FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 8 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 11 & 12
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section II of 19 sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DATE: 11/30/67
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 9/6 - 11/20/67

COMMUNIST INfiltration of the
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REFERENCES:
Houston airtel to Bureau, 10/12/67.
Bulet to Houston, 10/24/67.

LEAD:
HOUSTON
AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of
SNCC and/or any activities of SNCC wherein its personnel is
involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential"
because it contains information from
[redacted] and [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could
conceivably result in the identification of the confidential

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
7 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
Houston (100-10390)

18 DEC 6 1967
sources and informants, who are of continuing value, and
compromise their future effectiveness.

Seven extra copies of this report have been prepared
in the event the Bureau desires local dissemination thereof
be made to MIG, NISO, OSI and Secret Service.

**INFORMANTS**

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<td>100-10390-204, 205, 311, 312, 417, 418, 430, 431</td>
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Further documentation of DOUGLAS HAINLINE attributed in instant report to STANLEY LEVY and LOWELL GEORGE may be found in Houston file 100-10112-36.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COPY TO:

Report of: SA
Date: November 30, 1967
Office: Houston, Texas

Field Office File #: 100-10390
Bureau File #: 10C-439190

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

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: There is one chapter of the National Student Non-
Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Houston,
Texas. It was founded in late 1966 on the campus
of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas.
It moved off TSU campus in late 5/67, is now commonly
referred to as Houston SNCC, and has its head-
quarters at 2034 Eastex Freeway, Houston, which address
is also headquarters of the Southern Christian Leader-
ship Conference (SCLC) at Houston, Texas. Houston SNCC
holds no regularly scheduled meetings. Background in-
formation concerning the founding of the organization
and identity of principal officers thereof, set forth.
Various Houston SNCC personnel have on numerous occa-
sions been present at meetings and/or demonstrations
of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam
(HCEWV) and of Vietnam Summer (VS) and have been in
association with various individuals associated with
those organizations. At a Spartacist meeting held in
February, 1967, it was the thinking of some people pre-
sent that efforts should be made to seek participation
of SNCC in HCEWV demonstrations. One alleged Spa-
tacist spoke at a SNCC rally in August, 1967. Sources
know of no known members of Communist Party (CP) who
have joined, directed, or controlled Houston SNCC.

DETAILS:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
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   Scheduled to be held October 22-24, 1967, at Frogmore, South Carolina

APPENDIX
HO 100-10390

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent, if any, of the Communist Party’s infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and/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

10/6/67

The Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) presently has its headquarters at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, which location is also the headquarters for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Houston, Texas. SNCC’s headquarters has been situated at that location since around the first part of August, 1967, when it moved from 2423 Riverside Drive, Houston, Texas.

9/20/67

SNCC was first founded at Houston, Texas, in late 1966 on the campus of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. While at TSU, SNCC held weekly meetings at the Religious Center on TSU campus. In May, 1967, following the riot at TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967, and the subsequent expulsion from TSU of approximately 52 students, SNCC left the TSU campus. The organization is now known as Houston SNCC.

For a while thereafter, Houston SNCC had no established headquarters, and then for a brief time it was headquartered at 2423 Riverside Drive, Houston, Texas. Around the first of August, 1967, Houston SNCC moved its headquarters from that address to its present location at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, which address is also the headquarters for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at Houston, Texas. Moreover, it is the offices of Jensen Bail Bond Service. SNCC pays no rent for the use of this location.

III. CHARACTER, PURPOSES AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. Affiliation with the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia
3/8/67

About one and a half weeks ago, the TSU chapter of SNCC submitted to the Office of the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, an application to become a chartered chapter of National SNCC. As of March 8, 1967, the charter has not been granted.

9/20 and 11/20/67

The National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), with headquarters located at Atlanta, Georgia, has one chapter at Houston, Texas. It is presently known as the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and is more commonly referred to as Houston SNCC.

9/20/67
7/25/67

JAMES FORMAN, then National SNCC Official, came to Houston, Texas, in October, 1966, and spoke on the campus at TSU. It was not until shortly after his appearance that a chapter of SNCC was founded at Houston. That chapter was formed on the TSU campus and was known variously as "SNCC" and "Friends of SNCC". It became chartered by the National Office of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, about the middle part of April, 1967. The organization left the TSU campus in late May, 1967 and since then has been known as Houston SNCC.

B. Purposes and Aims of Houston SNCC

3/8/67

In the fall, 1966, JAMES FORMAN of the National Office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Georgia, appeared as a speaker on the campus of TSU, Houston, Texas.

Shortly after FORMAN's appearance at TSU, FREDERICK DOUGLAS KIRKPATRICK, who reportedly had known FORMAN for about two years as a personal friend and who was also reportedly a personal friend of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's, at that time National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, assisted in founding and organizing a chapter of SNCC on the TSU campus. As of March, 1967, the chapter was officially known as the Friends of SNCC and was governed and directed by a so-called "Steering Committee" comprised of the two co-founders of the TSU chapter of SNCC, i.e., KIRKPATRICK and MILLARD LOWE, a student at TSU.
KIRKPATRICK has said that he organized SNCC at Houston, Texas, as a means of organizing the Negro element in Houston into a central group whereby they can, by collective, but nonviolent means, engender in the hearts and minds of the Negro a pride for their race and an appreciation for their history and heritage as Black Men; and, additionally to improve their social and economic status in society. KIRKPATRICK has further stated that he considers most Negroes as ashamed that they are Negroes and have never developed a sense of self-reliance. KIRKPATRICK reportedly hopes, through SNCC, to "re-surrect the minds of the Negroes" and to teach them to become self-reliant, productive members of society; and, to unify the black man in such a manner as to cause him to move into the "mainstream of life".

KIRKPATRICK goes by the title of "Reverend" although he is not an ordained minister. He reportedly considers himself an evangelistic Baptist minister, and, as such, a peaceful, non-violent man who is opposed to all forms of violence.

KIRKPATRICK recently stated that as a conscientious believer in the principles and teachings of JESUS CHRIST, and as a Baptist evangelistic minister, he could never advocate, promote, participate, encourage, or believe in violence of any kind. He also said, at the same time, that as long as he had anything to do with directing the activities of the TSU chapter of SNCC, it would never engage in any violence, in any manner or fashion; and such would be the case even should the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, engage in a program of violence and instruct the TSU chapter to follow a similar course of action.

7/25/67

The fundamental purpose of Houston SNCC is effectively to promote the social, economic, and educational status of all oppressed people in the Houston, Texas area, notwithstanding their race, color, or creed, through peaceful, non-violent methods.

3/8/67

The TSU chapter of SNCC holds meetings every Monday and Thursday at 4:00 PM in the Religious Center Building located on the TSU campus. It is a loose-knit organization consisting of no regularly established membership. Meetings
are open to the public and sometimes only four or five people will attend. While on other occasions there may be anywhere from 25 to 40 people in attendance. Many attend only once and never return.

There is no such thing as formal membership in the chapter; no one pays dues, there are no membership cards, and no membership list is maintained.

9/20/67

Houston SNCC holds no regularly scheduled meetings. Officers call meetings from time to time, on a non-scheduled basis, whenever a particular need is felt to call a meeting. During the past six weeks, Houston SNCC has been relatively inactive.

9/27/67

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization and there are no formalities necessary for membership, there are no application forms to fill out, no membership cards issued, no dues regularly assessed, no initiation fee, and no initiation ceremonies.

(10/3/67) (11/9/67)

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization that has no formalized membership to the best of source's knowledge. Persons who attend meetings, demonstrations, and activities of SNCC frequently think of one another as being a "member" of SNCC.

10/6/67

Houston SNCC is a loose-knit organization with no known membership list being maintained to the best of source's knowledge. The organization holds no regularly scheduled meetings.

IV. ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE FOUNDING OF, AND EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE, A CHAPTER OF SNCC ON THE CAMPUS OF TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (TSU), HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. General Information

11/18/66

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (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 ATHERTON, Methodist Minister at the university. That meeting was called at the end of a three-day speaking engagement on campus 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 for 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.

The first meeting drew about 45 persons. MILLARD LOWE, a TSU student, who lived at 2615 Calumet, Houston, Texas, declared himself head of the SNCC group. From the beginning, SNCC lacked a positive program that really interested the students. Their only activity has been soap-box speeches in the coffee shop at TSU with a good reception at first by the students. However, their reception has more recently mitigated to a mild boredom and indifference. On November 8, 1966, SNCC made a "pitch" for money in the coffee shop and got none. SNCC is no longer able to use the coffee shop because students complained that they could not eat in peace.

Recently three members returned from a SNCC conference in Atlanta, Georgia. MILLARD LOWE and JOHN MORGES, another TSU student, who went to Atlanta, indicated that they are changing their strategy to win more student support. They will try to exploit any and all situations that offer them the opportunity of getting students involved in any protests against the administration at TSU or any other legal group. Their hope is that, once the students are aroused, they will be receptive toward demonstrations downtown and in the slums. Their main hold-back is a lack of an issue. But they are looking for one.

At their meeting on November 17, 1967, MILLARD LOWE presented their first formal program. They would:

1. Try to get "black power" speakers to come to the campus.

2. Encourage blacks to keep money from whites. Blacks should buy and sell only to blacks.
3. Establish a firm SNCC headquarters in Houston.

No details were given as to how they would go about achieving their goals. LOWE is too rational to inspire a following as FORMAN did when in Houston. LOWE is not a "driver".

11/14/66

Following JAMES FORMAN's speech at TSU, Houston, Texas, in early October, 1966, a recruiting drive was undertaken for SNCC members. MILLARD LOWE, TSU student, headed that drive. He had allegedly worked for SNCC in Arkansas in the summer of 1965. Approximately 45 persons, all TSU students, were recruited in the early stages and then "typical TSU apathy" set in and interest in SNCC faded. SNCC presently has about 12 members at Houston, all of whom are TSU students. They are doing little or nothing.

This group is, however, holding weekly meetings. Most of those involved take an intellectual view and no violent attitudes are known to exist.

12/16/66

11/16/66 - 3/14/67

From at least as early as November 14, 1966 up to and including March 9, 1967, the TSU chapter of SNCC held meetings at the Religious Center, TSU, Houston, Texas. These meetings were usually held weekly and sometimes twice a week.

B. Efforts and Activities of SNCC to Become Recognized as an On-Campus Organization at TSU, Houston, Texas

2/28/67

At a meeting of SNCC held on February 23, 1967, at the Religious Center, TSU, Houston, Texas, it was announced that a constitution had been drafted for that organization, that F.D. KIRKPATRICK was in charge of the project and that KIRKPATRICK was scheduled to meet soon with J.B. JONES, Dean of Students, TSU, to discuss the constitution.
According to F.D. KIRKPATRICK, the TSU Chapter of SNCC, is the only one presently in existence at Houston, Texas. Pursuant to the constitution of the TSU chapter of SNCC, its official title is "The Friends of The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee". The chapter has not been approved officially as an on-campus organization by the administration of TSU. However, a copy of its constitution has been submitted to Dr. J.B. JONES, Dean of Men, TSU, for faculty approval. JONES presently has the matter under advisement.
The following article appeared in the March 21, 1967 issue of the *Houston Chronicle*, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas.

**SNCC Unit Told to Meet Off Campus**

The President of the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chapter at Texas Southern University has been told to hold its meetings off campus.

And Mark Jones, a black student, was asked to resign as an instructor in the government department at NSU and not be rehired.

"The SNCC has been accused of activities that are detrimental to the educational stability of the university," said the president of the Student Government Association.

It was told Monday by the Rev. Walter G. Scott, who represents the SNCC chapter, that the Religion Center would no longer be available to the group.

Dr. James R. Jones, TSCU, head of student affairs, said SNCC's presence was not desirable for the overall good of the university.

"The results could be less than constructive," he said. "When certain disruptive elements engage in criminal or subversive activities, the university community is endangered.

The group's on-campus program, he added, "was leading to a general disruption of university activities, which is not in the best interests of the students.

"We are not interested in curbing the freedom of any student," he said. "At the same time, we must ensure the safety and security of all members of the university community."

"The decision (that the group meet off campus) did not mean students would be forbidden to attend SNCC meetings on campus."
The following article appeared in the March 23, 1967 issue of The Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas:

...
A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) is set forth in the appendix hereto.
The following article appeared in the March 24, 1967 issue of the Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas:

**Neyson Is Threatened As YSB**

Students threatening to occupy Texas Southern University if the school does not meet their demands of the administration are the latest members of the strike by the Student National Coordinating Committee.

