.m., April 8, 1968, and lasted until 12:00 noon, April 12, 1968, at which time the Mayor's Riot Proclamation was rescinded according to the Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department.

On April 10, 1968, the Cincinnati SNCC Chairman PORTER stated that everything was fairly quiet, and that SNCC had nothing planned either in connection with the riot or with regard to SNCC meetings and activities.

PORTER indicated with regard to the riots, that a lot of people could be killed, hurt, or arrested, but that there had to be many sacrifices for the greater good, and that more would have to be made.

On April 12, 1968, the regular Cincinnati SNCC weekly meetings were suspended because of the racial disturbance as were the meetings which LEROY COSTON had been conducting with the Negro high school teenage males.

COSTON stated that COSTON had indicated the meetings were only with regard to a future walkout by the high school kids from school, and that the kids were supposed to stay out of school until the demands they were to present to the teachers and the school board had been met, but the source at that time did not know the nature of the demands that were to be presented.

The source also advised that he had learned of no plans on the part of SNCC or TOMMY PORTER with regard to the riot or
in the immediate future; that the weapons in the possession of the various SNCC members individually were supposedly only for defensive reasons, and that he knew of no specific use that PORTER had in mind for the dynamite in his possession at that time, above.

High School Demonstrations

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 1, 1968, carried an article titled, "Sit-Ins Prompted By Adults - MILLER," which stated in part as follows:

"Supt. PAUL A. MILLER declared Tuesday that demonstrations by 1,400 students at six Cincinnati high schools were 'a planned action' that was 'aided and abetted by adults.'

"He charged the peaceful sit-ins across the city have 'exploded the myth' that unrest has been entirely spontaneous.

"MILLER pointed to the presence of several militant leaders and peace protesters seen at the schools where youths protested the reassignment of seven students from Withrow and Woodward.

"He warned that if the adults could be linked directly with the disruptions of school, 'they will be charged with aiding and abetting the students by contributing to the delinquency of a minor.'

"MILLER met with City Hall officials, police and principals to plan counter action to keep schools operating as usual 'for the 90% who want to learn.' There are about 17,000 students in the eight high school centers.

"Taft and Western Hills had no sit-ins, MILLER said."

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 8, issue of May 15, 1968, carried an article titled, "Last of 1,300 Suspended Due Back In School," which stated in part as follows:

"The last 106 students among 1,300 suspended from school during Cincinnati high school sit-ins two weeks ago are due back in classes today.

"Most of the suspended youths had been reinstated by last week through parent conferences with principals."
In connection with the above demonstrations, it should be additionally noted the "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 3, 1968, carried an article, which stated, in essence, that students in the Cincinnati public high schools would have greater voice in the operation of their schools, and that black history, culture, and literature would be incorporated in the curriculum. The article went on to discuss the demonstrations and stated that THOMAS PORTER, local Chairman of SNCC, who spoke to student demonstrators at schools this week, was arrested in Avondale Thursday for disorderly conduct after allegedly using abusive language against a policeman. He had marched with chanting students around City Hall earlier.

With regard to the high school demonstrations above, on April 30, 1968, [redacted] stated that six out of eight Cincinnati high schools were involved in the student protests, demonstrations, and walk-outs that SNCC had encouraged, and because of SNCC's involvement with the students, the regular weekly meetings of SNCC had been temporarily discontinued. The source stated that in further of SNCC's counselling of the students, LEROY COSTON was meeting again either that night with the students or on May 1, 1968.

On May 2, 1968, [redacted] stated the previous Cincinnati SNCC meetings with the high school students were for the ultimate purpose of disrupting the schools, and the four students who were transferred from Withrow to Guilford were only the vehicle or excuse used to bring about the disruption, and the demands were really only of secondary significance.

On May 10, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that MILTON HENRY, First Vice-President of the Republic of New Africa, was to speak in Cincinnati on either May 19 or May 26, 1968, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church at 7:30 p.m. The source stated that MILTON's appearance was a result of a SNCC invitation. The source stated the speech was being sponsored by SNCC for the purpose of raising money for SNCC, and that speakers such as HENRY are merely reimbursed for their travel expenses with whatever additional raised, going to the organization.

The source advised that the only SNCC member presently believed to be also a member of the New Republic of Africa is LEROY COSTON.

On May 23, 1968, [redacted] advised he had learned that several members of Cincinnati SNCC, one of whom was Program Director LEROY COSTON, had indicated intentions of attending a convention to be held by the Republic of New Africa in Chicago, Illinois, during May 30 and 31, 1968.
It should be noted that the Black Government Conference met March 30-31, 1968, at Detroit, Michigan, to establish a provisional Government. At this conference the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was formed for the purpose of organizing an independent Negro nation which was to be made up of several southern states of the United States. According to source ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, currently in China, was elected President of the RNA; MILTON ROBINSON HENRY was elected First Vice-President; and RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY, also known as Brother IMARI, was elected Minister of Information of the RNA.

A characterization of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which is attached hereto.

during May, 1968, advised MILTON HENRY is an Attorney at Law from the Pontiac, Michigan, area, and is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit, Michigan, area.

states that RICHARD HENRY also known as IMARI, is an employee of the United States Government, who lives in the Detroit, Michigan, area, and is described as a local militant Black Nationalist who, in the past, was President of a rifle club known as the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club, which club was organized and dominated by members of the local RAM group.
APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

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

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, 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.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 18, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, Williams was residing in Peking, China.

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

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin."
APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that Maxwell Stanford of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where Stanford resides.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1963, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1963, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
Title            STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
                 COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  RACIAL MATTERS

Reference  Report of Special Agent
           at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated and captioned
           as above.

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

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

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

DATE: 10/3/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 5/21/63 - 9/27/68
REPORT MADE BY: SA
CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC

REFERENCE:
Report of SA dated 6/18/68,
at Cincinnati.

-M-

- Bureau (105-168197) (RM)
  - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
  - Cincinnati (Info) (RM)
  - Columbus (Info) (RM)
  - Louisville (cont'd Cover Page B)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE: [Redacted]

NOTES:

10-46 REG-65

EX 109

KEG-78
ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.
No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies of instant report have been designated for Louisville.

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Baltimore, Cleveland, Mobile and Philadelphia and NYC for information and possible future investigative use.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:  

Location:

CI 100-14158  

CG 100-40342  

SUB:

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any such activity in the Columbus area.

- C -  
Cover Page
AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 10/8/63

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158
Bureau File #: 105-168197

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Complete leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as furnished by confidential sources. Additionally supplied data regarding headquarters, local meetings, travel and conferences in Chicago and New York City with national SNCC leaders concerning SNCC internal conflict and activities. Recent past to present activities of Cincinnati SNCC set forth including status of development of marching groups and firearms interest, and meeting with RAM leader MAXWELL STANFORD as result of speech by RNA leader BETTY SHABAZZ in Cincinnati on 9/8/68.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On July 26, 1968, the complete SNCC membership roster effective as of the Cincinnati SNCC reorganization on July 15, 1968, and as confirmed August 16, 1968.

The chief leaders (first three below) all of whom have an equal voice, are:

LEROY COSTON
Educational Advisor

KENNETH ROBINSON
Military Advisor

GEORGE HUGHES
Program Director

DONALD HARRIS
Security Officer

JUANITA McCOMBS
Secretary

CLAUDIA ANDERSON
Treasurer and fund raising

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE
Field Representative - located in Alabama

Former Chairman

On August 16, 1968, advised that TOMMY PORTER, former Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC prior to the above reorganization July 15, 1968, then attending classes at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, was to leave Cincinnati to commence teaching in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 6, 1968. This source stated PORTER was one of the Antioch-Putney Students Interning in Baltimore under the direction of an individual named JOHN HOPKINS and others in the Baltimore School System. The source also stated that PORTER was to complete additional masters work during the late summer of 1969 at Putney, Vermont.
**MEMBERSHIP**

In addition to the above, the complete Cincinnati SNCC membership as of July 15, 1968, is as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>21. Bruce Walton</td>
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<td>Tommy Clinton</td>
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It should be noted that also advised August 12, 1968, that TED HARRIS, CLIFORD COOPER and THOMAS COOPER, whose names appear on the above roster reside in Covington, Kentucky, and that JACK CARTON, ANTOINE WILLIAMS, TOMMY CLINTON and HAROLD JEFFRIES are Cincinnati high school students recently admitted to Cincinnati SNCC membership and described by this source as "wild".

FINDS

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HEADQUARTERS AND MEETINGS

On August 12, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the Cincinnati SNCC headquarters are located on the second floor of the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, and that aside from specific situations the routine organization meetings, effective July 15, 1968, were to be held one month from the date of the last meeting.

RECENT SIGNIFICANT OUT-OF-STATE ACTIVITIES
A characterization of US and BDP appear in the Appendix of this report.

The following Cincinnati SNCC members were scheduled to be in Chicago, Illinois of August 16-19, 1968:

TAYLOR HUGHES,

DONALD HARRIS,

TED HARRIS,

CLIFFORD and THOMAS COOPER and MICHAEL HARDICK

to the Chicago, Illinois meeting.

Advised on August 16-19, 1968, that by reason of car trouble, only the following Cincinnati SNCC members were able to travel to Chicago, Illinois, for the above meeting on August 18, 1968:

Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON,

Program Director GEORGE BOWES,

LARRY MILES,

DONALD HARRIS

McINLEY LACE,
one young male Negro (name unknown), and
TAYLOR HUGHES.
further advised that the Cincinnati group thereafter returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, during the a.m. of August 25, 1968, where Johnny Jackson thereafter departed for Selma, Alabama.
advised July 27, 1968,
concerning the item to be used for firearms training in
Kentucky, the location is still as yet not known, but it is
anticipated that as soon as SNCC Military Advisor KENNETH
ROBINSON had "shaped up" the SNCC guards or protective force,
he, ROBINSON, intended to utilize the firm.

The source stated ROBINSON, for the previous week,
had been conducting marching and drilling exercises in the
vicinity of the Rockdale Temple from about 5:30 p.m. to
8:00 p.m., about every night, and on a few occasions until
as late as 10:00 p.m.

The source stated ROBINSON has been drilling about
30 men, some of whom were SNCC members, and some of whom are
potential or future SNCC members.

Subsequently on August 11, 1968, a source stated
that about three weeks previous a local dance was held by
SNCC at the Rockdale Temple to raise money and which was well
attended. About 1:00 a.m., as the dance was about over, six
degrees from the Mt. Auburn area began to get a little rough
to the point it appeared a fight would start as a result of
which SNCC military advisor KENNETH ROBINSON, called eight of
his marching group, and they went to the trunk of ROBINSON's
car where they each obtained a weapon, handguns and rifles,
and returned to the dance where they told the Mt. Auburn
group the dance was over. The source stated ROBINSON's
actions were effective, but everyone felt ROBINSON was very
foolish in that actions of that type would have brought the
Cincinnati Police into the situation quickly.

- 11 -
The source stated ROBINSON's Army does not have a central repository for weapons, but many members of the SNCC Army have their individual guns which they each also keep individually for security reasons, and many of the younger members of the marching group joined it because they believed that sooner or later they would be able to get a weapon as a result of being part of the Army or marching group.

The source stated that ROBINSON, himself, does have several of his own guns, including a magnum, but ROBINSON is so erratic that it is impossible to state that at any given time that he will have a gun in his possession.

The source stated ROBINSON also bought a new motor bike, and has recently been starting new marching groups and linking up recently formed marching groups with his own group at the Rockdale Temple.

The source stated ROBINSON linked up with a new group on the West Side called the "Black Turks" and with a similar type group operating in the Hillvale area. In addition, ROBINSON is in the process of forming a new marching group in the Evanston area and has established another marching group in the Madisonville area, and about every other day contacts at least one of the above groups on his motor bike for discussions and drilling practice and on a few occasions there have been sessions of karate instructions.

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION – RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

[Blacked out] advised May 21, 1968, that on May 19, 1968, MILTON HENRY, Vice President of the Republic of New Africa, appeared at a meeting at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, which lasted from approximately 6:00 p.m. to 9:45 p.m., and was attended by about 33 persons between the ages of 20 – 40.

The source stated the meeting was sponsored by SNCC, a collection was taken, which totalled about $25, and HENRY was introduced by Cincinnati SNCC member KENNETH ROBINSON.

A characterization of the RMA (Republic of New Africa) is contained in the appendix of this report.

The source stated ROBINSON told the group that Cincinnati SNCC planned to hold weekly meetings on Sundays at the Carmel Church for discussions on Negro culture and tradition, and in connection with those meetings, were planning to have guest speakers from the various Negro movements in
the United States.

ROBINSON stated that SNCC would invite all the speakers to appear, that the cost for same would come from individual donations so he urged as large a donation as possible since the collection would be divided between SNCC and the particular speaker for the occasion.

ROBINSON further stated that the Carmel Church would become the complete and only real "black man's church in Cincinnati where the black man's culture, history and tradition would prevail".

The source stated MILTON HENRY spoke for one hour, which was followed by a thirty minute question session.

The source stated HENRY discussed the separatist movement, which desired the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama to be set aside as a separate nation, to be brought about by guerrilla warfare and intimidation of the white man.

On June 6, 1968, advised that commencing that date, Cincinnati SNCC would conduct a "Freedom School" at the Rockdale Temple to instruct in Negro culture and tradition; the first meeting would be devoted to registration, and the school was to be open to anyone, with emphasis on teenagers.
This source advised the same date, that about a week previous there was a meeting at the St. Simon's Episcopal Church in Lincoln Heights, Ohio, which was attended by about 15 Negro teenagers from the Wyoming, Princeton and Lincoln Heights High Schools, and Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON, TAYLOR HUGHES, KENNETH ROBINSON and LANA MITCHELL.

The source advised the following Tuesday, the Negro students from Wyoming High School, who had attended the above meeting, presented demands to the Wyoming High School officials to include Negro history and culture in the curriculum.

Also advised on June 6, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC members LANA MITCHELL, KENNY ROBINSON and WILLIE THOMAS attended the RNA Convention in Chicago, Illinois, during the Memorial Day weekend, 1968.

The source stated he understood the above groups departed the Thursday morning prior to the weekend, and attended the convention that evening and Friday, but because the convention leaders began to fight and differ among themselves, the Cincinnati group got disgusted and returned to Cincinnati.

This source also stated WILLIE THOMAS, above, had bought a clerical collar, adopted the title "Reverend" and became a self-ordained minister to follow the current fad of many of the national SNCC members because it seemed to provide better access to church and other groups. When pressed as to church affiliation, they generally just answer "corner Baptists".
This same source advised that on June 8, 9, 1968, an Afro American Weekend was held at Antioch College, which consisted of a concert and fashion show, but the models for same failed to show up. The source stated that TOMMY PORTER, LANA MITCHELL, BRUCE WALTON, TAYLOR HUGHES and GEORGE HUGHES attended as representatives of Cincinnati SNCC.

The source stated that TYD HARRIS, from Covington, Kentucky, and KENNY ROBINSON from Cincinnati, Ohio, are
considered the military or firearms training leaders for Cincinnati SNCC.

advised on June 26, 1968, that he believed
SNCC as an organization had lost much of its appeal to the
Black population in the Dayton, Ohio area subsequent to the
newspaper articles which reported STICKLEY CARMICHAEL, former
National Chairman of SNCC, had purchased a $70,000 home in
Washington, D.C.

On July 27, 1968 advised that the "Freedom School", above, which was started by SNCC, with classes open
to the public, at the Rockdale Temple on Thursday nights,
7:00 - 9:00 P.M., had become very successful. The source
stated classes had been expanded to Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday
and Thursday of every week at the Samuel Achs Junior High
School, from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of
August 6, 1968, page 38, carried an article titled, "Must
Affirm Our Blackness Negroes Told At umojo Session", which
stated that August 5, 1968, was the opening of umojo (UNITY)
Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The article stated umojo Week would continue for
the entire week, would end August 11, 1968, and began with a
parade up Reading Road which was led by the sponsors and
immediately followed by the "Avondale Drill Team" led by KEITH ROBINSON, above, as drill instructor.

The article stated this unit was dressed in blue jeans, black sweaters, and some wore berets. The men wore high military boots, and all wore ammunition belts.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Post and Times Star", issue of August 6, 1958, page 8, carried an article titled "Workshops Highlight Umoja Week Activities" which stated the August 7, 1958, session would open at 10:45 a.m. with a workshop on Economics for Black People, headed by LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of local SNCC.

The article additionally listed several panelists for the educational program, including among whom was TOM PORTER, Chairman of SNCC and HAROLD JEFFERIES (above SNCC membership list).

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 8, 1958, page 17, carried an article titled "Racial Pride Stressed for Unity" which stated that LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, and organizer of workshop sessions for Umoja (Unity) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati stated on August 7, 1958, that his message to the black men and women attending the workshop in the Rockdale Temple was "blackness equals knowledge of self, racial pride, self-respect and cooperative effort".

COSTON was quoted as saying, "We've tried to involve ourselves at every level, but we still have no rights."

"The only meaningful measure that can be taken by our people in this racist society is to turn our resources back to ourselves."

Advised August 10, 1958, he had learned that NATIONAL leaders of the SNCC, both national SNCC leaders in New York City, New York, traveled to the Cleveland, Akron and Dayton, Ohio areas for the purpose of organizing SNCC operations in those cities.

This source stated HUTCHINGS and DAVIS returned to New York City on August 16, 1958, and indicated they had had reasonable organizing success in Ohio.

Advised on August 21, 1958, he had learned of no information to indicate HOUTZ HUTCHINGS or IRVING DAVIS, above, had been to the Dayton, Ohio area around August 14, 1958.
The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 23, 1968, page 10, carried an article titled "Black Berets' March to Promote Self-Help; But Police Are Wary", which stated young Negro men and women are forming uniformed marching units in the Greater Cincinnati area which they say may help create community and racial pride.

The article stated the two largest groups are reported in the West End and Avondale and others are said to be forming in Cumminsville, Milvale, Walnut Hills, Lincoln Heights, Madisonville and Middletown Kentucky and may have a total strength of 200, mostly men between 16 and 25, and a few black sisters.

The article described KENNETH ROBINSON, above, age 24, as a "General" and as a full-time employee of a major industrial firm who had worked his way up from sweeper since he was honorably discharged from the Army four years ago.

The article indicated ROBINSON, when interviewed, stated he resisted having to account for their groups and uniforms and ceremonial use of machetes - long jungle knives - by honor guards because they were Negro. He felt that white youth groups could have hunting knives and hatchets and the like, as well as uniforms, without having to offer special explanations and undergo police surveillance.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of September 9, 1968, page 14, carried an article titled, "She Compares Black With Patriots of 1773", which stated BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of black militant leader MALCOLM X, Sunday night, (September 8, 1968) compared the "black man's struggle for freedom in America" with the original struggle of the 13 colonies in a speech at the Rockdale Temple, above, Cincinnati, Ohio, under the "auspices of the Republic of New Africa".

The article stated MISS SHABAZZ arrived about 6:30 p.m. and was heavily guarded, guards additionally were stationed at the entrance of the building, and frisked everyone who came in.

The article stated the speech concerned the establishment of a separate black nation within the U.S.; that 20 guards escorted MISS SHABAZZ to a car after the speech, and three carloads of guards took her to the airport.

Advised September 10, 1968, that BETTY SHABAZZ, above, appeared for a speech in Cincinnati as a result of a previous invitation by SNCC member, WILLIE THOMAS, who is also a Recruiter for the RNA.

This source stated that SHABAZZ came to Cincinnati accompanied by RNA leader, RICHARD HENRY, both of whom departed.
This source additionally stated that WILLIE THOMAS appeared at the Rockdale Temple accompanied by MAXWELL STANFORD, a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who had arrived in Cincinnati September 7, 1968, and is believed to have departed September 8, 1968.

stated he learned that ROBINSON planned to depart Cincinnati during the morning of September 27, 1968, and would be accompanied by DONALD HARRIS, Cincinnati SECC Security Officer and military aide of ROBINSON, and would probably return to Cincinnati during the p.m. of September 28, 1968.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations or these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a public letter note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ru in, then here's my life."
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Aka.,
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBET GEORGE SEAL, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial in charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.
APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1938, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7325 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by HILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Ikari), Detroit, Michigan an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT EDWARD CLEAVAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised that HENRY brothers and CLEAVAGE adopted the name Malcolm X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X. LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power and since his assassination February 21, 1965 at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing the name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters and no formal membership and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA which is to be revolutionary in nature is to make efforts for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States.
Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina which are to be given to the KKK by the United States Government. The officers of the KKK also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the KKK, several executive officers have presented the Republican credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT P. WILLIAMS was elected President of the KKK, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BENNY SHIELDS, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 29, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT P. WILLIAMS, charging him with unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader". WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader".

Characterizations of the KKK, WKK and OAAU are attached hereto.
APPENDIX

"US", also known as "US", Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate that "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 6211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to 'give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose... based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture'.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled "The Quotable Karenga", authored by Maulana Ron Karenga, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". According to this source, this booklet advises:

"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture... The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos... We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically.

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction... The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one... When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are..."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"We... must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it... We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man - let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia - let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power..."
Regarding religion, this booklet advised:

"... The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when something goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity..."

"JESUS said, 'my blood will wash you white as snow', who wants to be white but sick 'Negros', or worse yet --- washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadirola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it...

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Continental Karenga".

The first source advised that "US membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Amato and cultural activities such as arts and poetry. The second level is comprised of members who act as office workers and make speeches. The third and highest level of membership is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.
On January 26, 1971, a warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a second warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

The NOI is an organization which was originally
organized on an idealistic basis of 'visions of Islam,' 'Ten Principles of Islam,' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a third warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a fourth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a fifth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a sixth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a seventh warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, an eighth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a ninth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a tenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, an eleventh warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twelfth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a thirteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a fourteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a fifteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a sixteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a seventeenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, an eighteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a nineteenth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twentieth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-first warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-second warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-third warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-fourth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-fifth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-sixth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-seventh warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-eighth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a twenty-ninth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'

On May 8, 1971, a thirtieth warrant was issued for the arrest of,
and the description of the organization on a nationwide basis to the 'visions of Islam' and the 'Ten Principles of Islam.'
APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER, in which he indicated that he had heard the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.
APPENDIX

HISLIM MOSQUE INCORPORATED (MMI) (Continued)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 3650 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 18, 1961. These head- quarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 135th Streets, New York City.
APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION: AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

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

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

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the goal of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent 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 social reform.

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

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

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and now of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 6, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
P. O. Box 1277
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201
October 2, 1969

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference: Report of SNCC dated and captioned as above.

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

REPORTING OFFICE: CINCINNATI
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA

DATE: 4/8/69
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/27/69 - 4/3/69

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC

SYNOPSIS:

REFERENCES:

-P-

NONE

Pending over 1 year No;
Pending prosecution over 6 months No.

Appr. date: [redacted]
Special Agent in Charge: [redacted]

Copies destroyed:
146 Oct 02 1970

Property of FBI - This report is sealed to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the FBI, with which issued.
ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.
Wilberforce University. Several names, without additional identifying data or location, were furnished by [REDACTED] and despite the paucity of information, appropriate cases were opened in anticipation of probable receipt of further more specific data to be thereafter set forth in a subsequent SNCC organization report.

Data re individuals referred to in the details, who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For additional reasons of brevity and to eliminate repetitive reporting, the essential data of Cincinnati LHM, 3/7/69, concerning the East St. Louis conference of 3/1,2/69, was set forth in enclosed report, but the printed program and related data was excluded since same was more pertinent to respective Divisions rather than the overall organization.

INFORMANTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity of source</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[REDACTED]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Springfield, Chicago, Louisville, Mobile, and New York for possible future investigative use.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

- C -

COVER PAGE
CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.
UNIVERSITY OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1. 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
2. Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
3. Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
4. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date: 4/8/69

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current leaders and members of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as supplied by furnished data re headquarters, funds, attendance at conferences in Springfield and East St. Louis, Illinois, and efforts re establishment of Black Panther Party contacts with out-of-state Black Nationalist leaders, local SNCC membership, travel, and meetings data.

- P -

DETAILS:
A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

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

On February 20, 1969, furnished the current leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC. The source stated the membership list was effective as of February 2, 1969, reconfirmed as still correct February 20, 1969, and those names which appeared on previous lists, but do not appear on the present list, were removed from SNCC membership by reason of inactivity and/or non-participation in the activities.

LEADERS - (RESIDENCE CINCINNATI UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Adviser</td>
<td>LEROY COSTON</td>
<td>5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Director</td>
<td>GEORGE HUGHES</td>
<td>319 Glenwood No. 221-3768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Adviser</td>
<td>TED HARRIS</td>
<td>Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Officer</td>
<td>MC KINLEY PACE</td>
<td>2348 Highland Avenue (No telephone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>SANDRA CARR</td>
<td>2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer &amp; Fund Raising</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Representative</td>
<td>WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE</td>
<td>(Whereabouts unknown)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NON-LEADERSHIP MEMBERS

NOAH CAVE
1026 Burton Avenue, No. 791-3799
CI 100-14158

GEORGE EDISON  
3030 Gilbert Avenue  
No. 221-7560

TAYLOR HUGHES  
3458 E. Millvale Circle  
No. 681-3306

JOHN DACE  
3593 Roll Street,  
No. 542-2873

WILBUR CAVE  
1026 Burton Avenue,  
No. 791-3799

GARRELL WINSTEAD  
1482 Dudley Walk  
No. 421-6075

MEETINGS - HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] advised the regular meetings of Cincinnati SNCC were changed from the 22nd of each month to weekly Sunday meetings, unless cancelled or rescheduled, to commence at 2:00 PM at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Further information concerning the NOI is located in the appendix attached hereto.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

On March 14, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that two Negro males, names and organization affiliation unknown, but from California, had arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, within the previous two or three days, and were temporarily residing with the Cincinnati Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Secretary, SANDRA CARR, at 2225 Highland Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

On March 15, 1969, this source stated he had learned that the two Negroes, names unknown, had been arrested in Columbus, Ohio, about March 4 - 5, 1969, for carrying a concealed weapon, and were members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, but the circumstances of the arrest are unknown.

The source also stated he learned that bond money for the above two, $360 each for a total of $600 was paid, and that both returned immediately to Oakland, California.
Further information concerning the BFP is located in the appendix attached hereafter.

PARTICIPATION IN OUT OF STATE CONFERENCES

[Handwritten text]

[censored]

that CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director and
leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in
St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC
Educational Adviser, LEROY TOSTON, January 25, 1969, and
requested no more than TWO leadership representatives of
Cincinnati SNCC to attend a highly confidential meeting
The purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.
On January 30, 1969, [redacted] stated he had learned that Leroy Coston, above, and Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, George Hughes, were the two representatives who attended the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

[redacted] stated the meeting took place in the living room of the home of Larry Isaac, Prime Minister of the "Black Egyptians", 1201 South 15th Street, Springfield, Illinois, who within the past two months had moved to Springfield from East St. Louis, Illinois, and resides at the above address with his wife and two small children.

The source stated the meeting started at about three p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about twenty-eight persons, all Negroes, including several females, and the entire meeting was conducted by Charles Koen, leader of the "National Black Liberators", St. Louis, Missouri, with the exception of a short period of time when the speaking was done by Koen's assistant, also a "liberator", name unknown, but described as about 28, 6'2", 225 pounds, medium Afro haircut, clean shaven, neat, with a 3" circular scar on his right cheek.

The source stated some of the invitees were late in appearing, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to Koen, such as Dan Aldridge from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of twenty-eight in attendance is approximate.

Koen also stated he had received a telephone call from Edward Crawford, above, who told Koen that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for Crawford to attend the meeting.
The source stated that at the inception of the meeting Koen stated that for obvious reasons there would be absolutely no note taking, and unless some of the attendees were already known to each other, no one would be introduced to anyone else beyond a first name basis.

The source stated he recalled that as far as attendance by groups or organizations the meeting was attended as follows:

(5) "National Black Liberators" from St. Louis, Missouri, including Koen, composed of three men and two women, who were among the last to arrive at the meeting.

(10) "Black Egyptians" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.

(8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.
"Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois

The source additionally stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name the source stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".

The source stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four or five of the "War Lords", both from East St. Louis, Illinois, departed from the meeting about one hour before the conclusion.

With regard to the meeting proper the source stated Koen set forth the following general purposes and, thereafter, returned to expand on several of the points:

1. To get acquainted with our fellow revolutionaries in different, yet immediately adjacent, territories or areas.

2. Although from different areas, to recognize that it is a common system and a common enemy everywhere.

3. Discuss the divide and conquer policy of the system.

4. Discuss plans to move against the enemy.

5. Discuss bond and court expenses.

6. Roles of the groups and communications.

7. Discuss national meetings of the groups from all areas.

8. Discuss establishment of a central office for their (Midwest) area.

Koen stated one of the main elements of a "revolution" is for the revolutionary to keep his "mouth shut", and each of the attendees had been invited because he is a revolutionary.
In expanding upon the subjects Koen stated that the enemy had recently subjected their groups to extreme harassment and injustice.

Koen stated very recently the offices of the "National Black Liberators" in St. Louis had been raided by police, without cause, on two or three occasions; the doors of the offices of the "Black Egyptians" in East St. Louis had been kicked down by the police; a primarily women's school in East St. Louis had been raided by police who found only two guns and a knife after a thorough search; but most significant was because of the mass shooting which had occurred the previous week in East St. Louis which resulted in the deaths of four Negroes and the injuring of two others who were presently on the critical list.

Koen did not restate the details of the above incident except to the extent it involved six magazine salesmen, two of whom Koen stated were legitimate, and the other four were undercover police officers.

Koen stated that as a result of the above, one "Swede" Jeffreys, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, was unjustly arrested and charged with four counts of murder.

Koen stated Jeffreys was arrested on the basis of an identification by one of the men who had been shot and died, but identified Jeffreys while under the influence of narcotics before death.

Koen stated that the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, led by one "Pops", in attendance at the meeting, and described as about 40-45 years of age, was planning to follow one of two courses of action:

1. To go with a group directly to the jail where Jeffreys is located and kill everyone necessary to free Jeffreys.

2. To commence a planned, but random killing of the enemy one at a time in retaliation.

Koen stated he, Koen, believed careful planning should be done; that the possible loss of several might not be worth more than the rescue of only one, but whatever course of action they, the "War Lords", decided to follow, they had the complete support and encouragement of Koen.
Koen stated that Edward Crawford, above, who was to have attended the meeting, was to have rendered assistance or advice to the "War Lords" in the course of action they decided to follow.

Koen stated the number one weapon of their groups is explosives, and that guns are secondary for use as a last resort.

Koen stated all the groups in East St. Louis have good contacts for explosives in that area, have some available or access to it at the present time, and additionally have a "Black Egyptian" available, who is a former serviceman and a demolition expert, not further identified except located in East St. Louis.

Koen thereafter discussed the establishment of a Central Office for the Midwest area, and stated that although Chicago is also being considered, Springfield is presently the first choice despite the fact there are more transportation problems involved in travel to and from that city.

Koen stated it is tentatively planned that a Midwest Conference of all groups will be held February 8, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois, meeting site not designated, but one of the purposes will be to name or select a Midwest Council of representatives from the various groups.

Koen thereafter discussed generalities and stated he had just returned, no specifics disclosed, from a visit and conference in New York City, New York, with H. Rap Brown, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Koen stated that he thereafter contacted National SNCC leader Philip Hutchings telephonically relative to his California travel and was advised by Hutchings that he, Koen, had violated SNCC policy in meeting with the BPP.
Koen stated that partly, as a result of the above, he was leaving within a few days to attend a conference in Connecticut, and would thereafter return to New York City for further conferences, at the conclusion of which he believed he would return to California and attempt to resolve the differences within the BPP.

Koen thereafter indicated another meeting was to be held at the same address in Springfield in the immediate future with some of the representatives of the various newspapers and publications of the various groups with whom they are associated, and the entire meeting was thereafter concluded.
Concerning the conference in general, stated the conference as a whole was conducted by CHARLES KOEN; that approximately 56 persons were present on Saturday, March 1, 1969, from a late inception at about 7:00 PM, until 11:00 PM, and on Sunday, March 2, 1969, there were approximately 50 persons in attendance from noon until the conference terminated at about 8:00 PM.

The source stated most of the attendees were unknown and the majority were from the Midwest area, Springfield, East St. Louis, Peoria, and five students from Carbondale, Illinois, with the exception of the following, insofar as known or learned by this source:

**LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - 5**

Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, SNCO West Deputy Chairman.

Brother (First Name Unknown) CHOICE.

TONY ORANGE

SANDRA SCOTT

One unknown male

**NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK AREA - 5**

All unknown males, did not identify themselves, and attended the conference on March 1, 1969, only.

**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 9**

This male group was led by EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association (appears in program), and the group referred to themselves as "Mau Mau," indicated they were karate experts, and carried brown, twelve inch long wood clubs in their back pockets.
WASHINGTON, D.C. - 2
One male and one female, both unknown.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 1
One male from Atlanta, Georgia, unknown, engaged in organizing work in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The source stated that the conference did not start until about 2:00 PM on March 1, 1969, and generally followed the printed program but in essence, from 2:00 PM to 3:30 PM, was devoted to a general session; thereafter, was devoted to workshops from 3:30 PM to 5:00 PM, and thereafter moved to the office of KATHERINE DUNHAM, 530 Tenth Street, who source stated was Director of Performing Arts Training Center at 530 Tenth Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, where a discussion of "black culture" was conducted until about 7:00 PM, at which time the conference returned to the workshops until 11:00 PM when the day was concluded.

The source stated the Sunday, March 2, 1969, program was adhered to, including the presentation of a cantata by the organization of KATHERINE DUNHAM, described in the program.

Concerning the conference, the source stated that KOEN never fully clarified to the group why KOEN had referred to the conference as the First National Political Conference, and made no comment concerning any future national conferences, dates or locations.

The source stated the SNCC West Deputy Chairman, Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, and his group from Los Angeles, California, directed some questions to KOEN concerning the purpose of the conference, but received no explanation from KOEN, and indicated they were angry at being misled by KOEN.

KOEN stated each of the groups represented should unite for the common purpose of forming a national liberation group in furtherance of the four year plan previously proposed by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and that each of the groups should return to their respective states and attempt unification with all other local organizations in their areas.
KOEN stated the attempts at unification presently in effect were all part of an original plan devised by the slain Negro leader MALCOLM X LITTLE of Muslim Mosque, and that in the next few weeks a conference and meeting was to be arranged with the widow of MALCOLM X, BETTY SHABBAZZ, now a leader of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), to secure her endorsement for the unification.