"We want to close it down," the Rev. F. D. Kohlmann, Moderator of the Conference, said, "I don't believe that the jails can hold 2,000 people."

Asked if he meant by violence, Kohlmann answered:

"We are basically a non-violent people. We have always been non-violent, except in defense."

The meeting took place when students announced they would begin classes. They were confronted over the firing of Merle Jenkins, a teacher and SNCC leader, and the organization's banishment from the campus.

Kohlmann said there will be a meeting Monday night to decide what steps his group will take.
The following article appeared in the March 28, 1957, issue of The Houston Post:

SNCC Unit

Says TSU

'Oh Strike'

Members of the Friends of the Students' Non-Violent Coordinating Committee said they would strike against Texas Southern University Tuesday and would cause the school to suspend classes.

The organization held a rally on the TSU campus Monday night. It was attended by about 20 persons.

"This school is on strike," a flyer passed out said. "Anyone who attends classes during the strike is a strike-breaker."

Booster T. D. Cooker, Texas civil rights leader, spoke at the rally. It was attended by Franklin Alexander, national director of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, a socialist youth organization.
Students Block Doors at TSU

The following article appeared in the March 20, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

**Student Block Doors at TSU**

The students blocked the doors of TSU yesterday and several youngsters were hurt in the melee that took place.

The students gathered outside the main gates of TSU and formed a large block, blocking the entrance. The police were called and tried to clear the area, but the students refused to move.

A woman was hit by a car while trying to get through the crowd, and several students were injured in the struggle.

**Meeting Vandalized**

The students also vandalized a meeting that was scheduled to take place on campus.

A speaker was scheduled to give a lecture on the civil rights movement, but the students disrupted the event and caused a lot of damage.

**Letter Released**

A letter was released by the students, calling for a boycott of the university and demanding that the administration take action.

The letter stated that the students would not return to classes until their demands were met.

**Students Booth**

The students also set up a booth on campus to collect signatures for their demands.

Many students stopped by to sign the petition, and the booth became quite crowded.

**Conclusion**

The students continued to block the doors and disrupt events throughout the day, causing a lot of disruption on campus.

The police were called repeatedly, but were unable to clear the area.

The students continued to demand that their demands be met before they would return to classes.
The following article appeared in the March 29, 1967 issue of The Houston Post:

**Demonstrations Against Classes**

President, Board of Directors, a representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, related to the student leaders his opening remarks. He told the demonstrators that they were assembling to protest the administrative policies of the university. He added that the administrators were trying to be reasonable.

"The thing that is happening here is that the administration is trying to control the situation," he said. "The administration is trying to prevent us from getting our message across.

The group was led by a speaker who addressed the crowd, explaining their grievances. He read a letter from the university President, which he claimed was unfair and biased.

"We demand that our voices be heard," he shouted. "We demand equal rights and opportunities." The crowd erupted in cheers.

Next to the speaker was a group of students who had prepared a list of demands. They handed it to the administration, who promised to review it.

"We will continue to demonstrate until our demands are met," the speaker vowed. "We will not go home until we are heard."
Some TSU students return to class. Dean Jones, second from right, watches.
In a portion of his speech, ALEXANDER spoke about the recent demonstrations which took place at TSU in Houston, Texas, in which he stated that they were able to close down the school. He remarked that "If you think Berkeley was bad, you haven't seen anything yet".

LEE JOHNSON also spoke about the demonstrations at TSU.
The following article appeared in the April 3, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

**Human Blockade Set Up**

**Hall Closed and Protests**

The sit-in demonstrations, which started the campus closure one week ago, continued today and are expected to continue until all the demands are met.

The demonstrators, led by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), have made a list of 27 demands, including the release of the 26 persons arrested during the protest, the establishment of a Student Advisory Committee, and the reinstatement of all suspended faculty members.

The Rev. B. B. Hudson, principal of the Friends of the Poor Church, has said that the students are not demanding the closure of the university, but are seeking changes in campus policies and procedures.

The administration has told the students that they will not entertain any demands until the sit-in is over.

Another demand is that the University of Houston appoint a special committee to investigate the charges of police brutality and other violations of students' rights.

The demonstrators have set up a temporary office in the Old Main building to coordinate their efforts.

The situation is expected to remain tense as the students continue to meet with university officials.

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*Note: The text above is a natural representation of the document.*
As of about 10:30 PM, April 3, 1967, a group of 600 to 1000 individuals, led by F.D. KIRKPATRICK of the SNCC, TSU, Houston, Texas, was demonstrating on the TSU campus in protest of the refusal of TSU officials to renew the teaching contract of TSU instructor MACK JONES and in protest of the university's failure to recognize SNCC as a campus organization.

The group had inflicted some damage on at least two of the university's cafeterias. Officers of the Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas were reported to be present on the scene.

E.D. KIRKPATRICK and FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were taken into custody during the late night of April 3, 1967 and were being held on peace bond charges. Source did not know whether the arrests were made by officers of the Houston Police Department or Harris County, Texas Sheriff's Office. The arrest of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, a former student at TSU and a representative of the TSU SNCC group, on the same charges, was reportedly imminent. Source further advised that by midnight of April 3, 1967, the demonstrators on the TSU campus had dispersed and things were back to normal.
The following article appeared in the April 4, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:
The following article appeared in the April 4, 1967 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

**Earl Leader**

**Assault at TSU**

A young black student, seated at the South Campus of TSU, was shot in the face and leg by a white police officer and a white student last Monday. The student was later identified as James Harris, 22, a student at TSU.

1. Assaulting a police officer
2. Harassment of a student
3. Disorderly conduct
4. Possession of a weapon
5. Failure to obey a police officer
6. False pretenses

TSU authorities have arrested the three suspects, who are currently in custody. The suspects are scheduled for trial in the next two weeks.

The student who was shot was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and was participating in a demonstration against racial discrimination.

The demonstration was held in response to the recent arrests of SNCC members in other parts of the country. The students are demanding equal rights and equal opportunities for all students at TSU.

TSU authorities have promised to investigate the incident thoroughly and to take appropriate action against those responsible.

The students have also called for a boycott of TSU until their demands are met.

The demonstration was peaceful, and no property was damaged.

The students are preparing to go on a hunger strike until their demands are met.
Police Jail
2 Leaders Of [TSU Protests]

DEMONSTRATION LEADER ARRESTED
Frankie Alexander Shows Wife With Wife

LEADER OF PROTEST GROUP ARRESTED
(Demonstrator) Kirkpatrick Walks Ahead of Group
The following article appeared in the April 5, 1961, issue of The Houston Post:

"What’s Next?"

"This Week in Houston"

A number of college-aged students have been arrested and charged with violating the city's curfew law. The students, who are members of the SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), have been protesting against the administration's decision to ban them from campus. They had been protesting for hours, but most were still in the background. They included..."
The following article appeared in the April 7, 1967 issue of The Houston Post:

The black man who was shot to death in a South Side bar has been identified as Joseph Jackson, a former military man.

Jackson, 29, had been a member of the Army and Navy Reserve. He was last seen alive by his wife at 11 p.m. Monday night when she said he was going to the bar for a drink.

His body was found early Tuesday morning by a fellow patron of the bar, who said that he was seen entering the bar andEngage in:

4. You will not draw or display any weapon of any kind, or carry any firearm, knife, or other weapon, or any other object which may be used as a weapon.

5. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

6. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

7. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

8. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

9. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

10. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

11. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

12. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

13. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

14. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

15. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

16. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

17. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

18. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

19. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.

20. You will not engage in any conduct which will cause a disturbance or create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation.
V. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

7/25/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:
Spokesman LEE OTIS JOHNSON
Executive Secretary HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS
Assistant Executive Secretary KELTON-SAMS
Field Coordinator JOHN MORRIS
Head of Publicity JIM LAZARE

Houston SNCC has assumed a frightening connotation in the minds of many local people because of the activities, statements, and conduct of its present spokesman, LEE OTIS JOHNSON. Since the spring of 1967, JOHNSON has engaged in various activities and participated in demonstrations at Houston, leaving the general impression that he was doing so as the official spokesman for, and on behalf of, Houston SNCC. On many such occasions, JOHNSON did not have the authorization of, or backing from, Houston SNCC to so act. Rather, he was in actuality often acting solely in an individual capacity as LEE OTIS JOHNSON, private citizen. Source believes that JOHNSON is an emotionally disturbed individual who may in time destroy himself by means of suicide.

The individual who gives the real leadership to, and actually directs, Houston SNCC activity is HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary. He has held the position of Executive Secretary since about April, 1967. Both individually and in his capacity with SNCC, WILLIAMS is opposed to violence and it is believed by source that if within WILLIAMS' power to do so, he will never permit Houston SNCC to be used, nor to
become a part of any movement advocating acts of violence. WILLIAMS is avowedly opposed to communism in any form or fashion.

About two months ago, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, former Coordinator of Houston SNCC, left the organization and accepted a position at Houston, Texas, with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

8/4/67

The identity of F.D. KIRKPATRICK has been blacked out.

8/31/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:

Chairman and Spokesman       LEE OTIS JOHNSON
Executive Secretary           HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS
Program Director              STANLEY WRIGHT
Researcher of Oratory and Speeches RONALD EVANS
Field Secretary               JIMMIE LAZARE
Field Representative          JOHN MORRIS

Although LEE OTIS JOHNSON is the Chairman and Spokesman for the Houston SNCC, the de facto leader of the organization is HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary. On many occasions, JOHNSON has engaged in activities at Houston, Texas, in which he held himself forth as doing so on behalf of SNCC. In actuality, he often was acting in a private capacity without the authorization of Houston SNCC.

9/10/67

Present known officers of Houston SNCC include the following:

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman
HOWARD VANZANDT WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary
STANLEY WRIGHT, Program Director or Organizer
RONALD EVANS, Printer

KELTON SAGE, a former officer and member of Houston SNCC and EARL ALLEN, a Houston Negro minister, have recently formed an organization at Houston known as HOPE, the exact objectives and purposes of which are unknown to source. HOPE has drawn into its fold many of the former members and sympathizers of Houston SNCC. As a consequence and because of recent internal strife among certain officers of Houston SNCC, source considers Houston SNCC to be on the brink of closing down and in the process of becoming defunct. Much of the trouble with Houston SNCC has been the result of LEE OTIS JOHNSON's having used his position as Spokesman and Chairman of SNCC personally to capitalize on the Negro.

9/20/67

Present officers of Houston SNCC are as follows:

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman
HOWARD WILLIAMS, Executive Secretary
STANLEY WRIGHT, Program Director or Organizer
JIMMY LAZARE, Field Secretary
RONALD EVANS, Researcher and Orator

All of these five officers are presently being paid a monthly salary from the National Office of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia.

Each of them has personally made a trip to the National Office of SNCC at Atlanta, Georgia, where they were observed and approved by National SNCC officials for membership in SNCC.

About two weeks ago, JOHN MORRIS resigned his position as Field Representative with Houston SNCC so that he would not be "tied down" to any particular geographical area. While MORRIS is therefore no longer an officer, he remains a member of Houston SNCC; and, like the above-named officers, he too has made a trip to Atlanta, Georgia and been approved by National SNCC officials for membership in SNCC. MORRIS is a former TSU student.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON was one of the original organizers
of Houston SNCC and has been continuously active in the organization since it was founded. He is a former TSU student.

HOWARD WILLIAMS has been a member of Houston SNCC since about January, 1967 and has been the Executive Secretary of the organization since May, 1967. He presently is a student at TSU.

STANLEY WRIGHT was one of the original organizers of Houston SNCC and has been continuously active in the organization since it was founded. He held the officer’s position of Research Director in the organization from about February, 1967 until May, 1967 at which time he was elected to his present position of Program Director or Organizer. He is a former TSU student.

JIMMIE LAZARE has been an active member of National SNCC for about 24 months. He is a former TSU student.

RONALD EVANS has been a member of Houston SNCC since about February, 1967. In May, 1967, he was elected to his present position of Researcher and Orator. He presently is a student at TSU.

9/27/67

In order for an individual to be made an officer of Houston SNCC, he must go to Atlanta, Georgia, and be personally observed and approved by National SNCC officials.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, JIMMIE LAZARE, STANLEY WRIGHT, RONALD EVANS, JOHN MORRIS and HOWARD WILLIAMS have made such trips and have been approved as officers of Houston SNCC.

HOWARD WILLIAMS reportedly resigned his position as Executive Secretary, Houston SNCC, on or about September 11, 1967.

WILLIAMS allegedly has become disillusioned with SNCC nationally because of its militancy, its advocacy of violence and force, because it has become exclusively Negroid in its membership, and because of the anti-white, anti-Semitic postures SNCC has assumed on a national level. WILLIAMS allegedly has stated that the problem of oppression among certain elements of society in the United States is not simply a "black problem" but a problem which should be the concern of everyone.
Sometime around the middle of September, 1967, following the National Conference on New Politics (HCNP) held at Chicago, Illinois, there was a power struggle between leadership personnel of Houston HCNP. As a result, HOWARD WILLIAMS dropped out of SHCC and has not known to be active in the organization since.

VI. COMMUNITY REPORTS TO DEMOCRAT OR INFLUENCE SHCC; AFFILIATION OF SHCC PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS; AND, ASSOCIATION OF SHCC PERSONNEL WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMPOSITE BACKGROUND

A. The Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) and the Vietnam Summer (VS)

A characterization of the HCEWV is set forth in the appendix of this report.

10/23/67

The Vietnam Summer (VS) was an activity carried out in the Houston, Texas area during the summer of 1967 as a part of an overall national program which was primarily directed toward protestations of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Meetings were held weekly during most of the summer in meeting rooms at the University of Houston, Houston, Texas.
On January 16, 1967, a demonstration was held by Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCACV) in front of the First City National Bank Building in downtown Houston, Texas.

One of the speakers was DAVID SCHACHT. He spoke against the United States action in Vietnam.

Within a few minutes after the initial arrivals for the demonstration, HERMAN W. and another unknown Negro, both of whom are allegedly affiliated with SNCC, arrived on the scene. However, neither of these individuals participated in the demonstration. They merely stayed on the sidelines and observed what took place.

For a characterization of the HCACV, see the characterization set forth in the appendix hereto of the HCACV.

For a characterization of DAVID JAY SCHACHT, who is also known as DAVID SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCACV set forth in the appendix hereto.
On April 17, 1967, a gathering took place at Hermann Park, Houston, Texas, in front of Miller Auditorium. It was an activity of the SANE as a part of a national protest program taking place on April 15, 1967. That national protest was known as Spring Mobilization.

Hill gave introductions to various speakers at the gathering. At the very outset of his remarks, HILL said that troops should be brought home from the Vietnam war and the war ended.

One of the speakers was Reverend F.J. KERBY, head of Friends of SANE, Houston. KERBY discussed SANE briefly and then he practically repeated two or three paragraphs of a speech that was delivered by RICKETT JARMICHAIL at the University of Houston (UH), two days previously on April 13, 1967. The main theme of this portion of KERBY's speech was that the Negro should not fight in the Vietnam war; that the Negro has never yet been a first class citizen. He indicated that the Negro here no rallies towards any people in Vietnam. KERBY indicated that he felt, as CARMICHAEL had stated, that the Negro might use every method to evade the draft even if he had to go to jail.

Among the many people present at this affair were DANNY SCHAEFFER, Hugoccione and Laura Moss.

12/65
Party (CWI) meeting, New York, was present in attendance at the SWP National Convention held in a New York, New York.

On Monday, April 19, 1969, at approximately 9:30 AM, the United States Supreme Court heard an argument in In re Pate (No. 4).

Several people attempted to break into the hotel to get inside, but were stopped by the police. The demonstration continued outside, with many carrying signs and chanting slogans.

Several people attempted to break into the hotel to get inside, but were stopped by the police. The demonstration continued outside, with many carrying signs and chanting slogans.
A description of the State of a Problem -

(35) as not due to the appendix

5/9/67

The MOWA held its demonstration on May 3, 1967,
in front of the State Capitol building and on Main Street,
Houston, Texas. Exactly after the first members of MOWA
arrived, attention was called to the fact that it was over,
there were more than 1000 present, and they would go to MOWA.
Among those present were W. H. ALLEN, ROBERT ALLEN, R. M. BELL,
R. H. BRODE, Reverend J. D. BROWN, and others that could be named.

6/11/67
A meeting of the "Freedom Riders" (FR) group took place on the evening of June 30th, 1967 at the University Center, 1011, Houston, Texas. At the beginning, it was decided that in
following on the 30th another group would be sent to rally
with all civil rights groups in Houston and work very closely
with them. The idea was that the "FR" group would be more effective in certain areas of the city or in certain
programs. It was pointed out that in this case, that the students
should be paid to the KNX as the possibility of organizing a cultural activities
where our group from that organization could get together once
a month, with similar organizations in other organizations,
wherein these representations could act as liaison between
these organizations. In fact was discussed.

On the 1st, July, 1967, a demonstration was held at a location
in Houston. Many new groups gathered, but also a "NFL" highway,
parked on in front of the KNX building was originally intended to hold a march against United States interven-
tion in Vietnam, but that had nothing directly concerned
with Negro problems in Houston.

Furthermore, as this demonstration included representa-
tives of SNCC and the PACE, the majority of the speakers
spoke on behalf of SNCC.

Among the things that were advocated in the speeches
was discussion of a need to organize in the Negro areas of
Houston. It was predicted that in possibly as many as a dozen
areas where the Negroes reside in Houston, local groups could
be set up to organize the Negroes. Among the things that were
recommended was that these groups should start "rent strikes"
and begin to deal with real estate with persons in the areas that
Negroes should be encouraged not to go into the United
States Army and that Negroes should learn how to legally
evade the draft, if for any reason in the Army, how to flood the
organization in which they were serving with counteracting
literature, resulting in the branch of service being glad to
get rid of them. It was also pointed out that the Vietnam war
was an imperial war and for the United Statesmen using mostly
Negro soldiers because Negroes were unable to find jobs to earn a livelihood and Negroes were clever and service.

Among Negroes the Bildung was a war. THE OR
JOINER AS WINGS OF RESTLESS FOWL FROM THE SPORE OF A
POURABLEEN MOB (secretly) and its success were
RAISED PACE LAX II or (our) READER, P.
7/10/67

"On July 9, 1967, a group of individuals, many of whom were connected with HCEWV and Vietnam Summer (VS) activity in the Houston, Texas, area assembled at the residence of MARY FITZ, 7207 Selma, Apartment 45, Houston, Texas, in mid-afternoon with the intention of embarking on a demonstration at Hermann Park, Houston, to protest the United States' involvement in Vietnam.

Thereafter, these persons proceeded to Hermann Park where they assembled on the steps of a monument to General Sam Houston and then they decided to join a parade which was going on in Hermann Park at that time which consisted of a large number of persons who were demonstrating their support for the Vietnam war and the United States servicemen in Vietnam.

The HCEWV and VS people attempted to join the parade at what seemed to be the end of the parade, but were restrained from joining the parade by some U.S. Marine Corps Reservists who attempted to hold back the HCEWV and VS people.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, who is active with SNCC and who was participating with the HCEWV and VS people at this time, was shouting "black power" and apparently the Marines were aggravated. The first persons to undertake fighting at this time were one or more of the Marines after some heckling words were said to them.

A fight broke out between the HCEWV, VS, and SNCC people and the U.S. Marine Reservists. This fight continued undisturbed for some minutes and Houston Police Department officers who were in the park at the time did not intervene. A
number of the people suffered bruises or lumps in this melee. When the fighting subsided, the HCEWV, VS and SNCC people departed the area and retreated to the residence of MARY FITZ and thereafter they went to the residence of Reverend WILLIAM LAWSON on Wheeler Street, Houston. There they worked on the drafting of a letter of protest to the United States President, the Mayor of Houston, City Commissioners of Houston and the Governor of Texas, dealing with this fighting incident.

Among the many persons attending this affair were:

BEN LEVY
FRED BRODE
LAURA BRODE
DANNY SCHACHT
LEE OTIS JOHNSON
DOUG HAINLINE
MRS. DOUG HAINLINE

2/1/66

A characterization of the YSL, Cornell University and its national affiliate, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, also known as Spartacist Committee, are contained in the appendix hereeto.

1/12/66

10/24/66

DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE was married to HELENE BROSTUS on June 17, 1966 in New York City, New York.

October 2, 1964
When the Cornell YSL filed for recognition as a student organization with the Scheduling Committee Activities and Review Board of Cornell Student Government in October, 1964, DOUGLAS HAINLINE was identified as the Student Organizer of this group.

October 5, 1965

DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE served as President of the Cornell YSL during the 1964-1965 school year.

September 1, 1967, that DOUGLAS RAY HAINLINE has been a full member of Spartacist for eighteen months and is considered a one hundred per cent pure revolutionary.

7/17/67

On July 14, 1967, the Vietnam Summer (VS) group picketed the Marine Corps Reserve Training Center, Houston, Texas commencing about 5:15 PM and continuing until about 6:00 PM. The purpose of the picketing was to protest the fighting which took place between U.S. Marine Corps Reservists and persons participating in a protest march against the Vietnam War at Hermann Park, Houston, Texas on July 9, 1967. The picketers had attempted to join in a parade which was being carried out at the time in support of the United States' action in Vietnam. Pickets marched in a circle and carried signs condemning the Marine Corps. No leaflets were used and no speeches were made. Among those participating in this activity were LEE OTIS JOHNSON, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE, DOUG HAINLINE, Mrs. DOUG HAINLINE and DOUG CORLEY.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS CORLEY was identified by "The Daily Cougar", official student newspaper published at the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas, in its October 26, 1967 issue, as a member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at UH.

According to the October 10, 1967 issue of "The Daily Cougar", the UH has an SDS chapter.
Among other persons attending this meeting were DANNY SCHACHT and FRED BRODE.

B. Spartacists

A characterization of the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, also known as Spartacist, appears in the appendix attached hereto.

2/2/67
On August 11, 1967 at about 5:00 PM, a rally was held by SNCC at the intersection of Gregg and Nance Streets, Houston, Texas, under the overpass of Interstate Highway 10.

One of the several speakers was SHIRLEY STOUTE, a Negro female, who is alleged to be originally from New York City, New York and a Spartacist who had been dismissed, for some reason, from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

She talked of the places where she had been, riot-torn places, back through the years. She mentioned Harlem, Newark, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cambridge and Cuba. She said people should organize along political lines to set up something like the "Black Panthers" in Alabama or the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" in Mississippi. She said they should put particular emphasis on Negro ghettos from a "grass roots" level. She said they could set up a bonafide political structure. She said the people should also prepare themselves for any events which might take place. She was non-specific in this respect. She evidenced concern about a new law relating to persons crossing the state lines in the process of inciting riots. In her speech, she invited persons present to come to DOUG HAINLINE's residence on the forthcoming Sunday, August 13, 1967, for a discussion of Black Power.

On Sunday, August 13, 1967, a "Black Power" forum sponsored by Spartacists was held at the residence of DOUG and HELENE HAINLINE, 3207 Revere, Apartment 4, Houston, Texas.

The topic for this forum was "Socialist Revolution". There was a discussion of various phases of Marxist revolution under the topic of social revolution. The main speaker was SHIRLEY STOUTE.

STOUTE's talk dealt with economic, political, and defense-measure aspects of social revolution. She discussed "Black Power" and said it had been misinterpreted by the power structure, Negro leaders and civil rights leaders. She mentioned former U.S. Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, saying that POWELL supported Black Power as long as it was
within the Democratic Party structure. She said this was impossible because white power was the dominant factor in the Democratic Party.

STOUTE discussed what could be done along the line of establishing social revolution where Black Power would assist. She said Black Power should control everything in the community of the black people; that revolt should be made against landlords, shopkeepers, the police department, city government and so forth, in order to establish Black Power; that Negroes had to be organized politically; that, for example, if Negroes made up ten per cent of the population of an area, then there should be ten per cent of Negroes in the city government, the police force and similar public activity.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON asked a question regarding defense which was believed to refer to defense of Negroes, and STOUTE referred to the riots in Detroit. She said one must look at previous incidents, in proper perspective, and proceed from the light of that knowledge. JOHNSON appeared to argue a point in favor of a Mafia-type approach wherein persons would be prevailed upon to get in line with Black Power or be put out of business.

STANLEY WRIGHT then gave his version of social revolution as being an activity that is organized and not off on a "shooting binge."

Three SNCC representatives were present at this meeting. They were LEE OTIS JOHNSON, STANLEY WRIGHT and HOWARD WILLIAMS.