Further information concerning Muslim Mosque and the RNA is attached hereto.

KOEN stated, however, that the SNCC national leaders still desired no actual present working relations or involvement with the BPP due to the extensive inner conflicts and dissension of that organization. KOEN stated national SNCC is waiting for the BPP to eliminate its own organizational problems, and presently feel the BPP may destroy itself unless changes are made within, and with BPP relations with other groups against whom they are engaged in actual warfare.

KOEN further stated that several national SNCC leaders, including PHIL HULLIN, S, were to have also attended the conference, but KOEN gave no explanation for their absence.

On March 26, 1969, [redacted] supplied additional data in elaboration of the information previously furnished March 4, 1969, concerning the conference called by the SNCC Midwest Director, CHARLES KOEN, on March 1-2, 1969, in East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that although it was feasible and possible that other similar type meetings might have taken place on February 2-3, 1969, or March 1-2, 1969, at other locations, he had obtained no information to that effect. The source stated that except for temporary lodgings of the attendees, the conference took place at the Summer College of Commerce, 9th and Ohio Streets, East St. Louis, Illinois, with a "black culture" discussion on March 1, 1969, and a music program on March 2, 1969, presented by KATHERINE DUNHAM at 530 10th Street, also East St. Louis, Illinois.
The source stated that excluding the above segments of Katherine Dunham, the conference was composed of several periods of general sessions, and several workshops, with significant data supposedly covered in the workshops repeated in the general sessions periods for the benefit of all, with some discussions or questions permitted, and immediately preceding the conclusion of the conference on March 2, 1969. There was a period of approximately thirty minutes from 7:30 to 8:00 PM, which was attended by only twelve to fifteen persons, including Charles Koen, above.

The source stated included in the closed group were several Negroes who referred to themselves as "Mau Mau", one of whom suggested it should be made clear to others that if one man commits some foolish illegal act on his own initiative, he should not expect others to come to his aid and support with either money or their weapons, but if the act itself is in furtherance of militant activities, then it should be understood that every man and organization should respond to help in whatever manner possible.

The source stated that Edward "Faist" Crawford, President of the National Negro Rifle Association, from Chicago, Illinois, during this period stated that branches of the above association should be started in every city, and that either he, Crawford, or one of his organizers, would travel wherever necessary to establish such a group.

The source stated it was also at this time that Charles Koen discussed the plan to unite all Black Nationalist organizations, and that recently two members of the Black Panther Party, names not disclosed, had been appointed to the SNCC Central Committee, although SNCC itself desired no present close working relationship with the BPP due to the considerable conflicts within that group.

The source stated he was aware of no discussions that took place concerning plans relative to selling "protection" to businesses, to hijack trucks, to commit robberies or muggings, to steal payroll checks, or to steal cars from rental agencies.

The source stated the first speaker at the first general session was Charles Koen who generally discussed revolutionary economics and the necessity for all groups to become acquainted, to open the doors of communication, and to work together for the common purpose.
KOEN was followed by DWIGHT SMITH of "Black Culture, Inc." of East St. Louis, Illinois, who spent considerable time discussing activities in that area, including the recent arrest of one CHARLES JEFFRIES in connection with the shooting deaths of four Negroes; how the local police had been harassing the local organizations, and that, at least to the present, nothing had been done by the local organizations in retaliation or opposition.

EDWARD "TALK" CRAWFORD thereafter spoke for about four minutes, but stopped abruptly when he indicated he saw someone operating a tape recorder, and stated he, CRAWFORD, simply did not trust everyone attending the conference.

The source stated Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY LAVON, thereafter spoke for about five minutes and stated that attempts were being made in Cincinnati, Ohio, to unify and work with all the groups; that one man alone, as an independent, was ineffective, but the community understands, appreciates, and will support a group they feel is working in their behalf.

The source stated the next general session was March 1, 1964; about nine to ten PM and was less orderly. The exact speakers were not recalled, but the only references to specific criminal activity was followed by CHARLES KOEN, who attempted a comparison between capitalism and revolutionary economics.

KOEN stated that if a man is robbed, and the money is spent to buy an Eldorado Cadillac, that is capitalism, because the system is being supported. If the money is used to purchase weapons, or to buy food for hungry Negro children, that is revolutionary economics.

The source additionally stated he recalled no speeches or discussions by CHARLES KOEN or anyone else concerning the planned hijacking of planes to Cuba, specific travel to Cuba, or negotiations with Cuba for compensation for planes hijacked by "brothers".

The source additionally stated the SNCC organization does own or have available films including, "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger", and "The Battle of Algiers", and additionally he recently learned that National SNCC leader, Gwendolyn Faison, was in a hospital, believed in Washington, D.C., and for a broken leg, but he could furnish no data regarding her recent visitors.
The source also stated that CHARLES KOEN indicated the conference was originally to have included March 3, 1969, and the meeting was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, to call additional attention by newspaper to a pending court appearance of KOEN and National SNCC leader, PHILIP HUTCHINGS, with regard to their arrest about six months previous at a rally in the East St. Louis area, details unknown.

The source also stated that at a general session on March 2, 1969, about 6:30 to 7:30 PM, one "POPS" JONES, about 40-45 years of age, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, Illinois, spoke for about fifteen minutes in an incohesive manner, which stressed violence and action, it appeared only to make JONES look foolish, create amusement, and cause inattention.

The source indicated JONES made several statements, unrecalled specifically, but to the effect that if one of the organizations intended to conduct a meeting, "Spotters" should be sent out in the neighborhood, and if police are observed, the group should immediately go out into the streets, and kill the police that were observed.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On January 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC had been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative, through TED HARRIS, Military Adviser, who was acquainted with PAYNE's relatives in Covington, Kentucky.
APPENDIX

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 5
NATION OF ISLAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

On May 9, 1968, a source advised that Mohammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Nation of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Muhammad's Temple No. 5, Mohammad's Temple No. 5, Muhammad's Mosque No. 5, was founded by Asbury X Williams (deceased) during 1946 and continues to follow the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, is an affiliate of the national organization, Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, and adheres to the beliefs and policies of the national organization.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men, Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, ". . . we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3100 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporations Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,
where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-
American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon
Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.
APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBION BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts
for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax and on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, BILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SH-MBAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.
APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 23, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (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 the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

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

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent 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 social reform.

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

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

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.
Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference: Report of SA dated and captioned as above.

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

REPORTING OFFICE | OFFICE OF ORIGIN
CINCINNATI | ATLANTA

DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

REFERENCE:

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
None

ACQUIE TALE

Case status: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:
10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
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1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio
2 - Atlanta (RM)
2 - Louisville (Info.) (RM)
1 - New York (Info.) (RM)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

1969

(Continued on Cover Page B)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-10-74

REC-3
ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data re individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For the information of the Bureau, the interviews set forth on FD-302 in instant report relative to Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON and TAYLOR HUGHES were conducted relative to the extortion aspects of the "Black Manifesto" in accordance with Bureau instructions, Cincinnati file 9-2339.
INFORMANTS:

Identity of source: Location:

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.
UNIVERS STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
Copy to:
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 6/27/69

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158 Bureau File No.: 100-439190
Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, membership,
headquarters, meetings and funds set forth as furnished by
confidential source who also supplied activities
information concerning JAMES FORMAN while in Cincinnati,
and with another source, described National Black
Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan.
Interviews of Cincinnati SNCC members set forth with
local organizational contacts with Black Nationalist
out of state leaders and meetings data.

- D -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the
appendix of this report.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading
and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
On June 13, 1969, advised the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC was as follows and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

**Educational Adviser:**
LEROY COSTON  
5689 Garden Hill Lane  
No. 242-6851  

**Program Director:**
GEORGE HUGHES  
319 Glenwood  
No. 221-3768  

**Military Adviser:**
TED HARRIS  
Covington, Kentucky  
No. 431-5111  

**Security Officer:**
MC KINLEY PACE  
862 Clark St., Apt. C  
(No telephone)  

**Secretary:**
SANDRA CARR  
2225 Highland Avenue  
No. 381-3124  

**Treasurer & Fund Raising:**
Vacant  

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, stated she was in the process of moving her residence to Columbus, Ohio, and will, as a result, be removed in the near future from the Cincinnati SNCC membership rolls.

Source also advised that Cincinnati SNCC no longer has a Cincinnati Field Representative, a position formerly held by WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, now located in New York City in the position of Temporary Office Manager of the New York SNCC Headquarters and additionally, the present total membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members.

**HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS**

On June 13, 1969, stated the Headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This source stated Cincinnati SNCC holds weekly Sunday meetings at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled.
CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On June 13, 1969, and June 23, 1969, stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area to date, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP Chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati.

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix of this report.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

advised on May 1, 1969, that the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) was held in Detroit, Michigan, from April 25 - 27, 1969. This conference was attended by persons from all over the United States.

MILTON HENRY, head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was the first speaker at the conference on April 26, 1969. He had seven personal bodyguards with him but they did not have any visible firearms. HENRY's main topic was that the RNA was demanding five southern states in the United States to be established as a Black country. He stated the RNA believes the Blacks are entitled to this land as they have worked for the whites and have developed the land. He stated the RNA would attempt to get these five states politically, but if this fails, they will take it with force of arms. He noted that the whites killed to get this land and now the Blacks can kill the whites to get it.

A characterization of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is contained in the appendix of this report.

Detroit, Michigan SNCC leader DAN ALDRIDGE, was the second speaker and he also spoke in favor of the RNA plan as set forth by MILTON HENRY. He stated the RNA will have its own army to defend their country composed of the five southern states they intend to get. He indicated the land will be used as cooperative farms rather than as personally owned farms under the Capitalist system.
After ALDRIDGE's speech, MILTON HENRY and ALDRIDGE held a caucus on the military aspects of the RNA. The caucus concluded that the RNA desired to develop a group of Blacks in each area of the country and train them in self defense and how to use all types of weapons. They are to be trained to the point where they would be willing to fight and die for the RNA. It was concluded at the caucus that the RNA might have to fight to get this land. The persons who attended the caucus were instructed to contact the local heads of the RNA Consulates for additional information and instructions.

At the same time the RNA was having its caucus, SNCC was having a caucus with National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN leading it. It was announced that a Black Manifesto had been prepared by SNCC and the caucus was to plan the strategy to get it passed in the General Assembly.

JULIAN BOND was the third speaker of the day and he spoke on what the South was doing in trying to get land for the Blacks. He stated all of their efforts were non-violent. He talked about his problems in getting elected to the State Legislature and the problems he had in getting seated. The tenor of his speech was to gain more rights for the Blacks under the law.

JAMES FORMAN started speaking at 6:30 p.m. and he pushed for the adoption of the Black Manifesto, which, in essence, demanded the sum of 500 million dollars from white religious institutions as reparations for the Black people for the wrongs to them committed by the white people.

The RNA group opposed the adoption of the Black Manifesto and fought SNCC all through the meeting. The SNCC led forces had the most support and the Manifesto was adopted by the General Assembly at this time.

The conference schedule was not followed as a big fight over the Black Manifesto broke out. The people split into general caucuses in the auditorium to discuss whether the Manifesto should be adopted or not. The RNA led the fight against the adoption of the Manifesto.
Most of FORMAN's SNCC members were not at the conference on April 27, 1969. They apparently thought the adoption of the Manifesto had been completed so they had remained in their motel. FORMAN called them all back to the conference.

The General Assembly was called back at 1:00 p.m. and the Midwest District offered a proposal to delete the sections of the Manifesto about forcibly entering the churches and seizing property.

FORMAN's SNCC group defeated this motion.

The Southern and Western Districts also opposed the Manifesto but FORMAN's group defeated all the opposition. The Southern District noted that the provisions of the Manifesto had already been violated as the group had not forced their way into any churches on April 27, 1969.

The fight over the Manifesto raged on. A motion was made from the floor to adjourn the meeting when FORMAN jumped up to the stage and was heard to say that the Manifesto could not be changed as it was already approved. The rest of the conference was one big argument and the conference broke without any further action being taken.

This same source advised that UBCO is an "umbrella" organization which covers the activities of all Black organizations in Cincinnati. Its purpose is to promote operational unity between Afro-American organizations and to eliminate all forms of oppression and racism from the community.

CONCERNING THE NBEDC

supplied substantially the same information as above, and additionally furnished the following general data.
stated he had learned several of the persons who attended the conference from Cincinnati, Ohio, area were Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES and his brother, SNCC member TAYLOR HUGHES, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, MARVIN GENTRY, Director of Orientation of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) (Poverty Program) and another CEP employee, KEITH EDMONDS, all of whom drove to the conference in the 1967 black Oldsmobile of GEORGE HUGHES, with the exception of PACE, who drove his own 1966 Chevrolet sedan.

The source stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, traveled to and returned from the conference by plane, accompanied by HIRAM CRAWFORD, also a Director of CEP in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, and additionally the source stated ROB GENTRY and WILLIAM "BABE" WEST, representatives of UBCO, above, were present at the conference, but their manner of travel is unknown.

stated the conference generally adhered to the agenda for same; that there were approximately 700 persons present on April 26, 1969, but because of the dissension and friction created between the leaders of the RNA and SNCC, above, the conference attendance on April 27, 1969, dropped to about 250, and the conference concluded about 2:30 PM on that date.

also stated that some criticism was directed at National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, for not making certain that representatives from all of the Black Nationalist organizations in the United States had been contacted and invited to the conference, such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) and source opined there were no BPP speakers at the conference.

The source stated National SNCC leader PHIL HUTCHINGS did indicate there were several BPP members from Detroit, Michigan, in attendance, but they were not referred to by name.

On May 1, 1969, further stated that a second conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, from approximately 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., in McGregor Hall at Wayne State University, which was attended by approximately 75 persons and conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and three others, unknown from Detroit, Michigan, relative to the Black Revolutionary Labor Union Movement, and in a panel-type manner.
stated the purpose of the meeting was of a general or informational type to advise those present of the preliminary efforts already being made to establish black labor unions throughout the United States.

The source stated FORMAN indicated literature would be sent out, and contacts will be made in all of the major cities relative to this program, and additionally, organizers who are receiving instructions or training, place and identities unknown, will, in the near future travel to the various cities and establish contact for implementation of the program.

FORMAN indicated that no specific activity was to be initiated at this time by those in attendance at the conference, but they should await further instructions and/or direct contact from one of the organizers or leaders of the program.

FORMAN stated it is the intention to commence the union activity in all of the major industries in every community, and indicated that two, one-day "wildcat strikes" had already successfully been staged recently by Negro employees at the Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit, Michigan.

The source stated he had also learned that the names of Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES and Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, were submitted as the persons for future contact in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area relative to the "black union" program.

On May 1, 1969, additionally stated he had learned a third conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, in the nature of a SNCC Staff meeting, from about 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., which was attended by approximately 30 persons in room 404 of the hotel, name unknown, but located across the street from Wayne State University Auditorium, which was again conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN.

The source stated some of those in attendance were unknown, but among those present from the National SNCC New York Office were PHIL HUTCHINGS, IRVING DAVIS, FRED MEELY, JIMMY LYTLE, FRANCIS BEAL, and WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, who was then the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative.
Also present were SNCC leaders DAN ALDRIDGE from Detroit, Michigan; "Brother" CROOK, TONY ORANGE, and SANDRA SCOTT from Los Angeles and "Brother" SCROOGE from New Orleans, Louisiana.

The source stated FORMAN indicated the general purpose of the meeting was to encourage the local SNCC organizations to implement and pursue the promulgation of the "Black Manifesto" at every opportunity.

FORMAN instructed everyone present to initiate and maintain frequent contact with the National SNCC Headquarters in New York City, and stated that the strength of the SNCC organization was again on the increase.

FORMAN added that the following SNCC leaders who had voluntarily left the SNCC organization because of policy conflicts, or who had been expelled had returned and were presently working for SNCC in New York City:

COURTLAND COX, MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATIONS
CHARLIE COBBS,
IVANHOE DONALDSON, and further that
WILLIE RICKS,
CLEVELAND SELLERS and
RALPH FEATHERSTONE were again working for SNCC, but in other parts of the United States, not specifically indicated.

- 8 -
On June 12, 1969, stated JAMES FORMAN arrived at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 10:15 a.m., June 11, 1969, where he was met by local militants, MARVIN GENTRY, spokesman for the local Black Manifesto group, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, and a "Security Guard" of four persons led by a local Republic of New Africa (RNA) member, KENNETH ROBINSON.
stated the above individuals went directly to the Rockdale Temple, above, center of Black Nationalist activities, in the Cincinnati area, where Forman held a press conference at 11:00 AM.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," issue of June 12, 1969, page 62, carried an article titled, "Forman Reveals Hike In Demands On Church," which stated as follows:

"Most white church groups have agreed that they should give financial help to poor blacks for reparation payments, but none has agreed to give it to the National Black Economic Development Conference, James Forman, director, said here Wednesday.

"The legitimacy of the program demands is no longer in question, it's a question of how to respond," Forman said.

"Forman headed the conference which drafted the Black Manifesto about a month ago demanding $500 million from white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. He said the demands have now been raised to $3 billion.

"The new demands include larger contributions to black schools and churches that are affiliated with white groups. He said they are demanding $700 million from the American Baptist Association and $800 million from the Methodist Church."
"Throughout the country most Christians have accepted the new thrust generated by the program demands of the manifesto, but they have not produced funds or services to demonstrate that they are willing to fight their racism," Forman said.

"The churches must begin from this day forward to negotiate directly with the NBEDC. Any attempt to make funds available in response to the demands through any other group is a violation of the demands, he said.

"Forman said the church no longer is just a religious body, but a major financial institution.

"The Church makes large investments and these investments make money at the expense of the labors of black people. Even white church members realize that they have been tricked by the churches.

"The church has to be dealt with as a financial institution because that's where it derives a great deal of its revenue," he said.

"He said any attempts by white church leaders to destroy the work of NBEDC by accusing its members of extortion and conspiracy will force the group to escalate its attack on the church.

"He declined to comment on what tactics will be used to force the churches to respond to the demands, but mentioned striking against church headquarters as one method.

"Forman spoke at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Aves., Avondale, Wednesday night. He said he planned to confer with local members of NBEDC about future strategy."

The source stated that from about 1:00 to 3:30 PM, Forman discussed the Black Manifesto at the Rockdale Temple with about 50 persons in an informal manner relative to the history and necessity for the Black Manifesto.
The source stated Forman thereafter joined a group of about 12 persons, including Marvin Gentry, at the Smorgasborg Restaurant, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, and then returned to the Rockdale Temple for a scheduled dinner from about 5:00 to 7:00 PM attended by about 120 persons, the majority of which were Negro civic, business, professional and religious leaders. Forman at that time referred to the need to establish a black "skills bank," which Forman described as one professional or technician such as a photographer, merely teaching several of his or her friends in his or her particular skill without the schedules or expenses associated with training institutions, and Forman indicated he desired such a program to be instituted on a nationwide basis by the black man.

The source stated that from about 8:45 to 10:45 PM, Forman spoke to an audience of about 500 persons at the Rockdale Temple concerning the basic ideas of the Black Manifesto to the effect that religious institutions today are corrupt and basically money making organizations on whom the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto were logically and reasonably made.

stated a short informal period subsequently took place with about 20 persons, in the form of questions and answers and the signing of autographs, until about 1:30 AM at which time Forman went to the residence of Marvin Gentry, 849 East Mitchell Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Forman subsequently returned to the Rockdale Temple from about 8:00 PM to 1:30 AM where he held a meeting or class with about 22 local militants, the majority of whom had had some experience in contacting churches in the Cincinnati area for the purposes of reading or presenting the Black Manifesto to the congregations.

who has furnished reliable information in the past, also learned that included among the above group was Mel Jackson, the spokesman or leader of the Black Manifesto group in the Dayton, Ohio area, and John Taylor, an RNA leader also from that area.

stated Forman advised the group that he was instituting a policy change with regard to the Black Manifesto, and was acting upon a suggestion offered by John Taylor, above, to the effect that they will no longer physically disrupt religious services since the congregations actually have little to do with the operation or finances of the church, and will instead attempt to influence the leaders of the various church groups through meetings and conferences.
This source also stated Forman indicated the RNA had expressed considerable opposition to the entire concept and operation of the Black Manifesto, and that Forman stated he desired to make some sort of peaceful settlement with the RNA.

Additionally stated that Forman indicated peaceful sit-ins at the various religious headquarters may also be utilized to implement the new approach, and further that it was Forman's intentions to have several of the church headquarters issue statements against the U.S. Government and FBI conducting an investigation concerning the Black Manifesto from the standpoint of extortion.

Also told those present that they were under no obligation to discuss any of their activities at any time if approached for interview by the FBI.

Further advised he learned James Forman was to depart from Cincinnati at 11:20 AM, June 13, 1969, via American Airlines Flight 240, to arrive in New York City at 12:50 PM.
INTERVIEWS OF CINCINNATI SNCC MEMBERSHIP
LENNOX COSTIN, 2700 Gilbert Avenue, was interviewed with the following results:

After being advised as to the identity of the interviewing Agents, COSTIN stated that he did not want to discuss any matter with the FBI and ordered the interviewing Agents to leave the premises.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio  File# CI 100-14158

by [Redacted]  Data dictated 6/11/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
On June 10, 1969, an attempt was made by SAs of the FBI, [redacted] and [redacted] to locate TAYLOR HUGHES for interview at 3458 Millvale Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, without success; however, on June 11, 1969, TAYLOR HUGHES telephonically contacted the Cincinnati Office of the FBI, and advised SA [redacted] he would say nothing to the FBI concerning his activities and would not be interviewed.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful, it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choked the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1966, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1966, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFDOR CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts
for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be $10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on white persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SH-BAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he edited a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, BMM, and OAAU are attached below.
A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messanger of Allah" in that he claims Allah (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "devils" in the United States; and that the white race, because of their exploitation of the so-called Negro, will be destroyed by God in an approaching "War of Armageddon," a war between God and the devil.

Officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating that they respect laws of the United States as long as they do not conflict with the laws of the NOI, but do not believe the government should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, Muhammad, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the government to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. Muhammad believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.
The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,
where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.
APPENDIX

1

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (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 the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

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

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent 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 social reform.

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

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

On February 28, 1968, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.
Title               STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character           RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference           Report of SA__
                                  dated and captioned as above.

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

REPORTING OFFICE
CINCINNATI

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
10/9/69

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
6/3/69 - 9/30/69

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REFERENCE:


1. Survey of info re
   109th MIG, Cincinnati (RM)
   1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
   1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
   1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)
   2 - Atlanta (RM)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
None

ACQUITALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR
YES NO

PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS
YES NO

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

EX-106
EX-106
EX-106

(Copies cont'd COVER PAGE B)

Agency

Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

How Fwd.

By

70 NOV 17 1969 89 COVER PAGE
ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LIM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identity of who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

- B -

COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS:

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LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1-Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2-Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.
Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, headquarters, meetings, funds, and including arrest and acquittal of SNCC member, GARRELL WINSTEAD, for bank robbery set forth further information to be noted regarding participation in out of state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, currently named the Student National Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.
CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On September 17 and 22, 1969, furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

**Educational Adviser:**

LEROD COSTON  
5689 Garden Hill Lane  
No. 242-6851

**Program Director:**

GEORGE HUGHES  
319 Glenwood  
No. 221-3768

**Military Adviser:**

TED HARRIS  
Covington, Kentucky  
No. 431-5111

**Security Officer:**

MC KINLEY PACE  
862 Clark Street,  
Apartment #C  
(No telephone)

**Secretary:**

SANDRA CARR  
2229 Highland Avenue  
No. 281-3124

**Treasurer and Fund Raising:** Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, stated that CARR, who recently was making preparations to move her residence to Columbus, Ohio, cancelled her plans because of some complications with regard to living facilities and presently intends to remain at her residence above.
HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On September 22, 1969, stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, telephone number 861-1988.

stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, and participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC leader, JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

On September 16 and 22, 1969 stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the BPP is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on August 30, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC member, GARRELL THOMAS WINSTEAD, was arrested
by SAs of the FBI for robbery of the Linn Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, Branch of the Provident Bank of $2,087.00 on March 22, 1968, when disguised as a woman in wig, blouse, stretch pants, and lipstick.

WINSTEAD was arrested at his place of employment, General Electric Company, Blue Ash, Ohio, trial was commenced September 15, 1969, however, on September 25, 1969, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
stated that the SNCC staff meeting actually commenced about 11:00 AM, June 16, 1969, at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City with about 42 SNCC leaders present including the above persons and the following additional individuals:

Brother Crook and Sandra Scott - Los Angeles

Dan Aldridge - Accompanied by three others, unknown, Detroit, Michigan

Muhammed Kenyatta and 2 others, unknown - Brooklyn, New York

Sam Petty - formerly leader of the Black Liberators in St Louis, Missouri; now traveling with the National SNCC Leader James Forman in the capacity of bodyguard

stated the staff meeting was instituted by Phil Hutchings who spoke generally on those individuals present who would be eligible to vote on the matters subsequently to be decided, which was followed by area reports which consisted of nothing but generalized information which strongly indicated none of the areas had accomplished or were involved in anything of significance.

stated a financial report thereafter followed which was handled by New York leaders Irving Davis and Jimmy Lytle who stated that National SNCC was in effect bankrupt and $10,000 in debt. They stated additionally that money that was to have been obtained from the sale of James Forman's book, "Sammy Young, Jr." was to have been included
in the National SNCC Treasury but only two SNCC chapters, one of which was Cincinnati which sent $52.00, and the other chapter unknown, with the result the $3,000 which was to have collected for the book was not received by National, SNCC increasing the total debt to approximately $13,000. The source stated the group from Texas, about 11, led by Ernest McMillan, who did not appear to be in accord with the dissatisfaction of the Texas group expressed their opinion that National SNCC should provide a salary or pay expenses to active groups such as those in Texas, but they received the response that even in the National SNCC office, the leaders were required to meet their own expenses and it did not seem that the suggestion by the Texas group was all possible to adopt. The source stated that Irving Davis thereafter talked for about 30 minutes concerning SNCC United States and indicated that he had tentative plans for about 15 foreign trips for the present summer to be made by persons to be selected from different areas throughout the United States. Davis did not specify the particular countries with the exception of Algeria but did indicate the trips were tentative and for purpose of observing activities in the various revolutionary countries.

Davis further stated that Muhammed Kenyatta, above, of Brooklyn, New York, had just returned from a trip to Cuba but Davis did not refer to the dates, purposes, or results of the travel.

stated that about 1:00 PM on June 16, 1969 rest of the group present were surprised by the above Texas group of 11 plus four including William Herman Payne, H. Rap Brown, "Duke", and another individual believed from the Selma, Alabama area called "Theopolis", described as age 23, 5 feet 7, 130 pounds, dark complexion, small Afro haircut with goatee, all of whom stated that as of that time they were, by force of necessary, taking over control of SNCC and intended to change the name to the "Black Revolutionary Action Party" to be led by H. Rap Brown as acting chairman.
advised the group stated they were doing so because SNCC has not been doing anything of significance and had had no major program since 1966. Source stated James Forman appeared at the meeting at approximately 4:30 PM at which time he learned of the stated plans of the new group and openly stated that because of same he would resign from SNCC. Source stated it appeared Forman was completely surprised by the event and the actions of the Texas group who additionally stated they desired to return the National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia. The Texas group also expressed dissatisfaction with everything concerning the Black Manifesto and indicated that the SNCC central committee had not even been consulted prior to Forman’s launching the Black Manifesto, in Detroit, Michigan during April, 1969 and further that the Texas group had only learned of the Black Manifesto through the subsequent newspaper publicity relative to same.

stated that on Tuesday, June 17, 1969, the meeting commenced about 10:30 AM and there were some efforts made to create a program for the new organization including an organizer’s school to be instituted in Atlanta, Georgia for the generalized purpose of “organizing people around their needs; but to include stronger revolutionary ideas without further details.

stated a temporary central committee was established with H. Rap Brown as chairman and the meeting was thereafter adjourned, which when re-convened, disbanded the newly appointed central committee because H. Rap Brown stated he was disgusted with everything that had happened and was leaving the meeting.

stated a motion was thereafter made and adopted that SNCC would continue to operate for another month with a SNCC staff meeting tentatively to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made whether to abolish SNCC as an organization or to re-organize totally as the above new organization, Black Revolutionary Action Party.
stated the SNCC staff meeting was concluded about 6:00 PM, Tuesday, June 17, 1969. The source stated at about noon on June 18, 1969 most of the group who had been in attendance at the annual meeting returned to 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, but nothing of significance thereafter occurred on that day. 

stated that on Thursday, June 19, 1969, about 9:00 AM, about seven persons led by New York SNCC leader Fred Meely temporarily took control of a group of church offices believed to be Methodist, at 287 Park Avenue, New York City, which was supposedly run by a religious leader or leaders who had expressed public opposition to the ideas of the Black Manifesto. The source stated he had learned there was no violence or trouble associated with the incident, that the SNCC group themselves left the Methodist offices about 3:00 PM, and those who had originally occupied the space regained control of same.
On August 26 and 27, 1969, advised he had learned that LEROY COSTON and GEORGE HUGHES did depart Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 20, 1969, and went to Paschal's Hotel for the conference, but during their stay in Atlanta resided at the residence of A. B. SPELLMAN, above, 942 Fair Street. The source stated the conference for which COSTON and HUGHES had been summoned to Atlanta was held at Paschal's Hotel in Room 417, and lasted from 8:00 p.m., August 20, 1969, until about 4:00 p.m., August 23, 1969. The source stated the conference was attended by approximately 25 persons and was conducted by one JIMMY GARRETT, from Washington, D.C., who was described as having recently returned
from the African country of Ghana; a loyal follower of the former national SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael, who is also presently in the country of Ghana.

stated many of the persons present at the meeting or conference were unknown and left and reappeared several times, but it is believed those who were unknown were attendees at the Afro American Educators Conference, also then in progress at Paschal's Hotel. The source stated that the following persons, all of whom were present and/or former SNCC leaders and supporters of Stokely Carmichael, were in attendance at the meeting:

Cleveland Sellers
Willis Parks
Stanley Wise
Ralph Featherstone
Howard Fuller
Robert Brown
Ivanhoe Donaldson
William Herman Payne
Bob Smith
Donald Stone
Leroy Coston
George Hughes.

stated some of the above individuals, as followers of Stokely Carmichael, additionally associated themselves with the BPP as did Carmichael, such as Robert Brown, above, a Chicago leader of the BPP, but they may not now be associated with that organization.
stated that several of the group in
attendance at the meeting had sometime previously originated and
succeeded in the idea of the creation of a Malcolm X University,
which it was learned was to be opened for business on
October 20, 1969, at Durham, North Carolina, but the details
concerning the establishment of same were not provided or
learned. It was indicated, however, that an underlying purpose
of the above school was to develop a cadre of young militants
and be a training school for revolutionary purposes.
Further information concerning Malcolm X is located in the characterizations of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. (OAAU) and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), which are contained in the Appendix hereto.

We learned that the above group had given no indications of meeting again in the future, and the group itself was given no name as an organization, but it was suggested that Cleveland Sellers may recontact various persons who were present and in attendance, unnamed, in the future, but the purpose of such a contact was not indicated. The source also stated that both Costen and Hughes felt that the idea for the above meeting or conference must have originated with Stokely Carmichael, but that the objectives appeared somewhat ridiculous since there appeared to be little planning, coordination, or details actually provided to those who it appeared had been summoned to carry them out.
It should be further noted that on September 29 and 30, 1969, [redacted] stated that Cincinnati SNCC, in contact with IRVING DAVIS, above, in New York City on September 26, 1969, learned that in addition to the Cincinnati leaders, almost all of the SNCC leaders around the country had contacted National SNCC in New York City to advise they would not attend the meetings in New York City on September 25 and 26, 1969, and would hold their travel in abeyance until the National SNCC Staff Meeting, to be held about October 4, 1969, also in New York City.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On June 3, 1969, [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON's father, who lives in the Madisonville area of Cincinnati, has terminal cancer with about six to 12 months or less life expectancy, and COSTON has been spending considerable time with his father for that reason and additionally, because COSTON and his wife are having considerable domestic difficulties.

On June 13, 1969, and July 25, 1969, [redacted] stated LEROY COSTON had done nothing in furtherance of organizing or establishing a BPP Chapter in the City of Cincinnati.

On June 25 and 30, 1969, [redacted] stated SNCC officers, MC KINLEY PACE and GEORGE HUGHES, were on the Steering Committee of the local "Black Manifesto" group.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant action group to be known as the Organization of African American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Arabastana, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

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

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

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

On April 13, 1965, it was announced that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate in the Division of the United States, State of New York, and henceforth the organization's true name is the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On January 28, 1966, it was reported that the president and head of the OAAU was Frank R. Collins, a half-brother of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Borough Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the OAAU announced that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 231 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which in the fall of 1967 became a haven for a number of Negro students who were not permitted to continue their studies at Howard University.
The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.
Title  STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC


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

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

REPORTING OFFICE
CINCINNATI

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK

DATE
1/14/70

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
10/1/69 - 1/12/70

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

REFERENCES:

ADMINISTRATIVE:
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Discrimination Record of Attached Report

Notations

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EX-117

JAS - Any. Paul W. At.
Copies continued:

1 - Knoxville (Info) (RM)
1 - Memphis (Info) (RM)
1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
4 - Cincinnati
   (3 - 100-14158)
   (1 - 157-1682) (BNM)

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

- B -

COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source Location

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

- C* -

COVER PAGE
RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

SYNOPSIS: Current data regarding Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members, headquarters meetings, and funds set forth as furnished by [REDACTED]. Further information to be noted regarding participation in out-of-state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups in New York, Tennessee, and Georgia.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly named the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL
CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On January 7, 1970, furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Advisor  
LEROY COSTON  
5345 Tompkins Avenue  
Building A  
Apartment 8; No telephone

Program Director  
GEORGE HUGHES  
319 Glenwood Avenue  
Apartment 17  
Telephone 221-3786 (unlisted)

Military Advisor  
TED HARRIS  
Covington, Kentucky  
Telephone 431-5111

Security Officer  
MC KINLEY FAVE  
662 Clark Street  
Apartment C  
Telephone 241-6589 (unlisted)

Secretary  
SANDRA CARR  
In process of moving locally  
From 2225 Highland Avenue to  
New residence address, not yet definite

Treasurer and Fund Raising

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On January 7, 1970, stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets.
stated that service on the SNCC telephone 861-1388 was discontinued about October 15, 1969, and that all organization telephone calls are made from and to the residence telephones of the SNCC leadership.

stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 PM, unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National Black Leader JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

FUTURE MEMBERSHIP DATA

With reference to the present status of the Cincinnati SNCC organization as a whole, stated that the leadership has indicated intentions of contacting all or the individuals personally in the near future who are considered official SNCC members as of the last general membership meeting about June 1, 1969.

stated the leadership would probably encounter some problems in contacting some of the membership by reason of local residence moves, change of telephone numbers, change of employment and/or work shifts, or temporary absences from activities and the Cincinnati area, due to recent enrollment or attendance at college.

stated that subsequent to personal contact on the members, the leadership contemplates a complete revision of the membership lists, by deletion where necessary, and thereafter sufficient recruitment to make a total of fifteen members.
CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On November 4, 1969, December 18, 1969, and January 12, 1970, [redacted] Cincinnati SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the city of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on July 14, 1969, a Cincinnati Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, above, was arrested for disorderly conduct, on the parking lot of the Rockdale Temple, staged by an officer of the Cincinnati Police Department.