Among others present were BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE, LAURA BRODE, CLARA ELLINGTON, DOUG HAINTLINE and HELENE HAINTLINE.

C. Easter Vigil at the Ranch of The President of the United States, LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON (LBJ), Johnson City, Texas, March 26, 1967

3/26/67

During the afternoon of Easter Sunday, March 26, 1967, a vigil was held by several individuals in the vicinity of LBJ Ranch, Johnson City, Texas, in view of the LBJ Ranch house. Some of the participants held placards which protested United States action in Vietnam.
Among the several speakers at this occasion was FRANKLIN ALEXANDER who was introduced as National Chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, from Chicago, Illinois.

ALEXANDER said that it had become inescapably clear that we recognize that we have to oppose, in a fundamental way, the kind of system the kind of people, that carry out the Vietnam war. He then severely criticized the power structure in the United States. He quoted figures on the casualties of Negroes and pointed out that Negroes were being "murdered" at a ratio of two to one over whites who were being killed in the Vietnam War. He said that a Negro should refuse to participate in the Vietnam War by any means available.

The next speaker was LEE OTIS JOHNSON, a male Negro, who is affiliated with SNCC, Houston, Texas.

JOHNSON stated, in part, that white people could not be trusted in any way, that they did nothing but lie and deceive, and that he had nothing in his heart regarding any white people but hatred, envy and malice.

JOHNSON then commented on the difficulties that had been taking place at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. He said that he attended TSU where efforts were made to "whitewash" his brain. He said that TSU was going to be closed down.

JOHNSON then noted that, after seeing the people who were on hand participating in the Easter vigil on this occasion, and who were taking a positive position against the Vietnam War, he felt differently in his heart than previously. He said words to the effect, "I love you white folks out here."

Among the many persons in attendance at the vigil were BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE and LAURA BRODE.

On September 23, 1967, the "September 24, 1967 Interim Convening Committee" met at the University YMCA, 2200 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas, commencing about 1:30 PM. LEE OTIS JOHNSON and P.D. KIRKPATRICK of Houston, Texas were in attendance.

The role of the committee was described as being to set up an agenda for a state-wide National Conference for New
Politics (NCNF) convention that would identify Mexican-Americans, the civil rights movement and the political position of poor whites whereby they would be able to determine who they should support in the 1968 elections; whether they should support national candidates, or whether they should be concerned with the state-wide political scene.

At the meeting, there was some discussion of the position this committee would take with respect to the Vietnam War. One man at the meeting who appeared to be of Mexican origin and was allegedly from the Rio Grand Valley area of Texas stated that the Mexican people went along with the government on the Vietnam War; that there were not any left-wing Mexicans to whom the position might be stated. There followed considerable discussion. It was finally agreed that the people of Mexican descent at this conference would invite the most left-wing Mexican-Americans to the convention to handle the position of Mexican-Americans at that time.

F.D. KIRKPATRICK stated the position of the Negroes. He felt that less fortunate white people and Negroes could reach a happy medium of agreement. He said the people in NCNF had to recognize the position of the Negro in re-establishing his identity in the United States before the Negro could function properly in any political set-up.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, who is a leader of SNCC at Houston, Texas, stated that he could only be involved with an organization that takes a definite stand and recognizes the position of the African nations.

The meeting recessed for dinner at about 6:00 PM and reconvened at about 7:30 PM. There was discussion concerning the date, location, and name of the conference of the NCNF to be held in Texas. It was decided that the convention would be entitled "Conference for New Texas" and would be held in Austin, Texas on November 17, 18, 19, 1967. The purpose of the conference was described as: to establish communications among interested groups as well as coordination among them and to destroy the old political system and replace it with New Politics.

Concerning who should be invited to the convention, it was decided that ten persons should handle the whole structure of the convention and that they would represent everybody else as a steering committee. Among the persons designated to be on the steering committee were F.D. KIRKPATRICK, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, FRED BRODE and CHARLES SMITH.
CHARLES SMITH reportedly is a teacher of Freshman Mathematics at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. At this meeting on September 23, 1967, it was suggested by one individual that certain people including members of the Communist Party (CP) should be excluded from NCNP activities. That suggestion touched off a big harangue and CHARLES SMITH stated words to the effect that "I am a member of the CP. If you exclude any of these persons you will be playing into the hands of the power structure. They use these methods to divide and conquer".

Approximately 45 persons attended this meeting, among whom were LAURA BRODE, DOUG HAINLINE and HELENE HAINLINE.

9/27/67

Neither MONA-SCHACHT, DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE nor LAURA BRODE has ever been a member of Houston SNCC and neither has ever given guidance, advice, counsel or direction to SNCC.

To the best of source's knowledge, no Communist Party member or CP sympathizer has ever been a member of Houston SNCC. The organization of Houston SNCC has certainly never been controlled or directed by communists or communist sympathizers.

For a characterization of MONA SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCEWV which appears in the appendix hereto.

10/3/67

Neither DANNY SCHACHT, FRED BRODE nor LAURA BRODE has ever been a member of Houston SNCC. Neither of these individuals has ever given guidance, counsel or direction to SNCC. Moreover, neither has ever exercised any control or authority whatever over Houston SNCC.

To the best of source's knowledge, no known member of the CP has ever become a member of Houston SNCC or in any manner directed or controlled the organization.

10/3/67

Neither DANNY SCHACHT nor his mother, MONA SCHACHT has ever been a member of Houston SNCC nor has either of them ever counseled, guided, directed, controlled, or influenced SNCC.
This source has no reason to believe that any member of the CP has ever been a member of Houston SNCC.

11/20/67

Neither of the following individuals has ever been a member of, or exercised direction or control over, Houston SNCC:

DOUGLAS HAINLINE
HELEN HAINLINE
RAMON ELLINGTON
CLARA ELLINGTON

VII. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY OF SNCC AND/OR ITS PERSONNEL

A. Appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at Houston, Texas, in April, 1967

4/17/67

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Head of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, spoke on April 13, 1967 at the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas to a full house at Cullen Auditorium, which seats about 1,700 persons. The majority of those attending were white and appeared to be students.

CARMICHAEL dealt to some extent with the war in Vietnam. He emphasized the Negro should not be involved in this war; that the Negro should use any method to avoid participation in the war, even to the extent of going to jail if necessary.

About two-thirds of CARMICHAEL's speech dealt with "black power". He pointed out that "black power" has been mis-interpreted in some places; that "black power" was actually for political purposes; that it was mainly to organize Negroes into a block vote so that the Negroes could swing the balance of power in an election.

CARMICHAEL pointed out that Negroes represented about 25 per cent of the population in Houston, and, therefore, Negroes should be 25 per cent of the local offices. He advised he felt that if organized with good leadership, the Negroes could not be stopped in their political objectives.

Among those in attendance were MILLARD LOWE, JOHN MORRIS, F.D. KIRKPATRICK, FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, FRED BRODE and LAURA BRODE.
The following article appeared in the April 14, 1967 issue of the Houston Post:

**The People to Watch in 1967**

by Robert L. T. Harrison

In conjunction with the publication of this article, the Houston Post asked its readers to identify the people they considered worth watching in 1967. The list included the following individuals:

- **LBJ**
- **Lyndon B. Johnson**
- **Lady Bird**
- **Lynda Bird**

The article goes on to discuss the political landscape of the time, including the Kennedy-allas area and its impact on national politics. It highlights the importance of understanding the dynamics of power and influence in the region, as well as the significance of figures such as LBJ and Lady Bird. The article concludes with a reflection on the role of these individuals and their potential influence on the future of the country.
The following article appeared in the April 14, 1967 issue of the "London Chronicle":

[Text of the article is not legible or is not provided.]
B. Appearances of H. RAP-BROWN and JAMES FORMAN at Houston, Texas in June, 1967; and Interest of SNCC in the TSU 5

On the night of May 16-17, 1967, a riot occurred on the campus of Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, in which one officer of the Houston Police Department (HOPD), Houston, Texas, was shot and killed and another officer was shot and wounded. As a result of this riot, five students were indicted at Houston, Texas and they became known locally as the "TSU Five". They were: FLOYD-NICHOLS, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, TRAZAWELL-FRANKLIN, CHARLES FREEMAN and JOHN PARKER.
The following article appeared in the May 10, 1967 issue of the Davenport, Iowa:

**Carried On**

AMC's No. 1

**U.S. List**

Of Fastest Youth

Officer

According to an official of the AMC (American Motors Corporation), the company has been carrying on various marketing and advertising campaigns aimed at fast youth officers. These campaigns have included social events, music concerts, and product giveaways.

By May 10th, Wednesday, the AMC official stated that the company had successfully increased its market share among fast youth officers.

The AMC was also reported to be using new tactics, including social media and mobile marketing, to reach this demographic. In addition, the company had created a special fast youth officer section on its website, where events and products were highlighted.

The official noted that the fast youth officer segment was highly valued by the company, as they represented a significant portion of the target market.

The campaigns have been well-received by the youth officers, who have expressed gratitude for the company's efforts to engage them. The AMC official concluded that these efforts were likely to continue in the future, as the company remains committed to reaching out to this demographic.

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FRANKFORD, Ky., Oct. 21, 1927 (AP) — A negro boy, who was thought to be a negro, was killed the day after a negro was shot in a race riot that left three other negroes wounded.

The negro boy, who was a negro, was killed when his funeral procession was stopped by a white mob. The boy, who was thought to be a negro, was shot dead when he tried to escape.

The funeral procession was stopped by a white mob, who were believed to be negroes. The boy was shot dead when he tried to escape.

The white mob, who were believed to be negroes, stopped the funeral procession and shot the boy dead when he tried to escape.

The boy, who was thought to be a negro, was shot dead when he tried to escape.

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On June 18, 1967, at 10:10 PM, handbills had been distributed in the Third Ward area of Houston, predominantly Negro, announcing a meeting to be held at 7:30 PM on June 19, 1967 at the True Light Missionary Baptist Church, 4017 Hamilton Street, Houston, Texas. Understood speakers at this meeting were to be JAMES FORMAN and H. RAP BROWN, connected with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

On June 19, 1967, an individual identifying himself as H. RAP BROWN appeared at the Federal Office Building and Court House, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas, and proceeded to the Federal Court Room where a trial was scheduled to be held concerning CASSIUS CLAY, also known as Muhammad Ali. BROWN was not admitted to this court room and proceeded immediately to the ground floor lobby and he was met by a large number of photographers and reporters who were on hand to cover the trial of CLAY. BROWN was interviewed by these reporters and reports of this interview were subsequently carried on Houston radio stations.

During this interview BROWN stated he was in Houston to head the meeting to protest the filing of charges for rioting against five students at TSU growing out of a campus riot at that university on the evening of May 16-17, 1967. BROWN also passed out copies of a handbill announcing this meeting. This handbill was reproduced and is set out as follows:
URGENT!!! URGENT!!!

MASS MEETING

Hear: Mr. H. "Rapp" Brown
Chairman S.N.C.C. "Snick"
James Forman
Sr. of International Affairs
for S.N.C.C. "Snick"

Support the "T.S.U. 5"
Illegally Charged with Murder

Support Mr. Muhammad Ali

Date: Mon. June 19, 1967
Time: 7:30 P.M.

Place: True Light Missionary Baptist Church
4017 Hamilton St.
While the above circulars were being handed out, a reporter asked BROWN concerning the matter of his interest in the trial of CASSIUS CLAY. BROWN replied that SNCC contemplated no action concerning the CASSIUS CLAY matter unless CLAY should be convicted. When questioned as to what he and SNCC would do in the event CLAY is convicted, BROWN reportedly replied "We will take appropriate action. That's for me to know and for you to find out". BROWN was also quoted as stating if CLAY were sent to prison, SNCC would start activity in Negro communities throughout the United States. BROWN stated he had talked to many Negro leaders and all were concerned about the trial of CLAY.

6/19/67

6/20/67

A mass meeting was held on the evening of June 19, 1967 at True Light Missionary Baptist Church, 4017 Hamilton, Houston, Texas, where two national leaders of SNCC were the principal speakers, namely JAMES FORMAN and H. RAP BROWN. During the early part of the meeting, KELTON SAMS, a former student at TSU, Houston, Texas, discussed a TSU incident which had occurred approximately one month previously wherein he was critical of the Houston Police Department and of TSU policies. He recommended that SNCC people contact people on the streets and door-to-door and by distribution of leaflets to publicize this incident and make known the facts of the situation; further, that these SNCC people should attempt to recruit people for the SNCC organization.