On January 12, 1970, [redacted] advised [redacted] that PACE received four continuances relative to trial; however, on November 5, 1969, PACE was found guilty and fined $5.00 for costs of court by Judge RUPERT DOAN.

MOSI RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS, AND ACTIVITIES
APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a non-membership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled, "1967: High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3100 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
APPENDIX

1

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (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 the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

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

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent 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 social reform.

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

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

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128; Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,
where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
CINCINNATI

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK

DATE
6/4/70

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
1/15/70 - 5/28/70

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM - SNCC

TYPOED BY
par

REFERENCES:
Reports of SA dated 10/9/69 and 1/14/70, at Cincinnati

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of the Bureau, there has been no operating SNCC organization effective as such in the Cincinnati area since about 6/1/69. For the purpose of brevity and clarity, only the summary of significant data from the LBM's submitted re the participation in SNCC National activities by individuals has been set forth in this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
None

ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR:

PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS:

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Bureau (100-439190-10) (RM)
1-Atlanta (Info) (RM)
1-Louisville (Info) (RM)
1-Knoxville (Info) (RM)
1-Memphis (Info) (RM)
1-New Orleans (Info) (RM)
2-New York (RM)
1-Savannah (Info) (RM)
4-Cincinnati (3-100-14158) (1-157-1682) (ERK)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency

quest Recd.

Date Recd.

No. Fed.

56 JUL 36
since it is believed more complete details should be more appropriately reported in the overall activities of National SNCC organization.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of those furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of gravity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

It should be further noted that [REDACTED] has opined that it is unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize in the near future. The source stated that any Cincinnati SNCC activities will probably be based on individual contacts from National SNCC leaders for the purpose of accomplishing specific tasks or assignments as opposed to a group or organization participation.
Due to the lack of involvement of other local militants, and the frequent and extended periods furnished data, no local dissemination has been made for further reasons of security.

INFORMANTS:

Identiti of Source

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHI.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

- C* -

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of:  SA
Date:  6/4/70

Office:  Cincinnati

Field Office File No.:  CI 100-14158
Bureau File No.:  100-439190-10

Title:  STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:  RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis:  Current data reflects Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members inactive as operating group except for members contacted individually by National leaders. Furnished data regarding participation by individual local SNCC members in out-of-state conferences, and SNCC activities in New York, Georgia, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. Results of interview of SNCC Secretary set forth with data re recent arrest of local Security Officer.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

CONFIDENTIAL

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

On May 21, and 22, 1970, [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis since about June 1, 1969, due largely to an apathy created by the dissension, frequent leadership changes, and lack of coordination among the National SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated that at the present time it appears unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize as an effective active group unless a strong leader capable of unifying and stimulating the various chapters should appear, including Cincinnati.

[redacted] stated there is still some interest in the Cincinnati area in the SNCC organization, but for the past year, Cincinnati SNCC activities have been limited to participation in National SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact from National SNCC leaders.

[redacted] stated the Cincinnati SNCC leadership about March, 1970, intended an intention to call for a general membership meeting in accordance with National SNCC instructions, but subsequently postponed, and then discontinued the suggestion.

[redacted] stated the following individuals are still considered the leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, however, most are to all intents and purposes inactive or dormant except as herein-after indicated:

Educational Advisor
LESTER CLARK
5345 Taylorburg Avenue
Pittsburgh
Apartment 3
No Telephone

Program Director
GEORGE HUGHES
110 Tennessee Avenue
Pittsburgh 17
Telephone 221-3768 (unlisted)
On May 21, 1970, [redacted] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC are still available in the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, but have not been used for meeting purposes as indicated above.

Leadership Interview

Secretary - SANDRA LEE CARR

On February 12, 1970, SANDRA LEE CARR was interviewed at her residence, 5087 Kingsley Drive, Apartment B, Cincinnati, Ohio, at which time CARR stated, in essence, that she first became involved in racial activities in Cincinnati because she had a sincere feeling that she wanted to do something to help the situation of Negro people in Cincinnati.

She said that she joined the Cincinnati SNCC organization because she felt there was an opportunity to do something constructive for the Black people in Cincinnati. She stated that she had been secretary of the Cincinnati SNCC organization, however, since May of 1969, she has not participated in any SNCC activities or any other racial activities. She said that the reason for
this, is that she has felt that the programs of the various
local racial organizations have not fulfilled any of the needs
of the community and to this date there has been no constructive
programs implemented. She said that she had been contacted by
GEORGE HUGHES, the SNCC Program Director, who asked her to become
active again; however, she refused.

CARR stated that she is in no way a militant and does
not have any animosity toward white people. She says that she
accepts any individual on his face value.

CARR emphasized that she is against the use of violence
as a means of getting anything for Black people. She believes
that black and white people can learn to live together. She said
that a great deal of progress has been made in the past few years.
She feels that education is the key to the problems. Black people
must concentrate on education which will result in an economic
change for the Black people.

CARR said that the various black organizations should
concentrate on helping the black communities to help themselves.
She said voter education is also important and believes that
blacks should really learn about all the candidates before casting
their ballot.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On March 16, 1970, I advised that a group
of about 25 persons, all black and mostly juvenile, congregated
at the corner of Rockdale and Reading Roads, Cincinnati, shortly
after noon on that date. These individuals were at a statue
of Abraham Lincoln and flag pole located on the corner of the
intersection near Samuel Ach Junior High School. They carried
signs which accused Lincoln of being the "first white capitalist
to suck black peoples blood" and signs calling for power to "all
black people" and "all oppressed people." One sign said, "Off
Pigs" and one indicated in "memory of William Herman Payne."

During the demonstration, red paint was poured on the
Lincoln statue and an American flag was tied from the flag
pole in the vicinity of the statue.
The Cincinnati Police Department responded to the scene and arrested two adults, one of whom was MC KINLEY PACE, and four juveniles. During the arrests, Sergeant JAMES DALEY, Lieutenant CARL LIECHT, and Patrolman DAVE D'ERMINIS received minor injuries. They were subsequently treated at Cincinnati General Hospital for cuts and scratches and released to duty.

PACE was charged with Assault on a Policeman, Malicious Destruction of Property, Disorderly Conduct, and Resisting Arrest.

advised that once the arrests were accomplished, no further violence occurred. He stated that MC KINLEY PACE, who started the incident, is not liked in the ghetto area and the general feeling in the ghetto is that PACE started this demonstration on his own. Bystanders took no side either for or against PACE or either for or against the officers making the arrests.

On May 23, 1970, advised that PACE had received a continuance on March 17, 1970, and was scheduled for trial by jury May 26, 1970.

RECENT PAST TO PRESENT PARTICIPATION BY CINCINNATI SNCC IN CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES
learned there was to be a memorial service Sunday night, March 15, 1970, at the Macedonia Baptist Church in Covington, Kentucky from 9:00 to 10:00 PM.
Concerning the memorial service itself, stated the speakers included JAMES FORMAN, TOMMY PORTER, JOHN PAYNE, and MARVIN GENTRY, the latter of whom read the larger of the two above leaflets to those in attendance, and the smaller of the above two leaflets was distributed.

stated the only other additional militant to arrive for the above service was Nashville, Tennessee, militant, MICKEY BOOTH, who returned to Nashville on Tuesday, March 17, 1970.
CI 100-14158


-18-
APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights-oriented group into a full-blooded black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 Year of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionary thinking throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great.

A second source advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May 1968 and served in that capacity until June 1968 at which time SNCC reorganized, creating the deputy chairman in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

-27*-
Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC


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

Section 8 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU INVESTIGATION

REPORTING AGENCY: CLEVELAND
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 10/25/65
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 10/13-20/65

TITLE OF CASE: COMMUNIST INFIILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - C

REFERENCES:
- Bureau letter, dated 5/5/65. 100-429140-201

LEAD:
CLEVELAND
AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

APPROVED: [Signature]

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE:

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (100-429140) (RM)
1 - C-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md. (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: [Redacted] (RM) 6/6/65
Request Made: 6/6/65
Date Fwd: 6/6/65
Check Fwd: [Redacted]

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADDITIONAL DISSEMINATION.
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*Instant Report, Page 100-26449-117*

Characterization of PHILIP PASSEN and RICHARD PEREZ

Characterization of TED COHEN

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COVER PAGE
CV 100-26449

Informants Cont'd:

Source

Characterization of ART EVANS

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ and MICHAEL DAVIS

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

-C-

COVER PAGE
CV 100-26449

Informants Cont'd:

Source

Characterization of RUTH LENCL

Characterization of MICHAEL ZAGARELL
and SIDNEY PECK

Characterization of EUGENE NADLER

Characterization of DAVID K. COHEN

Characterization of RICHARD PEREZ

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

Indices of the Cleveland Division contain no information relating to Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ, Philosophy Department, Western Reserve University, or ELLEN ANDORS, Secretary, Friends of SNCC, Cleveland. No subversive information regarding ROY GINSBURG.

This report is classified confidential because information from _____ could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

- D* -
COVER PAGE
COPY TO:

1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md. (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

REPORT OF: SA

DATE: October 25, 1965

FIELD OFFICE FILE #: 100-26449

Bureau File #: 100-349199

TITLE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CHARACTER: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS:

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<table>
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<th>Section</th>
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<td>I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION</td>
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<td>II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION</td>
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<td>III. OFFICERS</td>
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DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating the Cleveland Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or that SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 12, 1965 ROY GINSBURG had been successful in setting up a Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organization at Western Reserve University (WRU), Cleveland, Ohio. It was stated this organization is planning to have an active participation in activities and will not just make donations of cash. It was stated SNCC is planning to charter a bus to transport individuals to Erie, Pennsylvania, where they will picket the Hammermill Paper Company because of its plans for expansion in Selma, Alabama.

Source: [redacted]

This source advised on July 21, 1965 SNCC Headquarters is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Source went on to report SNCC plans to hold a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on July 25, 1965.
This source on August 20, 1965 made available a leaflet which announced a SNCC meeting which was to be held that date. The leaflet indicated the SNCC Office was located at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

A characterization of DCA appears in the appendix hereto.

This source reported on October 14, 1965 Cleveland Friends of SNCC, more commonly referred to by students at WRU and Case Institute of Technology (CIT) as just SNCC, has its headquarters at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

This source on May 5, 1965 made available information regarding the protest demonstration at the Hammermill Paper Products Company, Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965. This information indicated that SNCC would participate in the demonstration and that persons wishing to be connected with the demonstration would be transported by chartered bus from Cleveland to Erie, Pennsylvania. Persons interested were instructed to contact PHIL PASSEN at Pierce House, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio.
advised on June 30, 1965 he heard on June 3, 1965 PHILIP PASSEN was a new member of the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBYSA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965.

A characterization of the CBYSA and CBSWP appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 20, 1965

Source, which is a student newspaper of WRU, carried a letter to the editor from ROY GINSBURG, Adelbert College, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio. In this letter GINSBURG indicated he is Chairman of SNCC.

advised on June 29, 1965 that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Spring, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

on January 14, 1963 identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

advised on February 20, 1964 that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

advised on February 10, 1965 that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist movement.
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Source: The Cleveland Press
June 21, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated that PHILIP PASSEN, a student at WHU, is President of SNCC.

Source: [Redacted]

Source advised on August 3, 1965 ROY GINSBURG, RICHARD (DICK) PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN appeared on radio program "Contact" at Radio Station WKYC, Cleveland, Ohio, on July 9, 1965. The announcer of the program identified PEREZ as Chairman of SNCC.

Source described program "Contact" as an audience participation type program where members of the listening audience call in questions for the guests who are appearing on the program after they have made an initial statement regarding the topic to be discussed on the program. Source went to point out that HARVEY MORGAN is an employee of Radio Station WKYC and is the announcer for the "Contact" program.

Source advised on May 25, 1965 advised RICHARD PEREZ was dismissed from CIT because of too many absences from class. Source stated PEREZ is from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and is the son of Lieutenant Colonel GUILLERMO A. PEREZ, United States Air Force, stationed at Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Source advised on June 4, 1965 PEREZ is a member of the CBYSA.

Source: [Redacted]

Source advised on October 14, 1965 SNCC is officially approved as a WHU campus organization. He stated the officers are as follows:

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Chairman - ROY GINSBURG
Secretary - ELLEN ANDORS
Faculty Advisor - Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ,
Philosophy Department

Source: The Case Tech
October 15, 1965

Source, which indicates it is published every week except during holiday and examination periods by the students of CIT, carried a letter to the editor from GERALD S.
KIRSHENBAUM, President of CIT Senate. This letter indicated that as of May, 1965, ROY GINSBURG was Chairman of SNCC.

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY INTEREST OR INFLUENCE IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

Source: [Blank]

A characterization of SCEF appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [Blank]
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The above information was corroborated by
on April 20, 1965.

Source:

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and corroborated the above information on April 22, 1965, April 20, 1965, and April 27, 1965, respectively.

Source: [redacted]

A characterization of the Kent Chapter, YSA, appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 13, 1965 a demonstration protesting United States actions in the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam was held in front of the Federal Building, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 8, 1965. This demonstration was sponsored by the Cleveland and Kent Branches of YSA, SDS, and SNCC. During this demonstration, ROY GINSBURG made the announcement there would be a demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965 and a bus had been chartered to transport individuals who wish to participate. GINSBURG stated a large company in Erie was in the process of building a plant in Selma, Alabama, and since this company practiced segregation at the Erie plant, some people think this practice would be continued in Alabama. GINSBURG announced that civil disobedience during this demonstration would be left up to the individual, but that lawyers had already been hired to defend those who decided to disobey the law.

Source: [redacted]

Source advised on May 19, 1965 a meeting of the CBSWP
was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, on [redacted]. During this meeting, it was announced some of those present had participated in the demonstration at the Hammermill Paper Company in Erie, Pennsylvania, over the past weekend. This demonstration was sponsored by SNCC according to the individuals who had attended from the CBSWP.

The above information was corroborated by [redacted] and [redacted] on May 19, 1965 and May 25, 1965, respectively.

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 13, 1965

Source contained the following letter to the editor:

"I Wonder?"

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"I note with interest that members of the SDS as well as other students are forming a campus Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Despite the term 'non-violent' in its name, SNCC is one of the most militant of the civil rights groups in the country. The northern chapters are usually controlled by such politically left-wing students as members of young socialist groups and their fronts. The first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialists Alliance (YSA), for example.

"I wonder for what reason this group is being formed on campus. Both CORE and the NAACP are working very hard to correct Cleveland's civil wrongs. Of course, both of these existing groups have members who are more morally than politically oriented. If the students working towards establishing SNCC are interested in civil rights rather than in creating some new militant political action, why must they overlook the existing civil rights groups and start their own?"

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"
"Snicker

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"Mr. Ted Schwarz in his letter to last week's Tribune criticizes the Western Reserve Chapter of Cleveland Friends of SNCC on completely false grounds. First, Mr. Schwarz is mistaken about the distinction between 'militant,' and 'non-violent.' SNCC is one of the most militant civil rights groups. However, militant refers to the attitude of SNCC concerning civil rights. SNCC is militant in that it demands equal rights for Negroes without compromise 'Non-violence,' however, is a description of physical actions, rather than mental attitude. SNCC has never become violent in any of its protests. It is completely non-violent, but it is militant. I hope the distinction is clear now.

"The claim that Friends of SNCC are controlled by socialist 'fronts' is ridiculous. The best proof of this statement is the falsity of Mr. Schwarz's claim that 'the first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.' When Cleveland FOS was formed last summer, I took 'the first interest.' When it was reformed this spring, I again took 'the first interest.' I have not been, and I am not now a member of the YSA. At this time we have no members who are members of the YSA. We have no arguments with the YSA, but our memberships are completely autonomous.

"Mr. Schwarz wonders why a Friends of SNCC is being formed rather than having the interested parties join CORE or the NAACP. There are two reasons: first, neither the NAACP or CORE work on the Cleveland campuses. If we can form an effective organization on the WRU campus, then we can be of great help to
"Cleveland's chapters of CORE and the NAACP in their civil rights protests; secondly, SNCC programs need publicity and support in the North. For example, this summer's civil rights activity in Washington, D.C., Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama needs volunteers and support. By publicizing these activities we can provide the needed support - both financial and moral.

"Roy Ginsburg
Chairman
Cleveland Friends of SNCC
Adelbert College"

"Why SNCC?"

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"In answer to the criticisms I received concerning
"my letter on the formation of SNCC, I am still wondering why it is being formed. SNCC supporters from Reserve were willing to picket the Hammermill Company in an attempt to help an economic boycott of the state of Alabama, the outcome of which many civil rights leaders now feel may be detrimental to the southern civil rights movement. However, these same students somehow failed to participate in the annual Hough area clean-up on the past few weekends. The Hough clean-up is designed to show that people outside the area do care, and that by cleaning up the streets, the people can have a better place in which to live. There was no civil disobedience involved; just the work entailed in picking up trash and placing it in a container. However, the people of Hough are walking their streets with a little more self-respect and the city government is more willing to listen to tenant complaints of slum lord violations because the people made an effort to clean-up their homes.

"Secondly, in answer to those who have told me that the SNCC chapter is helping the program of SNCC in the South, I would like to know what program. John Lewis, SNCC chairman, was quoted in the April 10, 1965, issue of the New Republic as saying: 'We want the people to tell us what we can do. We'll do anything they tell us.'

"Finally, I repeat my question of why SNCC? Both CORE and the NAACP are active in Cleveland and in need of help. If the students forming SNCC are only concerned with civil rights and not politics as well, why must SNCC be formed.

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"

Source: The Plain Dealer
July 25, 1965

Source carried an article captioned, "Heights Man Aiding Voter Drive in South." This article disclosed that
MICHAEL S. DAVIS, age 22, and a friend, DON GUREWITZ, are spending the summer in voter registration projects in Jackson, Mississippi. DAVIS is from 3297 Silsby Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and is working in Jackson as a representative of SNCC. In a letter to his parents and his friends at SNCC Headquarters, DAVIS wrote that he has been called "white trash" almost every day by the people on the street. He wrote, "Hardly a day goes by without a report of some violence from some part of the state." The article indicated DON GUREWITZ is from Silver Spring, Maryland, and is a freshman at WRU. It pointed out that in a telephone interview with GUREWITZ' mother, she indicated her son is in Mississippi "undoing the things which we parents should have undone a long time ago." The mothers of both DAVIS and GUREWITZ stated they were proud of their sons because they have "dedicated themselves to a nation which will be free of its most dreaded disease - segregation."
Source advised on August 31, 1965 a meeting between DCA, SDS, SNCC and other organizations was held at DCA Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio, on August 25, 1965. The purpose of this meeting was to determine how the organizations could work together on problems of common interest. A SNCC representative in attendance at this meeting spoke of working on a newspaper which is to be sold all over Cleveland and which will cover the news that does not ordinarily appear in the regular newspapers. This news would include such topics as police brutality and news of the war in Viet Nam. A representative of DCA raised the question of joint action of working in the community. The SNCC representatives did not think this would work as the students have not yet reached that level. One of the individuals pointed out the students have enough trouble attempting to organize on campus issues.

[redacted] corroborated the above information on August 26, 1965.

[redacted] corroborated the above information on August 30, 1965, but added the SNCC representative stated their organization is mainly campus oriented and that their program would begin at WHU when school opened. He pointed out they intend to present a number of programs and do campaigning for members of the freshmen class. Source stated the speaker did not outline the program which SNCC plans to take up.
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Source:  

has on several occasions identified TED COHEN as a CP member who is in Cleveland to organize the DCA.

Source:  

Source:  

Source:  

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V. SOURCE OF FUNDS

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 6, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated ROY GINSBURG had stated that last summer SNCC had collected $150.00. GINSBURG went on to state SNCC had been inactive during the winter but recently some students at WRU had decided to re-activate the chapter.

Source: [Redacted]

Source advised on July 11, 1965 he attended a beer party at SNCC Headquarters on July 10, 1965, which was advertised as a fund-raising affair. The admission to this affair was $1.00 per person, but there was no announcement as to how much money was collected.

Source: [Redacted]

Source advised on July 27, 1965 SNCC sponsored a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on
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July 25, 1965. Source learned that approximately 17 persons were in attendance at this meeting but that many more had been invited as they had paid $90.00 for the mailing to advertise the auction. One of the persons at this meeting stated the money collected by SNCC is being sent to the South. Source was unable to determine how much money was realized from the auction but stated the committee had a bank money bag filled with rolls of coins.
VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Source: 

Source advised on August 3, 1965, radio program "Contact" on WKYC Radio, on the evening of June 9, 1965, concerned the topic "Cracks in the System." The guests on the program were Professor EUGENE NADLER, Psychology Department, Case Institute of Technology (CIT), and Professor DAVID COHEN, History Department, CIT. At the beginning of the program, NADLER made the following statement: "Many of the problems the United States faces of social and economic instability and of war are produced by the economic and political system of capitalism." COHEN stated, "some of those cracks are related to poverty, unemployment, racism, and war. These are not accidents or isolated incidents. They are products of the American way of life."

During the program COHEN commented that SNCC is viewed as being an irresponsible organization and, therefore, does get as much publicity as certain other organizations.

advised on April 26, 1955, that EUGENE NADLER joined the Communist Party (CP) in Cleveland, Ohio, about April, 1955.

advised on October 2, 1964, DAVID COHEN is Assistant Professor of History at CIT. Source advised COHEN has been very active in the civil rights movement in Cleveland, and was then serving as First Vice Chairman of the Cleveland Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). COHEN has been active in various pickets and demonstrations involving CORE, and on April 7, 1964, was among a group of persons arrested by the Cleveland Police Department for interfering with construction at a school construction site. Source stated COHEN has described himself as a "socialist" in that he believes in government ownership of the basic means of production and government welfare policies.
Source pointed out, however, COHEN has expressed strong opposition to socialistic groups which embody a revolutionary concept, such as the CP and SWP. Source went on to point out COHEN was one of the CORE leaders who was most instrumental in removing SWP members and sympathizers from official positions in CORE.

Source:

Source on August 3, 1965, stated that radio program "Contact" for July 9, 1965, concerned the topic, "What Can You Do With a Summer?" Source said ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ, and PHIL PASSEN appeared as guests on the program. Pertinent portions of the verbatim transcript of the program is set forth below:

MORGAN: And our "Contact" subject for this evening at 241-5637, "What Can You Do With A Summer."

(GINSBURG): SNCC is the most important civil rights group in the South.

MORGAN: That's the voice of ROY GINSBURG of Western Reserve University.

(PEREZ): SNCC concentrates mainly on political organizing.

MORGAN: And DICK PEREZ, the Chairman of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC.

(PASSEN): The purpose of SNCC is to eliminate the disease of racial discrimination which exists in Cleveland and throughout the country regardless of such petty concerns as length of hair and clothing.

MORGAN: And another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.
MORGAN: At 241-5637 our subject tonight, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Well, apparently last weekend some students, although I hasten to add not all students and not all of them were students, at Russell Point and at Geneva-on-the-Lake, they found something to do with their summer. We'll find that there is a wide range of things that students can find to do in the summertime.

Well, members of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, referred to as SNCC, S N I C K oftentimes in the paper, make a plea for fellow college students to do something very worthwhile they say with their spare time.

At 241-5637 we'll take your comments and your questions for my guests a little later on.

Right now, once again, from Western Reserve, Mr. ROY GINSBURG.

GINSBURG: SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, shortened SNCC, or pronounced SNICK, is the principal civil rights organization in the South. SNCC was formed in April, 1960, at a general conference of sit-in leaders held in Raleigh, North Carolina. To quote from the SNCC publication, "You Can Help." The original purpose of SNCC was to circulate information about the South white protest and to promote joint activities by the protest groups that made up the co-ordinating committee. SNCC employed an executive secretary, set up an Atlanta Office, issued a newspaper, and served as a clearinghouse for information about the sit-ins. The co-ordinating committee met regularly to exchange information and plan joint protests -- and plan joint protests.

In August, 1961, SNCC decided to change its tactics and set up voter registration and direct action projects with offices and permanently placed staff in various areas of the Black Belt. For example, Central Alabama, Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, Southern Virginia, Eastern Shore, North Carolina, and Central Georgia.
GINSBURG: (cont'd.)

As of Fall, 1963, SNCC has initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states.

As of January, 1964, it had 125 field secretaries throughout the North -- throughout the South, 12 office workers in Atlanta, an executive secretary and a chairman, for a total of 139 people.

The SNCC field secretary is the individual who does the actual organizing and voter registration work in a particular community. SNCC only goes into a community at the invitation of its Negro leaders. The average age of staff is 22, and 80 per cent are Negroes.

There are also Northern Friends of SNCC groups who do most of the fund raising. In 1964 the estimated budget was $350,000. The SNCC field secretary receives $9.64 a week.

Also in the Fall of 1963, SNCC joined the Congress of Racial Equality, CORE; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the SCLC; and the NAACP to set up the Council of Federated Organizations. COFO as most of us know, which is an abbreviation for the Council of Federated Organizations, worked in Mississippi last summer, brought in 900 white volunteers, uh, and produced the by now famous Mississippi Summer Project. At the end of summer 200 volunteers stayed down in Mississippi and the Mississippi Freedom Project began.

Meanwhile SNCC still worked in all the other areas I mentioned earlier and kept its projects going in that area. During the intervening months SNCC has been active throughout the South. And in Mississippi it set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which DICK will talk about in a moment, and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union which is a union of people who -- cotton pickers, drivers, uh, this kind of thing so they can get the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and they are getting far below that now.

SNCC has, in the South, been very active; it's been the principal organization that works with the grass roots, that works with the community.
GINSBURG: SNCC does not have members. They are not the kind of organization who is asked for so much money a year you can be a member. The only people who work with SNCC are people who do work full time or part time during the summer. SNCC is, and I feel, the principal civil rights organization in the South.

MORGAN: Fine. We'll have a chance for your questions after we hear from my other two guests. And we'll hear from the next one in just a moment.

MORGAN: "What Can You Do With A Summer." Here's another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, Mr. DICK PEREZ.

PEREZ: SNCC is doing a great deal this year and this summer in the South. They're concentrating mainly in three areas in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. SNCC has found that the most effective way to deal with the problem of racial discrimination is political organizing, helping the disenfranchised Negro in the South to gain the political power that he is denied through being unable to register to vote, through not being offered a proper candidate, through being intimidated with violence and economic pressures.

SNCC is mainly working in this area then, political organizing. It has been participating in the Washington lobby of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which is a party composed entirely of Negroes in Mississippi who feel that the Congressmen from the State of Mississippi do not adequately represent that state because they were elected without the votes of a vast majority of the population there, that is the Negros. So they have taken it upon themselves to form another party and to state that they more adequately represent the state of Mississippi and that this other party should -- the present Congressmen should be, well so to say, withdrawn from the Congress and free elections should be held when all people are registered. SNCC has
worked with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on this project in the Washington lobby. Uh, this terminated about two weeks ago, I believe.

Also SNCC is working in Arkansas. They have about 50 to 100 volunteers doing political organizing in 31 Arkansas counties. In Alabama, there are also about 35 SNCC workers organizing 10 counties. Here the accent -- uh, the accent is on economic as well as political. The, uh, same in Southwest Georgia. This is where SNCC originally started out. They have an economic program down there quite similar to that of the Peace Corps overseas.

SNCC is also working in Mississippi with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. As ROY stated, there are -- these farm laborers receiving salaries of 23, 33, 43 cents an hour, uh, and being denied under the minimum wage. And this work, uh, the Freedom Labor Union is to correct this, to put political pressure so that these people will receive the salary they are justly entitled to. SNCC has been organizing also in Mississippi, economically and politically, and this is its main task throughout the country, the political and economical organizing.

MORGAN: With our third guest in the "Contact" studio, another member of Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.

PASSEN: As ROY said, the primary fund raising arm of SNCC are -- is the Friends of SNCC groups in the North. Right now, for example, SNCC is $33,000 in debt with absolutely nothing in the bank. Recently, well a week ago, we got a call from the Atlanta office asking -- begging for as much in the way of financial support that we could send them. Cleveland Friends of SNCC has actually been operating about three - three and a half months now. We are a recognized organization, uh, on Western Reserve University's campus.
Primarily now we, uh, consist of white college students. Uh, this is -- well, this has happened for several reasons. First of all, we've been primarily concerned, as I said, with fund raising, uh, and we haven't really had a chance to get into the ghetto areas and to try to draw support, uh, from there. This will be done in the near future. We also -- we've, of course -- Reserve's campus and Case's campus are predominantly white and the Negroes there are basically middle class in orientation and have more to lose by participating in activities, such as SNCC, than they have to gain, they feel. As I said, we will be moving, uh, into the ghettos soon, but our primary, uh, functions to date have been fund raising. We do things, such as holding Chinese auctions in the white community, as holding beer parties, uh, in friends' apartments. Uh, we have participated in -- in demonstrations.

We participated in a demonstration in protest of the Vietnam war because this is as much a part of -- of SNCC's activities as anything else mainly because I feel, and most of the people in SNCC do feel, that the social, uh, a situation which has caused the war in Vietnam is very closely linked to the social situation which has caused racial discrimination. We participated also in the Hammermill demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania. Hammermill is a large paper --paper company who were planning on moving a very expensive plant into -- into Selma, Alabama. As part of the general economic boycott of Alabama, we demonstrated to urge the board of directors of Hammermill to refrain from moving into Selma until definite strides were made in the area of -- of ending segregation and discrimination in Alabama. I feel that our demonstration was not a success. The president of the company said that he would go down and talk to the Registrar of Dallas County and Sheriff CLARK, et cetera. This is not what I was asking for because this really won't accomplish anything. What we would like to see done, of course, is have Hammermill refrain from moving into Selma.
We're in -- we will be moving into Cleveland pro-
jects very soon because, of course, Cleveland has
tremendous racial problems, uh, ranging from
housing to de facto segregation in the schools
to, uh, income levels, et cetera. The city
itself has done very little to alleviate these
problems. For example, I have an article here
that I really would like to read just because I
think it's -- it's an indication of the city's
attitude and lack of understanding and real
concern for the problems in the Hough Area,
the city's largest ghetto. Uh, the article
says, and it was in one of -- yesterday's paper
-- one of the major dailies here:

It may cost as much as $8,000 a unit to rehabilitate
the worst vacant and vandalized properties in the
Hough Area. Recently acquired by the city as
demonstration projects, the two homes will be
rehabilitated to show area property owners what
can be done to upgrade their neighborhoods.
Although recommended improvements appear plush
to the casual observer, Urban Renewal Director
JAMES M. LISTER indicated they may become the
standard for future rehabilitation. Included
in the cost of rehabilitation, which may run as
high as $16,000 for each of these two-family
homes, are: built-in kitchens with stove and
refrigerator, Formica topped counters, vinyl
floor coverings, garbage disposals and gas fired
incinerators. Floors not tile covered will be
sanded and varnished, new woodwork would be in-
stalled throughout, walls plastered and painted,
and new plumbing and electrical wiring, furnaces
and bathroom fixtures installed. The outside
would be painted, aluminum screens and storm
windows installed, with new gutters, downspouts
and roofs. The driveway between the two homes
would be ripped out and a new asphalt drive in-
stalled, with a center divider of redwood fencing.
Car ports would be constructed between paved
patios at the rear of the homes and sodded and
landscaped private areas at the rear of the lot.
Present plans even call for reactivating the
sprinkler system for the lawn at 1801 East 93rd
PASSEN: Street. These are not luxury items, LISTER explained. We think the planned rehabilitation of these two homes might set the standard for the neighborhood.

Now please tell me how residents of this neighborhood are going to get $8,000 to $16,000 to rehabilitate homes. We also in Cleveland, this summer, may be -- probably will be supporting the campaign of CARL STOKES for Mayor. So there is much to be done in Cleveland, and Cleveland Friends of SNCC intends to do their best to see that the disease of racial segregation in Cleveland is eliminated.

MORGAN: This is HARRY MORGAN - Contact, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Before we get to your calls at 241-5637, I wondered about some comments. A couple of things first. What do you think of these descriptions of, uh, people, and you've read the descriptions yourself in the various articles that describe, uh, members of SNCC, but not members of SNCC alone, that describe a great number of younger college students, or just young college students not younger, who are involved in sit-ins and demonstrations of all kinds -- words usually go something like misfits, malcontents, lacking inner worth, trouble-makers, blase, over-confident to the point of being snide. You've read this sort of thing. Do you think there is anything to it?

PASSEN: Well certainly we're malcontent. Because there is much to be malcontent about, uh, in this society. I think too that we're, uh, what was the word you used?

MORGAN: Misfits?

PASSEN: Inner -- inner strength or something like ---

MORGAN: ---values.
PASSEN: Inner values. Well, I don't think we're lacking inner values. But I certainly think we're lacking uh, inner rest or inter--inner satisfaction. Because there's nothing that I can see to really be satisfied about in this -- this society. Uh, we're doing something, actually we're involved in a revolution in this society. And if revolutionaries are misfits and I'd -- and they probably are, because I'm not fit to live in this society as it -- it exists now.

MORGAN: Well, do you think this society, as it exists now in 1965, is an improvement over the society that existed in this same geographical location --- the whole country in 1945, br 1935, or 1925. Do you think we improved any?

GINSBURG: Without a doubt this society is better. But this society -- American society has a long way to grow.

MORGAN: Well, were there malcontents, then, uh, to this degree in 1945 (?). We had them. We had them. But did we have them to the degree we hear about now, do you think?

PEREZ: No. You don't have the malcontents -- you had them to the degree, but they weren't known to each other and they were kind of off in a corner by themselves. And it's just recently that students, in particular, have gotten together and started voicing their malcontent and have gotten together in groups where you can see them. And now people say, well all of a sudden everyone is malcontented. It's not true. The fact is they've always been there; it's just now that they're realizing they can come out and they can do something about it rather than just sit in a corner and be malcontent.
GINSBURG: For example, I think, uh -- the thing is that it is a sign of growth in American society. That people are...in these kinds of protest demonstrations, marches, et cetera, et cetera. I mean also the fact that, uh -- it was my impression until three or four years ago that what -- you know, the standard question goes around what can an individual do. Why one person can't do nothing was the standard answer. But the point is that there are 250 people who are changing an entire state. For example, in Mississippi we're changing the mores, the structure of society in that state.

MORGAN: Who are those people?

GINSBURG: SNCC. The SNCC staffers in ---

MORGAN: --- MARTIN LUTHER KING, and CORE, and JAMES FARMER had nothing to do with it?

GINSBURG: Well MARTIN -- the SCIO, MARTIN LUTHER KING's organization, has never operated in Mississippi in a -- any great detail except for donating money, and that wasn't very much, to CORE which was predominantly SNCC. CORE provided workers for the fourth district in Mississippi. And SNCC provided workers for the first, second, third and fifth districts in Mississippi.

MORGAN: Well, I meant more in relationship to could what has happened in Mississippi have been done without the larger framework constructed by the other, uh, civil rights organizations.

GINSBURG: What do you mean by the larger framework?
MORGAN: By the national picture that MARTIN LUTHER KING, as a dynamic leader has -- has established in, uh, the mind of the public, uh, that the work that CORE has done on the national level.

Perez: Well, it didn't seem to have changed Mississippi until SNCC went into Mississippi and started to work.

MORGAN: But then you had a framework within which to work. Uh, you could point outwardly, couldn't you, to improved conditions in other states?

GINSBURG: No, not really.

MORGAN: You couldn't?

GINSBURG: Not in Mississippi. Because Mississippi ---

MORGAN: --Mississippi is surrounded by this framework I'm speaking of. Other states, namely.

GINSBURG: Yeah, but Mississippi, as the title of SILVER's book said, Mississippi is a closed society literally. Uh, they don't even trust cars that have Georgia license plates. Mississippi is a complete and different society from, uh, any other state.

MORGAN: But also, as pointed out by that same book, uh, a very changing society even though a closed society that, uh, as Mr. SILVER pointed out, that members of this society are beginning at least to want to change even if they cannot afford economically and from a lack of -- of courage to change.
GINSBURG: Yeah, I think Mississippi is changing. I mean this is rather apparent. But I think that individuals, and I'm speaking about SNCC, uh, had -- did the initiating -- Of course, without the Federal Government, without the news media, without other civil rights organizations, nothing could have been done. But the point is that these -- that SNCC first went into Mississippi and got the changing about that way. And if SNCC and CORE, which are practically synonymous, had not been in Mississippi, uh, there -- there would be no change.

MORGAN: One other question before we take that first call at 241-5637. I think this must be asked in view of the fact that you mentioned that you were going to campaign for CARL STOKES, uh, for n--. Now we're not going to get into the, uh, various candidates for mayor here on the program. But since Mr. STOKES is the only Negro running, is -- is he being supported because he is a Negro or is he being supported because of the five established candidates he is the best one in your mind.

PASSENGER: Well, he's -- we're definitely not supporting him because he's a Negro. We'd never support anybody just because he was a Negro. The part of SNCC's philosophy is the organization of independent political action for Negroes. For instance, the MFDP. Uh, also the various Freedom Now Parties have -- have SNCC's support. Uh, STOKES says he is running as an independent. Uh, and this ---

MORGAN: So I believe does MC ALLISTER.

MALE CALLER: Uh, yes. I have a pamphlet here. It was a speech by O. B. PORTERFIELD (phonetic), a minister in Montgomery, Alabama. It's the Cleveland Avenue Church of Christ, 4214 Cleveland Avenue, Montgomery, and this speech was made over a television station in Montgomery. Of course, we didn't see it here. However, he claims that
MALE CALLER: (cont’d.) all sorts of crimes went on in the Montgomery and Selma Marches; people were arrested for indecent exposure, incitement, and so on. And he claims that he was there in person and he says that the ministers -- isn't it the rankest type hypocrisy for ministers to say that we are preaching spiritual things and instead they are parading up and down the street with agitators, law breakers, et cetera, trying to obtain material goods. At any rate, uh, anyone that wants may obtain this speech for nothing by writing to the church in Alabama. And the question I have of Mr. PASSEN. Uh, in 1928 an American Communist, uh, named JOSEPH POGANNE (phonetic), and he has a few other aliases, namely JOHN PEPPER, he wrote a 16-page pamphlet entitled "American Negro Problems," which he and his boss STALLIN established the long-range Communist program in fermenting and using the Negro revolutionary movement. And there is almost nothing written, preached or done under the civil rights slogan today that is not in accordance with the planning and instructions laid down by this Communist 40 years ago.

MORGAN: Could you substantiate, sir, the relationship between Mr. PEPPER and Mr. STALLIN?

MALE CALLER: Yes, Mr. PEPPER was also known as JOSEPH POGANNE (phonetic); he was born in Hungary; --

MORGAN: But perhaps I'm misinformed, this doesn't mean much to me. I mean how do we know that you say -- that this was, uh --

MALE CALLER: Well, this pamphlet -- he was -- it's a -- he's a known Communist. He wrote this in 1928. He also wrote many other pamphlets -- Communist pamphlets. He's a well-known Communist. He was -- uh, led the uprising in Hungary. He was known there as JOSEPH POGANNE (phonetic). Later he was JOSEPH SCHWARTZ (phonetic). Later in the American Communist Party he was JOSEPH LANZ (phonetic), but he's most widely remembered by his American pen name of JOHN PEPPER.
MORGAN: All right then. Your question for Mr. PASSEN?

MALE CALLER: Well, I have a couple of questions for him. First of all, uh, how does he like being in jail in Selma, Washington, and Erie? Second question is since all these things being done under the label of civil rights were laid down by a Communist nearly 40 years ago, uh, we want to wake up, or we should think that the civil rights people would wake up and realize the evil forces and evil purposes behind this pretense of humanitarianism.

MORGAN: Is that a question, sir?

MALE CALLER: Yes.

MORGAN: Okay.

MALE CALLER: In other words, are they going to wake up and realize that there is evil forces behind it and trying to use it and that a lot of the things going on were laid down in 1919 by the Communists?

PASSEN: Well, first of all, uh, as far as being in jail in these three places, uh, I felt I didn't -- well I didn't enjoy being in jail, but I felt I was in jail, uh, as a result of a very just cause and a very just action on my part. I was demonstrating peacefully, which is a right guaranteed by the United States Constitution. Uh, and if law officials in these various places feel that they have a right to throw me in jail, well this is -- this is to be expected. Uh, but --

MORGAN: Why did they?

PASSEN: Why did they throw me in jail? Well, in Washington, uh, I was in jail for a Vietnam demonstration. I was sitting in at the White House. In Erie, I was in the Hammermill demonstration. And I wasn't in jail in Selma.
MORGAN: But if this was a peaceful demonstration -- did they have a hook of the law to hang this on?

PASSEN: Well yeah. They can -- in -- in Washington, of course, we were blocking Federal property. Uh, this was what they used. In ---

MORGAN: So you then were interfering with the right of someone else to move about freely, weren't you?

PASSEN: Well, but what I was doing while interfering with a very minor right of someone else, I was working for a very major right of an entire race of people in this country. So I feel, uh, that I was completely justified in what I was doing.

As far as the allegation that the civil rights movement is Communist inspired, led and directed, uh, well a basic -- a basic plank in the -- in the general platform of socialist groups, uh, is equality -- complete equality. Uh, the feeling is, uh, that when there is no competition, uh, for jobs, uh, the white workers will not have a need to, uh, discriminate and fear the Negro. Also, KARL MARX once wrote that, uh, white labor cannot be freed until black slaves are emancipated or some -- something like that. Uh, this was not a -- a -- the movement itself is not Communist led, directed, instigated or anything like that. It just happens to be in line with basic ideals of socialist parties.

MALE CALLER: Do you think from your experience in demonstrations, such as the one in Geneva, Ohio, quicker police action could have prevented a lot of damage and unnecessary injuries?

MORGAN: Well, these gentlemen were not connected at all with the one in Geneva. I barely mentioned the Geneva, uh, earlier, saying that this is as far as most people are concerned, and I'll have to include myself among them, was of a kind of a wasted, uh, kind of expenditure of energy. But let's briefly deal with the question. Yes -- anyone.
GINSBURG: Yeah. First of all, uh, some of us were involved in Geneva. And I think we'd all agree that the results of the demonstration, or the what -- the rioting in Geneva, was a complete and total waste.

I also, uh, would like to mention on thing concerning the previous question which I think needs answering on one point. When people say that Communist goals -- this is a Communist goal and therefore that it is a wrong goal, let me propose the following. Every goal that the Communists are for are not wrong goals. For example, the Communists want to feed their own people. The Communist countries, for example Russia, would like to provide adequate housing. We would surely all agree that adequate housing, proper food, proper clothing is, uh, a general humanitarian goal in every country, no matter what kind of government it's under. Just because the Communists happen to be for the goal of civil rights -- for civil rights, does not mean at all that civil rights is part of the Communist conspiracy. It just means that the two different types of governments, uh, feel that one goal -- the same goal in their own countries are correct.

MORGAN: Let's deal with this because I'm sure it's a question that will be repeated and repeated. And I think we have other areas we explore tonight other than the, uh, Communist connections. So let's once and for all deal with it for a moment.

Now, are you merely saying then that there's merely a philosophic connection -- that just because our goals might be the same, some of the Communist goals and some of the civil rights goals or the SNA goals, this is not necessarily a direct tie-in. Right so far.

FASSEN: Exactly.

GINSBURG: Right.

PEREZ: Right.
MORGAN: All right. But can we go beyond that and say, maybe not necessarily or but what about factually so. Deal with the charges. The charges are that, uh, SNCC (as example) is tainted by, uh, Communist connections through this Southern Educational -- what is it, the BRADEN -- CARL -- ED BRADEN's organization, that has been called a number of times -- the BRADENs have before the House Un-American Activities Committee for whatever this is worth. Uh, it's been charged that the Lawyers Guild, I believe, is, uh, leftist. It's been charged that other organizations that are connected with SNCC, and that SNCC does not as a part of their requirement, uh, feel that it is incumbent upon them to go out and investigate the politics of everyone involved. So can we safely assume that there might very probably be Communists in SNCC?

PEREZ: Yeah you can -- you can assume that. Sure, because SNCC -- the only criteria for working for SNCC is that you are willing to do a good job, you're willing to work hard. And you're willing to accomplish SNCC's goals -- political organizing, economic organizing, to eliminate this racial discrimination in the country. We don't care if you're a Communist, a John Bircher, or what. Just as long as you do the job that SNCC laid out. And we don't ---

MORGAN: All right then. Are your goals just within SNCC more important than the goals, say of the United States, if a ---

PEREZ: Well, what are the goals of the United States? Assuming the goals of the United States are the ones set down in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Amendments of the Constitution, then the goals of SNCC are strictly derived, in a strict deductive sense, from the founding of the United States.

MORGAN: Well, you know what I'm asking.

PEREZ: No, I don't.
MORGAN: You know what I'm asking.

GINSBURG: No, I don't.

MORGAN: As well as I do. Uh, I am asking since you are not interested in whether or not a member is a Communist, is it not important to know -- to know whether he is a Communist inasmuch as --

GINSBURG: Why?

MORGAN: Just because -- well on the -- from looking at it from the view of someone who opposes you. We are, as a matter of national policy this gentleman would say, against Communists. So if you accept a Communist into your organization are you not doing something detrimental then, according to this view, to the United States?

Perez: That would be just, uh -- actually another form of discrimination. I don't see why SMCC should eliminate Communists if they can do the job and accomplish the goals we've set forth. The United States, I think, quite persecutes Communists today.

MORGAN: But as a matter of national policy, they are against Communists, right.

Perez: Yes, as a matter of national policy they are. But SMCC, as a matter of policy, is not. And this is one place where SMCC, I think, you'll find contradictions with the United States.

MORGAN: Is in conflict with the United States Government.

GINSBURG: No.

PASSEN: Why?
GINSBURG: Let me reiterate the position. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to socialism, if a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to Communism, there's a distinction between the two, I think, we'll all admit. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to right-wing movements for his own personal reasons, SNCC as an organization doesn't care. The point is that SNCC wants to get people in whose basic belief is in human equality, human worth, forgetting their own personal political beliefs. If they believe in this, then that's enough quality -- enough criteria -- sufficient criteria for having them work in SNCC towards civil rights.

MORGAN: All right. I wanted to make sure that the air was cleared on this -- this whole thing. Because this is an area we could spend a whole program on. Are you satisfied that your position is clear now, if not -- anything else to say on it.

GINSBURG: Yeah, I'd like PHIL to answer the initial charge that was made because he was on the March -- or he was in Selma, uh, concerning alleged sexual deviations and practices, uh, and this kind of thing.

PASSEN: Well, I saw none of this. Uh, there were certain instances which point to, I think the extreme doubtfulness of -- of this sort of thing. First of all, there was circulated on the final day of the March -- in Montgomery there was a flyer which said, everybody come to tent number 9 at the civil rights march camp site every night for MARTIN LUTHER KING's own girlie review, uh, and be treated to the favors of the girls afterwards. Uh, there was no such thing on the March at the camp site every night. But everybody I talked to in Montgomery believed that there was and never questioned the origin of this flyer for a minute.
MORGAN: What was the origin of the flyer, do you know?

PASSEN: I don't know, but I would tend to believe that it was, uh, printed by a white--right wing group, such as the White Citizens Council or something like that.

MORGAN: Well, weren't these charges pretty well dispelled in Congress?

FEMALE CALLER: I realize that you've answered part of this question, but I'd like to ask it this way I had originally started. Isn't it true that SNCC is heavily infiltrated by Communists, and I specifically, call attention to the March 18, 1965, Congressional Record where it is documented by Senator EASTLAND. And then I've got another question--

MORGAN: Uh, don't you agree that Senator EASTLAND speaks from rather a unique position?

FEMALE CALLER: He happens to be Chairman of the Senate Internal Security--

MORGAN: --he also happens to be the Senator from Mississippi, doesn't he?

FEMALE CALLER: Well, uh, if you--

MORGAN: --which might have something to do with it down there.

FEMALE CALLER: If you're going to look at things that way, you have to look at an overall picture of some of the people that are involved with, uh--
MORGAN: ---but you have to look at it that way because politically if he's going to, uh, remain a political figure, in the state, he must, uh, take a certain creditable position.

FEMALE CALLER: Uh, there have been a lot of other gentlemen, like Senator UTT (phonetic) that have, uh, put things in the Congressional Record. You can find many, many instances of this. The other thing is I'd like to know why Western Reserve seems to be staffed by so many left-wing professors.

MORGAN: Maybe it's a hot bid, is it?

FEMALE CALLER: Well it would appear to be that way, I'm personally very ashamed of Western Reserve.

MORGAN: You are? Well, let's find out. K.O.

GINSBURG: I think that Western Reserve is an up and coming university. I think that the professors involved have got a --- a good perspective on American society on politics. They spent many years studying it. They've had to write a thesis on various subjects. They're people who are involved; who just read books and don't read allegations presented by Senator EASTLAND, who owns a plantation in Mississippi, and who pays his Negro workers 65 cents a day. Uh, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee is a committee, uh, which is known to be anti-civil rights. And which has used every means possible, including these broad, ridiculous terms of Communist which have no meaning when you ask people what they mean by a Communist, would they define to be a Communist, what they think a Communist is. And I'm sure Senator EASTLAND really doesn't have a good idea --- I've got a strong doubt that he's ever read any Marxist-Leninist works, for example, and really knows what a Communist is. Uh, as far as Western Reserve University, uh, as I mentioned before, the campus is becoming alive; people are reading on the campus in terms of students, and the faculty --- I think we would all agree are
GINSBURG: generally the people who have read the most, who know most about their particular area. And I think it is good to follow their lead.

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I don't know what all the Federal grants are but, uh, this is just one of the things. Let me ask Mr. GINSBURG something else. He made a statement about this meeting in Atlanta when they first -- these 250 people originally started this SNCC group. Uh, it was brought out there that one-third of those present at this conference wore beards. And some of those who wore beards were directly connected with the CASKO movement and were symbolic of that movement. And several of the beard wearers declared that they would shave until the revolution was successful.

MORGAN: What Revolution? CASKO.

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I guess the revolution they're planning in the United States. That may sound a little silly but, uh --

MORGAN: All right, but let's find out.

GINSBURG: Uh, that's a completely and totally and utterly ridiculous charge. Last summer I knew and how know about three-quarters of the SNCC's staff and about half of the volunteers. Last summer in the staff that went down to Mississippi, out of 1100 people there were two gentlemen who wore beards. And two out of 1100 is a long way from 500, which you claim 50 percent. Also, uh, you got your facts wrong in that SNCC, uh, was not initiated by 250 people. It was initiated by 13, and none of them wore beards.

PEREZ: I think the matter of wearing beards in the South is entirely irrelevant. Because a person wears a
Perez: (cont'd.) board this naturally, but I'm (1) a follower of Casto, (2) a Communist. Uh, this whole concept of, uh, the way a person dresses or looks and that sort of thing with a political party, it's -- it's -- I can't -- I don't see any basis for it at all.

Male Caller: Yes. I'd like to have Mr. Passecu's comments on a sworn affidavit by Carl Frensham (phonetic), who was a counter spy for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1947 to 1960. Uh, Mr. Frensham (phonetic) said that he attended meetings of Communists at the home of Mr. RD Beck (phonetic) who is now a secretary of the NAACP and a member of the Congress on Racial Equality - CORE. He also said, I further swear and attest that at each and every one of the aforementioned meetings the Reverend Martin Luther King was always set forth as the individual to whom Communists should look and rally around in the struggle against racism. I hereby also state that Martin Luther King has either been a member or willingly or wittingly (or wittingly) has supported from over 60 Communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which give aid to or espouse Communist causes.

Morgan: And when was this testimony given, sir?

Male Caller: This is an affidavit that was given before George E.____, a Notary Public on September 26, 1963.

Morgan: Any knowledge of this letter.

Passecu: Me, I have, uh, no knowledge of this. Except that in Alabama, uh, there are signs, -- books -- billboards throughout the state, or Martin Luther King at a school called Highlander Folk School. Uh, this -- well, if you've heard of Pete Seeger, who happens to be a very well-known folk singer, uh, he is very active in this -- in this school and it's just a school for you know, studying American folklore and probably most of the
PASSEN: people are leaving it now. But the sign, you know, "no non-white admittance." And this is, uh, an institution. Oh, ---

MALE CALLER: Oh excuse me. It was closed by the state of Tennessee for being a subversive Communist institution.

PASSEN: Tennessee is in the South.

MALE CALLER: Well, yes, I know that. So what's wrong with that. So was GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PASSEN: Well, uh, I -- I don't think that GEORGE WASHINGTON did very much for the cause of civil rights. Uh, I would like to say that just because the goals in this particular area of revolutionary socialists agree with goals of SNCC, and the socialists work with SNCC and other civil rights groups, uh, this does not mean that when the civil rights groups feel that they have accomplished as much as they can -- naively -- as much as they can accomplish, that they -- they will join with these revolutionary socialists and, uh, work for the revolution. It just means that they are willing to work with them now because these people are working for the same goals that SNCC is working for.

MALE CALLER: Er, I'd like to point out that J. EDGAR HOOVER has said, time itself has shown that the Communist Party is not interested in the welfare of the Negro but only in using him as a tool to advance Party interests. It is, uh, you may think that you are going to use the help of some of the Communists, you don't care what they are when you accept their help, but they'll wind up using these people. And that's what I'm afraid of with so many Communists being in the civil rights movement or having their hands in there in one way or another.
MALE CALLER: However, I'd like to go on to another subject. You mentioned 'urban renewal.' Well, House Avenue is a blight because the City of Cleveland is spending millions taking people's homes from them in another urban renewal area, tearing down the houses, and not replacing them with better homes, and those people had to go somewhere. They jammed into the Hough area and caused it to be a slum and then the city came along and said, oh, God look what we have, another slum, which they caused. Now I'd like to point out that the Sioux Indians of South Dakota decided they wanted better homes to live in. They sold their land, built single-family homes, which they rent at 10 percent of their value for $50 a month. That's low rent. They're repaying the money raised by the sale of bonds locally without taking any Federal taxpayers' money. In Cleveland, Chief Poweshiek got millions of dollars of taxpayers' money from the Big House in Washington under the urban renewal program, has confiscated land belonging to many people, displaced thousands more people who moved into the Hough area, creating more slums. And I don't know of any home or apartment renting for $50 a month in Chief Poweshiek's reservation. The Sioux Indians are way ahead of our supposedly civilized all-powerful centralized government in Washington. Perhaps we should give the country back to the Sioux and let them teach us how to run it.

FEBEZ: Well, I think you've got a valid point there. Oh, there has been a great big kerfuffle and a big war with this urban renewal and I think if you just on the basis that our government really doesn't understand what these people want. As full-paid in an article recently, the people don't need more but they need garbage disposals, gas, indoor plumbing. What they need is a house free from rot, with a working toilet with hot and cold running water, with a roof that...
FEBEREZ: (cont'd.) doesn't leak. And when the city wakes up to this fact and realize the people's needs are more basic than these fancy luxuries, then you'll start solving your problem of urban renewal.

CINBURG: Sir, I would like to invite you personally, and I think on behalf of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, to work with us in our Cleveland programs. And I think your ideas are very good.

FEMALE CALLER: Yes. I have a statement and also a question. Uh, in regard to the Hough area there, I was raised in this area and I have noticed the toll change since these people came into this area. It is really a disgrace, and HARV MORGAN I beg you to create a motorcade of buses of people to go through this area and see what damage these people have done. These are bars on the windows, windows ripped out, doors taken off. It is worse than the state of Arkansas where they have no doors or windows, and the pigs run in and out of the houses on stilts.

MORGAN: Why do you think this happens. Uh, I don't think anyone is denying a great deal of what you are saying.

FEMALE CALLER: Belie me, this has happened through the people that have come in there.

MORGAN: It's because they're Negroes, is that it?

FEMALE CALLER: No property -- no property owners could begin to keep up with it. It's a total disgrace.

MORGAN: Is it because these people are Negroes that they did this?
FEMALE CALLER: I don't know what kind of people they are. I was brought up on the farm when I was a child, and believe me I've fed the swine, and I've fed the cows, and I've fed the chickens. And I have never seen any animals destroy like these people have done.

MORGAN: All right. Any comments on this.

PASSENGER: Madam, first of all I would like you to -- well you cannot -- I would like to tell you that you cannot imagine the psychological, uh, reaction, the depression, the -- the, uh, tendency -- the inevitable tendency to just give up when you've existed in a society which does not give you the opportunity to get a job that most people can get; to get an education that most people can get; to live where most people can live. This -- I cannot myself, uh, imagine really the psychological reactions that would develop. I've read as much as I can on it -- on this sort of thing by Negro authors. Uh, you -- the attitude that develops is one of, well we're not going to get anywhere, there's no use in trying. Uh, and it is an inevitable attitude. We're trying to change the societal conditions which bring on this attitude.

MORGAN: Before we take the next call, let's delve into this subject we're using, for a moment, "What Can You Do With A Summer?" Actually I think you've indicated, uh, DISK and HIT and HILL, what you think you can do with a summer. What you are indeed doing with a summer. But with you it's not just a summer, it is...

FERREL: No. That's right. I feel, and I think SNCC deals as a whole, that they don't want anyone to say, well for this summer I'm going to devote it for someone else. We like everyone for just a small portion of every day and in his everyday practices to devote it to something else.
PEREZ: to strive for Negro freedom, to strive for equal rights for all. It's just not a summer deal. It's not a summer one shot deal. In other words, I went down to Mississippi this summer I'm absolved. I never have to work again. We at SNCC -- I work full time, PHIL works full time, ROY does. We feel strongly enough. We don't ask everyone to do this. All we ask is that every day that everyone do something rather than just spending the summer and calling it quits. So actually this is more than what to do with a summer, it's something to base your life on.

MORGAN: I wonder as far as SNCC is concerned, now as I understand it, uh, correct me where I go astray here, but from the interview that ROBERT F. WARREN had with, uh, one of the directors of, uh, SNCC. Is it BOB MOSES?

GINSBURG: Yeah. He interviewed BOB MOSES who was in charge of the, uh, the Mississippi Summer Project, who was the Executive Secretary of COFO, and with STOKELY CARMICHAEL (phonetic), who is and was in charge of the Second Congressional District in Mississippi.

MORGAN: I think that an important point was made there that it is the endeavor -- and was he speaking for the entire organization SNCC, when he said that it's his aim to be -- uh, to get rid of the conditions of being a victim, to get rid of this condition without becoming an executioner. That therefore you're aiming for this -- this middle ground. Because as is often the case, the slave becomes the master, the oppressed becomes the oppressor. Is this an over-all aim then of SNCC?

PEREZ: Yes, definitely.

MORGAN: And where is this rooted? In what kind of psychological thinking?
It's rooted in the basic concept of SNCC, of a participatory democracy. Not where any one individual lords it over any other individuals, or anyone is the boss and the other people are the workers or what have you. Uh, where each individual is equal and can work. Not so that the Negro in the South and North in America becomes the boss, so to speak, and control the strings in every way. But just so that the Negro can move into the mainstream of American life, he can have the same opportunities, the same chances that white people do in America.

All right. There is a word called involved. Now why should this involve you, for example, PHIL?

Well, I think it should involve everybody. Uh, because it's -- it is just as impossible to me to imagine someone who lives in a society and who sees people oppressed and discriminated against and in a sense spat upon all the time, uh, to -- for a person who lives in this sort of a society not to be concerned, not to be -- to be involved. We are all human beings and it just seems obvious to me that we should all work, uh, for the uplifting of -- of fellow human beings.

All right. We just have time for a couple of quick calls. Let's have your please. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

Thank you. Uh, one thing. Uh, Mr. PASSEN mentioned awhile ago, uh, the relevance of Vietnam to the Negro question. And I'd like to know how this ties in. Also, uh, in relation to Western Reserve -- in relation to the fellow who called a number of minutes ago. Reserve is hardly, and I'm in a position of some knowledge as a student there, a hot bed of leftists.
CV 100-26440

MORGAN: Boy, I'm glad we dispose of that. What about the first part?

PASSEN: Uh ---

MORGAN: What's the relationship to Vietnam?

PASSEN: Well, it's basically, uh, at least in my philosophy, it's basically the, uh, business interests of the country who are pursuing, uh, the war in Vietnam and who, uh, are encouraging its development, uh, to protect United States business interests abroad.

Uh, likewise it's -- it's the business interests and the power structure, uh, that feels, uh, that they will have an advantage if -- if Negroes, uh, are a victim -- are someone, you know, to, uh, victimize. Uh, it's -- it's also, I think, a general, uh, lack of concern by the American people, uh, for real democratic concepts. Uh, the war in Vietnam is, uh, is a sham if we consider it a democratic -- you know, a war to preserve democracy because it's destroying democracy, it's working against the basic principles of democracy. Just as, uh, the Negro situation in America is in direct opposition to concepts of democracy.

MORGAN: And we have no concern, uh, in our intervention in Vietnam in the freedom of the Vietnamese people or the preservation of their society from Communism. Ours is purely then a selfish interest, one of our own gain?

PASSEN: Definitely. I think so because the majority -- well, for what it's worth, President EISENHOWER said, and most people who aren't in the Army who have been in Vietnam, said that the majority of the Vietnamese, uh, are in support of the Vietcong movement. And we are directly stifling, uh, a movement which has the support of the majority of the people.
MORGAN: Well, I believe as far as EISENHOWER is concerned said that, that condition would have existed in 1954.

PASSEN: Fifty-six.

MORGAN: Well, back then, some years ago anyway, which may or may not -- you may or may not agree with that same position today. Well, our position is that we have time for just one quick call. Let's have yours. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

MALE CALIER: Uh, gentlemen, I couldn't agree with you more this evening. And I first have a statement as a question. I'll get into this. Last summer -- last semester I and a few exchange students worked on the East Side of Cleveland with a mortgage firm, and we were generally just painting and cleaning up and attaching screen doors and affixing screen windows throughout the whole area. And we were treated rather kindly and the people mostly accepted these. And uh, like I say, we were treated very nicely. But the thing that I couldn't understand is the general lack and lack of consideration as to this problem of rats and roaches, which we could not understand. The people themselves are faced with this problem but yet they are not interested in, shall we say, preserving a lot of their perishables in containers that would not admit rats to these containers, such as flour and things like this. It's rather just strewn throughout haphazardly. Now I was just wondering if there could be, uh -- we've talked about this -- some type of program instituted and what are the chances of this being followed up as far as pest control. I mean, let's face it, rats just don't come into a house to watch television. If there's nothing to eat ---

PEREZ: Yeah. This is a good point, and I invite you to work with us. We -- we feel strongly about this too. And the reason that it's allowed to go on in a community like this is a person is brought up in an environment. He's always had rats in the
PEREZ: (cont'd.)

house. And until you show him that you can better him, until you show him that he needn't have rats in the house, he's going to let them stay. I mean, he's always known it. So it's up to, uh, to us and to other people to show him, uh, you know, to get rid of these rats. And I invite you to work with us on this project.

MORGAN:

Speaking of pests, we have a pest here. His name is KEN COURTWRIGHT and he insists that he has some news coming along at this time. In just a moment you'll hear KEN COURTWRIGHT with the news on WKYC Radio, Cleveland, Ohio. My thanks so much tonight to ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN, all of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, for joining me on "What Can You Do With A Summer" on "Contact" this evening.

* * *

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild appears in the Appendix hereto.

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the CP, testified before the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court on December 11 and 13, 1954. This testimony was in connection with a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, and AHEARN identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE, as having been known to her to be members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951 to shortly before the time of her testimony.
A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) appears in the Appendix hereto. A characterization of DONALD FREEMAN is included in the RAM characterization.

Source:  
Source on September 20, 1965, made available the September 16, 1965 issue of "The Alternative", which is self-described as a publication of the YSA. This publication contained a list of questions and answers, one of which read as follows:

"Do you feel the future is as dim for SNCC as for MFDP?" The answer read: "No ---- The leadership of SNCC is made up of hardened vets. These vets were intimidated by the FBI and shot at by night riders long before the federal
"government thought of trying to pay them off. Most of the
field workers came into the movement as radicals of one
variety or another. They had their worst suspicions of the
federal government confirmed." The publication also indicated
it would co-sponsor a beer party with SNCC at Apartment 6, 2123
Stearns Road, on September 18, 1965.

Source: "The Case Tech"
- October 15, 1965

Source carried an article entitled, "SNCC Prints
'The Drummer'." According to this article, "The Drummer" is
a bi-weekly paper aimed at the poor people of the Negro and
white ghettos in Cleveland. The paper had no editor as such,
and uses its entire staff for editorial decisions. Its
purpose is to inform the people of the things that are play
down in the general press or just fail to get reported.
The paper was started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC, and is
completely handled by a staff of interested people from all
segments of society in Cleveland. Other organizations, such as
SDS, assist with its circulation.
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (and Appendixes), revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., cited National Lawyers Guild as follows:

"Cited as a Communist front.

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

"Cited as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

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


APPENDIX
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

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

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, now residing in Duba, 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 nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

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

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

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from an RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.
This source stated in May, 1965, there has been no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM but that headquarters have been with Freeman since he has played such a dominant role in the leadership of and has directed the policies and activities of the organization.

Within recent months, according to the second source, dissension within RAM has become evident and some dissatisfaction with Freeman's leadership has arisen. So far as is known, however, he remains the titular leader of RAM.

To date, according to the second source in May, 1965, RAM has organized units and membership in several of the larger cities in the United States east of the Mississippi River and the organization is currently active in attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence.
"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

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

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

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

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communist.
W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

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

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the Founding Convention for the new youth organization was held during the period of June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E. B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

APPENDIX
The constitution further states this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or, if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source advised in April, 1965, the headquarters of the organization continues to be located at 1953½ McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Both sources have advised that at the Founding Convention two officers were elected: Philip Chapin Davis - President; Carl Ellenger Bloice - Publications Chairman.

A third source advised on October 26, 1962, Philip Davis attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source advised that Carl Bloice, reporter for the "People's World," was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX

57
A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
KENT, OHIO

A source, on June 3, 1965, reported that the Kent, Ohio, Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, the membership of this branch are not members of the SWP, but do attend functions sponsored by the SWP. Its activities are aimed toward obtaining membership on college campuses and its claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCES
Report of SA [redacted], 2-4-66, at Atlanta.

CLEVELAND DIVISION
AT CLEVELAND, OHIO:
Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

INFORMANTS

LOCATION
Instant Report

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

5-5 MAY 31 1966
INFORMANTS continued

Characterization of PHILIP PASSEN

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of RON LUCAS

- B -

COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS continued

Characterization of PHIL BART

Characterization of TED COHEN

Characterization of PAUL LODICO

Characterization of DAN ROSENSHINE

Characterization of SIDNEY PECK
INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE

LOCATION

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified "CONFIDENTIAL" because information from [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

- D* -

COVER PAGE
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continues to be located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. PHILIP PASSEN identified as President of Cleveland chapter of SNCC; ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ identified as officers of Cleveland chapter of SNCC. Association of SNCC members with representatives of W.E.B. Du Bois Club of America, Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party set forth. Activities of SNCC members in connection with meetings and demonstrations of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam set forth. Officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University identified.
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I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that the Cleveland chapter of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or if SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

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

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[Redacted] advised on May 6, 1966, that SNCC continues to maintain its headquarters at Apartment 6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

[Redacted] advised on May 6, 1966, that PHILIP PASSEN is the President of the Western Reserve University chapter of SNCC. Source stated that the other officers of this chapter are ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ.

[Redacted] advised on June 30, 1965, that he heard on June 3, 1965, that PHILIP PASSEN was a member of the Cleveland branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBSYA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965.

A characterization of CBSYA and CBSWP appears in the appendix section of this report.

[Redacted] advised on June 29, 1965, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[Redacted] on January 14, 1963, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.
advised on February 20, 1964, 
that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the 
CP as of that date.

advised on February 10, 1965, 
that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were 
still active in the Communist Movement.

IV. CP AND SWP INTEREST OR INFLUENCE 
IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

advised on October 16, 1965, that on 
September 25, 1965, the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubsof 
America (DCA) sponsored a demonstration on Public 
Square, Cleveland, Ohio, to protest United States 
policy in Viet Nam. In addition to DCA members, several 
members of SNCC were observed participating in the 
demonstration.