SAMS introduced JAMES FORMAN as a national SNCC leader. FORMAN spoke for a while and discussed the promotion of the civil rights movement, beyond the normal limits which are encompassed in the civil rights movement, to where the
concern would be for a "human rights" movement. FORMAN indicated that a resolution had been prepared which set forth a program to unite all black people in the world and promote solidarity among these people, which resolution was sent to the United Nations with copies to the New York Times and other leading news media. He said it was a forgone conclusion that the news media would not publish this resolution, but that it was learned that a tiny article regarding this resolution had appeared in one New York newspaper. He said the resolution was also sent to the Viet Cong, Red China, the Soviet Union, Middle East and African countries. He said he knew that some positive action would be taken by these nations or groups on this resolution.

FORMAN said that with respect to the TSU incident, there had been some legal entanglement where money was involved and that parties concerned in this matter were National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and attorneys handling the cases for five TSU students who were arrested in connection with rioting at TSU and who had remained in jail in Houston for an extended period of time. He pointed out there was some question as to what had happened to $7,000 in donations that had been collected for the assistance of these five TSU students. An appeal was made by FORMAN to the audience to contribute at this time and church baskets were passed around for a collection. FORMAN discontinued his discussion at this point.

H. RAP BROWN was then introduced as the replacement for STOKELY CARMICHAEL as national head of SNCC. BROWN was critical of "hunks", FBI, Houston Police Department, CIA and all other agencies which he felt were represented by "watchdogs" at this meeting. He was also critical of news media present at the meeting. He then launched into routine discussion which sounded like an echo of CARMICHAEL. Along this line, he asked for solidarity within SNCC ranks.

KELTON SAMS again spoke and asked that all news media leave this meeting without delay, whereupon the news media hurriedly departed from True Light Missionary Baptist Church. SAMS then requested that all white people in the audience depart immediately. There was a scattering of white people in the audience and these promptly departed.

BROWN again began speaking and he lashed out at the Houston city administration and the police department of Houston. He mentioned places like Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia where riots had occurred on the spur of the moment created by some incident such as where a policeman beat a pregnant woman or shot a youth in the back. He advised that
an organized method must be utilized in dealing with the power structure and the police departments. He stated the only rioting that had occurred where an organized method was utilized was in Cincinnati. He pointed out that Cincinnati was a city where Negro ghettos were spotted in different areas of the city. He said it was proven that organized methods were very effective where trained people were situated in each ghetto. He indicated that at the outset of rioting, a city should be "hit" in the downtown area wherever the big business headquarters were located. He said the police department would then concentrate on this central area, and, when simultaneous outbreaks occurred in scattered ghetto areas, the police department would be in a position of having to spread their forces and thus become more ineffective.

BROWN indicated that training should be given to persons in their respective neighborhoods in order that they would know, to open all fire hydrants to make the fire department ineffective in trying to utilize high pressure hoses on rioters. With all these hydrants open, pressure would be practically non-existent. BROWN further indicated that when the National Guard or militia was called in, it would be an advantage for persons in these particular areas to have regular fatigue suits or Army regulation uniforms which would so nearly match those of the Guard or militia that the Guard or militia would not know exactly who was on which side. Through this means, the rioters could take over jeeps that were in possession of the National Guard or militia and drive the jeeps out of the area. He noted that each jeep is equipped with a machine gun. BROWN encouraged the Negroes at this gathering to buy firearms and ammunition.

BROWN also called upon these people to try every method possible to locate arsenals of the "Minutemen" organization. He pointed out that when action along the above described lines takes place, Negroes with a "white brain", who cooperated with the white community, would be the first to die.

BROWN said the most important thing that has been overlooked has been recruitment of Negro women. He said words to the effect that these Negro women could be of assistance along the line of "Where the Boss could get his bacon and eggs with arsenic instead of salt".

BROWN talked of the "TSU Five", inferring that these were the five TSU students who had been previously arrested in connection with rioting at TSU on what he referred to as "trumped up" charges. He said it was stupid to think that five Negro males could have held one gun and pulled the trigger
resulting in the murder of a policeman in Houston, noting that these five individuals were charged with murder of a policeman. He said that by utilization of the right method it could be possible to get the "power structure" to bring pressure to bear upon the Chief of Police and Mayor in Houston.

BROWN initiated a question and answer session. MILLARD LOWE who has been active with the SNCC organization at TSU in Houston during the past year asked a question regarding the similarity of Cincinnati to Houston in that he felt the Negro slums and ghettos in Houston were scattered over the city. He inquired as to what could be done in the case of Houston. BROWN said that organization in each ghetto should be strict and thorough with liaison set up between these ghettos. He recommended that efforts be made to distract attention from the main rioting section, by methods which he outlined previously, wherein rioting would break out in scattered areas of a city.

Another question put to BROWN was regarding what had happened to $7,000 raised by the NAACP. Following this question, a quantity of "double talk" ensued. Nobody assumed blame for the missing $7,000. FORMAN and BROWN indicated they were going to locate the $7,000 before they left Houston.

An attorney was introduced who was allegedly defending the "TSU Five". It was stated that he was a graduate of Yale Law School. It was pointed out that if Yale could produce presidents, senators and similar prominent personages, then this attorney was undoubtedly all right. It was indicated that utmost confidence in him was had.

BROWN said that it would be desirable to have full cooperation of the Negro community with SNCC to organize a "set up" in Houston, presumably similar to the arrangement which he had described for Cincinnati. He said this was a "must" and could not be delayed any longer. He stated he and FORMAN would have to stay in Houston until they knew the "TSU Five" were out of jail. The attorney representing the "TSU Five" had indicated these five individuals would be out of jail by noon, June 20, 1961; that the San Antonio NAACP had provided necessary property bonds for release of these individuals, which property bonds had to be checked out by Harris County authorities.

Regarding contributions, FORMAN stated that requests should be made of people in Houston for regular monthly or weekly contributions as these persons were in a position to contribute; that professional Negroes who would not have a big income at this time, if it had not been for the civil rights movement, should be expected to contribute freely.
It could be estimated there were at least 200 persons, and possibly as many as 250, present at this gathering.
9/7/67

9/20/67

On the night of September 19, 1967, there was a joint meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) held at the Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church, Wheeler and Scott Avenues, Houston, Texas.

The purpose of the joint meeting was to explain to the public and particularly to students of TSU, Houston, Texas, the legal status of the five former TSU students, frequently referred to as the "TSU Five," who were indicted as a result of the TSU riot in May, 1967. Another purpose was to brief those in attendance on the over-all racial situation in the Houston area.

The first speaker was Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK, SCLC Field Representative at Houston. He discussed the rights of citizens in general, the rights of citizens of the Negro community of Houston, and the rights of local residents in general.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Chairman and Spokesman, Houston SNCC, spoke next, and he thereafter held a question and answer period.

9/20/67
On September 19, 1967, a SNCC meeting was held at the Wheeler Street Baptist Church, Houston, Texas.

The meeting was chaired by Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK. The purpose of the meeting was to gain support for the TSU Five, who are five former students of TSU who were expelled after they were arrested and charged in connection with rioting at TSU in May, 1967.

Early in the meeting it was pointed out by a local attorney, BOBBIE CALDWELL, that in view of the fact that the jury for the trial of the TSU Five would include persons from all areas of Harris County, Texas and would probably be an all-white jury, any publicity regarding the TSU Five could prejudice the jury against them. He recommended that a switch be made from the TSU Five to TSU 51 and that they proceed from there, it being noted that TSU 51 referred to a total of 51 students who were expelled from TSU in the latter part of the spring semester, 1967. Those 51 students were all alleged to have had some connection with the rioting at TSU in May, 1967.

CALDWELL recommended that support be built up for these 51 students at the TSU campus by means of distributing handouts and encouraging support demonstrations as well as by speeches in the campus "pit". He recommended that there be speeches twice daily at the "pit", preferably at noon and at 5:00 PM. He further recommended that efforts be made to mobilize as many students as possible to go to Austin, Texas on the following Monday, September 25, 1967, at which time a federal judge was scheduled to render a decision in the TSU 51 case. The judge had reportedly agreed to ignore the scholastic aspects involved where some of the students were not permitted to re-enter TSU because of their scholastic averages being below the required level for registration.

It was felt that on the TSU campus, there are lots of sympathizers to the TSU 51 and that the sympathizers would back up any speakers in the event someone tried to shout them down. It was pointed out that it would be desirable to have "stump" speakers who would jump up on a table in the cafeteria and start talking in support of the TSU 51. LEE OTIS JOHNSON volunteered to go the campus and speak. KIRKPATRICK said that JOHNSON could not do so because he would be promptly arrested. RONALD EVANS and HOWARD WILLIAM, both active with SNCC and attending TSU, volunteered to be "pit" speakers.

There was also discussion regarding what could be done to improve the image of the TSU 5 outside of Texas. The question
was raised as to how many of the TSU Five could be encouraged to go on a speaking tour. It was decided that efforts would be made to make financial arrangements for some activity in this regard.

Leaflets for distribution were scheduled to be run off on the night of September 19, 1967 in order that they would be ready to be distributed the morning of September 20, 1967. The ultimate goal is to get the 51 ex-students admitted to TSU or close TSU down.

10/3/67

Following the riots at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas in May, 1967, about 51 students were expelled from that university.

As a result of the riot in which an officer of the Houston Police Department (HPD), Houston, Texas was shot and killed, five students were indicted at Houston, Texas, and they became known locally as "The TSU Five". They were: FLOYD NICHOLS, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, TRAZAWELL FRANKLIN, CHARLES FREEMAN and JOHN PARKER.

Those five students, along with STANLEY WRIGHT and WILLIAM RICHARDS, filed suit in U.S. Federal Court, Houston, seeking a mandatory injunction ordering the TSU administration to permit the students to re-enroll at that university. On or about September 28, 1967, a federal judge at Houston ruled against the students and denied them the injunction.

Thereafter, the aforementioned seven individuals joined with the remaining 51 students, who had been expelled, in filing a petition in the 126th District Court, Travis County, Austin, Texas, seeking a court order permitting them enrollment. Among the students who had joined the petition were JIMMIE LAZARE, Reverend F.D. KIRKPATRICK, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, CARL MOORE, MILLARD LOWE, ROBERT TUCKER and CLARICE BUCKLEY. Judge JIM MEYERS of that court began hearing the matter on or about September 26, 1967. MEYERS refused to give consideration to the petition of the TSU Five, STANLEY WRIGHT and WILLIAM RICHARDS, on the grounds that the federal decision previously handed down at Houston refusing their readmission was finally determinative of the issue and should not be interfered with.

MEYERS took under advisement the reinstatement of KIRKPATRICK, JOHNSON, CARL MOORE and JIMMIE LAZARE.
advised that it was his understanding that on October 3, 1967, MEYERS ruled against all the remaining individuals who had become a party to the petition and refused to order their reinstatement at TSU.

11/13/67

Purpose of this tour is for NICHOLS to relate the story of the "TSU Five" in an effort to get sympathy and support for them. The "TSU Five" were five students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, who were charged in connection with rioting at TSU in May, 1967, at which time a Houston police officer was shot and killed. NICHOLS is one of the "TSU Five".

A leaflet prepared at Houston by SNCC captioned "Facts About the T.S. U. Five and Their Indictment For Murder and Two Assaults to 'Murder'" sets forth the probable substance of the talks that will be given by NICHOLS. (Below is a xerox copy of the leaflet).
...and that you could have been cited; whether you were there not.

SAO: Told the campus that it was not the intention to cause a great deal because

SAO: Million of the same situation that two students were the victims

SAO: We belong here. If you oppress the black people and if you had been

SAO: We want you to understand that we are brothers and sisters in struggle.

SAO: ...in fact that many of our brothers and sisters are being

SAO: Is not found in the majority of the cases or so online crimes so

SAO: ...by the White High's janitors and whoever was

SAO: And that they are believed to be in order to slow down so called

SAO: ...to our Black brothers and sisters for human rights

SAO: And that they are the contradictions and lies designed by

SAO: ...are the victims of such

SAO: ...of our brothers and sisters in the same struggle as we are.

SAO: The two victims of the May 10 and 17 melee were solely by the

SAO: They are still at large.

SAO: ...of those brothers were on the campus whenupon and

SAO: ...they were first arrested.

SAO: ...they were first arrested.

SAO: ...by police

SAO: ...the incident during the night of May 10; however, the incident was attacked as that and around or approximately 9:30

SAO: ...almost immediately

SAO: ...the police.