A characterization of DCA appears 
in the appendix section of this report.

advised on October 11, 1965, that on 
October 1, 1965, a farewell party was held at the DCA 
Clubhouse, Cleveland, Ohio, for RON LUCAS who was 
leaving for Indonesia. Source stated that SNCC members 
were present at this party. It was announced at the 
party that PHIL BART would not be at this farewell 
because he had another meeting to go to that night.

advised on November 26, 1965, 
that RON LUCAS was at that time a member 
of the CP Youth Club in Cleveland.
advised on November 9, 1965, that on October 12, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Unitarian Society, 8143 Euclid Avenue. Representatives of the YSA, SDS, SNCC, and DCA were present. Plans were made for a discussion and workshop on October 15, 1965. A vigil was planned for the night of October 15, 1965, at the Cleveland Public Square and a demonstration was planned for October 16, 1965. Plans were also made to go to the Draft Board induction center and pass out leaflets telling the draftees how to legally get out of the draft.

advised on October 28, 1965, that on October 19, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at SNCC headquarters on Stearns Road. DON GUREWITZ and other SNCC members were present and also members of the DCA, YSA, and SWP. The lack of police protection for demonstrators was deplored. Incidents were related to explain this lack of police protection.

on October 20, 1965, furnished an announcement of an open forum to be held on October 24, 1965, and which was to be sponsored by the CBSWB. This announcement stated that a panel discussion entitled "Young Radicals View Social Change" was to be held on October 24, 1965. It announced other groups would be represented as follows:
TED COHEN, DCA
DON GUREWITZ, Cleveland SNCC
PAUL LODICO, YSA
DICK MAGIDOFF, SDS

Advised on May 2, 1966, that PAUL LODICO is currently a member of the SWP, in Cleveland.

Advised on October 25, 1965, that on October 24, 1965, an open forum sponsored by the SWP was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue. The topic of discussion was "Young Radicals View Social Change." Among the members of the panel were TED COHEN of the DCA, DON GUREWITZ of SNCC and PAUL LODICO of YSA.

The panelists all agreed that the antiwar demonstrations are one expression of revolution against the JOHNSON regime expansion of the brutal war in Viet Nam. The panelists advocated the creation of an independant political organization to organize and lead a social revolution. They also stated that young radicals are the leaders and organizers of the antiwar protest movements. They are trying to get enough people to follow them so that they can organize a revolution to have a social change. They also stated that they would not settle for partial gains and concessions but would fight for them or take them and utilize them to fight for more fundamental changes. They also
stated that equality for the Negro people is not possible under the social system present in the United States today.

advised on November 4, 1965, that on October 30, 1965, an area conference of members of the DCA was held in Cleveland, Ohio. DCA members from Ohio State University, Wayne State University and Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh were present. YSA members and members of SNCC were also present. Workshops on community organizing and peace were held.
advised on December 17, 1965, that a meeting of the Viet Nam Day Committee was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. PHIL PASSEN of SNCC acted as chairman. A vote was taken on inviting high school students to unite with the Viet Nam Day Committee. Some of the members and students were against the proposal but it was passed by a majority vote.

DANNY ROSENFELD announced that efforts were being made to try to get YSA, DCA, SDS, SWP, CORE, SNCC, and other groups to join the Viet Nam Day Committee so that there can be one massive organization.

advised on May 2, 1966, that DANNY ROSENFELD is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the antiwar movement.
advised on February 9, 1966, that on February 7, 1966, a demonstration sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam took place at the Cleveland Public Hall. Source advised that members of the DCA, YSA, and SNCC participated in the demonstration.

advised on February 28, 1966, that on February 22, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. DON GUREWITZ of SNCC acted as chairman of the meeting. He gave a talk on the Viet Nam lobby which was followed by a question and answer period.

V. OFFICERS OF SNCC CHAPTER AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

advised on February 9, 1966, that the following individuals are the officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University:

- 8 -
President:  HAROLD ROGERS  
Birth Date: 2-25-42  
Home Address: 16315 Stockbridge Road,  
Cleveland, Ohio  

Vice-President:  ROBERT BRESNAHAN  
Birth Date: 5-25-43  
Home Address: 2505 Olbatangy Drive,  
Akron, Ohio  

Secretary:  FRANCES WEISS  
Birth Date: 3-24-45  
Home Address: North Plane Road,  
Great Barrington, Massachusetts  

Treasurer:  PERRY M ARENZ  
Birth Date: 8-18-44  
Home Address: 745 West River,  
Elyria, Ohio
(1)

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

APPENDIX
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source in April, 1943, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source, on June 14, 1965, advised that the Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately sixteen members, is affiliated with the National SWP, and is currently active in Cleveland and Akron, Ohio.

APPENDIX

11
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
CLEVELAND, OHIO

A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and it is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

12 *
Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of SA dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

IS-C

REFERENCES


CLEVELAND DIVISION

At Cleveland, Ohio

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.
CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
Characterization of DON GUREWITZ
Characterization of ERIC REINTHALER
Characterization of JESSE THOMAS

LOCATION

100-26449-181

Instant report

- B -
COVER PAGE
Characterization of SIDNEY PECK

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local Intelligence Agencies for their information.

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by [redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

-C*- 

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army,
   Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base,
   Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Copy to:  

Report of: SA  
Office: CLEVELAND  
Date: 12/7/56

Field Office File #: 100-26449  
Bureau File #: 100-349190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
       NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, located at 2123 Stearns Road. Meetings held irregularly at Student Union Building, Western Reserve University. DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN reported to be SNCC co-chairmen. Other SNCC leaders' identities set forth. Cleveland Chapter of SNCC reportedly not connected with National SNCC organization. SNCC association with DCA, CP and SWP set forth. SNCC activities protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam reported. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National SNCC Chairman, made appearance in Cleveland, August, 1966, and advocated disobedience to Selective Service laws and spoke in favor of rioting and violence.

- P*

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic 
downgrading and 
declassification

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

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[Redacted] advised on June 17, 1966, that SNCC has received the approval of the authorities at Western Reserve University (WRU) to hold meetings at the Student Union Building, Thwing Hall, on the WRU campus. The source advised that SNCC does not meet regularly but when it meets it is at this location on Monday nights.

[Redacted] advised on November 30, 1966, that on November 10, 1966, he learned that SNCC continues to maintain a headquarters in an apartment at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[Redacted] advised on June 17, 1966, that the Co-Chairmen of SNCC are DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN. Source advised that DON GUREWITZ is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and BEN BROWN is a student at Case Institute of Technology. Concerning BROWN, the source also advised that he teaches in a tutorial project in the Hough area of Cleveland. BROWN also was in Mississippi during Easter, 1965, in connection with a voter registration campaign.

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

DON GUREWITZ:

[Redacted] advised on 6/29/65, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.
on 1/14/63, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

advised on 2/20/64, that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

advised on 2/10/65, that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist Movement.

advised on November 30, 1966, that he learned on November 10, 1966, that CYNTHIA HIRSCH, LYNN HANDELMAN, MARY BETH GORALNIK, aka Nancy Case, and BRIAN SCANLON, all WRU students, were leaders of SNCC at the University but the source did not know what their official titles, if any, were.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF SNCC

advised on June 1, 1966, that on May 20, 1966, he attended a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) meeting held at Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. In connection with this meeting he heard ERIC REINTHALER, in discussing SNCC, state that STOKELEY CARMICHAEL is now the head of SNCC and a member of the Black Panther Party. REINTHALER stated that SNCC, in general, is very disappointed in President JOHNSON's lukewarm action in connection with the fight for Negro equality. He stated that he expects that SNCC will make some demands on "Society" in areas such as police brutality, political action and similar fields.

advised on 5/6/66, that ERIC REINTHALER is an organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland.

C. P. MEMBER

The SWP is an organization designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10950.
advised on 6/7/66, that JESSE THOMAS was present at the Ohio CP State Convention held at Cleveland, Ohio, on 6/4-5/66, and during this convention THOMAS was elected as a member of the CP State Committee and a delegate to the CPUSA National Convention to be held in New York City in June, 1966.

The Cleveland Press, October 19, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "True Story of Black Power is SNCC Goal Here":

"A small, enthusiastic civil rights group at Western Reserve University will stick with SNCC.

"Black power and all.

"SNCC is the Nickname of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee which has come into increasing controversy and is reported to be losing white support. The students at Western Reserve call themselves the Friends of SNCC.

"They have been active on the WRU campus for more than a year, mostly raising funds for the civil rights efforts of SNCC in the South.

"Last year they also sent 20 students to Mississippi and Louisiana for the voter registration drive. And they sent books and clothing to Negro school children.

"But it's been a long hot summer, with riots in the big city slums, the emergence of Stokely Carmichael and black power as a force in SNCC. It's the frank and brutal talk of violence in the drive for Negro rights.

"Has all this changed the minds of the friends of SNCC?"
"In interviews with The Press today, the individual members made it clear that they have no intention of running away from their convictions. They insist that black power is misunderstood, that the rights fight is not over.

"Attractive Mary Beth Goralnick, a sophomore sociology student from St. Louis, puts it this way:

"'Basically, I still believe in the ideas of SNCC. My beliefs in freedom for the Negro haven't changed. Of course I don't believe in everything that Stokely Carmichael says. But I think we as students have a very important job to do here in Cleveland - to educate and to try and interpret the movement to the white community.'

"Cynthia Hirsch, also a sophomore, from Scranton, Pa., put it a little differently:

"'There are injustices going on right here in Cleveland, that you never hear about or read about in the newspapers. I think we have to go to the community and try to help in any way we can.'

"Said Brian Scanlon of Tenafly, N.J.: 'I personally think our main job is to tell the people what really happened this summer, in the ghettos and in the South. It is important to present the black power story fairly. I don't think that has been done yet.'

"Nancy Case is a pretty English and political science student from Chicago. She frankly admits that the events of the past summer have changed the role of the workers in the movement.

"'I think our job is to make people aware of what black power is and what it isn't. And I think we have to let people know what the Negro mood really is,' she said.

"'I think one of our functions is to expose these ideas to other students so that they are aware of what the situation really is. You just can't hide from this sort of thing,' said Lynn Handelman, a Chicago sophomore."
V. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA) AND SWP CONNECTIONS WITH SNCC

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

advised on June 29 and July 5, 1966, that a session of the 16th National Convention of the CP was held on June 24, 1966, at New York City. At this session plans were discussed concerning CP Youth Club members in Cleveland approaching SNCC and other organizations to enlist their support for a march on Washington to be held in August.

advised on October 27, 1966, that on October 9, 1966, a SWP meeting was held at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. At this meeting NANCY CASE, as a SNCC spokesman, told the audience that SNCC will include white people in its program which has been misinterpreted. She stated that SNCC is helping Negroes to win equality, jobs, better housing, decent living conditions, good neighborhoods and good schools.

The information reported by ______ concerning the SWP meeting held on October 9, 1966, was confirmed by ______ on October 10, 1966; ______ on October 13, 1966; and ______ on October 10, 1966.

VI. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH PROTESTING U.S. POLICY CONCERNING VIETNAM

advised on August 9, 1966, that on August 6, 1966, the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a rally in the Main Ballroom of the Manger Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the main speaker. CARMICHAEL spoke on the decay of western civilization. He said that the United States
must be brought to its knees. He stated "Any black man who fights for this country is a black mercenary". CARMICHAEL questioned the right of the United States and England to determine when an African or Asian country should be given independence. He stated that it is his belief that every country has the right of self-determination. He criticized reactionary and left wing groups for appealing to the wrong group of people. He proposed that they encourage white youths not to obey the Selective Service System.

The information furnished by [redacted] concerning the rally held on August 6, 1966, was confirmed by [redacted] on August 12, 1966.

[redacted] advised on September 12, 1966, that on September 10, 1966, a conference was held at Newton D. Baker Hall at Western Reserve University. The purpose of this conference was to set a date for demonstrations all over the United States to promote civil rights and to protest against U.S. participation in Vietnam.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

One of the speakers at this conference was WILLIAM HIGGS, a SNCC representative. HIGGS alleged that during the previous week members of the Atlanta Police Department, armed with shotguns and tear gas, brutally crushed a demonstration by Black citizens in Atlanta. He stated that these people were exercising their constitutional rights when they were brutalized. He also stated that several political arrests were made including the arrest of STOKELEY CARMICHAEL, the Chairman of SNCC. HIGGS revealed that Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY expressed approval of the City of Atlanta's action in a telephone call to the Atlanta Mayor. He said that this action by the Atlanta Police Department paralleled the action of the United States in Vietnam where the U.S. supresses revolution with napalm and then casts the blame for the resultant devastation on those who are attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government. He stated that in a similar manner in Atlanta the culpability for "inciting a riot" is not placed upon the white policeman who pulled the trigger and killed a Negro but upon STOKELEY CARMICHAEL who courageously stands for self-determination for the people in Vietnam and for the black people of the United States. HIGGS urged all present to send telegrams to Atlanta Mayor IVAN ALLEN, asking him to release STOKELEY CARMICHAEL from jail.
advised on October 31, 1966, that on October 30, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held at the Student Union Hall, Western Reserve University. At this meeting final plans were made for the November 5-8, 1966, mobilization for peace in Vietnam. The main speaker was SIDNEY PECK. PECK indicated in his speech that many organizations would participate in the mobilization including the Friends of SNCC.

VII. APPEARANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN CLEVELAND

advised on August 6, 1966, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was held on August 5, 1966, at Cory Methodist Church, 1117 East 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. According to the source there were approximately 800 people present at the meeting. Source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated that he has nothing against rioting and burning. He explained "Black Power" as a movement that will smash everything the western civilization has created. He said that Black Power picks up where MALCOLM X left off. CARMICHAEL urged that everything be burned. He stated that the purpose of Black Power is to bring this country to its knees.

He also urged Negroes not to serve in the Armed Forces. He said that Negroes serving in Vietnam are mercenaries. He stated that the white race is the enemy. He made a plea for unity among Negroes, urging that white people not be allowed to spread back unity.

The above information was confirmed by [redacted] on 8/9/66, by [redacted] on 8/9/66, and by [redacted] on 8/10/66.
VIII. NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CONCERNING STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 8, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "SWEENEY Blasts SNCC Leader as Anarchist", as follows:

"U.S. Rep., Robert E. Sweeney, D-at-large, last night condemned Stokley Carmichael as 'an anarchist... puppet leader...an individual masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader.'

"Carmichael is leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). During the weekend he defined 'black power' and called Negro soldiers in Vietnam 'black mercenaries.'

"Speaking to the Catholic War Veterans at a banquet in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church in Lakewood, Sweeney said he felt compelled to offer a rebuttal to Carmichael's statements.

"'Here is an individual (Carmichael) masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader, who is nothing more than an anarchist and an extremist, who...will do more harm to the civil rights crusade than anyone who has appeared on the American scene in this decade, including Gov. George Wallace of Alabama,' Sweeney said.

"'I think it appropriate that veterans organizations in this county unite in their response lest one soldier in Vietnam get the idea that there is any diluting of support on the home front for their sacrifices in the field.'

"Sweeney called Carmichael 'a dangerous American.'

"Sweeney, a candidate in November for attorney general of Ohio, said he will consult U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas B. Katzenbach as to whether appropriate 'criminal action might be instituted in the federal courts against Mr. Carmichael.'

"'This weekend, we came to understand what Mr. Carmichael meant by black power,' Sweeney stated, 'and boiling it down to its simplest, it amounts to: let's raise
"havoc in the street and turn America upside down.'

"'If this doesn't constitute the advocacy of the use of force and violence to overthrow the duly constituted government of the United States of America or something close to it, then I miss my guess.'

"Sweeney told the veterans group that every veteran can applaud the efforts of genuine civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins."

IX. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON SNCC IN CLEVELAND NEWSPAPERS

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 25, 1966 edition, contained an editorial captioned "Irresponsible Voice". This editorial commented as follows:

"The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's denunciation of the White House conference on Civil Rights comes with bad grace at a time when honest efforts are being made to find tangible solutions to pressing national problems.

"Careful planning over a period of many weeks has gone into the conference scheduled for next month to attack the big problems of housing, jobs and schools in America's Negro ghettos.

"Many groups with a sincere dedication to the task of achieving equality and a better lot for their less fortunate brothers will be represented at the conference. Many important voices will be heard.

"In its statement on non-participation, SNCC recklessly pre-judged the conference in declaring that President JOHNSON and the executive department 'are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black Americans.'

- 10 -
"The SNCC posture that 'we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam' is ridiculous.

"Any beliefs that SNCC is a responsible voice of dissent and protest in the civil rights struggle should be shattered by this outburst."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 18, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "City Facing More Riots, Negroes Say". This article stated as follows:

"Cleveland faces more race riots and the action will not be confined to the predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Civil rights legislation and moves toward integration will not help.

"This was the gist of speeches by two Negro leaders yesterday at a meeting of the Friends of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) in the Student Union of Western Reserve University. About 60 persons attended.

"The speakers were Henry Austan, a Bogalusa, La., official of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and Lewis G. Robinson, director of the now closed JFK House.

"Austan was here to appeal for money in a national fund-raising drive for the Deacons. He speaks at Baldwin-Wallace College Thursday and at Oberlin College Friday. Robinson attacked Councilman Leo A. Jackson, D-24, on the issue of black power.

"Austan said Negro neighborhoods are like 'smoldering volcanos that will explode. When they do, even Shaker Heights will not be safe.'"

- 11 -
"Attacking non-violent civil rights leaders, Austan said: 'George Washington didn't march singing 'We Shall Overcome'. The Alamo was not a non-violent protest.'

"On integration, Austan said: 'Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny are equally improbable.' On military service, he said: 'If it's rational to go to Vietnam to defend Vietnamese democracy, it is also rational to stay home and protect my own people.'

"On the war in Vietnam Austan said: 'There's no Viet Cong in the ghetto exploiting me, and there's no Viet Cong on the police force and in the power structure.'

"He said the problem is not black power but white power. He defined white power as '400 years of economic intimidation and violence' against Negroes.

"Robinson said that while he planned to attack Jackson vigorously, he decided against it because Jackson was a victim of the 'system'.

"He said that the Negro community does not want integration. It wants freedom, equality and brotherhood.

"Robinson said the community 'needs more places like the JFK House'. He charged the owner who sold the JFK House building to the city lied when he said no one wanted to buy it.

"'We offered to buy it for $5,000 last year and $2,000 this year', Robinson said."
A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX
Cleveland, Ohio
December 7, 1966

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

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

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

IS - C

REFERENCES

Report of SA 12/7/66, at Cleveland.

LEADS

CLEVELAND:

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

Case has been: Pending over one year □ Yes □ No; Pending prosecution over six months □ Yes □ No

APPROVED (C.W.B.) SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:
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4. Atlanta (100-5488) (RM)
5. Cleveland (100-26449)

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Request Rec'd.

Date Fwd.

Date Fwd.

100-439190-11-8
JUN 19 1967

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**ADMINISTRATIVE**

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by [Redacted] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF INVESTIGATIONS

ATT: DECAVIT, P. H., Gen. Counsel, CONFIDENTIAL
Maryland 20755 (CA)

Copy to:
1 - NIS - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA
Date: 6/15/67
Office: CLEVELAND, OHIO

Field Office File #: (100-26449)
Bureau File #: (100-439190)

Title: COMMUNIST INfiltrATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland, presently does not have local
headquarters. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive,
and shows no signs of militancy at this time. SNCC organization
mentioned at SWP meetings and the meeting of WILPF.

- p* -

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward
establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP)
infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[Redacted] advised on June 1, 1967, that SNCC has no known headquarters at this time. He stated that he has heard that SNCC does have permission to use the Student Union Building on the Western Reserve University (WRU) campus.

III. OFFICERS

[Redacted] advised on June 1, 1967, that he knows of only one SNCC representative in Cleveland at this time. He identified him as RANDALL MURRAY, 1539 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio. Source did not know what official capacity, if any, that RANDALL MURRAY has in SNCC.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF THE SNCC

[Redacted] advised on May 2, 1967, that the SNCC organization in the Cleveland area is supposedly a campus group at WRU. Source advised that to his knowledge SNCC is completely inactive at this time and shows no signs of militancy in the Cleveland area.

V. CONNECTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) AND THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

The SWP has been designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

WILPF is a self described international womens peace organization having as its purpose the attainment of world peace through international disarmament.
advised on May 2, 1966, that ROSENSHINE is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is Chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the anti-war movement.

A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix section.
W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
CLEVELAND CHAPTER (DCA-CC)

A source on August 30, 1965, advised that on August 12, 1965, the Cleveland Chapter of the DCA was issued a charter by the National Organization and it was approved by five members signing the charter.

This same source advised on May 4, 1966, that all of the current principal officers of the DCA-CC were members of the Communist Party.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

1

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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

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

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

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

Cleveland, Ohio
June 15, 1967

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Is made to the report of SA [redacted], dated and captioned
as above, at Cleveland.

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

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**TITLE OF CASE**
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

**REFERENCE:**

**LEADS:**

**CLEVELAND**

**AT CLEVELAND, OHIO**
Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

**SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE**

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1CC AIM, page 4, 1CC rep. returned 8/6/67
CV 100-26449

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2. Cleveland (100-26449)

______________________________

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source       Location in File

Characterization of RON LUCAS,
CONNIE BART.

100-26449-248

- B -
COVER PAGE
ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified "Confidential" because information furnished by could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.
COMMUNIST INfiltrATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland presently does not have local headquarters. Individuals purportedly connected with SNCC activity in Cleveland have been unsuccessful in organizing Cleveland Chapter of SNCC. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive at this time. Meeting held at local high school to organize SNCC chapter on 9/25/67 was completely unsuccessful. Articles and editorials critical of SNCC advocacy of violence appearing in local newspapers set forth.

II. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.
This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

advised on December 20, 1967, that SNCC has no local headquarters in the Cleveland area at this time.

III. OFFICERS

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) appears in the Appendix of this report.
On December 20, 1967, it
is his observation that ALEX WEATHERS lists his name on
local anti-Vietnam literature as a SNCC representative.
He stated that WEATHERS has done nothing to organize
SNCC in the Cleveland area nor is he involved in any
activities with SNCC.

Concerning TOM HURT, [redacted] advised that he has
been active in the draft resistance movement but has not
had any connection with SNCC activities in the Cleveland
area.
IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND  
CHAPTER OF SNCC  

advised on December 20, 1967, that 
SNCC at this time is completely inactive in Cleveland and 
there is no indication that it will become militant in 
the Cleveland area. There is no indication that active 
SNCC Chapters are being formed at local colleges or 
high schools.

V. LOCAL ACTIVITIES CONNECTED 
WITH SNCC  

advised on September 20, 1967, that a 
meeting to organize a SNCC chapter in Cleveland was held 
on this date in a field behind Glenville High School.
RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two 
other speakers. Source stated that there was much heckling 
and ridiculing from the audience, which consisted mainly of students from Glenville High School. The speeches were 
in no way invitations to violence, and there were no 
inflammatory remarks. RON LUCAS made the comment that no 
active SNCC chapter presently exists in Cleveland and 
that the purpose of the meeting was to get one organized. 
According to the source, the meeting was a complete 
failure as far as getting recruits for SNCC was concerned.

confirmed the information above on 
September 20, 1967.

advised on October 4, 1967, that on September 23, 
1967, an anti-Vietnam war rally was held at Western Reserve 
University (WRU). Among the speakers was one JOHN WILSON 
who was introduced as a National spokesman for SNCC. In 
his speech, WILSON espoused violence and stated that 
where violence was used in the racial disturbances some 
gains were made. He predicted that more violence and 
riots will occur if black people are not given more 
human rights. At one point in his speech, WILSON threatened 
to punch a previous speaker who had referred to Negroes as "boys." WILSON also stated that he did not advocate 
any of the "isms" like socialism or Communism to solve the 
problems in this country. He did not state what his 
solution was.
The above information was confirmed by [redacted] on September 26, 1967.

VI. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CONCERNING SNCC APPEARING IN LOCAL PAPERS

The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" June 22, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "Violence From The 'Non-Violent'". This editorial condemned SNCC for its open advocacy of violence in Negro communities throughout the country. It stated that wild, reckless, statements by RALPH FEATHERSTONE, SNCC National Program Director, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Former National Chairman, do deep harm to the cause of civil rights and racial justice. It stated that if SNCC is to return to the ranks of sane and responsible organizations which work effectively to advance the cause of civil rights and racial justice, its members must not play follow-the-leader with those of the CARMICHAEL - FEATHERSTONE brand.

The Cleveland "Press" July 29, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "MINSHALL Asks Treason Charge for CARMICHAEL." This article stated that Republican Congressman WILLIAM MINSHALL of Cleveland demanded that STOKELY CARMICHAEL be arrested for treason if he returns to the United States. He stated that he was "shocked and dismayed" at statements of SNCC leaders who have advocated more violent Negro uprisings in United States cities.

Referring to CARMICHAEL, MINSHALL stated, "It is reprehensible to me and to every loyal American of every race, creed and color that this character can openly advocate— from the Communist bastion in this hemisphere, CASTRO's Havana—rebellion in our country."
The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" August 16, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "SNCC, KKK, MAO." This editorial stated that SNCC is now in the category with white supremacist bodies, American Nazis and Moscow and Peking Communists. The editorial stated that SNCC was being put in this category because of its attack on Zionism, Israel and, "Those Jews in the little Jew shops in the Negro ghettos." It stated that SNCC's new line splits it as far from reality as Red China's jumble-headed cultural revolutionists now chanting sayings of MAO from the deck of their freighter in the harbor of Genoa, Italy, while refusing to leave that port on port officials' orders.

The Cleveland "Press" October 27, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "Non-violent SNCC Called No Longer Non-violent." This article stated that Rabbi ARTHUR J. LEILYVELD, long active in the civil rights movement, stated that "SNCC is no longer student nor non-violent nor coordinating." It stated that SNCC is not any longer the organization it was when it participated in Negro rights efforts in the South in 1964.
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1966, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1003 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

Report of SA
dates and captioned as above,
at Cleveland, Ohio.

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

Section 7 of 19 Sections
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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<th>DATE</th>
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<td>ATLANTA</td>
<td>2/29/68</td>
<td>8/28/67 - 2/23/68</td>
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**TITLE OF CASE**

- STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**REFERENCE:**
- Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
- Dallas airtel to Bureau dated 2/16/68.

**LEADS**

**HOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, EL PASO - INFORMATION**

One copy given to each of above due to inter-related investigation of SNCC. Leads have previously been furnished these offices concerning pending Texas Black Youth Conference (TBYC) at Dallas, Texas, in March, 1968.

**DALLAS**

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Through informants and established sources, continue to follow general SNCC activities.

2. Maintain contact with racial sources to obtain information regarding location of TBYC in Dallas, financial backing for conference, housing for attendees, and identities

**APPROVED**

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**DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW**

**DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT**

- NCSF
- SEC
- SERV
- TSO
- DTLU

**NOTATIONS**

- Racial No. AC757
- 3/7-04-68
- 3/8-68
- 3/21-68
- 3/22-68
- 3/23-68
of SNCC officials who will attend TBYC.

3. Furnish Dallas, Texas, PD identities of all rabble rousers furnished to Dallas by outlying offices.

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- B -

COVER PAGE
Identity of Source

File Where Located

100-11444-60

Instant report, page 20 to SA.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The following is set out regarding individuals mentioned in details of report:

- C -

COVER PAGE
This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] which could result in disclosure, which would be prejudicial to the security of the Nation.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2- 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1- NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of:
OSI
Office: Dallas, Texas

Date:
2/29/68

Field Office File No.:
100-10996

Bureau File No.:
100-439190

Title:
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopses:

- P -

DETAILS:

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
(see appendix for characterization) in Dallas, Texas, is
located at the residence of MARION ERNEST MILLLAN, II, 2803

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading
and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is leased to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
South Boulevard, Apartment 4.

February 13, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, has on numerous occasions identified himself as the Dallas SNCC representative and has used the title of SNCC Field Secretary. MC MILLAN was born on October 6, 1944, at Dallas, Texas, and attended the University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas, during the period February, 1965 to March, 1967, as a pre-law student. He is not known to be employed at the present time.

January 23, 1968 and February 13, 1968)

An article appeared in the October 10, 1967, issue of "The Dallas Morning News," a daily Dallas, Texas, newspaper, on page 12 referred to MC MILLAN as a "Field Secretary for SNCC." According to the article, MC MILLAN had recently been active with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (see appendix for characterization) group in Dallas and in passing out literature pointing out things a person can do to avoid being drafted. This article also referred to MC MILLAN as "a 23 year old Negro and an avowed member of SNCC."

(The Dallas Morning News, October 10, 1967)

Form DD-1584, which is part of the record of the U.S. Army, Fort Holabird, Maryland, dated June 16, 1967, contained certain background information regarding MC MILLAN. Included in data regarding former employers was the statement that MC MILLAN was employed by SNCC, 960 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, from January, 1964, to August, 1965.
Records of the 112th Military Intelligence Group, Dallas, Texas, reflect that MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, was interviewed under oath by representatives of that organization on June 12, 1967, regarding statements made on his Armed Forces Security Questionnaire (DD Form 398) and Statement of Personal History (DD Form 398), at which time MC MILLAN advised he was a member of an organization listed in Section II of Armed Forces Security Questionnaire but refused to identify the organization. MC MILLAN also stated he had been "loosely" connected with the Industrial Workers of the World and the Young Communist League from the latter part of 1963 to the early part of 1966, in the southern and eastern sections of the United States. MC MILLAN stated he attended meetings of these organizations approximately once a month and assisted in the distribution of their leaflets. MC MILLAN refused to give any details concerning the organizations, their locations, their membership strength, their leadership, or connections with other organizations in the United States. MC MILLAN stated he had joined the organization cited in Section II, DD Form 398, approximately four months previously and had paid an initial fee of $2 for membership; however, he had not attended any meetings as yet, had made no contributions of money or service, and had not subscribed to any publication.

The Industrial Workers of the World and the Young Communist League have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

January 10, 1968

"The Dallas Times Herald," a newspaper published daily in Dallas, Texas, on October 6, 1967, printed an article entitled "Anti-draft Move Grabs Spotlight," by BILL SLOAN, Staff Writer. It reflected MADE CHAMBERS on the previous day had found himself at the center of a controversy over the Southern Methodist University (SMU) SDS chapter. It stated CHAMBERS, a graduate of Oklahoma University and Harvard University, came to SMU during the previous semester and was promptly recruited by SDS members at SMU as their faculty sponsor.
CHAMBERS defended SDS both nationally and locally and upheld the part played by its members in Dallas Anti-Draft Movement although he denied the SMU chapter itself was involved. CHAMBERS admitted that SDS "looks as much to the leftwing philosophy as to the right," but he said the organization believes the "outmoded, useless and reactionary" portions of each must be discarded. CHAMBERS further was quoted as stating he did not know of a single Marxist in the literal sense in the SMU chapter although the article noted that the previous day's article had quoted CHAMBERS as stating there were Marxists in the Dallas SDS group. He characterized the SMU group of SDS as "just a small group of concerned students" numbering about 15.

("Dallas Times Herald,
October 6, 1967)

"The Dallas Morning News," a Dallas, Texas, daily newspaper, on October 14, 1967, published an article entitled "SDS Unit Asks Reinstatement." The article quoted SDS Sponsor DR. WADE CHAMBERS as stating he had been "sorry to learn of the students desires to dissolve the campus chapter," and expected SDS to stay at SMU whether as a new or as a continued chapter. The article further quoted DR. CHAMBERS, a member of the National SDS, as having issued a statement expressing support for SDS, the Draft Information Center, and the Draft Resistance Movement, which he stressed as being three separate groups. The article stated DR. CHAMBERS planned to step down as faculty sponsor in the near future because of a busy fall schedule.

("Dallas Morning News,
October 14, 1967)

January 8, 1968)
MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, who is believed to have been expelled from Bishop College, Dallas, Texas, due to his belligerent attitude toward the school administration, has been acting as an assistant to ERNIE MC MILLAN. LEACH is a Negro male, age 23, whose permanent residence has been indicated as 2400 Mc Dougall Street, Detroit, Michigan.

February 13, 1968)

LAFAYETTE LOCKE, Negro male, age 33, who lived with ERNEST MC MILLAN at his apartment at 2803 South Boulevard, Dallas, from January 4, 1968, to February 2, 1968, is considered MC MILLAN's bodyguard. LOCKE was released on parole from Leavenworth Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, on January 4, 1968, after serving a term of three years and eight months of a six year sentence for selling and transporting heroin. He is on parole until May 30, 1969. LOCKE moved to 1817 Fourth Avenue Apartment 101, in Dallas on February 2, 1968.

February 13, 1968)

Some Negro boys and girls and a few individuals of Latin American extraction, have been observed in the proximity of ERNIE MC MILLAN's apartment.

January 23, 1968)

GRETCHEN ELIZABETH MILNE is a member of the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam. She has participated in numerous vigils held at Dealey Plaza throughout 1967.

October 21, 1967, January 20, 1968)

GRETCHEN MILNE resides at 6315 Palo Pinto Avenue, Dallas, Texas, and is not presently employed. She formerly held the position of Assistant Professor at Bishop College, a predominantly Negro college, located in Dallas, Texas.

February 13, 1968)
PUBLICATIONS

SNCC has no local publication in the Dallas, Texas, area. Mimeographed handbills indicating their organization as "Dallas SNCC," have been circulated in the South Dallas, Texas, area. These handbills have urged resistance to the draft and the uniting of Negroes in Dallas so that they may be able to control their own communities.

(February 13, 1968)

On December 15, 1967, a mimeographed leaflet was distributed at the intersection of Forest and Oakland Streets, Dallas, Texas, by an unknown Negro male. It was indicated that this leaflet had been printed by MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, or by his assistant WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH. The leaflet reads as follows:

"Brothers and Sisters,

"For over 400 years Black people have been struggling for freedom in the United States. Today we find that we are still enslaved. From the days of Nat Turner who led a revolt against the slave masters, until Malcolm X who led a revolt of Black awareness, we have struggled.

"We have struggled and we are still not free. We are not free because we are powerless and we are powerless because we are black. We are not concerned with integration because our problem is the problem of survival. We are not concerned with dining at the Sheraton Hotel when we cannot put enough food for our families on our own tables. We are not worried about sleeping at a Holiday Inn when our own housing is bad and the rent outrageous. We don't look forward to holding big executive positions when they won't hire us, it is for a two bit job.

"We can't effect changes because we have no officials who are responsible to our needs. Our voting districts are divided in such a way as to never show our true voting strength. If they do respond to our needs it is done adversely: like the Mayor designating public parks for National Guardsmen in case of 'riots', instead of trying to solve the problem of poor housing, public housing, police brutality and unemployment the city 'fathers' react to the probability of 'riots'.

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"What we do want is power. The power to make decisions that affect our lives from day to day. That is, the power to get rid of the cracker cop in our neighborhood. The power to control the housing in which we live. The power to get rid of racist congressmen and city councilmen. In short we want the power to control our own communities.

"Once we do this we will be able to build up our neighborhood schools to a higher standard. We can maintain the money that usually leaves the community in the hands of white store owners and businessmen who exploit us daily (selling rotten meat at high prices). And we will be able to elect men who are responsible to us and our needs, and not to the white power structure. To do this we need unity among ourselves and organization. It is time we demand our freedom, are you ready to move toward liberation? Talk with your friends, discuss this leaflet and let's begin to get together. We have been divided by petty differences too long. Its time to get together so we can take care of plenty business... PLENTY BUSINESS!!!

"Call or contact-- Dallas SNCC  
2803 S. Blvd #4  
DA 8-9449"

December 18, 1967)

Funds

November 17, 1967)

The Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam (DCPSV), previously known as the Dallas Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Dallas
Committee to End the President's War, came into existence in Dallas on September 28, 1966. It opposes United States involvement in Vietnam and holds weekly silent peace vigils in Dallas. No known current members of the CP or other basic revolutionary groups are known to have participated in or exercised influence in this organization.


On January 16, 1968, [Redacted] furnished a mimeographed form which had been obtained from MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, in Dallas. This form is set out as follows:
Attention:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has dedicated itself to bringing justice and democracy to all oppressed people, here and abroad. SNCC works on a grass-root level. Its field workers help to organize Southern Negro communities for voter registration, jobs, homes, schools, etc. We in SNCC understand that there is a role that each and every one of us must play, whether it be economically, politically or socially. We also understand that everybody can't (for their own personal and individual reasons) shout BLACK POWER, but you too, can contribute, by supporting our efforts toward the liberation of black people. We are asking you to become one of thousands who support SNCC workers on a resistance wage of approximately $20.00 per week, which is not much but enough to keep us operating toward black business matters.

YOUR PLEDGE OF 3½ CENTS A DAY, OR $1.00 A MONTH, WILL HELP PROVIDE THE MERE NECESSITIES.

If you can make a larger pledge, please do. EVERY PENNY COUNTS. Won't you fill out the pledge form below and return it with your first contribution NOW.

I PLEDGE FOR JUSTICE

I wish to participate in the new program of grass-roots support for SNCC's work
I enclose $________ and pledge to give $________, or I enclose $1.00 and
pledge to give $________ monthly $________, or quarterly $________,
or yearly $________ to help end racism, economic exploitation, and
oppression and create a true democracy.

Name__________________________
A______________________________
City________________ State________
Are you in the struggle?

Please write in yes or no, as whether you wish to be placed on our mailing list.
Mailing list____________________

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ACTIVITIES

On August 27, 1967, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, attended a meeting of the Nation of Islam (NOI) (see appendix for characterization) at the Mosque, 10th and Flora Streets, Dallas, Texas. At this meeting MC MILLAN gave a short speech indicating that he was an assistant to H. Rap Brown. MC MILLAN also claimed that he had been born and raised in Dallas, Texas, and that he was opening a new office at 4312 Oakland Street, Dallas, Texas, with a purpose to educate the Negro on how to stay out of the U.S. Army. During his short speech, MC MILLAN made the statement "Dallas needs a jolt."

August 28, 1967)

At the meeting of the NOI on August 27, 1967, MC MILLAN, during his speech, stated that he was a member of an organization and gave the initials SNCC. MC MILLAN stated this organization has an office at 4312 Oakland Street and that one of the purposes of his group is to explain to the Negro man how he can legally dodge being drafted. MC MILLAN stated that one method used was for a Negro man to refuse to register for the draft until he is absolutely forced to do so.

August 28, 1967)

MC MILLAN has been active in an office located at 4312 Oakland Street, Room 202, Dallas, and the front door of this office has the following organizations listed:

"SDS, Dallas SNCC, Dallas Organizing Committee, Texas Draft Resistance League, Movement for a Democratic Society."

August 28, 1967)

September 13, 1967)
MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN attended a meeting of the NOI in Dallas, Texas, on August 27, 1967, however he has not been observed at any subsequent NOI meetings in the Dallas - Fort Worth, Texas, area.

January 19, 1968)

On August 31, 1967, mimeographed leaflets entitled "Resist the Draft" were being distributed in the area of 4312 South Oakland Avenue, Room 202, Dallas, Texas. MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN on that date identified himself as being with the "Movement for a Democratic Society" at the above address. The contents of this leaflet is as follows:

"RESIST THE DRAFT!

"Let's stop Johnson, L.T.V. and Bell Helicopter from using our lives to fatten their wallets!

"We need to free ourselves at home, not to enslave others overseas!

"If you don't want to go, you don't have to; there are legal steps you can take to get out of the draft.

"There are people who will help.

"There are things you can do.

"Go by the office of the Movement for a Democratic Society at 4312 South Oakland Ave. for free counselling service.

"It's not too late! Act now!

"Movement for a Democratic Society sponsored by:

"Dallas Draft Resistance Committee
Dallas Organizing Committee
S.D.S. Regional Office
Dallas S.N.C.C.
Texas Draft Resistance Program

"phone HA 1-4930
"SPECIAL OFFICE
HOURS 'TIL 10 PM"

***********

- 14 -
"Most men facing the draft are unaware of their rights privileges and moreover how these can aid in their particular moment of need. These rights do exist and it is possible that they can be exercised in a manner that will be beneficial to the individual who confronts the draft situation as being a hopeless one. The situation is not hopeless: there are things a person can do to protect his future!"

"With the passage of the new Selective Service Act many loopholes have been created that provide many legal alternatives for the draftee.

"To provide a counselling and information center for this area the Movement for a Democratic Society has set up headquarters at 4312 S. Oakland Ave., where free counselling to individuals of draft age is offered daily. Come by or call HA 1-4930."

[Handwritten date: August 31, 1967]

[Handwritten date: September 19, 1967]

[Handwritten date: October 19, 1967]
November 13, 1967

A public meeting was held to discuss "Black Power" at the "Peace and Freedom House," 4915 Swiss Avenue, Dallas, which is the residence of WADE CHAMBERS. Twenty-five persons were in attendance, five of which were Negroes who were Black Power advocates. Spokesman for the Negro groups was a Negro approximately 18 years of age named WILLIAM LEACH. LEACH advocated bombing and burning buildings and the destruction of property. He stated if the whites lived in rat-infested ghettos and were exploited, they too would want to fight and destroy, more so, if they were not a part of the American community.

LAFAYETTE LOCKE, a Negro and an ex-convict, at this meeting said that Black Power advocates were not interested in diminishing the white population, it was the system they wanted to destroy. He said if the Negroes were totally accepted as
citizens, it would not change anything; the capitalist system had to be destroyed.

January 28, 1968)

The January 1 - 15, 1968, edition of the "Notes from the Underground," a bi-weekly newspaper published in Dallas, Texas, in an article on page three, headlined "Black Youth to Meet in Dallas," stated that "ERNIE MC MILLAN, Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) revealed to NOTES and this column that following the National Black Youth Conference, which will be held in Chicago the week of December 24, the Texas Black Youth Conference will be held, probably in Dallas, the last of January. He described the TBYC as 'promising to be the greatest effort in Texas so far in implementing the actions of the National Black Power Conference, held in Newark, N.J. last July.' He added that it will 'bring the actions of the upcoming National Black Youth Conference into actions in Texas.'

"MC MILLAN, who works out of the SNCC offices on 16th Boulevard in South Dallas, outlined the purposes of the conference as an effort:

"(1) To establish a statewide black communication system that would be tied-in to the national system.

"(2) To create awareness and promote activity in Texas.

"(3) To establish operational unity with inner-city groups.

"(4) To define and present new meaningful alternatives as to how to cast off the oppression as imposed on black and oppressed people.

"He, in quoting the Black Youth Conference Manifesto, said, 'we must begin to institute programs that speak to the needs of Afro-Americans and not programs that are a reaction to white definitions. It is evident that it is in our own interest to develop and propagate a philosophy of blackness as a social, psychological, political, cultural and economic directive.'

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"JAMES FOREMAN, CLEVELAND CELLARS, GEORGE WASHINGTON WARE and RALPH FEATHERSTONE, all officers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are expected to be speakers for the Texas conference. There will be workshops, lectures and plenary secessions. Black students from Texas high schools and colleges and universities will attend.

"This column recently learned of the organization of a Free Texas Theatre, based somewhat on the Free South Theatre that was run by SNCC during the early sixties. It will be a traveling company of black actors, dancers, musicians, poets, etc., that will perform in black communities throughout the state, teaching black history and culture to their audiences. They are in need of any kind of assistance which may be offered. Money is, of course, needed as well as a bus, sets, and people to perform and work. If you want to offer yourself or your assistance, write to the Free Texas Theatre in care of this column."

("Notes from the Underground," January 1 - 15, 1968)

"Notes from the Underground" is a local Dallas, Texas, bi-weekly publication which originated on the Southern Methodist University (SMU) campus, Dallas, Texas, in early 1967 and urged membership in Students for a Democratic Society. The publication was banned from the SMU campus in November, 1967. One BRENT LA SALLE-SLEET, also known as STONEY BURNS, reportedly was continuing the publication but no longer as a campus newspaper. (November 30, 1967)

Contacts throughout the South Dallas, Texas, area indicated there is no evidence of any plans to hold a Texas Black Youth Conference in Dallas in January, 1968. (January 15, 1968)
The individual stated he had been in contact with a confidential informant who he considered as being reliable on February 6, 1968. This individual stated he had received information that Mr. OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman of SNCC, Houston, Texas, was in Dallas, Texas, on February 2 - 4, 1968, trying to interest people in "black power."

said that his source furnished him a printed handbill which was being passed out in the South Dallas area which announced the following information:

"Announcing the

"TEXAS BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE

March 22-24 (Friday-Sunday)

"Conference includes - workshop discussion groups
- important speakers like Stokely Carmichael
- movies
- parties and parties and parties

"Don't worry about food or housing.

"For more information contact - Dallas SNCC
2803 South Blvd. #4
Dallas, Texas 75215
428-9449 (214)"

- 19 -
DL 100-105

On or about February 6, 1968, ERNEST MC MILLAN met with several other individuals including a LAFAYETTE (Last Name Unknown) in Dallas, Texas.

February 9, 1968)

On the weekend of February 10, - 11, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, LAFAYETTE LOCIF, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, SNCC representative from Houston, Texas, and an individual known as "Big Daddy" or "Fat Daddy" from Houston, visited Bishop College in Dallas, Texas, to talk to the students.

February 13, 1968)

February 23, 1968)
APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

On May 12, 1967, a source advised that SNCC made an official announcement of election of national officers for SNCC, which stated that H. Rap Brown is National Chairman, and that the National Headquarters of SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia.

On May 12, 1967, a source advised that on that date SNCC had called a press conference at Paschals' Brothers Restaurant on Hunter Street, in Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of announcing the results of the Central Committee election of SNCC officers for 1967. During this announcement, SNCC issued a leaflet to all in attendance announcing their policy for the coming year. This announcement was as follows:

"In our staff meeting held during the past week, the organization voted that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a Human Rights Organization, interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that, in the field of International Relations, we assert that we shall encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our country's role in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Viet Nam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We shall seek to build a strong nation-wide Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include high school students, along with college students, and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men, who are daily murdered physically, and mentally in this country, to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Viet Nam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of national freedom organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expell the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible
to end benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objective will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country, and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals.
APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us."

At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

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

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

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

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

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad
had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal
statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the
principles of his organization in order to avoid possible
prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did
not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his
organization.
NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

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

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference
Dallas report of Special Agent dated February 29, 1968

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

[Redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to determine reliability.

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

REPORTING OFFICE: DALLAS

DATE: 5/10/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 2/24 - 5/8/68

OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA

REPORT MADE BY: [Redacted]

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE: RM


LEADS

HOUSTON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

One copy each is being furnished to the Houston and San Antonio Offices due to the inter-related investigation of SNCC.

JACKSON - INFORMATION

One copy of report is furnished Jackson in view of reference on Page 11 to CARRIE WATTS of Meridian, Mississippi, being in attendance at Texas Black Youth Conference.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CONV.</th>
<th>AUTO.</th>
<th>FUG.</th>
<th>FINES</th>
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<th>ACQUITTALS</th>
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DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

6 MAY 15 1968

5-4 MAY 27 1968
LITTLE ROCK - INFORMATION

One copy of report is furnished Little Rock in view of reference on Page 7 to ELIZABETH ANN MARTIN, Little Rock, Arkansas, being in attendance at a demonstration in front of U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, Texas.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. Will continue to follow general SNCC activities and attempt to determine source of organization's funds through informants and established sources.
INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

Instant report, pages 1, 2, 3, 4

Instant report, pages 2, 3, 4

Instant report, page 5, 6

Instant report, page 8

- C -
Cover Page
Identity of Source

File Where Located
100-10996-106

Instant report, page 12 to SA

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by and the disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security of the Nation.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1 - MISO, New Orleans, Louisiana (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 5/10/68
Field Office File No.: 100-10996

Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-identified Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee representative for Dallas, Texas, maintains his office at his residence located at 2803 South Boulevard, Apt. 4, Dallas. MC MILLAN indicated to be in a poor financial situation. MC MILLAN led a group of individuals to Pinkston High School, Dallas, to heckle armed forces recruiters at a meeting to be held on 3/6/68. Meeting was cancelled by authorities upon learning of MC MILLAN's plans. MC MILLAN led demonstration in front of U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, in support of H. RAP BROWN, National SNCC leader. SNCC sponsored Texas Black Youth Conference held on 3/22-24/68 with approximately 86 people in attendance. On 4/5/68, MC MILLAN was unsuccessful in urging Bishop College students to take over the college administration building. On 4/25/68, MC MILLAN led a group of 15 Negro youths in a demonstration against GEORGE WALLACE, American Party candidate for President, at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas, where WALLACE was giving a campaign speech.

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see Appendix for characterization) in Dallas, Texas, is located at the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-identified SNCC representative for Dallas, Texas, 2803 South Boulevard, Apartment 4.

April 25, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, usually known as ERNIE MC MILLAN, has on numerous occasions identified himself as the Dallas SNCC representative and has also used the title of SNCC Field Secretary.

April 25, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, was arrested by officers of the Dallas, Texas Police Department on February 25, 1968, for using abusive language. At the time of his arrest, he listed his birth as October 6, 1944, Dallas, Texas, residence as 2803 South Boulevard, and showed his occupation as Field Secretary (SNCC).

April 26, 1968)

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, a Negro male, age twentythree, and a student at Bishop College, Dallas, Texas, is a close associate of ERNIE MC MILLAN. LEACH has been observed in attendance at the majority of SNCC demonstrations and meetings in the Dallas area.

April 2, 1968)

JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA, a male of Latin American extraction, approximately twentytwo years of age, has been living with ERNIE MC MILLAN at his apartment since December, 1967. They are usually observed together in the South Dallas area and at all SNCC activities.

April 25, 1968)
ROBERT L. YOSEF YEDELL, a Negro male, and a freshman student at Bishop College, who resides at the freshman men's dormitory, is considered a sympathizer and follower of ERNIE MC MILLAN.

YEDELL was born on October 16, 1947, at Los Angeles, California and his permanent residence is 970 Mayberry Road, Conshohochen, Pennsylvania.

LAFAYETTE LOCKE has been a close associate of ERNIE MC MILLAN since January, 1968 and is generally considered MC MILLAN's bodyguard.

LAFAYETTE LOCKE was arrested on April 3, 1968, at Lubbock, Texas, at 1:15 AM by officers of the Lubbock, Texas Police Department at 1014 East 29th Street, following a complaint that a man in that area had a shotgun. LOCKE was taken to the Lubbock Police Department where he was booked on the basis of an outstanding Federal warrant for parole violation resulting from a previous arrest on March 14, 1968 for Burglary and Assault to Murder by the Lubbock, Texas Police Department.

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA and ROBERT YEDELL were in Lubbock, Texas from April 2 - 4, 1968, in an unsuccessful attempt to assist LAFAYETTE LOCKE.

JUANDINE HENDERSON and LEROY FOSTER GILFEAD, who attended SNCC organizational meeting in October, 1967 at Dallas, Texas, are no longer at Bishop College and have returned to their homes outside the Dallas, Texas area.
JUANDINE HENDERSON, born April 15, 1947, at Batesville, Mississippi, left Bishop College due to illness in her family. Her mother is Mrs. LEORA MORRIS who resides at [redacted]. HENDERSON entered Bishop College in September, 1966 and graduated from Patton Lane High School, Batesville, Mississippi.

LERoy FOSTER GilleAd, a Negro male, born November 29, 1944 at New York City, New York, was requested to leave Bishop College by the Administration because of disciplinary problems. (not further identified) GilLeAd's permanent residence is [redacted], and his parents are Mr. and Mrs. GilLeAd. GilLeAd was a freshman student who entered Bishop College in September, 1967 after graduating from Harman High School, New York City, New York.

APRIL 25, 1968

CHARles ARTHUR Jones, a freshman student at Bishop College who attended the SNCC organizational meeting in October, 1967, has indicated to fellow students that he does not believe in the extreme militant ideas of the SNCC organization.

APRIL 25, 1968

November 21, 1967

"The Dallas Morning News", a Dallas, Texas daily newspaper, on October 14, 1967, published an article entitled "SDS Unit Asks Reinstatement". The article quoted SDS Sponsor DR. WADE CHAMBERS (Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas) as stating he had been "sorry to learn of the students' desires to dissolve the campus chapter", and expected SDS to stay at SMU whether as a new or as a continued chapter. The article further quoted DR. CHAMBERS, a member of the National SDS, as having issued a statement expressing support for SDS, the Draft Information Center, and the Draft Resistance Movement, which he stressed as being three separate groups. The article stated DR. CHAMBERS planned to step down as faculty sponsor in the near future because of a busy fall schedule.

("The Dallas Morning News", October 14, 1967)
GRETCHEN MILNE is a member of the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam (DCPSV). She has participated in numerous vigils held at Dealey Plaza, Dallas, Texas, through 1967.

October 21, 1967, January 20, 1968)

GRETCHEN MILNE resides at 6315 Palo Pinto Avenue, Dallas, Texas, and is not presently employed. She formerly held the position of Assistant Professor at Bishop College, a predominantly Negro institution located in Dallas, Texas.

February 13, 1968)

PUBLICATIONS

SNCC distributes mimeographed handbills throughout the South Dallas area to notify residents of various demonstrations and meetings sponsored by the organization, however, it has no specific regular publication in the Dallas area.

April 25, 1968)

Funds

Exhaustive inquiries throughout the Dallas, Texas area has failed to develop information regarding any bank accounts for SNCC or MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II.

April 24, 1968)

ERNIE MC MILLAN, from all appearances, has very little money. Friends loan MC MILLAN their automobiles to use as he has no personal car. Friends have also been seen to bring him food to his apartment and to take out his clothing to be cleaned.

April 29, 1968)
ACTIVITIES

At approximately 4:00 PM, on March 6, 1968, the principal of Pinkston High School, 2200 Dennison Street, Dallas, advised school officials that U.S. Armed Forces recruiting officers had cancelled plans to hold a meeting at the school that evening, due to the possibility of the appearance of pickets and hecklers.

At approximately 7:05 PM, on March 6, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, IL arrived at Pinkston High School with a Negro female, in a 1967 roadster convertible, bearing 1967 Texas license LCC-71, driven by JESUS ASCENCIÓN ARREOLA, owner of the vehicle.

At approximately 7:15 PM, the same evening, LOUIS SOLGANICK and a white female, believed to be LAURA UTRECHT, arrived at the high school in a 1967 Pontiac Firebird, bearing 1968 Texas license KSP 458. SOLGANICK and UTRECHT were two of the participants in an anti-Vietnam war demonstration by the Dallas Committee for a Peaceful Solution in Vietnam on December 11, 1967, in front of 912 Commerce Street, Dallas, which building houses the Dallas Selective Service boards.

At 7:25 PM, the same evening, ROBERT WILSON FOLEY, also known as BOB FOLEY, arrived at the high school in a 1963 Buick, four-door sedan, bearing 1967 Texas license KXR 209. FOLEY is believed to be a Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) member (see Appendix for characterization) and is known to have participated in DCPSV vigils in the past.
The above-described individuals stayed around the front of Pinkston High School until approximately 7:55 PM at which time they departed in all three cars in a group and were last observed at McKinney and Fitzhugh Streets in Dallas, a considerable distance away from the school.

March 7, 1968)

On March 20, 1968, ERNIE MC MILLAN indicated he planned on holding a peaceful-type demonstration in front of the U.S. Courthouse at Bryan and Pacific Streets, Dallas, Texas, at approximately 1:30 PM on that date. MC MILLAN stated the purpose of the demonstration was to protest the confinement of H. RAP BROWN, National SNCO leader. At approximately noon on March 20, 1968, MC MILLAN made a short speech on the Bishop College campus, Dallas, during which time he stated he would hold the demonstration, as described above, and invited all students to attend.

March 20, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, led a demonstration in front of the U.S. Courthouse, Dallas, on March 20, 1968, from approximately 2:13 PM to 2:35 PM. MC MILLAN gave a short speech protesting the confinement of H. RAP BROWN and called for a "Black Revolution", stating "there should be ten Newarks, Detroit, and Watts for each ghetto." MC MILLAN also made the statement that "for each black man killed, ten honkie racist cops would be killed."

Approximately twentytwo individuals were in attendance at this demonstration, some of them carrying signs reading "Death to Racists", "Victory or Death", "Release RAP BROWN", and "Black Power Means Unity".

March 20, 1968)

Those who were identified as attending the demonstration besides MC MILLAN included JESSE ARREOLA, JACKIE PHEIFER, a Negro female, believed to be MC MILLAN's present girl friend, and ELIZABETH ANN MARTIN, a white female, from Little Rock, Arkansas.

The following students of Bishop College attended the demonstration:

- 7 -
THOMAS ARTHUR DURHAM, born November 6, 1948, Palestine, Texas; residence 2726 Guadalupe, Corpus Christi

CURRIS LEE PARRIS, born April 13, 1946; residence 220 East 15th Avenue, Corsicana, Texas

DAN EARL JEFFERSON, born April 28, 1947; residence 249 Pearson Avenue, Laurel, Mississippi

CLAUDE P. PEIT, born August 29, 1949; residence 1223 West 71st Street, Chicago, Illinois

HELEN MARIE MC NEAL, born May 15, 1948; residence 323 South Drexel Street, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

DEBBRA LOIS BROWN, born May 12, 1948; residence 49 St. Nicholas Terrace, No. 21, New York City, New York

ANTONE PREMONT STEVENS, born August 3, 1948; residence 66 South Hanley Avenue, Newark, New Jersey

WILLIAM STOKES, born July 1, 1948; residence Route 1, Box 109, Keithville, Louisiana

MARILYN ELAINE GRIFFIN, born August 18, 1948; residence 2600 Locust Street, Denver, Colorado

The following active members of SDS in the Dallas area attended the demonstration:

DOUGLAS DOUGLAS BAKER
PHILLIP KNOX BROWN
STONEY BURNS, true name BRENT LA SALLE STEIN

April 25, 1968)

ERVIE MC MILLAN on March 21, 1968, announced that the Texas Black Youth Conference, sponsored by SMCC would be held as scheduled from March 22 - 24, 1968 at the Bethlehem Center, 4410 Leland Street, Dallas, Texas. MC MILLAN anticipated that approximately 100 - 150 people would be in attendance.

March 22, 1968)

Information was received from individuals in attendance at the Texas Black Youth Conference held at the Bethlehem Center, 4410 Leland Street, Dallas, that on March 22, 1968, approximately twentytwo people were in attendance for that evening's meeting.
The discussion centered around riots in Dallas and Houston, Texas and different views were expressed on how they should be handled. One person made a comment that very few Gripes really exist in Dallas and that they would have to look for one and exploit it to make people aware that such a problem really existed.

It was stated during the meeting that SNCC was going to have to build from Bishop College students and that the students were going to have to be convinced that inequities existed in order to get them to participate.

LARRY JACKSON, Negro male and SNCC Field Director from Austin, Texas, spoke to the group in a militant vein about the long hot summer coming up and told the group, "You know what you have to do here." A movie was shown which was a historical documentary covering the period from 1955 to 1964 during the first boycott of buses, school desegregation, and marches held over the United States during that period. The Friday night meeting was broken up when a person identified as JAFFAR, employed as a dietician at Bishop College, stood up and told the entire group that they ought to be in jail.

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, local Field Director for SNCC, did not appear at the conference on Saturday, March 23, 1968, until approximately 7:00 PM, as he became ill and had to be treated by a doctor during the day. As a result, very little was accomplished.

On Saturday night, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Negro male, identified as the Field Director for SNCC, Houston, Texas, spoke about forming "Black Co-ops" where Negroes would band together to build their own businesses, houses, and apartments, thereby gaining economic power. After several other short speeches, the meeting was turned over to discussion groups. It was estimated that approximately thirty-five people attended the Saturday night meeting.

On Sunday, March 24, 1968, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, ERNIE MC MILLAN, Reverend THOMAS BROWN, Director of Admissions at Bishop College, and MARILYN GRIFFIN, Negro female and student at Bishop College, all spoke to those in attendance at different times. Following these speeches, a general discussion was held. Approximately twenty-five people attended the Sunday session.

The following points were resolved as a result of the three-day meeting, but no formal resolutions were passed:

- 9 -
1) The banding together of black people for economic power.

2) Bring unity to the black race.

3) Research, define, outline, and solve problems facing the black race and above all, bring unity.

4) Organize students for Black Power and gain political, economic, and social strength through peaceful means, if possible, by force if necessary.

5) Dedicate SNCC to the cause of fighting poverty through alignment of all minority groups banded together for this purpose.

6) SNCC does not intend to destroy America but does intend to have a piece of the cake for the black people.

7) Violence is advocated to accomplish "unity of purpose" (violence should be used if necessary to bring about conformity among the Negro people.)

Five persons who indicated they attended the North Central College in Chicago, Illinois, were present at the conference. These students presented information to those in attendance regarding "Operation Bread Basket" in Chicago, which is sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the direction of Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING. The operation deals with Negro merchants donating food for the poor and was reported as being quite successful.

The three-day meeting was generally considered by those in attendance as a failure, due to a lack of planning, disorganization, disunity, lack of research on topics discussed, and the many differences of opinions of the participants.

The following persons were identified as having attended the meeting:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, Negro male, Dallas Field Director for SNCC

JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA, white male, associate of MC MILLAN

WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH, Negro male, student at Bishop College

- 10 -
ROBERT L. YOSEF YEDELL, Negro male, student at Bishop College
LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Negro male, Field Director, SNCC, Houston, Texas
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Negro male, SNCC, Houston, Texas
COLLUMN JAFFER, Negro male, Dietician, Bishop College
CHRIS WITHERS, Negro male, student, Bishop College
ARTHUR JACKSON, Negro male, student, Bishop College
MICHAEL DODD, Negro male, student, Bishop College
MARILYN GRIFFIN, Negro female, student, Bishop College
DELORD PARKER, Negro male, law student, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas
CARL WATTS, Negro male, Meridian, Mississippi
LARRY JACKSON, Negro male, SNCC Field Director, Austin, Texas
Reverend THOMAS BROWN, Negro male, Director of Admissions, Bishop College
CLAUDE PELT, Negro male, student, Bishop College
Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT JACKSON, residence Dallas, Texas
FREEMAN PENAROE (phonetic), Negro male, Dallas, Texas
MARILYN CLARK, Negro female, Dallas, Texas
JACKIE PHIEFER, Negro female, Dallas, Texas
RONALD JOHNSON, Negro male, from Houston, Texas
CAROLYN HASSELL, Negro female, 2107 Oak Dale, Houston, Texas
DONALD SMITH, Negro male, Houston, Texas
CASINO ROYAL (phonetic), Negro male, Bishop College

- 11 -
TRUDY (LAST NAME UNKNOWN), Negro female, from Houston, Texas
DONNA LEWIS, Negro female, Dallas, Texas

(April 25, 1968)

It was reported that MARION ERNEST MC MILIAN, II, JESUS ARREOLA, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, and DONNA LEWIS were carrying pistols during the Texas Black Youth Conference held at Dallas, Texas.

(April 24, 1968)

On March 21, 1968, the following individuals left Houston, Texas at 12:15 PM in a black Ford Thunderbird to attend the National Youth Conference held at Dallas, Texas, March 21 through 22, 1968, which was promoted by the SNCC, Dallas Branch:

RUSSELL JONES, Texas Southern University student
ESTHER KING, driver of Thunderbird
DELORES SMITH, Texas Southern University student
JOHN MORRIS, Texas Southern University student
KENNETH SIMPSON, Texas Southern University student
ROYALD EVANS, former Texas Southern University student
FLOYD PREVOST, Texas Southern University student

These individuals arrived in Dallas, Texas at approximately 4:30 PM. The group drove through the Bishop College campus and then proceeded to the community center where the conference was in session.

Films were shown entitled, "The Streets of Greenville", "The Negro Mood", and "The History of the Negro". Following the films, the conference broke up into several workshops, in which was discussed "The Negro in the Third World", "Black Power", "The Role of the Militant in the Black Community", and "The War in Vietnam". Following the conference, everyone was dismissed and those from out of town spent the night at the peace hall where about four members of the SDS live.
The second session of the conference on March 22, 1968, got off to a very slow start. No one appeared to be interested in what was going on at the meeting and many of the men played a baseball game outside. Later everyone got together and suggestions and resolutions were made for the conference, however, the group from Houston did not remain for the conclusion of the conference.

"Black Youth Conference A Slow Drag"

"Last week the local leaders of SNCC were having difficulty finding a place to hold their black youth conference this past weekend, but as things turned out a phone booth would probably have been sufficient. Not even a UPI-sponsored rumor that Stokely Carmichael would be the featured speaker stirred sufficient interest to get the crowds out.

"There was a recorded registration of 86 for the conference and the early morning sessions were empty. The meeting was held in the Bethlehem Center which reported that there were large numbers of FBI and police constantly circling and patrolling the area and that there was trouble with the phones. Employees presumed the lines had been tapped.

"Original estimates had been that 400 youth would attend the conference, coming mainly from Texas colleges. When efforts to obtain a hall of this capacity failed local leaders settled for the Center facilities which can accommodate only 150. On two occasions POST TRIBUNE representatives went to the conferences to report on the meetings.

"Saturday morning near noon there were only six present. An atmosphere of aloofness prevailed and the attitude seemed to be that no one wanted to talk to outsiders. Altogether it was a cloak and dagger effect that would do credit to 007 and his cohorts. Perhaps the press members were too readily identifiable by the creased trousers, combed hair and shaven cheeks or these things may have antagonized those attending the conference who looked as though they may have been there an entire week."
They were certainly not hospitable and no one would even acknowledge there was such a person as Ernest McMillan, local SNCC co-ordinator, in existence when he was asked for by name.

A return to the conference site Sunday morning found only a bearded Mexican eating donuts and a local student in attendance. There was definitely nothing happening.

Later it was reported that the group, being too few in number to satisfactorily transact business, resorted to going into the surrounding neighborhoods to teach Negro history to passers-by.


MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II and JESUS ASELONG ARREOLA appeared at the Bishop College campus, Dallas, Texas, on April 5, 1968, at approximately 8:15 PM in anticipation of meeting with the student body. The meeting was not held as the students failed to respond to MC MILLAN's request for a meeting. MC MILLAN and ARREOLA then walked to the school cafeteria where they attempted to arouse the students to go to the Bishop College Administration Building and take over the building as had been previously done at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Those students in the cafeteria failed to respond to MC MILLAN's request, indicating that they would be expelled from the school for bad behavior. MC MILLAN and ARREOLA then left the campus, making a final remark that they were going to try and burn down the Highland Hills Shopping Center which is in the vicinity of the campus.

April 5, 1968

The Dallas Police Department advised on April 6, 1968, that the police protected the area of the Highland Hills Shopping Center during the night of April 5-6, 1968, and no activities were noted in that area.

At 10:20 PM on April 7, 1968, two unknown Negro males, driving a 1955 or 1956 Chevrolet, shot at CHARLES ANDERSON, a Negro Bishop College student who was walking on Simpson-Stuart Road, in the vicinity of the college. ANDERSON was not injured. Immediately after the shooting occurred, WILLIAM SPEICHER LEACH, an associate of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, appeared at the scene of the shooting and asked, "What are we going to do about this?"
suspect that the two Negroes who shot at ANDERSON were endeavoring to create an incident to be blamed on white persons to create racial tension in the area of Bishop College. No suspects were developed in this shooting.

April 8, 1968)

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II did not appear at Bishop College on the evening of April 8, 1968, or during the early morning hours of April 9, 1968. There was no activity or incidents of any type on the college campus during the above pertinent period.

April 9, 1968)

On April 25, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II was observed circulating handbills in various areas of South Dallas and at Bishop College urging a demonstration at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Dallas. This demonstration was to be against GEORGE WALLACE, former Alabama governor and American Party Presidential candidate, who was giving a campaign speech at that hotel at 8:30 PM on April 25, 1968. A copy of the mimeographed handbill circulated by MC MILLAN reads as follows:

"If You Don't Act Who Will

"George Wallace speaks tonight at the Statler-Hilton - 8 PM. This honkey is a murderer of black people and a threat to your life. Now he wants to enlarge his racist program by running for president.
"Is Dallas a city of 'Good Niggers' (as the mayor says) or will we show that we won't set by and let this white wolf run through Dallas. We've had enough of their crap! While Dallas opens their door and rolls out the carpet for Wall-ass what will you be doing? Good dumb niggers will stay at home while men will tell him how we feel.

"Come on down with us! If we're not for ourselves who will be for us?"

Approximately seven cars left Bishop College for downtown Dallas at 8:00 PM on April 25, 1968. Student occupants indicated they were going to demonstrate against GEORGE WALLACE at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

On the evening of April 25, 1968, approximately fifteen Negro youths entered the grand ballroom of the Statler Hilton Hotel where GEORGE WALLACE, former governor of Alabama and American Party candidate for President was giving a campaign speech. Eight of this group carried placards denouncing WALLACE. The youths were permitted to stand in the rear of the ballroom. There was some talk among the white audience concerning the demonstrators, however, no incidents occurred.