SAO: ...of the five arrested brothers remained on the campus and

SAO: ...attended the demonstration when the police forced them to the dorms and

SAO: ...dorm and eight dorms were students. As a result, later

SAO: ...the demonstration at City; the women's dorm was raided and an all out

SAO: ...increased tension was noted as well.
C. Statements of LEE OTIS JOHNSON which were either anti-white in nature or advocated the use of violence

8/9/67

During the late afternoon of August 5, 1967, a demonstration was held by SNCC at the intersection of Interstate Highway 10 and Gregg Street, Houston, Texas. One of the speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON who criticized "honkies" and said it was necessary to get rid of cops and to get Chinese and everything white, out of the Negro neighborhoods.

JOHNSON also said that if a police officer stopped a car and failed to say "Mr." or "Mrs." in addressing the Negro occupants, the occupants should refuse to produce their drivers license; that instead, the occupants should call for help from Negroes in the area and then beat the "honky" policeman up. Among those present at the demonstration was FRED ERODE and LAURA ERODE.

8/14/67

On August 11, 1967, at about 5:00 PM, a rally was held by SNCC at the intersection of Gregg and Nance Street, Houston, Texas, under the overpass of Interstate Highway 10. One of the several speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON who condemned "honkies" and complained of white men fraternizing with Negro women by night. He recommended that when "honky" cops come into Negro areas to make arrests, everyone should converge on them and beat them to death.

The August 24, 1967 issue of The Houston Post, a daily newspaper published at Houston, Texas, carried an article entitled "Welch Urges Negro Group: Keep Peace". That article in part stated that "An uneasy peace hangs over Houston and poor judgment by any of its citizens could change it into violence, Mayor Louis Welch told Lee Otis Johnson" head of the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The article went on to state that "Johnson said he subscribes to everything Rap Brown, national SNCC chairman, stands for but that the group does not advocate violence - only retaliation".

8/28/67

Houston SNCC held a demonstration under the overpass where Interstate Highway 10 passes over Gregg Street in Houston, Texas, during the evening of August 28, 1967. One of the speakers was LEE OTIS JOHNSON, an active leader of SNCC in Houston.
JOHNSON stated the "honkies" are enemies of the Negroes. He criticized his recent treatment at the hands of police in Houston. He recommended that Chinese and Italians be gotten out of Negro neighborhoods in Houston. He called upon Negroes to get guns and be prepared to protect themselves from the "honkies". He said Negroes should not let the "honkies" run over them.
APPENDIX

HOUSTON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On February 6, 1967, a source advised that during most of 1965 and all of 1966, Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) existed in the Houston, Texas, area without specific membership, officers, or by-laws. It was a group of individuals devoted to protesting United States Action in Vietnam, primarily by demonstrations in public areas. It had no headquarters location and depended upon HCAV participants on a voluntary basis for performance of any necessary functions such as preparation of announcements, leaflets, and related work.

As of January 1, 1967, HCAV became known as Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV).

On February 3, 1967, at an HCEWV meeting in Houston, election of officers was held. Positions in HCEWV were then set up and were filled by voting or acclamation. Officers took these positions for a period of six months duration. As of February 3, 1967, the following persons assumed the positions indicated:

Chairman - BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Treasurer - ROCHELLE ELLISON
Secretary - MARY FRY (phonetic)
Recording Secretary - MONA SCHACHT
News Editor - DANIEL JAY SCHACHT,
          son of MONA SCHACHT

Another position, which was not referred to as an actual office, was that of Portfolio Member. This person would substitute for any other officers who were not available to perform their duties at a given time and it would also include assistance to any specific officers in their


APPENDIX

appointed functions. FRED BRODE won this position by acclamation. BRODE has described himself as a Trotskyite.

On June 29, 1967, source advised MONA SCHACHT was no longer affiliated with HCEWV in any way. She had become unpopular as a result of her having rewritten an HCEWV letter or leaflet after it had been turned over to her for mimeographing.

On August 9, 1967, source advised election of officers was held at an HCEWV meeting, Houston, August 4, 1967, at which the following individuals were elected to the positions shown:

Chairman - BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Vice Chairman - LINDA DUVAL
Secretary - YVONNE HAUGE
Treasurer - ROCHELLE ELLISON
Co-Editors - DAVID SHROYER and MARGERY SHROYER

Positions of Recording Secretary, formerly held by MONA SCHACHT, and Portfolio Member, previously held by FRED BRODE, were abolished. Source noted BRODE continued active with HCEWV.

A second source advised on July 27, 1967, that MONA SCHACHT was a current member of the State Committee of the Communist Party in Texas.
APPENDIX

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 9, 1964, that the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. This source described the RCFI as being composed of former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who had split from the SWP and who were led by JAMES ROBERTSON. This source stated that this political unit has its main center in New York City, where it publishes "Spartacist" on a very irregular basis, but their formal meetings are held at least once a week.

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 the expelled leader of a minority faction of the SWP, 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.

The July-August, 1964, issue of "Spartacist" in its masthead describes this publication as follows:

"...published bi-monthly by supporters of the revolutionary tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party."

This masthead sets forth that the editor of the publication is JAMES ROBERTSON, and its main address is Post Office Box 1577, General Post Office, New York, New York.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
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

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.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK

The October 1, 1964 issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper published at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, reported that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had received recognition as a student activity group by the Scheduling, Coordinating, and Activities Review Board of Cornell Student Government.

A pamphlet entitled "What Is the Young Socialist League?" obtained by a source attending a YSL meeting in March, 1965, described this organization as both a theoretical and action political group with national and international affiliations, standing in the tradition of revolutionary socialism, organized around the viewpoint that the world's problems will be solved only through socialism, and in the belief that the methodology and theoretical system of Marxism retain essential validity in America today.

The May-June, 1965, issue of the "Spartacist" (Identified on its masthead as "published bi-monthly by supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency expelled from the SWP" (Socialist Workers Party) contained a "Spartacist Local Directory," which included the following listing: "Ithaca, Box 9, Ithaca, New York, 14851." A second source advised on October 27, 1965, that Ithaca Post Office Box 442 (formerly Box 9) is rented for the use of the YSL (Cornell) and the Ithaca Spartacist.

A third source advised on November 17, 1965, that the membership of the Cornell YSL and the Ithaca Spartacist Committee are the same.

A fourth source on January 7, 1966, furnished a copy of a one-page handbill captioned "Socialists and the Vietnamese Revolution," dated January 5, 1966, and prepared by the YSL for circulation on the Cornell campus. This material identifies the YSL as an independent local campus group with a national perspective and in "political agreement with the Spartacist organization, a national revolutionary socialist organization."
YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NEW YORK

The fourth source advised on February 2, 1966, that members of the YSL have told him that the Cornell YSL, though an independent group which elects its own officers, identifies itself and agrees on political points with the national Spartacist organization; and its members consider themselves as Trotskyists and their group as being derived essentially from the Fourth International.
Title   COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
        STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
        COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference  Report at Houston, 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 has been had with following
sources to determine their reliability, but each, at time
information was furnished, was ostensibly in a position
to furnish reliable information:

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 | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
Houston | Atlanta | 2/28/68 | 11/21/67 - 2/20/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

REFERENCES:
Buairtel to Albany and all offices, 1/31/68.

LEAD:

HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

100-439190-19-59

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
2 - Houston (100-10390)
HO 100-10390

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and three copies to MIG. Also NISO, Houston.

**INFORMANTS**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Secret Service, Houston (Personal Delivery)
1 - NISO, Houston (Personal Delivery)
3 - MIG, Houston (Personal Delivery)
1 - NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1 - OSI, San Antonio (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: February 28, 1965
Office: Houston, Texas

Field Office File #: 100-10390
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
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I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

2/12/68

Headquarters of the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

12/2/67

STANLEY WRIGHT, currently Treasurer of Houston SNCC, appears to be the only one currently connected with the Houston SNCC group who has much "on the ball". The current SNCC "regulars" at 2024 Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas appear to be more a bunch of "leeches" than anything else. They do not work for a living and they spend much of their time there doing and accomplishing practically nothing. They have no money and anyone who has anything available even as simple as a package of cigarettes cannot retain it long in their presence.

12/26/67
On September 23, 1965, FRED BRODE, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) sympathizer, from Humble, Texas, was in attendance at the SWP National Convention in New York City, New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450.
On December 1, 1967, a monthly meeting of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) was held at the YWCA, 1300 Rusk, Houston, Texas. At this meeting there was discussion that a demonstration was scheduled to be held at the induction center in Houston on December 4, 1967. A current issue of HCEWV News referred to the term "some type resistance" that would be utilized in connection with this demonstration. A great amount of controversy ensued as to the meaning of this terminology. It was voted that HCEWV would hold a peaceful demonstration, on that occasion, within the law. There were approximately twenty people present at this meeting, including: RAMON ELLINGTON, CLARA ELLINGTON, BEN LEVY, FRED BRODE, RONALD EVANS and FLOYD NICHOLS, the latter two of whom are members of Houston SNCC.

On December 2, 1967, at about 3:00 PM a meeting was held at Our Mother of Mercy Church, a Catholic Church located at Sumpter and Benson Streets in the Fifth Ward area of Houston, Texas. The sponsor of this meeting was indicated to be the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) inasmuch as HCEWV was identified at the bottom of a leaflet which announced this meeting and which leaflet was captioned "Why Should Negro Citizens in Houston Form Groups to Oppose the War in Vietnam". Speakers at the meeting included FLOYD NICHOLS as a representative of SNCC; BEN LEVY, Chairman of HCEWV; and DANNY SCHACHT. Among those individuals present were STANLEY WRIGHT and RONALD EVANS, both of Houston SNCC.

For a characterization of DANIEL JAY SCHACHT, who is also known as DANNY SCHACHT, see the characterization of the HCEWV set forth in the appendix of this report.
On various dates from April 8, 1967 through September 21, 1967, DAVID SHROYER was in attendance at meetings of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) and meetings of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), held at Houston, Texas. Additionally, SHROYER attended a Spartacist-sponsored black power forum on __________ at Houston, and meetings of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held on __________ and __________ at Houston, Texas.

B. Efforts of Houston SNCC or Its Personnel for and on Behalf of the TSU Five; and Interest Shown Therein by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

As previously noted in this report, the TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967, at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450 by the Attorney General of the United States.
The following leaflet was prepared by Houston SNCC as an acknowledgement to be sent to various areas where FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT had traveled on a recent tour during which NICHOLS made speeches to stimulate support and interest in the TSU Five.
November 30, 1967

Dear Counterparts and Revolutionaries,

We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves while visiting your city as well as the visits that we made while we were there; we sincerely hope that you have obtained an excellent relationship as brothers and sisters with our office here in Houston Texas and our revolutionary struggle as well.

Please feel free to call or write us to inform our office in Houston of any happenings that may develop in your city concerning our trial or any trial that incures our brothers and sisters in this country.

We appreciate your concern and help and strongly wish that you would continue to help us as much as possible. We would like very much for you as individuals and organizations to give us as much publicity and support as possible as well as the many contributions that you may be able to give. In order for our struggle and trials to be rightfull publicized, we would strongly advise contact all of those liberal and so called liberal whites and confront them with our dilemna adversely and attack their convictions as supposed liberals.

The newspapers, press, and radio programs will also be an asset to our publicity and yours as well. Written letters will add to our publicity as well.

If, in doubt, about the standard letters to the officials of this city such as the mayor, police officers, district attorney, Mc Clellan’s committee and other political officials, please write us for further information.

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Box #21085
Houston 26, Texas
77025

Officers of S.N.C.C.
Stanley Wright
Floyd Nichols
Henry Nichols
Stanley M. Wright
D. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of the SDS is attached to the appendix of this report.

12/1/67.

On November 30, 1967, a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) meeting was held on the steps at the front of the
University of Houston (UH), UH Center, Houston, Texas, commencing about 8:00 PM with about thirty people in attendance. DANNY SCHAEFFER was chairman for the meeting and he ram-rod-ded most of the discussion while the others listened. He spent much of the time figuring techniques that could be used and methods that might disrupt the induction process of men being taken into the armed forces at the induction center in Houston, inasmuch as a demonstration was being planned for that location to take place on December 4, 1967. Among those present were STANLEY WRIGHT, FLOYD NICHOLS, ROBERT N. TUCKER, JOHN MORRIS, FRED KROEZ and RAMON BELLANTONI.

There have been obvious efforts of SGC to involve Houston SNCC with SGC activities. Overtures have been made to STANLEY WRIGHT, but he has resisted to date.
APPENDIX

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The April 19, 1965, edition of the "Militant," a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), set forth the following:

"Founded under the leadership of LEON TROTSKY in 1938, the Fourth International is an organization embracing revolutionary socialist parties and groups throughout the world. In the United States, the SWP stands in political solidarity with the Fourth International..."

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

HOUSTON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On February 6, 1967, a source advised that during most of 1965 and all of 1966, Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) existed in the Houston, Texas, area without specific membership, officers, or by-laws. It was a group of individuals devoted to protesting United States Action in Vietnam, primarily by demonstrations in public areas. It had no headquarters location and depended upon HCAV participants on a voluntary basis for performance of any necessary functions such as preparation of announcements, leaflets, and related work.

As of January 1, 1967, HCAV became known as Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV).

On February 3, 1967, at an HCEWV meeting in Houston, election of officers was held. Positions in HCEWV were then set up and were filled by voting or acclamation. Officers took these positions for a period of six months duration. As of February 3, 1967, the following persons assumed the positions indicated.

Chairman          BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Treasurer          ROCHELLE ELLISON
Secretary          MARY FRY (phonetic)
Recording Secretary MONA SCHACHT
News Editor        DANIEL JAY SCHACHT,
                   son of MONA SCHACHT

Another position, which was not referred to as an actual office, was that of Portfolio Member. This person would substitute for any other officers who were not available to perform their duties at a given time and it would also include assistance to any specific officers in their
APPENDIX

appointed functions. FRED BRODE won this position by acclama-
tion. BRODE has described himself as a Trotskyite.

On June 29, 1967, source advised MONA SCHACHT was
no longer affiliated with HCEWV in any way. She had become
unpopular as a result of her having rewritten an HCEWV letter
or leaflet after it had been turned over to her for mimeo-
graphing.

On August 9, 1967, source advised election of offi-
cers was held at an HCEWV meeting, Houston, August 4, 1967,
at which the following individuals were elected to the
positions shown:

Chairman - BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Vice Chairman - LINDA DUVAL
Secretary - YVONNE HAUGE
Treasurer - ROCHELLE ELLISON
Co-Editors - DAVID SHROYER and MARGERY
SHROYER

Positions of Recording Secretary, formerly held by
MONA SCHACHT and Portfolio Member, previously held by FRED
BRODE, were abolished. Source noted BRODE continued active
with HCEWV.

A second source advised on July 27, 1967, that MONA
SCHACHT was a current member of the State Committee of the
Communist Party in Texas.
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.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
February 28, 1968

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report at Houston, 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:
HOUSTON

OFFICE OF ORIGIN:
ATLANTA

DATE:
5/29/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD:
2/21-5/20/68

CHARACTER OF CASE:
RACIAL MATTERS

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COordinating Committee (SNCC)

REFERENCE:
HORep SA [reddacted], 2/28/68.

LEAD:
HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result

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

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
2 - Houston (100-10390)

4 JUN 3 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

96 JUN 26 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.
HO 100-10390

in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and three copies to MIG. Also copy for NISO, Houston.

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HO 100-10390-526, 527, 529, 530, 535, 536, 551, 552, 611; Documentation of FRED BRODE: and orally 5/15/68 to SA

Orally to SA 5/16/68

100-10390-551 and 552

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I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Headquarters of the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located in a building at 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas. This building contains offices of P.O. WILLIAM CRAWFORD, Attorney at Law and his law firm, Atty. Attorney, whose official address is 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas. Although offices of Houston SNCC are housed in the back of this building, the official address of Houston SNCC is 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas.

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Currently, the Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Houston, Texas is inactive with no regularly scheduled meetings being held. This has been the case for the past six weeks or so, although its headquarters continue to be located at 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston.

As per Houston SNCC's 1968-1969 yearbook, Houston SNCC would include its six officers, although technically, Houston SNCC is not considered a corporation with its six officers, few,
If other individuals in the Houston area have any

FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT, the Chairman
and Treasurer, respectively, of Houston SNCC, have been
sent to various college campuses in other states
and on behalf of the Organization and when these two men
were at Houston SNCC headquarters is locked up and none
of the officers or staff can gain access to the prem-
ises remaining four officers of Houston SNCC have
continued little, if any, direction or

aieend 4.8) 

K. ALBERT, Field Secretary
Director, was absent from Houston from about the first part
of January, 1968 until about the middle of April, 1968
and LARRY JACKSON, Public Relations man, has been absent
from Houston since around the first part of 1968. JACKSON
is now living at Austin, Texas.

The TESI Five are five young Negro males, formerly
students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas,
who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU
early in the night of May 3rd, 1967 at which time a police-
man of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and
killed.

Houston SNCC Chairman to remain active with no


to be met with no scheduled meetings being held.

II. PRESENT OFFICERS OF HOUSTON SNCC

(9/68)
(4/68)
(10/68)
(7/5/68)

The following individuals continue to hold the

officer's position in Houston SNCC:

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman,
KENNETH SIMPSON, Vice Chairman,
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Secretary,
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, Treasurer,
JEAN "SYLVIE" MADDEN, Field Secretary/Director.

TSU Five, TESI Five; Relations man.

TSU Five have never drafted a Constitution
for reorganizational meeting and election of
COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO INFILTRATE OR 
INFILTRATION OR COMMUNIST AFFILIATION OF SNCC 
PERSONNEL WITH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS; 
AND, ASSOCIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL 
WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST 
BACKGROUND

A. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been 
designated by the Attorney General of the 
United States pursuant to the provisions of 
Executive Order 10450.

(1/4/68)
The description of the Young Socialist Alliance (RSA) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

The Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV)

Set forth in the appendix of this report is a characterization of the HCEWV.

10/2/67

A characterization of the Spartacist League (SL), formerly known as the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International, is set forth in the appendix of this report.

For a characterization of DANIEL JAY SCHACHT, see the characterization of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV) set forth in the appendix of this report.
The TSU P.I. are two young Negro males, formerly
students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas
indicted following an fight on the campus of TSU
during the night of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a police-
man of Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and
killed.

Two of the P.I.'s are FLOYD NICHOLS and DOUGLAS
WALSER who are respectively Chairman and Secretary
of Houston SNCC.
On the evening of January 21, 1968, a meeting for United States of America (CP, USA) was held at the residence of Tom Flower on East Street, San Antonio, Texas. This meeting was arranged by John Stanford, Chairman of the Party (CP) of the State of Texas and member of the National Committee, CP USA.

Approximately forty persons were in attendance, including the following:

- Tom Flower from Houston, Texas;
- John Stanford (husband), a Negro from
- [remainder of text redacted]
THOMAS M. KINLEY SMITH, CP member from Austin,

LARRY JACKSON, a Negro, who apparently is from
Houston, but who is in Austin, Texas, now working with
LUKE COOK KINLEY SMITH;

JAMES BARGER, a CP member from San Antonio,

CLARK and CAROLYN SANTOS, CP members from San

AD/12/10, 11:35 a.m. San Antonio

JOHN STATFORD acted as moderator and introduced
NICOLAS as one of the Houston Five.

NICOLAS indicated that he was one of the Houston
students who was arrested at TSU in Houston, Texas
and is now out on bond. He said that the NAACP had made
very little headway; however, the NAACP might withdraw their
suit because of Nicolau's recent activities.

NICOLAS stated that they are going to try to
organize a defense committee for people such as him who are
in trouble but have no one to defend them. He indicated that
they had the services of several attorneys but they needed
a committee.

JOHN SMITH indicated he desired a defense
committee started in San Antonio and he passed a list
along with others to sign if they wanted to be members of the
committee.

(1/23/68)

W. H. in an El-Ahramiee Society (SDS)

...demonstration of the SDS is set forth in
the appendix of this report.
On February 18, 1968 at about 3:00 PM the opening day of Black Week commenced at Hammond Hall in the 2400 block of Dennis, Houston, Texas. This was an activity sponsored by the Black Students Group and was to extend from January 29 through February 21, 1968. This meeting was chaired by BOBBIE and stated that Black Week was a week dedicated to the black people such as MALCOLM X, CASSIUS CLAY, BROWN, SNOWDEN, KNOX, and SAM COOK, a musician who was also scheduled to speak.BoBBIE is the only black of the group.

ALLEN, the keynote speaker following the Civil War in looking after the problems of black people in the United States. A speaker was introduced ALLEN, namely Rev. Delane LAMM. ALLEN was described by DELANE as one who had contributed materially to the civil struggle in Houston, Texas.

ALLEN noted that ALLEN was in two organizations in Houston, one of which is known as LBC and the other known as the Chiefla College Student Affairs (ICUA). Both of these organizations are pledged to have objectives of improving the lot of Negroes.

ALLEN said that "Black Power" is important in that it points up the need for black people to control the words with which they live in the context of running uncooperative white people out of the community. He stated this by the black people ourselves establishing the black people controlling their political destiny. The most important thing necessary for black people, he said, is for them to start a movement publicizing the black "Uncle Tom's" in society and black people who had accepted a satisfied role with the "power structure." The power structure turned to more commonly in ALLEN's talk as the "man.

ALLEN said that one way to carry out these objectives is, once a stop is being picketed by black people, any people enter the store, photographs should be taken of those who cross the picket line and leaflets should be handed with his picture and people to publicize him all over the neighborhood. He said the same action should apply to those who cooperate with the man. He said that this tactic failed when black people should resort to other methods such as open discussion and contacting black people to the extent of asking them to do and thereby setting an exam-
with tanks, machine guns, flame throwers and
tanks, he said the man intends to murder as
necessary to stop the burning of cities and
destruction of property as has transpired in some of the
nation's major cities in recent years. He said blacks in
preparation are not prepared to cope with this massive
police power and they will have to change their
military tactics. They can no
give into the streets throwing molotov cocktails or
trying to intimidate the police force for the man
who is conceiving and planning will have to
be oriented. Wherever they can "turn on a dime" and
be in any or many directions. The man will have a machine
set up in such a way to make the situation that the
momentum of the machine will carry it in only one direction.
Black people going in same one direction, the man will
integrated in trying to control them.

Another means recommended by Allen for coping with
the structure would be to blacken certain establishments,
and to buy certain commodities. He noted there are many
to discuss matters among black people whereby no open
situation with the power structure is necessary. He said
integrated in trying to maintain situations
tactics will upset the man.

The next speaker was Lee Otis Johnson, former
SMCC group who, as a result of a
SMCC group as well as from being a member of the
SMCC group who, was eliminated from holding office in
He related that
had carried his son to Ben Taub Hospital after a bicycle
accident and there was no "O" type blood available for
his boy. He said if the injury had been
between the hospitals, JOHNSON is trying to get
blood centers to build up a reserve for a blood
hospital. Johnson's general reaction to Johnson's
activities has been to be more of suspicion inasmuch as he is primarily looking out for
He himself as a rule. Johnson had indicated that 90 per cent of the Negro Hospital was for black people.

All of the persons present at this session were seated at the 25 at the height of the meeting. All of them were observed to be members of the 7000. They were in the auditorium where this meeting was held. During the entire meeting, in the auditorium were quite ineffective. As a result, several of them were interested in the meeting. They were interested because they were suffering from the cold.

(2/23/68)

It was learned that a small turnout of persons attended for a Black Week session on the night of February 1965 and that although over 500 people present, it was not stay very long because Hendrick Hall was inadequate and it was cold weather.

The Black Week session scheduled for February 20, 1965 was cancelled because of lack of heat at Hendrick Hall.

On February 21, 1965, another session of Black was held in Hendrick Hall convening about 7:00 PM, approximately 100 people present. DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER was a high school in his generation, although their

First item on the agenda was the showing of a movie "The Streets of Greenville." This movie was concerned with problems which confronted Negro people in Greenville, and in connection with voter registration and efforts to deal with problems encountered with law enforcement in Greenville such as mass arrests and harassment.

HARRIET WIZARD spoke as a representative of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Austin, Texas. She discussed reorganization purposes of SDS and the position of SDS with respect to the "black struggle." She pointed out that SDS called upon with the black struggle in order to make some real changes against the power struct-

WRIGHT ALLEN, a University of Texas student who is currently head of the Negro Student Movement, and who is a known as "the Americans"

He summarized the objectives of the movement.
Copies are being sent to all Afro-American
organizations in a solid front to attempt to tear down
some of the barriers existing at WI. He said it was the
intention of AAIU to bring pressure to bear on the adminis-
tration at WI to hire more Negro professors on the faculty.