Individuals identified as being among the Negro demonstrators were:

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II.
ROBERT L. YEDELL
WILLIAM SPENCER LEACH
ANTONE STEVENS
JESUS ASCENSION ARREOLA

At the conclusion of his speech, WALLACE exited the hotel under heavy police escort. MC MILLAN and the other Negro youths accompanying him, were on the sidewalk awaiting WALLACE's departure, however, no outbursts or incidents occurred.
APPENDIX

1

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.
Re: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

2

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticomunist Proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Dallas, Texas
May 10, 1968

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference

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

[Redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to determine reliability.

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

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE

REFERENCE: File # SA

LEADS:

HOUeON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION ONE COPY EACH IS BEING
DELIVERED TO THE HOUSTON AND SAN ANTONIO OFFICES DUE TO THE INTER-
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INVESTIGATION AND SNCC.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS, 1. Obtain application information regarding
the office R.C. 26357 and 26358.

2. Will receive

3. Will maintain contact with regarding

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COMPLAINTS MADE:

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

RACIAL INT. SECT.

146. OCT 30, 1970

COPIES MADE:

1 - Bureau (166.43-1863 (RM)
2 - MILS, Dallas (RM)
3 - NSC, New Orleans (RM)
4 - CST, Tinker AFB, OK (RM)
5 - Atlanta (166.43-1863 (RM)
6 - 3rd Area (157-269) (RM)
7 - Dallas (146.100000)

12 AUG 26 1968

REC-57

REC-68

EXT
This report is classified 'CONFIDENTIAL due to information furnished by [REDACTED] disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the
security of the nation.

Investigation of are in Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas, is being handled separately from an investigation entitled "NSIP," aka "SNIP." Recent up at Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas, 3/17/68, at 8:00 PM. Date of Expiration: 4/1574739. Investigation to date has failed to implicate SNIP in connection with the fires at the university.
CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 2. 12th MG, Dallas (RM)
        1-NISV, New Orleans (RM)
        1-OST, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Report of: [Blank]
Office: Dallas, Texas

Date: 6/22/68

Field Office File No.: 100-10996
Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: [Redacted]
ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)’s see Appendix attached for characterization of activities are centered at 1417 Peabody, the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, the self-identified SNCC representative for Dallas, Texas. MC MILLAN has also been known to use the offices of the Urban League of Dallas, 2606 Forest Avenue, Dallas, for his activities.

LEADERSHIP

The Post, Tribune, a Dallas, Texas, weekly Negro newspaper, August 3, 1968, carried a piece in a news story headlined, “SNCC Heads Discuss Philosophy” which mentioned MARION MC MILLAN as the Dallas Field Secretary for SNCC and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON as Director of Political Activity for the organization.

MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

These individuals who appear to be closely involved in SNCC activities in the Dallas, Texas area with MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON include MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, FRED LOUIS RABB, EDWARD HARRIS, CHAPMAN HARRIS, ROBERT MILLER, BERTHA HOOK/POWELL, and others.

ROBERT MILLER, former associate of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, returned to his home in St. Helens, Pennsylvania when Kent College authorities refused to permit him to return as a student due to activities consistent to the philosophy of that college.

WILLIAM SPENCER BACH and JESUS ARCONA DPREOLA, former associates of ERNEST MC MILLAN, have not been in the Dallas, Texas area since the latter part of May, 1968. BACH is believed to have returned to his home in Detroit, Michigan and DPREOLA is believed to have returned to the San Antonio, Texas area.

August 19, 1968
LAFAYETTE LOCKE was taken to the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas on June 27, 1968 for a hearing before the U.S. Board of Parole to determine if LOCKE should have his Federal parole revoked.

Lubbock, Texas; June 27, 1968

In January, 1968, LAFAYETTE LOCKE was a close associate of ERNEST M. MILLAN and was considered MC MILLAN'S bodyguard.

April 2, 1968

LAFAYETTE LOCKE was arrested on April 3, 1968 at Lubbock, Texas at 1:25 a.m. by officers of the Lubbock, Texas Police Department at 1004 East 29th Street following a complaint that a man in that area had a shotgun. LOCKE was taken to the Lubbock Police Department where he was booked on the basis of an outstanding Federal warrant for Parole Violation resulting from a previous arrest on March 14, 1968 for Burglary and Assault to Murder by the Lubbock Police Department.

April 3, 1968

The following individuals who appear to be organizers of ERNEST M. MILLAN and have been involved in some activities sponsored by SNCC, include the following Dallas Negro residents:

FELICIA SMITH, LOIS ALEXANDER, MICHAEL MORAIS, DONNIE BOY BOWMAN, ROBERT FLOYD, ANNE E. ESTHER F. THOMAS, LESLIE W. RAY, EDGAR HARDGE, AMICE T. HENDERSON, MABLEYN CLARK, DIANNE MEREDITH, LEANDER MANNING, WILLIAM JAMES JOHNSON, and ALLIER FERRE.

August 19, 1968

PUBLICATIONS

The SNCC organization in Dallas began printing a three-page 8 x 11, multivolt type newsletter entitled "Black People - The Press Liberation!, in July, 1968. A reader who is requested...
Charles Lavern Beasley, under the pseudonym of "Karan Umur" and Edward Harris, under the pen name of "Black Ed", are the two writers for the publication.

The articles in the paper have requested Negro Dallas residents to back Ernest McMillan and the SNCC organization; urged Negro residents to be proud of their heritage and natural appearance; and to stop trying to change their looks to that of the whites, and has been critical of the Negro businessmen in the Dallas area as they have not cooperated with the SNCC organization.

In addition to the Black Disciple, SNCC prints numerous leaflet handouts regarding particular problems they are attacking at the time.

August 19, 1968

Funds

May 9, 1968

July 10, 1968
FRANK HERNANDEZ, ERNEST MC MILIAN'S attorney, left Dallas for New York City on July 18, 1968, allegedly to receive some funds for the legal defense of MC MILIAN who has charges pending against him for destruction of private property in value over $50, in Dallas.

FRANK HERNANDEZ returned from New York City on July 19, 1968.

August 8, 1968.
When sold for, the signs are sold by SNCC members, it is
indicated to the purchaser that if the sign is displayed and there
is a fine, the property on which the sign is displayed will not be
destroyed, if possible.

August 14, 1968
ACTIVITIES

Poor People's Campaign

The following are known associates of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, Jr., who were listed as passengers on a chartered Greyhound Bus which departed Dallas on May 25, 1968 to arrive in Washington, D. C. on May 26, 1968:

JACKIE THOMPSON, ROBERT D., JOSÉ VELDUR, JESUS ASCENSION ARROYO, WALTER WARD, and BERINDA HINES.

May 25, 1968

The late MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., President of the Southern Youth Christian Leadership Conference, publicly advertised prior to his death on April 4, 1968, that he would conduct a massive civil rights demonstration in the nation's capital in the spring of 1968, in an effort to pressure Congress into passing legislation favorable to the Negro.

On May 28, 1968, MARION MC MILLAN stated that he remained in Dallas instead of going to Washington, D. C. on May 25, 1968 to participate in the Poor People's March in Washington, D. C., because someone had to stay home in order to "CancelButton."

May 29, 1968

The Black Cultural Center

August 21, 1968

Costs of the March were toned down and are set out as follows:

1
Proposal For a Community Cultural Center

We, the Black people of the South Dallas community area, with the support of the Black organizations of the following colleges, Bishop, SMU, BTS, NTSU, and UTA, find that there is a definite need to increase the recreational and cultural facilities in the above stated community.

Therefore, we have come to the decision that the best solution to this need is to establish a community center in the form of a Liberator School. We think of liberator schools in the sense of the schools created throughout the south and ghettos of the north by national civil rights organizations. The stress in the learning process is creativity and human to human relationship rather than traditional teaching methods. Emphasis will be placed on the following: black history, the arts such as music, painting, writing, and, of course, the fundamental recreational activities. Participants will contribute directly in presenting plays, art and musical shows, and all other activities of the Center. In this way we will attempt to increase the mental and physical potential of the Black youths of the community. We shall also include adult classes offering basic math, English, home and family planning.

We also recognize the gap that exists between the white oriented educational system and the environmental atmosphere of the black community. The educational system has failed to deal realistically with the needs of the ghetto. While the larger society is in the midst of affluence, the ghetto remains in the state of depression. Therefore, an aim of this community center is to instill Black thoughts within the mind of every Black member of the community so that they will be able to form associations relative to their history, present environment, and future.

The tremendous burden of financing this project is beyond our capacity at this time, and, although we realize the importance for total Black direction of this Community Center, we are hopeful of receiving contributions and support from every available source.

In essence we are attempting to answer the cries of despair and frustration by inculcating self-pride and awareness for the Black community through our Community Center.

Send contributions to:

Committee for the Black Cultural Center
2604 S Harwood
Dallas, Texas 75215
**ESTIMATED FINANCIAL BUDGET**

<table>
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<th>Item</th>
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<td>Cost of Occupancy ........................</td>
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<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library ................................</td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**TOTAL**

$38,917.00

(For a one-year period)

* All staff workers are of volunteer service from the community.
* All activities and services of the center are free of charge.
In May, 1968, ERNIE MC MILLAN furnished a brochure entitled, "Does Dallas Need a Freedom School?" which detailed the reasons for the establishment of a Liberator School. MC MILLAN is attempting to set up in South Dallas. The brochure asked that contributions for the school be sent to the Committee for The Black Cultural Center, P. O. Box 381, Dallas, Texas. (May 29, 1968)

The above mentioned brochure, as furnished by the above source is set out on the full nine pages as follows:
Do the schools we already have teach Black History?

Do the schools we already have give a sense of Heritage and Pride to your children?

Can you participate directly with your children's classes?

Are the things being taught your children preparing them for their everyday life?

It is not an accident that the answer to those questions is NO!

It is not by accident that Black people do not know anything about their past; for the best way to control and enslave someone is to cut the ties of the past so that the present is confusing and that there is no hope for a future.

What is happening is that we are being denied a basic human right. The right to know yourself. Because of this we have lost the dignity, faith, and pride in ourselves.

The Liberator School will speak to this need. It will belong and exist for the Black Community. The Liberator School will teach not only Black History, but will have Art Classes, Drama activities, Musical presentations, adult literacy classes and serve as a Cultural Center for the whole commi-

The Committee For Black Cul-
rnal Center needs your help to the Liberator School a reality

Will you help by:

(Check one or more)

Enrolling [ ]
Working [ ]
Teaching [ ]
Financial Donation [ ]

Name ________________________
Address ______________________
Age _______________________

(Age limit 7 - 70 years)

3CC

"If We Are Not For Ourselves Who Can Be For Us?"
DOES DALLAS NEED A FREEDOM SCHOOL?

BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL AND IT'S SO BEAUTIFUL TO BE BLACK.

Send Contributions To:
Committee For A Black Cultural Center
P.O. Box 26381
Dallas, Texas 75226
ERNEST MC MILLAN is holding meetings in the South Dallas area in an attempt to raise funds for a Black Cultural Center which he is proposing in that area of the city. The Center will supposedly emphasize teachings of Negro history, art, music, painting, writing and recreation. Adult classes will include basic mathematics, English, and home and family planning.

[June 10, 1968]

In the latter part of May, 1968, representatives of SNCC requested a solicitation permit from the City of Dallas at which time an application was filled out, indicating that the Committee for a Black Cultural Center, P. O. Box 26381, requested permission to solicit $38,947 by mail, in a canvass of homes, business firms and also through musical benefit programs. The date of the fund raising was given as June 18, 1968, and it was indicated that it would be a recurring solicitation. Principal officers of the committee were listed as MIKE DODD, Chairman, 2604 South Harvard, HA 1-3912; FRED BELL, Co-Chairman, 4611 Garland Avenue, TA 6-1099; BERTHA BOOKS, Secretary, 3919 Sydney, (no phone); YOSEF YELDELL, Treasurer, 2415 Tabor, BA 1-3136. Persons directly in charge of conducting the campaign were listed as ERNEST MC MILLAN, 2803 South Boulevard, HA 8-0386; YOSEF YELDELL and FRED BELL. It was stated that records and receipts would be kept by the treasurer and there would be ten volunteer solicitors for the solicitation.

[June 17, 1968]

Black Committee Meeting
"BLACK COMMUNITY MEETING"

"Do you know what we should be doing to help ourselves?"
"Do you know what SNICK means?"
"Do you know who speaks for you?"
"Do you know what Black Power is?"

"To you don't know the answers to these questions its time for you to find out. You can find out by attending the mass meeting in the park at 2200 Canada Drive in West Dallas, Sunday, June 23rd at 6:00 p.m.

"This meeting will include everyone from the Black Community. Doctors, teachers, players, kids, housewives, both the employed and unemployed, and our Mexican friends. Discussing plans like boycotts, rent strikes, block voting and other means to a strong community.

"Do not miss this opportunity because we are not for ourselves who can be for us."

June 24, 1968)

On June 23, 1968, a meeting was called by Black Power advocates at a city park in the 2200 block of Canada Drive in West Dallas. Approximately 50 Black Power Negroes were present. Approximately 60 other individuals were present including 20 adults, and 40 children. MATTHEW JOHNSON was the master of ceremonies and JOHNSON explained to the audience why a vigilante committee was needed. He said they had to arouse and alert the community to listen to police calls and to check on the police to see they do not commit acts of brutality. He suggested using cameras to expose lazy cops and cops who are sex perverts, etc. He stated that such a program had done a good job in the Watts area of California.

ERNEST MC MILLAN was the second principal speaker and he ridiculed the Negroes for imitating the white people. He also pointed out why the white people were their enemies.

MC MILLAN introduced another speaker from Houston whose first name sounded like WAYMOND (last name unknown) who had been arrested with four others in connection with a death of a police officer who was killed in a riot at Texas Southern University in Houston. This speaker gave details regarding the riot and termed the death of the police officer as "beautiful". He urged Negroes to arm themselves, to fight the "white beasts", and said children should be taught to shoot at least a B.B. gun. He was upset because the beasts (the police) had the meeting encircled.
Another speaker believed to be FRED LOUIS BELL, belittled the "Uncle Tom" Negroes and ministers and identified the white man as the black enemy and urged the Negroes to arm themselves.

MATTHEW JOHNSON spoke again saying that the same "red neck" in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama was the same "red neck" in Vietnam. He said the Negroes were sent out in droves in Vietnam because they could not be killed, hung or lynched fast enough in the states.

(June 24, 1968)

On June 2, 1967, the Houston Chronicle carried an article captioned, "Murder Is Charged In Riot at TSU. Police Cleared of Blame by Jury." This article reported a Harris County Grand Jury on June 2, 1967, returned murder indictments against five TSU students in the fatal shooting of Police Officer LOUIS KUBA during the TSU riot on May 16-17, 1967. These five students were identified as follows:

G. APPROX.
TRAZAWELL/FRANKLIN, JR., age 20;
FLOYD/NICHOLS, age 21;
CHARLES/FREEMAN, age 18;
DOUGLAS WAYNE/WALLER, age 21,
JOHN/PARKER, age 20. APPROX.
MARTON ERNEST MC MILLAN, in July, 1968, indicated that he has started a plan to intimidate various owners and operators of food stores in the South Dallas area.

( July 5, 1968)

ERNEST MC MILLAN along with an associate MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and approximately 40 other Negro individuals, on July 1, 1968, entered the OK Supermarket at 4123 South Oakland Avenue in Dallas, Texas. This store is one of a chain of ten OK Supermarkets located in the Negro area of Dallas. Upon entering the grocery store, MC MILLAN picked up a gallon container of milk and threw it on the floor near the check out stand. MATTHEW JOHNSON and the other Negroes accompanying MC MILLAN, then started raking food off the shelves smashing eggs and causing about $200 in damage. In addition to destroying the food, these individuals ordered meat and then immediately opened the packages and threw the meat on the floor stating "The white man is trying to sell us rotten meat."

( July 5, 1968)

Due to the above vandalism, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON were arrested by officers of the Dallas, Texas Police Department on July 3, 1968 on the charge of Investigation - Malicious Mischief. They were released on $100 bond furnished by Attorney ED J. POLK described as a white male residing at 5617 Belmont Street in Dallas. The above charge was subsequently changed to "Destruction of Property, Value: 1, $250.00 - 480.00, a felony.

( July 5, 1968)

ED J. POLK, Attorney at law, is connected with the Dallas Legal Service Project of the National Advisory Office in Dallas, Texas.

( July 12, 1968)

On the evening of July 2, 1968, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON, along with approximately 13 other Negro individuals, entered the OK Supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue. The group upon entering the store, immediately obtained customer baskets and filled them with food, staring ice cream and eggs on the bottom. When the baskets were filled, this group then proceeded to the front of the store where they left the baskets and departed from the store.
On July 19, 1968, Dallas SNCC began an economic boycott of OK Supermarkets in the South Dallas area. Approximately 4:30 p.m., five Negro men and four Negro women were observed at the supermarket located at 4123 South Oakland Street in Dallas carrying signs stating, 'Black Power', 'Stay away from OK nigger', 'Boycott OK', 'Buy SNCC'. All placards were signed 'Dallas SNCC'. Persons identified in the OK Supermarket on Oakland included FRED T. CLAY, EDWARD HARRIS, and EDWARD HARDGE. Individuals were observed to leave the below described vehicles and participate in the picketing of the Oakland Store as follows:

Two Negro males unidentified, arrived in a 1965 MG, white two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license KVM 584, registered to J. E.
GORDON, 2625 Wasira, Dallas.

Unidentified Negro female shot in a 1955 Chevrolet four-door sedan, white over green, bearing 1968 Texas license KXN 178, registered to ART H. BROWN, 2909 Parnell, Apartment 2-A, Dallas.

July 19, 1968

A Negro male believed to be H. L. FAGAN, owner of The Post Tribune, a Dallas Negro newspaper, and one other Negro male arrived at the store in a 1966 Cadillac 770 with beige sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license LOY 127. They conducted a friendly conversation with the pickets and left the area. The above vehicle is registered to H. L. FAGAN, 2322 Millermore, Dallas.

July 19, 1968

At the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue in Dallas on July 19, 1968, one Negro man and three Negro women participated in the picketing. They carried four poster signs similar to those carried by pickets at the Oakland Store and distributed leaflets to individuals passing on the street.

Those recognized as pickets were MARTON ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, self-admitted Dallas SNCC leader; MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; MELVIN JOHNSON; MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD and MARTYN CLARK, an Urban League employee.

Two Negro men who participated in the picketing left the store's location in a 1965 Ford Mustang, bearing 1968 Texas license KZC 958, which is registered to a BEVERLY JOHNSON, 2537 Stephenson Drive, Dallas.

JAMES H. SELF, a white male and director of the Presbyterian Center, 2604 South Harwood, arrived at the store in the company of a Negro woman driving a 1966 Chevrolet Bel Aire tan station wagon, bearing 1968 Texas license LHS 913, which is registered to the Presbyterian Church of Northeast Texas, 3309 North Central Expressway, Dallas.

Pickets in contact with people entering the store were insinuating that customers would possibly be forced if they bought anything from the grocery store. Pickets remained at the two stores until
they closed at midnight and it appeared that business at the stores was seriously affected as very few customers were seen to enter the store.

July 19, 1968

Two throw away mimeographed sheets passed out by the pickets read as follows:

"It is time that we the Black People unite for the purpose of putting an end to white Supremacy in Black communities. The white man has Cheated, Robbed and Exploited our Black Brother for over 300 years. Let's not make it 400. Stop the selling of Bitter Meat now! Stop high prices now! Let's just this white man out of our Neighborhoods. En-de-Now!"

"Boycott O.K. Supermarkets"

"Dallas SNCC"

"Mass meeting every Sunday at 6:00 p.m. Exlile Park at Pine and Latimer Streets."

"Stay away from OK - Nigger. In Essence, this is what an owner of OK Supermarket said in Public. He said that he wants certain Black People to Stay away from OK. Let's all stay away from OK and Shop elsewhere. Then we the Beautiful Black People of the community can collective buy and operate these stores ourself."

"Buy Black"

"Dallas SNCC"

July 19, 1968

On July 19, 1968, approximately 15 Negro men and women were picketing the OK Supermarket located at Oakland and Pine Streets and on Grand Avenue in Dallas, Texas. Demonstrators carried signs stating "Don't buy from OK Supermarkets" and were passing out mimeographed sheets urging Negroes not to buy from that chain store. The sheets were signed by the Dallas SNCC.

July 19, 1968
The picketing at the OK Supermarket chain in Dallas continued on July 21, 1968. Specific markets affected were as follows:

No. 1 at 4123 South Oakland,
No. 2 at 4630 Hatcher,
No. 3 at 1909 South Ervay,
No. 5 at 3026 Grand Avenue,
No. 6 at 5108 Lexar,
No. 8 at 4127 Colorado,
No. 14 at 3807 East Kiest.

Pickets appeared to concentrate on OK Supermarkets No. 1 and 5 and picketed the other stores sporadically during the day and night. Pickets carried placards urging Negroes to end white supremacy in black communities.

On July 20, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON drove a 1962 red Oldsmobile sedan sedan bearing 1968 Texas license LVC 522 from one of the OK supermarkets to Mount Olive Lutheran Church, 3100 Forest Avenue, where they obtained a large pack of printed leaflets which were given out to pedestrians in front of the OK Supermarkets. The above car is registered to ROBERT O. PHILLIPS, 1913 Rayburn Drive, Mesquite, Texas.

On July 21, 1968, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON made the statement that SNCC would continue its boycott of the OK Supermarkets until the white men were gone - then they would direct their efforts to another white-owned store.

At 6:00 p.m. on July 21, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, FRED LOUIS BELL, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, were observed near the recreation building at Exline Park at Pine and Latimer Streets, Dallas. Between 6:00 p.m. and 6:45 p.m., approximately 20 cars arrived and were cut in the street by one of these individuals and would drive off. At 6:45 p.m., the four men proceeded in MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON's 1957 black Pontiac, bearing 1968 Texas license LPJ 787 to 909 Commerce Street, the address of the World Council of Churches where a meeting was in progress and continued until 8:30 p.m.

Pickets at the OK Supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue, were intimidating customers in order to prevent them from going into the store by saying that if they did enter possibly their car would...
go up in flames or even their homes would be destroyed by fire. Some pickets followed two or three customers part way home, but no action was taken against them.

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, and MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD, were observed wearing bandoleers with shotgun shells, driving a 1937 black Pontiac, sedan bearing 1968 Texas license LPG 787, owned by JOHNSON. No firearms were observed in these individuals possession. It was reported that MC MILLAN and his companions had planned on causing an incident in the area of the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue in Dallas at 3:00 p.m. on July 24. It was subsequently reported that no incident or arrest occurred at any of the OK Supermarkets during the evening of July 21, 1968.

On July 24, 1968, MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD was observed wearing two bandoleers bearing shotgun shells in the South Dallas area, however, ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON, who were with him, were not wearing bandoleers.

On July 25, 1968, and July 26, 1968, information was received from a usually reliable source that a meeting was held at ERNEST MC MILLAN’S residence, 1417 Peabody after the picketing of the OK Supermarket at 6:00 a.m. on July 25, 1968. Thirty-five to forty people were in attendance including nine Negro females. At 3:00 a.m., MC MILLAN, MATTHEW JOHNSON, and a white man, believed to be ED POLK, arrived at the meeting in a 1967 white Mustang. There was a general discussion about the group not being able to get anything started in Dallas, while fires were burning in Cleveland, Ohio. The group as a body told MC MILLAN they were tired of sitting around doing nothing and wanted to get something started. MC MILLAN announced that he was going to have a meeting with the management of the OK Supermarkets at 4:00 p.m. that day. It was suggested that they would start the stores for sale. He said he would make them a ridiculous offer and they would be able to get something started in Dallas. On July 26, 1968, at 5:00 a.m., on July 26, 1968, one male Negro, name and description unknown, left the group and drove off in a 1964 red Buick Special, sedan, license unknown, errute to Louisiana to obtain firearms and dynamite.
LESLIE W. JACOBS, a Negro male involved in SNCC picketing at the OK Supermarket located at 3026 Grand Avenue, Dallas, had been observed on July 24, 1968, driving a 1964-65 red Buick Special, two door sedan, bearing 1968 Texas license, KBS 621. A second vehicle, a 1963 Buick, two-door sport coupe, maroon in color, bearing 1968 Texas license, LKC 953, registered to HUMPHREY or HEMBRY, 2316 Sutter Street, was observed at 1417 Dealey Plaza on July 19, 1968, and was at a previous SNCC sponsored meeting held at Exline Park, Dallas, Texas.

On July 25, 1968, a 1964 red Buick Special sedan, bearing Texas license KBS 621, was stopped in South Dallas at 9:30 p.m. that day and searched for firearms and dynamite with negative results. Occupants were not identified.

No pickets were observed in the vicinity of the OK Supermarket in the South Dallas, Texas area on the evening of July 25, 1968.

The Dallas, Texas Police Department on July 25, 1968, received a report of attempted arson at the OK Supermarket located at 912 Centennial Street in Dallas on that date. It was reported that a jug filled with gasoline was broken and ignited, resulting in a fire which burned a portable awning, several outside ceiling of the store, and caused two plate glass windows to be cracked. The fire reportedly broke out between 12:30 a.m. and 5:30 a.m. on July 25, 1968, during the period that the store was closed. Investigation had developed no suspects; however, employees of the store reported that SNCC picketers were in front of the store the evening of July 24, 1968, and it was rumored that they had threatened to burn the store down.

SNCC picketers: BONNIE BOY BOWMAN, Negro male born August 13, 1946; HENRY JEROME BELL, Negro male born December 15, 1948; and ROBERT FLOYD ANGLE, Negro male born July 20, 1942, were arrested on July 24, 1968, for making verbal threats against customers and employees of the OK Supermarkets. EDWARD HARRIS, Negro male born August 28, 1947, and MELVIN JOHNSON, Negro male born August 22, 1945, had a complaint filed against them on that date for threats made to ESTHER RUTH HOWARD, Negro female, age 33, residence 2807 Ervay Street, Dallas, who was a customer at the OK Supermarket at 3026 Grand Avenue, Dallas.
The Dallas Morning News, Dallas, Texas, daily newspaper, in its July 26, 1968, edition, published an article under the headline, "Store Chain to Sell, Negro Picketing Boycott Bring Move" stating as follows:

"OK Supermarkets, beset by pickets, demonstrations, threats and a boycott during the past week, agreed Thursday to sell all or part of its 10-store chain to an all-Negro group represented by black militant Ernest McMillan."

"The supermarket owners gave McMillan's group 60 days to raise the money to complete the transaction. In exchange, McMillan agreed to halt the boycott and call off the pickets."

"Attorney Tom Jene, spokesman for the chain, declined to disclose the price agreed on during a 4-hour meeting Thursday afternoon between the owners and McMillan."

"Frank F. Hernandez, attorney for McMillan said the price for all 10 stores is 'in the neighborhood of $600,000.'"

"McMillan, Dallas field secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, did not name those he claimed to represent as the prospective buyers. He identified them only as responsible figures in the Negro community."

"...The boycott was called by McMillan on grounds that the chain operates principally in all-Negro sections of South Dallas and Oak Cliff and should be owned by Negroes."

"Pickets showed up at several of the stores a week ago and the boycott was extended to the entire chain by Tuesday."

"...In a statement on the bargaining session James said: 'My principal reason was that I was in contact with these representatives exactly as they would have with any other group of businessmen who expressed an interest in purchasing the chain.'"

"James said the negotiated price was in line with the fair market value. He said the chain had been up for sale prior to the boycott."

"In answer to SNCC charges, James said that 88 per cent of the chain's employees are Negro. He said the chain was the first in South Dallas to hire Negro cooks and cashiers."
"Owners of the chain, established seven years ago, are Harold Kindle and Glen D. Kindle, brothers, and Joe Elston."

The Volkswagen van reportedly driven by OLIVER and CHARLES MASSENGALE was not located in the Dallas-Fort Worth, Texas area on July 26, 1968. There was no picketing of any OK Supermarkets or other businesses in the Dallas area by the Dallas SNCC organization on July 26, 1968.

CHARLES and OLIVER MASSENGALE are members of US. On occasion they have worn African attire and have spoken Swahili on numerous occasions. They have been observed carrying firearms, including shoulder-type weapons.

OLIVER and CHARLES MASSENGALE left Los Angeles, California prior to July 26, 1968 and were known to be out of the Los Angeles area until August 1, 1968. Their exact whereabouts was unknown, however, they were believed to be somewhere in Texas.
SNCC Heads Discuss Philosophy

Shortly before press time The Post interviewed Ernest McMillan, as field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mathew Johnson, Director of Political Activity for the same organization, as to why and wherefore of the OK Supermarket boycott as carried out by their organization.

In order to get the record straight it should be reported that a little less than two weeks ago the first full scale boycott of a white-owned business in all of the markets and particularly on South Oakland and the Grand Avenue locations.

Strong picketing at these two locations brought business to a virtual standstill the weekend of July 20-21 and resulted in meetings, according to Jasper Bacus, president of the Pylon Salesmanship Club, on last Tuesday and Thursday, July 23 and 25, between SNCC leaders and owners and their representatives in the offices of Davis & Associates, 2700 Grand Avenue.

At this time it was reported to the press that the owners had agreed to sell the chain to SNCC or responsible black individuals for $600,000. Time to find a buyer or buyers was set at 60 days.

Interviewed at the Post office McMillan and Johnson had this to say:

McMillan: "This is the greatest effort for black people to have become involved in to gain a greater sense of economic power. The responsibility of purchasing these stores presents an opportunity and responsibility to the black people of Dallas. A meeting was held last Saturday between legal representatives and potential purchasers. By the way, these buyers are asking any other interested purchasers to meet with them at Mount Olive Lutheran Church on Thursday night, August 1. There will be representatives from the Small Business Administration to advise anyone interested in such possible financing."

Post Tribune: Ernest, what about your draft-evasion case going before the East, U.S. District Attorney?

McMillan: "I've been advised to make no comment. You remember I have a jury sitting ining me. Counsel and I are taking these matters one at a time. The facts will be brought out whenever there is a hearing."

Johnson: "We do not want to exchange a white exploiter for a black one. We would like to see a chain of stores responsible to the total need of the community and not in the interests of a few individuals. If you are selling low quality merchandise, put a low price on such items. Before the boycott began a thorough check was made of markets in the area. Our findings indicate to be a logical target. U.S. Dept. of Agriculture inspectors have checked (items) we have brought before them and have substantiated our contention that standard items have been sold the populace."

Post Tribune: This is fine, but we want to know this, do you hate white people?

Johnson: "No, not as far as the white of their skin is concerned. I take all men at face value, as they approach me, until by their actions either a like or dislike for me is indicated."

Post Tribune: Is your group overly militant?

Johnson: "We will not turn the other cheek. We are not overly aggressive. If someone shoves us, he will be shoved back. We are militant in that we will speak out for what we think is right."

Mathew Johnson
MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, visited the offices of the Small Business Administration, Mayflower Building, Dallas, Texas on July 20, 1968 to determine what was necessary to apply for a government loan to purchase the OK Supermarkets. It was explained to the SNCC representatives that a government loan could not be made to a non-profit organization such as SNCC.

It was agreed that representatives of the Small Business Administration would attend a meeting held by SNCC on August 1, 1968 to furnish details regarding the federal loans to approximately 50 South Dallas Negro businessmen who would attend the meeting.

(Records of the 112th MIG, Dallas, July 30, 1968)

ON August 1, 1968, approximately 15 individuals attended a meeting at the Mount Olive Lutheran Church, 3100 Forest Avenue, Dallas, Texas. Those individuals included: MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN; MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; a Negro male believed to be FRED LOUIS BELLE; FRANK P. HERNANDEZ, an attorney representing MC MILLAN and JOHNSON; a Negro male described as Doctor, approximately 50 years of age; three unidentified Negro males, believed to be local businessmen and one unidentified Negro male, apparently from Newark, New Jersey, approximately 45 years of age. The Small Business Administration representatives explained the particular program under which a loan could be applied for and explained the general requirements regarding it. Some individuals attending the meeting were in favor of attempting to obtain funds from philanthropic sources such as the Ford Foundation. Others believed that the best course would be to deal with individual sources one at a time, others including the Negro from Newark agreed for more picketing and boycotts in order to drive the price of the stores down. No definite conclusions were returned at the meeting and there appeared to be a great deal of dissention among those in attendance.

(Records of the 112th MIG, Dallas, August 5, 1968)

The State of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON on Charges of Destruction of Private Property, to Excess of Over $50, in value, before the Mayor, August 19, 1968, in Criminal District Court, Dallas, City, Dallas, Texas.

(Aug. 19, 1968)
FOREIGN TRAVEL

On July 9, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN applied for a passport, which application was approved on July 10, 1968. MC MILLAN indicated on his application for passport that he desired to visit the following foreign countries: Finland, Denmark, France, England, Norway, Sweden and Germany. MC MILLAN indicated that the approximate date of his departure was to be July 15, 1968, from New York, New York, by way of the Japan Airlines. The purpose of his trip was shown as a "Youth Conference of University Christian Movement" and the duration of his stay was shown as one month. MC MILLAN furnished an address of 1608 Glenn Street, Dallas, Texas, and indicated that his mother is a Miss MC MILLAN at the above address.

(Emmable cross out)

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ERNEST MC MILLAN planned to attend a youth conference at Helsinki, Finland on July 15, 1968, which conference was sponsored by the National Council of Churches, but since MC MILLAN was confined to the Dallas County Jail on that date, he was unable to go.

(Emmable cross out)

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MISCELLANEOUS

On Mar. 17, 1968, M. P. LEE, Dean of Women, Texas Women's University, received a letter on March 17, 1968, bearing a Dallas, Texas post mark of March 16, 1968. The letter was addressed to the Office of the Dean of Women, 320 Jesse M. Lee, Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas 76204. A Xerox copy of this letter is as follows:

[Text continues on next page]
Dean Lee:

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, have received information concerning racial discrimination at your University. We have been told of your biased actions toward the Negro students.

None of our representatives are attending your University as well as scouting the campus. Your Negro students have appealed to us and other Negro Organizations for aid, because they feel that their rights are being violated. The Negro students are paying tuition just as the NONKIES are. They are entitled to the same type of treatment as is shown to their white counterparts. Don't forget that Texas Woman's University is a State supported University. Some of the students are appealing to higher authorities.

I'm sure that you have heard of the incident at Texas Southern University in Houston last May, and of other racial riots at various Universities around the country. I am more than sure that you do not want your beautiful campus ruined by fire.

Consider the situation before action is taken and SOON!!!

Respectfully yours,

SNCC
Between the period March 12, 1968 and May 10, 1968, seven fires were discovered in a new 21-story women's dormitory, Stark Hall at TWU. Investigation by the Security Department of TWU with the assistance of the Denton Police Department, the Denton Fire Department, State of Texas Fire Marshal, American Insurance Association Investigator, and the Texas Rangers, included interviewing each of the 550 residents of Stark Hall. All denied any knowledge of the fires. All Negro students interviewed among the 550 residents were specifically asked if they had any personal or hearsay knowledge of any incident of racial discrimination on the TWU campus and all denied any such knowledge. All Negro girls interviewed expressed complete satisfaction with the policies of the TWU Administration.

Each floor of the Stark Hall Dormitory has a representative number of Freshman, and Sophomores, Negro and girls of Spanish-American descent. Minority groups on the TWU campus make up the greater percentage of the student body at the college.

Negro students interviewed during the investigation denied being members of any off-campus organization such as SNCC. No Negro organizations are in existence on the TWU campus.

Denton, Texas, May 10, 1968

The Post Tribune, a weekly Dallas Negro newspaper in its Saturday, August 9, 1968, Edition, on page four printed an article entitled, "Dent's Racial Peace" which reads as follows:
The recent announcement that George Wallace of Alabama will hold his American Party national convention in Dallas during the month of September has stirred the Dallas contingent of SNICK to prepare for a violent demonstration when the Wallace forces come here.

This scheduled to be a follow-up of Wallace's convention in Fort Worth several weeks ago, where an expose of the demonstration plans caused Wallace to cancel his personal appearance for that confab.

Since the Fort Worth Wallace meet McMillan, head of the Dallas SNICK, has been jailed for allegedly heading an attack on a local supermarket in the South Dallas area and a demonstration against exploitive practices against Negroes.

His followers are anxious to find some good reason for retaliation against Dallas officials for the prosecution of McMillan. They feel that the Wallace proposed advent will be a good time to break the gauntlet of Dallas "racial peace."

Texas Negro resentment against George Wallace, and the verbal support he is getting in Texas, is widespread, and the determination to give him a roughing un-welcome has become the desire of a cross section of the Negro populace, as well as a growing contingent of whites.

A lieutenant of McMillan said plans for the anti-Wallace demonstration are being guarded from exposure, but that Dallas could expect a demonstration that would shake the local race situation beyond imagination.

When asked if plans were in the making to do Wallace personal bodily harm, the informant said "The assassination of Dr. King, Sen. Kennedy and the support of localities to exploiting white firms in the Negro areas deserve retaliation, since Dallas is known for violent action against undesirables. They spat on Lyndon Johnson, they riled Adlai Stevenson, so we feel anything we do to stop Wallace will be in order."

There is also a movement on foot to demonstrate reprisals against the supermarket and chain stores in Negro areas who practice price mark-ups in Negro areas, a situation found to be the spark that set off riots in New York.

A check of supermarket prices throughout the city revealed that more is charged Negroes on commodities than is charged in all-white areas, one spokesman for the militiamen said. They also said that some stores, advertising appliance and jewelry stipulated certain weekly payments in the newspaper and force Negroes to make weekly or monthly payments in excess of that advertised.

Grueling-judged carrying charges is also required by Negro customers. One lady said, after she had paid more than half on her appliance, and missed two weekly payments, the Goodyear Service store tried to repossess the item, by just getting a reclaim notice form the local court without due process of law.

This situation is becoming serious concern to Negroes, and it is generally felt that if violence should break loose, these exploiting firms may suffer great losses as in other sections of the country during riots.

The main objective for possible violence in Dallas is the scheduled appearance of George Wallace, but indications are that it can trigger action against other grievances of Negroes.
On August 2, 1968, MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, telephonically contacted the Dallas Office of the FBI regarding the above article in The Post Tribune. MC MILLAN stated the statements made in the article concerning SNCC were completely false and his organization plans no demonstration against GEORGE WALLACE.

American Party Presidential Candidate, GEORGE WALLACE, is presently scheduled to be a guest speaker at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium on September 16, 1968 at a $25-a-plate dinner and rally. WALLACE presently plans to arrive in the late afternoon of September 16, 1968 and depart Dallas immediately after the rally.

On August 13, 1968, Dallas SNCC held a press conference at 3010 Meadow Street a building adjoining Mount Olive Lutheran Church 3100 Forest Avenue, Dallas. Seven members of SNCC were present, including MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON; MELVIN JOHNSON; EDWARD HARRIS; FRED LOUIS BELL; (first name unknown) CLAY; and an unknown Negro male.

MARION MC MILLAN read a prepared press release objecting to the passing of a Dallas City Ordinance which gives the mayor of Dallas the power to call in the National Guard in the event of a riot. Following the reading of the prepared statement, there was a short question and answer period for the press. On being asked if SNCC members intended to start a riot because of the new ordinance, MC MILLAN replied that the ordinance would be the cause of a riot, not the SNCC organization. When asked if this was a warning of a riot, MC MILLAN stated that this was not a warning, but a promise of a riot that would be caused only by the new ordinance and the effect it would have on the Negro people.

The prepared press release is set out below:
aced war on the Black community. This ordinance makes use of coercion and the order of the day for dealing with any kind of act the mayor wishes to deem as an "emergency." The broad and limitless powers the mayor has in this act is a reaction to, and an attack on, the cries for liberation being heard from the ghetto.

The new police-state powers given to the mayor are tremendous and the care of when these powers are to be used are unclear and left up to the mayor's discretion. This new act places Dallas one step away from the same system that existed in Nazi Germany during and before World War II. Dallas now has its Hitler, its storm troopers and its concentration camps. It doesn't have its sheep that are going to walk off into its gas ovens. 

Still, Snick has never advocated or wished to incite a riot. However, we realize that a riot is playing the same of the power structure who for self-material reasons would profit from this. More so, a riot with random burning and killing is not effective and seeks to provide the cops with an easy maim and kill. There is a real revolution taking place in this country; it is the Black Revolution all facets of it are organized and active it is not a random thing with remote objectives.

The conditions that exist throughout Dallas are conditions that stifle growth of us, the Black people of Dallas. Poverty, exploitation, racism, police oppression and brutality are the roots of our enslavement. To effect the cure means dealing with these factors, not by promoting and violence whose only objective is to contain the energies and it of the Black community.

Dallas City Council is making a grave error by taking this blind vision that in no way deals with the basic causes of rebellion, racism, and exploitation. The responsibility for just and comprehensive actions to deal with the reality of 20th century enslavement has been thrown out the low and the uniformed badge wearing Klansman have been given the job.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, described itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."
APPENDIX

"US", Also Known As "US", Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose...based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture."

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled, 'The Quotable Karenga', authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture....The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos....We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically...."

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction...The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one....When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how tough you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are...."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"...We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not

APPENDIX CONTINUED
"destroy it.... We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power...."

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"...The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity...."

"JESUS said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow'. Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it...."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural acitivities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third, and highest level of membership, is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.
Dallas, Texas
August 22, 1968

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference
Dallas report of Special Agent dated August 22, 1968.

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

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is bonded to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**REPORTING OFFICE**
DALLAS

**OFFICE OF ORIGIN**
ATLANTA

**DATE**
11/27/68

**INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD**
8/22 - 11/15/68

**TITLE OF CASE**
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**REFERENCE:** Report of SA [redacted] dated 8/22/68.

**LEADS**
HOUSTON and SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

One copy each is being furnished to the Houston and San Antonio Offices due to the interrelated investigation of SNCC.

**DALLAS**

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Will follow SNCC activities through racial informants and sources.

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**AUTHORIZED IN CHARGE**

**DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW**

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2 - 112th WIG, Dallas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Okla. (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
1 - Houston (100-10390)(Info)(RM)
1 - San Antonio (157-269)(Info)(RM)
2 - Dallas (100-10996)

**Dissemination Record of Attached Report**

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**Request Receipt**

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**Notations**

**Copies Destroyed**

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<td>Instant report, Pages 2, 3, 32 to SA 100-11444 100-10996</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NY 157-2149-1B2(S)</td>
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<td>100-10996-302</td>
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<td>Instant report, Pages 12, 13 to SA 100-10996-319</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100-10996-275, 338, 346, 364, 378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by the following sources and informants of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness.

The lists of names of individuals obtained from the search incidental to the arrest of FRED LOUIS BELL on 8/23/68 were reviewed with [REDACTED] on 9/5/68. It was his opinion that these lists contained the names of individuals, who were sympathetic to SNCC as well as the names of known members of the organization.

Interview of [REDACTED] was conducted by Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Interview of CLAY STUART was conducted by SA [REDACTED]. Interview of DAVID SAVAGE was conducted by Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

-D-
Cover Page
Information regarding individuals who have donated to the Black Dallas Freedom and Defense Fund outside the Dallas Division is being forwarded to interested offices by separate communication.

Set forth below is the present investigative status of individuals listed as members of the Dallas SNCC organization:

- K -

Cover Page
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans, Louisiana (RM)
1 - OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

Office:

Field Office File No.:

Bureau File No.:

Title:

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Synopsis:

Dallas Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) residence headquarters is located at 1417 Peabody Street, Dallas, Texas. The organization also has office space at 3010 Meadow Street, Dallas. MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN II and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON lead Dallas SNCC organization consisting of ten individuals.

SNCC activities in Dallas occupied in collecting funds to pay for legal fees and bonds for SNCC leaders following their conviction on 8/23/68 for destruction of property over $50 in value. Members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in Dallas assisting SNCC in collection of these funds. Members of SNCC arrested for their participation in robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on 8/19/68 and subsequent hijacking of commercial airliner in Canada on 9/11/68.

- P -

DETAILS:

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CONFIDENTIAL
ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) utilizes a duplex located at 1417 Peabody Street as its residence headquarters. The utilities at this address were turned off due to non-payment of past bills in October, 1968 and most of the members have moved out and are now living with friends. (See appendix attached regarding SNCC.)

SNCC is using space at 3010 Meadow Street, Dallas, for most of their office and paper work.

LEADERSHIP

In August, 1968, the Dallas SNCC held an election at which time the following officers were selected:

Political Advisor - MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON
Executive Secretary - MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN II
Assistant Executive Secretary and Minister of Defense - FRED LOUIS BELL
Minister of Culture - MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD
Minister of Information - EDWARD HARRIS and MELVIN JOHNSON
Secretary - DIANNE MEREDITH

MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON were convicted of destruction of private property over $50 and sentenced to ten years imprisonment on August 23, 1968 in Dallas, Texas. JOHNSON was released on $10,000 appeal bond on October 5, 1968, and ERNEST MC MILLAN was released from custody on November 15, 1968, following payment of a $10,000 appeal bond on above charges and a $5,000 Federal bond on pending Federal charges relating to a violation of Selective Service laws.

- 2 -
MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS

Members of SNCC include EDDIE HARRIS, younger brother of EDWARD HARRIS, a DON (Last Name Unknown) who lives in the vicinity of Southland Street, Dallas, and CHARLES BEASLEY, who is presently being held by Canadian Government Authorities for hijacking a commercial airliner.

October 29, 1968

DONALD R. WILLIAMS, 2618 Southland Street, Dallas, who indicated he was a representative of SNCC, attended the 3rd Annual Black Power Conference in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in August, 1968.

August 21, 1968

Members of Dallas SNCC organization include MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON who act as spokesmen for the group; MICHAEL ARNOLD DODD; EDWARD HARRIS; EDDIE HARRIS; and MELVIN JOHNSON. FRED LOUIS BELL and CHARLES BEASLEY, who were active in the group, are presently incarcerated.

November 15, 1968

On August 23, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL was arrested by Special Agents of the Dallas Office of the FBI following the issuance of a complaint regarding his participation in the Farmers and Merchants State Bank robbery at Ladonia, Texas on August 19, 1968.

In the search of BELL's residence, incidental to his arrest, an 8" x 11" notebook entitled "SNCC" was obtained. This notebook contained a list of names and addresses of approximately 88 individuals. Also located in the above search was one Multilith sheet with the heading "Dallas SNCC" which contained 49 names of individuals and their addresses and/or telephone numbers.

The significance of these lists are not known.

The names contained in the notebook entitled "SNCC" are set out as follows:

- 3 -
Those names of individuals with addresses and/or telephone numbers contained on a Multilith sheet entitled "Dallas SNCC" is set out below:

FRED BELL
4611 Garland Ave.
TA 6-4099
DIANA MEREDITH
1417 Peabody

MIKE DODD
1417 Peabody

MELVIN JOHNSON
1417 Peabody

EDWARD HARRIS
1417 Peabody
The Black Disciple, a three-page 8" x 11" Multilith paper was printed by Dallas SNCC during July and August of 1968. Four editions were known to have been circulated throughout the South Dallas area. The price of the paper was indicated as five cents.

Those who wrote for The Black Disciple were believed to be CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY under the pen name of "KAR'AN'UMAR" and EDWARD HARRIS under the pseudonym of "BLACK ED". Articles in the paper requested Negro Dallas residents to support ERNEST MC MILLAN and the SNCC organization; urged Negro residents to be proud of their heritage and natural appearance; and was critical of Negro newspapers in the Dallas area due to their non-support of SNCC.

November 15, 1968)

Funds

FRANK P. HERNANDEZ and V. W. PERINI are acting as defense attorneys for MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON.

October 18, 1968)
PHILLIP KNOX BROWN was appointed temporary Chairman of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (See appendix attached regarding SDS) on February 15, 1968 at an SDS meeting held at 4915 Swiss Avenue, Dallas, Texas.

February 26, 1968

PHILLIP K. BROWN was reported to have attended SDS meetings in Dallas, Texas during the period February 25, 1968 through May 2, 1968.

May 9, 1968

June 10, 1968
GRETCHEN MILNE is an active member of the DCPSV.

February 2, 1968

May 15, 1968

July 12, 1968

ROBERT LYON LICHTEN resides at 6338 Aberdeen, Dallas, and is employed as Director of Advanced Engineering at Bell Helicopter Corporation, Hurst, Texas. LICHTEN is the present Chairman of the Dallas Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

October 2, 1968
Dr. HOLBROOKE S. SELTZER was Chairman of the DCPSV from September, 1966 to March, 1967 and was active in the committee until about April, 1968. He is employed as a doctor at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Dallas and resides at...
Mrs. JULIA E. ZUBAY was an active member of the DCPSV in the first part of 1968.

JULIA ELIZABETH ZUBAY was a member of the Socialists Workers Party (SWP) of the Twin Cities Branch of the SWP (St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) in 1959. In January, 1960, she sent a letter to the Twin Cities Branch of the SWP resigning her membership. The reason given by ZUBAY in her letter of resignation was that she wished to be dropped from membership as she was six months in arrears in her dues payments.

September 3, 1959;
February 1, 1960;
February 1, 1960)
MICHAEL R. CONLON was a member of the SDS Chapter at SMU, Dallas, in the fall semester of 1967.

February 2, 1968)

May 19, 1968)

October 11, 1968)

The Perkins Institute Newsletter of SMU dated October 14, 1968 on Page 3 contained an article entitled "Johnson-McMillan Appeal Fund". The article reported that MATTHEW JOHNSON and ERNIE MC MILLAN, who worked for the SNCC and residents of Dallas, were arrested, indicted and convicted of a felony for destruction of property over $50 in value. They were then sentenced to ten years each in the State Penitentiary at Huntsville, Texas. The article emphasized that neither man had a previous criminal record before this incident. The article further stated that an appeal for a new trial was being made to the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals by attorneys FRANK P. HERNANDEZ and VINCENT W. PERINI.
Cost of the initial defense, including attorneys, court costs and expenses amounted to $9,850, which did not include bail money for the two men. In addition, $800 was estimated for the cost of transcripts for the first trial. Estimated amount of money needed was determined to be $10,650, exclusive of bond money. Of this amount, $3,327.09 has been raised to date which included $127.09 obtained from a group of Perkins students.

It was also noted that the National Council of Churches had pledged $3500 to be received within a week's time. This left a balance of $3,823 yet to be raised for the appeal.

The article explained that MC MILLAN and JOHNSON were both under $10,000 appeal bonds and that although JOHNSON's bond had been paid, MC MILLAN was still incarcerated. It was stated that $7,000 of MC MILLAN's $10,000 bond had been raised by the Dallas Civil Liberties Union.

The article requested contributions be directed to HAROLD DODD, 323 Perkins Dormitory, or that they be mailed directly to the Black Dallas Freedom and Defense Fund, Box 22063, Dallas, Texas 75202.

| October 25, 1968 |

HAROLD DODD is a Theology student at Perkins Institute who is attempting to raise funds for the legal defense of ERNEST MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON.

| October 25, 1968 |

Dallas SNCC began circulating a letter in October, 1968 asking for contributions to help sustain the Dallas SNCC organization. There has been no indication of response from this letter.

A copy of this letter is set out as follows:
Attention:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has dedicated itself to bringing justice and democracy to all oppressed people, here and abroad. SNCC works on a grass-root level. Its field workers help to organize Southern Negro communities for voter registration, jobs, homes, schools etc. We in SNCC understand that there is a role that each and every one of us must play, whether it be economically, politically or socially. We also understand that everybody can't (for their own personal and individual reasons) shout BLACK POWER, but you too, can contribute, by supporting our efforts toward the liberation of black people. We are asking you to become one of thousands who support SNCC workers on a subsistence wage of approximately $20.00 per week, which is not much but enough to keep us operating toward black business matters.

YOUR PLEDGE OF 3 1/2 CENTS A DAY, OR $1.00 A MONTH, WILL HELP PROVIDE THE BARE NECESSITIES.

If you can make a larger pledge, please do. EVERY PENNY COUNTS. Won't you fill out the pledge form below and return it with your first contribution NOW.

I PLEDGE FOR JUSTICE

I wish to participate in the new program of grass-roots support for SNCC's work, I enclose $________ and pledge to give $________, or I enclose $1.00 and pledge to give $________ Monthly $________ or $________ or yearly $________ to help end racism, economic exploitation, and oppression and create a true democracy.

Name__________________________
Address________________________
City_________ State______________

Please write in "yes" or "no" as whether you wish to be placed on our mailing list.

MAILING LIST______

Yours in the Struggle,

Ernest MC Millen

(DL T-1, October 29, 1968)
ACTIVITIES

When MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON joined the SNCC organization in Dallas, Texas in the summer of 1968, he pushed for greater militancy against the whites. He had the group adopt what has been termed the "hot seat". This is a procedure in which an individual is seated in a chair in the middle of a darkened room. A record of a monologue of LEROI JONES preaching white hatred is played in the background, followed by a second record of African drums. With the playing of the second record, a flashlight beam is focused on various pictures on the wall in the room showing Negroes being burned alive, lynched, or tortured in some manner by leering white men. The person in the "hot seat" is then questioned by SNCC members regarding his thoughts about these pictures and his feelings about white people. This brain-washing continues usually for a period of three hours. A person is then indoctrinated into the group or leaves and does not return.

During discussions to take over white-owned businesses, MATTHEW JOHNSON has advocated that in order to take over white firms in a Negro area, you should -

1) Write a letter to the particular owner asking him to sell his business; if not met with response,

2) Blow up a building near the store to whom the letter was written;

3) Write a second letter stating the store was missed on purpose but if his business is not sold, his building will not be missed the next time.

JOHNSON has stated that if you put enough fear into white store owners, they will practically give their businesses to SNCC.

October 4, 1968)
The Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order held an open meeting at the Warren Methodist Church, 3028 South Oakland Avenue, Dallas, on September 8, 1968 with approximately 130 people in attendance. The meeting was called to order at 5:30 PM by Mr. EDWARD T. WASHINGTON, Field Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Mr. WASHINGTON explained the background of the Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order and indicated the open meeting was to initiate a defense fund to protect those who were unjustly prosecuted. As Mr. WASHINGTON spoke, Mrs. M. E. MC MILLAN, MICHAEL DOLL, Spokesman for SWCC, and DON JOHNSON, Chairman of the Black Citizens Committee for Justice, Law, and Order, entered the auditorium and sat down at the table facing the audience.

Mr. WASHINGTON introduced Reverend J. F. BABCOCK, a white male in his late 50's, bald headed with mustache and goatee, in dress similar to that of a Presbyterian minister, who gave the invocation for the meeting.

Following the invocation, DON JOHNSON told the audience that the defense fund was not for the sole purpose of aiding the two men being unjustly held but that it was a defense fund as named due to the fact that currently there is a need to fight those doing the prosecuting in the city.

Mr. JOHNSON introduced Mrs. M. E. MC MILLAN, who expressed her appreciation for whatever assistance the organization might offer to assist her son in gaining his freedom.

JOHNSON then introduced Mr. FRED ALEXANDER, Director of the Dallas Urban League. ALEXANDER expressed his regrets that Doctor EMMETT CONRAD, member of the Dallas Independent School District Board of Directors, and Mr. ZAN HOLMES, State Representative, were unable to attend the meeting. ALEXANDER then explained the importance of the defense fund and urged all to contribute as much as possible. ALEXANDER then introduced the guest speaker as Mr. OSYO-CAYYS who he described as an actor, playwright, and leader.
OSSIE DAVIS addressed the audience saying he currently lives in New Rochelle, New York, and he was born in Waycross, Virginia. He stated he has two daughters, one eighteen and the other eleven years of age, and statistics show that for every black male that entered college, there are two black females and for every white female that enters college there are two white males. DAVIS said he was concerned about this due to the fact that he has two daughters that eventually will get married and he wants both to marry college men. DAVIS commented that there is already a shortage of eligible males and that when men of his race are unjustly held, then it becomes his problem. He stated that when young black manhood is threatened, he must stand up to help those unjustly held. He said he was aware that the two men involved took an action they thought relative to the improvement of the black community and that he was not at this meeting to do these two men any favors, but to do the black community a favor, to share with black people his concern with black problems.

He called upon the black people to stand up and take charge of their own affairs within their community. It had been said in history many a time that he who must be free must strike the first blow. He said he knew it was difficult for the older black people to aid and direct the young black people of today who want their freedom now.

DAVIS said he heard of a new city ordinance number 12228 regarding the black man and he was aware that no black people were represented when the ordinance was drawn up. He was aware of an open petition being circulated to have the ordinance appealed and he called upon those in the audience to sign this petition for him as he was not a citizen of the community and could not sign it.

DAVIS cited an example of the ancient tribes of Africa having a universal means of communication in the drum and that when the white man imported the slaves from Africa, one smart thing the slave traders did was take the drums away from the slaves. He said he felt if the drum were used by the black people today, there would be standing room only in the auditorium.
A black man could stand to be choked no longer, DAVIS commented. He must be given the opportunity to go about his business freely. When a person is choked continually, he becomes angry and mean. DAVIS concluded his remarks by comparing the Black Revolution to the great Irish Rebellion in New York City.

CHARLES CHILDS, Coordinator for the Dallas Urban League, spoke of the black people sticking their necks out and then being harrassed by the authorities. He said that most of these people are going to be prosecuted and the purpose of the defense fund would be to bail those fighting out of jail for fighting for the black cause. CHILDS stated that those who wished to send money to the fund should send it to the Dallas Urban League or to DON JOHNSON in care of the Community Welcome House, 1111 South Haskell.

MICHAEL DODD, Spokesman for SNCC, then arose and introduced members of his organization by asking them to rise and give the salute of the organization. DODD described the salute as the right hand raised with the fist facing outward. The fist denotes the black people united into one large hand for the purpose of removing their shackles.

DON JOHNSON then announced that a total of $279.99 was raised for the defense fund. JOHNSON stated that these funds would be kept by himself, MICHAEL DODD, and FELTON ALEXANDER and that they would be turned over to the committee's permanent treasurer, Mr. ZAN HOLLIES.

JOHNSON then called upon the Reverend DARIUS THOMAS to give thanks for the financial assistance shown by those in the audience and Reverend J. D. WALKING, Pastor of the Warren Methodist Church, was asked to give the benediction. The meeting was adjourned.

(September 9, 1968)

advised that OSSIE DAVIS was known to as a Negro movie actor, currently involved in making a film called "The Slave". He related that DAVIS had been active in working as a
fund raiser for the local NAACP
group in Shreveport and had been
a feature speaker at several
gatherings of Negroes but at no
time advocated any violence in his
speeches. In his talks, DAVIS
primarily emphasized Negro history,
outstanding achievements of various
famous Negroes and their contributions
to the country.

According to DAVIS
was rumored to be a member of a
Zulu organization which was
described as a Mau Mau terrorist
group in California that stockpiles
guns, ammunition, and explosives for
racial terrorists. Also stated that it was rumored that
DAVIS had been associated in some way
with the W.E.B. DuBois Club. (See
appendix attached regarding W.E.B.
DuBois Club.)

A demonstration was held at the flagpole at SMU
campus, Dallas, Texas, from 12:30 PM to 1:20 PM on October 25,
1968, with approximately 20 individuals participating. The
purpose of the demonstration was to show support for ERNEST
MC MILLAN and MATTHEW JOHNSON and was sponsored by the students
of the Perkins Institute of Theology of that university.
MATTHEW JOHNSON was present at the demonstration and said a
few words to the demonstrators, however, his comments were
not available. No incidents or arrests resulted from this
demonstration.

Members of the SDS in Dallas, Texas are actively
participating in obtaining funds to pay for the legal fees
involved in making an appeal to the Dallas Appellate Court
regarding the recent sentencing of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN
and MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, Dallas SMCC leaders, to ten-
year sentences each for destruction of property in Dallas,
Texas, in July, 1968. MATTHEW JOHNSON and MICHAEL ARNOLD
DODD have been observed at the SMU campus in Dallas since
JOHNSON was released on bail on October 5, 1968, attempting
to raise funds for this appeal.
Criminal Activities

On August 19, 1968, the Texas Police Department advised the Resident Agency of the FBI at Paris, Texas, that the Farmers and Merchants State Bank at Ladonia, Texas, had been robbed that day. Subsequent investigation by Special Agents of the FBI, officers of the Paris, Texas Police Department, and Texas Rangers, determined the following information:

At approximately 11:20 AM, on August 19, 1968, two armed Negro bandits entered the Farmers and Merchants State Bank in Ladonia, Texas and escaped with $13,111.76, which included $550 in bail money, after striking the Executive Vice President of the bank in the head with a pistol. The bandits fled the scene in a blue 1963 Plymouth, Texas license LVK 124, registered to CLYDE STUART and PATRICK STUART, both residing in Dallas, Texas. This vehicle was found abandoned approximately two miles from the bank and the bandits were believed to have made their final getaway in a red Mercury convertible driven by a third Negro.

Farmers and Merchants State Bank, on August 19, 1968, identified a photograph of CLAY STUART, JR., Bosham, Texas Sheriff's Office No. 319, as being familiar to that of one of the bank robbers.

On August 19, 1968, a complaint was filed by Fannin County, Texas authorities, charging CLAY STUART, JR. with robbery by assault with a firearm in connection with the Farmers and Merchants State Bank robbery at Ladonia, Texas. STUART was arrested by Texas State authorities on August 20, 1968, at Paris, Texas.
CLAY STUART, JR., Negro male, born July 16, 1943, was identified as having attended a SNCC press conference at Mt. Olive Lutheran Church, on August 13, 1968, which was called by that organization to protest a recently passed Dallas City Ordinance giving the Mayor certain additional powers in time of civil disorders. STUART, on June 22, 1964, took part in a CORE demonstration to integrate the Picadilly Cafeteria in Dallas, Texas, and was arrested by the Dallas, Texas Police Department that day for blocking a public entrance. STUART was also identified as having attended the National Convention of CORE from December 11-13, 1964.
On August 22, 1968, Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, identified a photograph of CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY, FBI No. 135133P, as one of the individuals who entered the bank and committed the robbery on August 19, 1968. A photograph of FRED LOUIS BELL, FBI No. 801444P, was identified by [redacted], August 21, 1968, as being the person standing next to a red Mercury about 5/10 of a mile on the same road from where the 1963 Plymouth which was used as the getaway car in the above robbery was found abandoned.

On August 22, 1968, authorized complaints were filed by a Special Agent of the FBI before U.S. Commissioner JOE D. HUFFSTUTLER, Tyler, Texas, charging CHARLES LAVERN BEASLEY and FRED LOUIS BELL with the violation of Title 18, Section 2113 (a)(d), U.S. Code, and recommending $20,000 bond each due to their identity by witnesses of their involvement in the robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on August 19, 1968.

On August 23, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL was arrested at his residence, 4611 Garland Avenue, Dallas, Texas, by Special Agents of the FBI. He was immediately arraigned before U.S. Commissioner SAM H. DAUGHERTY, Northern District of Texas, Dallas.

On November 1, 1968, FRED LOUIS BELL pled guilty to Federal charges of his involvement in the robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, Ladonia, Texas, on August 19, 1968. He is scheduled to be sentenced in the United States District Court, Eastern District of Texas, on December 9, 1968.

(Assistant U.S. Attorney WHITE, Eastern District of Texas, November 4, 1968)
The Dallas Times Herald, a daily Dallas, Texas newspaper, in its September 13, 1968 edition published an article headlined "Airliner Hijacking Try Brings Multiple Charges". This article stated in part as follows:

"A Dallas Negro Friday faced criminal charges in Montreal stemming from his attempt to hijack a Canadian airliner and force its pilot to fly him to Cuba.

"Charles Lavern Beasley, 22, already was under Federal charges in Dallas for the Aug. 19 holdup of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank of Ladonia...

"Beasley was arraigned Thursday (September 12, 1968) in Montreal on two charges of assault and one charge of kidnapping, interfering with transportation facilities, obstructing the use of property, robbery, forcible confinement and possession of an offensive weapon.

"The Associated Press said no request was made for bail and Beasley was jailed to await a Sept. 20 preliminary hearing on the charges...."
On August 10, 1968, three unknown Negro males burglarized the Billy Thompson Television and Radio Shop in Wolfe City, Texas, at 4:10 AM. During the burglary, Patrolman [redacted] was relieved of his double barrel Stevens 18 inch shotgun, a .38 caliber Colt Commando and other personal property. The burglars then took three television sets and five radios from the above-described store. After placing the merchandise in their car, the burglars instructed [redacted] to run down the street and they left in the automobile.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus—the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.
APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
APPENDIX

W. E. B. DuBois CLUBS OF AMERICA

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

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner continues in his position as Chairman of the DCA.

This fourth source also advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.
Dallas, Texas
November 27, 1968

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference
Report of Special Agent
dated
November 27, 1968, at
Dallas, Texas.

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

[Redacted] contact with whom has been insufficient to
determine reliability, but who has close association with Dallas
SNCC members.

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

CONFIDENTIAL
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: DALLAS
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 11/6/69
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 7/15 - 11/4/69

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
CHARACTER OF CASE: RM - SNCC

REFERENCES: Report of SA dated 7/22/69, Dallas
- RUC -

LEAD

HOUSTON, NEW YORK AND SAN ANTONIO - INFORMATION

Information copies are being furnished to Houston and San Antonio Offices due to inter-related investigation of SNCC. Information copy is furnished New York as the temporary headquarters of SNCC is located in that Division.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

<table>
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<th>FUG.</th>
<th>FINES</th>
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PENDING OVER ONE YEAR
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS

APPROVED:

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: AGENCY: RAO ATT: ISD, RAO ATT: IDIU
Request Recd: Request Recd: DATE FORM: 11/29/69
DATE Fwd: DATE Fwd: HOW Fwd: BY:
TIME: TIME: HOW Fwd: BY:

A COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS

Source

File Where Located
Instant LHM, page 1

Instant LHM, page 2
received by SA

This report is classified confidential due to information furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] informants of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in their identification which in turn could effect national security.

As the SNCC organization is no longer active in the Dallas Division, this matter is being placed in a closed status.

- B* -
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Report of: 
Date: 11/6/69

Office: Dallas, Texas

Field Office File #: 100-10996
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: Informants advise Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is no longer active in the Dallas, Texas area. Organization members have left Dallas, joined Black Panther Party (BPP) starting in Dallas, or are no longer active in militant activities.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Dallas, Texas, has not been active since August, 1969. (See appendix attached regarding SNCC.)

November 4, 1969)

The SNCC group in Dallas has been discontinued. MARION ERNEST AC MILLAN, former leader of the organization, and DONALD RAY WILLIAMS left Dallas in July, 1969, and have not returned. MICKEY WASHINGTON McGUIRE is presently working

GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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with the National Association of Black Students in Washington, D.C. CURTIS GAINES, EDDIE HARRIS and CHARLES PAUL HENDERSON have recently become active in a group calling themselves the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Dallas, which is led by MICHAEL MORRIS who recently returned from Portland, Oregon. MATTHEW DONALD JOHNSON, MICHAEL DODD and JOHN HENRY WOODS have advised their former SNCC associates that they do not wish to be involved in any militant activity in Dallas at the present time. (See appendix attached regarding BPP.)

The SNCC office on Second Avenue has been closed for several months. The Black Disciple, the Dallas SNCC newsletter, has not been published since March, 1969. Post Office Box 22063 used by SNCC is still open and is being used by MATTHEW JOHNSON and MICHAEL DODD for their personal mail.

October 22, 1969)

There has been no organized activity on the part of members of SNCC in Dallas since sometime in August, 1969.

September 25, 1969)

November 4, 1969)

ASSOCIATED ACTIVITY

July 18, 1969)
EDDIE HARRIS, CHARLES HENDERSON and MICKEY McGUIRE traveled to Fort Worth, Texas, on July 19, 1969, and visited with Dr. MARION BROOKS.

On August 1, 1969, MICKEY McGUIRE spoke to a group of students at Texas Christian University (TCU). The talk was sponsored by ministers of a Christian Church associated with TCU. McGUIRE advised in addition that a racial organization in Fort Worth had indicated they wished to hire him to handle grievances and other matters pertaining to racial problems in the Fort Worth area.

WHITNEY YOUNG, national director of the Urban League, visited Dallas on August 12, 1969. He indicated that he would meet with a representative group of SNCC members at his room in the Fairmont Hotel on that evening.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
formerly known as Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia,
is a membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in
movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the
revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it
is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary
program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic
milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people
in the United States and the year that revolutionaries through-
out the world began to understand more fully the impact of
the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come
only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--
the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-
sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the
people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of
black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC
workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy
of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael
was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael
resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC
and active as a temporary chairman of a black coalition group.
In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown,
commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee
meeting of the SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided
to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility
by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary
purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure
off any single individual.
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, also known as Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:


Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
Title  
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  
RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference  
Dallas report of SA [redacted] dated November 6, 1969

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

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