Another speaker was DUKE WHEELER (phonetic)
reported a memo to the Board for draft
service in Texas. He described the relationship of the
administration to Negro students. It was said that all white
students were on a basis of solidarity with Negro
students in order for them to work against the power
structure.

Another speaker was VIKING MECKLE, current Chairman
of Houston SNCC. He talked about the events
of June 18-19. He pointed out the hard fought incidents with
Negroes in the hands of the police. He added that incidents with
Negroes in the hands of the police imposed on
many residents, especially in the northeast area of
Houston, a march from which the rioting in downtown
Houston, a march on the county courthouse in Houston and
various other similar actions which were contributing
factors to the battle which resulted in the rioting at TSU.

Another speaker was WESWALLOW, member of the
administration of TSU, who was not a student, knew not very little of note to his
knowledge he did discuss something regarding a "book of the
administration of TSU."

Another speaker was BENEDICT PALMASE of San Antonio,
the general tenor of his talk was a raving attack
against industrial society in the United States. He de-
criminalized as a system of mass exploitation. He
believed this could be accomplished in the United States until
illegality was defeated. He said no United States could not
with the capitalistic system and nothing must be
acted to stop it. He gave a very poor resolution and was quite
empty in what he had to say.

Another speaker was JAMES SCOTT HUMBLE, former Chair-
man of the AAIU. He talked about his experience in
the community. He
said it was a duty to bring in the black people and give them
the chance to be heard. He
said the black people, he felt, were the misunderstood. He
said he had a confrontation he had had on the
radio with a white nation. He said he had walked out on
the demeanor and the discrimination program including
T. A. ALLEN, PAT CRAMER, who is employed with one
or more television stations, and possibly several
other individuals. JOHNSON used some of the phrases that
had been utilized by Reverend EARL ALLEN in his talk that
was given for Black Week in the session on February 18, 1968.

I recommended that black people go in different direc-
tions than be conducted by the power structure ma-
black pec to by the streems in any forth-
activity.

It seems that mostly white people at this
black week session and among those were included JOHN STANFORD,
mentioned above, RAINY BERRY, who is a member of SDS at UH,
FRED BRODE, and MARILYN MURPHY, who describes herself as a
Communist Party (CP) member in Austin, Texas. It was alleged
that there were 65 or more persons at this session
in Austin and San Antonio, Texas.

JOHN STANFORD is Chairman of the CP of Texas,
a member of the National Committee, CP, USA and Southern
Regional Organizer of the CP, USA.

-G. W. (Teacher)

A characterization of RAM is set forth in
the appendix of this report.
APPENDIX

HOUSTON COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIETNAM

On February 6, 1967, a source advised that during most of 1965 and all of 1966, Houston Citizens for Action on Vietnam (HCAV) existed in the Houston, Texas, area without specific membership, officers, or by-laws. It was a group of individuals devoted to protesting United States Action in Vietnam, primarily by demonstrations in public areas. It had no headquarters location and depended upon HCAV participants on a voluntary basis for performance of any necessary functions such as preparation of announcements, leaflets, and related work.

As of January 1, 1967, HCAV became known as Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam (HCEWV).

On February 3, 1967, at an HCEWV meeting in Houston, election of officers was held. Positions in HCEWV were then set up and were filled by voting or acclamation. Officers took these positions for a period of six months duration. As of February 3, 1967, the following persons assumed the positions indicated:

Chairman
BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY

Treasurer
ROCHELLE ELLISON

Secretary
MARY FRY (phonetic)

Recording Secretary
MONA SCHACHT

News Editor
DANIEL JAY SCHACHT,
syn of MONA SCHACHT

Another position, which was not referred to as an actual office, was that of Portfolio Member. This person would substitute for any other officers who were not available to perform their duties at a given time and it would also include assistance to any specific officers in their
APPENDIX

appointed functions. FRED BRODE won this position by acclamation. BRODE has described himself as a Trotskyite.

On June 29, 1967, source advised MONA SCHACHT was no longer affiliated with HCEWV in any way. She had become unpopular as a result of her having rewritten an HCEWV letter or leaflet after it had been turned over to her for mimeographing.

On August 9, 1967, source advised election of officers was held at an HCEWV meeting, Houston, August 4, 1967, at which the following individuals were elected to the positions shown:

Chairman — BENJAMIN GRANT LEVY
Vice Chairman — LINDA DUVAL
Secretary — YVONNE Hauge
Treasurer — ROCHELLE ELLISON
Co-Editors — DAVID SHROYER and MARGERY SHROYER

Positions of Recording Secretary, formerly held by MONA SCHACHT and Portfolio Member, previously held by FRED BRODE, were abolished. Source noted BRODE continued active with HCEWV.

A second source advised on July 27, 1967, that MONA SCHACHT was a current member of the State Committee of the Communist Party in Texas.
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, 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 would 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 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.

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.
APPENDIX

1.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL)
Formerly Known As The
Revolutionary Committee
of the Fourth International

A source advised on September 9, 1964, the Revolutionary Committee of the Fourth International (RCFI) was also known as the Spartacist Committee and the Spartacist Group. The source described the RCFI 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 DODDS, 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, 1966, that the RCFI held a Founders' Conference of the Spartacist League at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966, it was stated that the objective of the SL was to destroy the capitalist system and the capitalist society and create a workers' class system and a workers' class society.

The May-June, 1967 issue of "Spartacist" reflects "Published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League".

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
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 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 there to, 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 a revolutionary program.

August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said, "The white society is getting us down. We're getting you down. America, we have decided to use our people to revolt against you. We're going to revolt against you and to our children, your God, your poor, your country, to all those people who are pushed to the edge in your destruction and
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

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. 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 YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognize 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 6, 1964, 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 6, 1964, 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) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
May 29, 1968

CASE STUDIES IN VIOLENT COordinating committee (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report at Houston, dated and
confirmed as above.

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

This paper 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

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
8/27/68

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
5/30 - 8/27/68

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
RACIAL MATTERS

RESPONSE: H0req SA 5/29/68.

LEAD:
HOUSTON

AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

Will follow and report the activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Houston, Texas.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "confidential" because it contains information from the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in a loss of life or serious bodily harm.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
NONE

ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR □YES □NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS □YES □NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1 - NISO, Houston (Per. Del.)
1 - OSI, San Antonio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Houston (Per. Del.)
1 - MIG, Houston (Per. Del.)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info) (RM)
1 - Houston (100-10390)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

1968 COPS DESTROYED

146 007-40-470
in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

One copy each of this report is being disseminated locally to NISO, OSI, Secret Service and four copies to MIG. Also one copy is being disseminated for NISO, Houston.

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NISO, New Orleans (RM)
NISO, Houston (Personal Delivery)
SSS, San Antonio (RM)
SSS, Secret Service, Houston (Personal Delivery)
NIG, Houston (Personal Delivery)

Office: Houston, Texas

August 27, 1968

Confidential

U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SPECIAL MATTERS

The Special Committee and officers of Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) set forth their Houston SNCC report to be relatively inactive for the past few months.

P

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Houston Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continues to have its headquarters at 202½ East 11th Street, Houston, Texas.

Characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(5/1/68)

Several individuals, including LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, Secretary of Houston SNCC, are residing at 2121 Oakdale, Houston, Texas, which is a private, two-story residence. This address is now called the "Houston SNCC Freedom House".
II. MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC AT HOUTON, TEXAS

(8/21/68)

Various persons, known to have been associated with Houston SNCC in the past, continue to meet together from time to time at Houston SNCC Headquarters, 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas. While no regularly scheduled formal meetings of Houston SNCC are being held, source presumes the organization continues to exist although it is relatively inactive at this time.

(10/68)

Houston SNCC continues to remain inactive with no regularly scheduled meetings being held.

(7/20/68)

The following individuals continue to hold the designated officer's position in Houston SNCC:

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman
KARRENTH SIMPSON, Vice Chairman
DOUGLAS WAYNE WAGNER, Secretary
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, Treasurer
JIMMY "SCROOGE" LAZARE, Field Secretary Director
LARRY JACKSON, Public Relations Officer

For the past few months, Houston SNCC has been inactive, and it is known that for several months LARRY JACKSON, above, has been away from Houston, Texas, residing in the Austin, Texas area; that in recent weeks, FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, above, have been traveling in California; and for several months JIMMY LAZARE, above, has been away from Houston, destination unknown.

- 2 -
IV. ALLEGED AFFILIATION OF SNCC PERSONNEL WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

COMMUNITY ACTION TEAM (CAT)

(5/19/68)

A commercial store space at 3940 Scott Street, Houston, Texas, is now occupied by an organization known as Community Action Team (CAT). CAT has rented this space and appears to be a combination of the Afro-Americans for Black Liberation (AABL) and the SNCC with representation coming from both the University of Houston (UH), Houston, Texas, and Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas. D WIGHT ALLEN, who has been identified as a leader of AABL at UH in past months and is a UH student, is heading CAT. ALLEN is assisted by CHARLES FREEMAN who is one of the TSU Five.

The TSU Five are five TSU students charged in connection with rioting at TSU which took place May 16-17, 1967, at which time a Houston Police officer was shot and killed.

(7/19/68)

Efforts have been made to organize a group known as the Afro-Americans for Black Liberation (AABL) at the UH during the past school year but AABL never seemed to get underway. A UH student named D WIGHT ALLEN has been in the forefront trying to organize AABL. The apparent objective of AABL has been to improve the lot of black people.

(7/5/68)

CAT is an organization located at 3940 Scott, Houston, Texas, and is headed by D WIGHT ALLEN, a student at the UH assisted by CHARLES FREEMAN, one of the TSU Five.

The organization appears to be dominated by SNCC members and a few militants at the UH. The purpose of the organization is to build respect in the community for black power advocates and the things which those advocates are attempting to achieve.
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.

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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 a 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 at Houston, 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.
the unauthorized disclosure of which could conceivably result in the identification of confidential informants who are of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

Information contained in this report predating date of referenced report was unavailable for inclusion at the time referenced report was dictated.

The usual format for an organizational report is not being followed in instant report because of information contained herein reflecting that Houston SNCC is defunct and not holding regular meetings. This case is continued to be kept pending, however, because of the fact that former SNCC active people active in black nationalist activities in Houston and while the SNCC organization itself is inactive the activities of several of the members have not changed to any appreciable degree.

**INFORMANTS**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 = NISO, New Orleans (ASL)
1 = NISO, Houston (Personal Delivery)
1 = OSI, San Antonio (ASL)
1 = Secret Service, Houston (Personal Delivery)

Copyto: MIG, Houston (Personal Delivery)

Report of: SA
Date: November 22, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-10720
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Office: Houston, Texas

Title: STUDENT IRISH-VIETNAMESE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (ASL)

Character: FACIAL MUGSHOT

Synopsis:

EXCEPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION AND DECLASSIFICATION

DETAILS:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is for your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
I. STATUS OF THE HOUSTON STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. General

B. Expressed Desires by Individuals Affiliated with Houston SNCC to Organize a Black Panther Party; and a Group Known as the Black Berets

C. Efforts of Houston SNCC or its Personnel For and on Behalf of the LCU Five

D. Efforts of Houston SNCC to Obtain Presbyterian Church Grant

E. Rally Held September 15, 1968 at Houston, Texas

F. Texas State-Wide Meeting of SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), September 21 to 22, 1968 at Austin, Texas

G. Interest of Communist Party (CP) Displayed Towards SNCC
I. STATUS OF THE HOUSTON STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A characterization of the SNCC is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(11/15/68)

As an organization, Houston SNCC is defunct and inactive. It does not hold any regularly scheduled meetings and has no effective leadership.

On December 8, 1967, the following individuals were elected to serve as officers of Houston SNCC for the calendar year 1968:

Chairman, FLOYD NICHOLS
Vice Chairman, KENNETH SIMPSON
Treasurer, STANLEY WRIGHT
Secretary, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER
Field Secretary, JIMMY LAZARE
Public Relations, LARRY JACKSON

Practically from the time he was elected, LARRY JACKSON has been in the Austin, Texas area where he has attempted to establish a chapter of SNCC. He seldom returns to Houston, Texas and has afforded practically no attention or leadership to Houston SNCC.

Additionally, for the major portion of 1968, JIMMIE LAZARE has been away from Houston, exact whereabouts unknown to this source, and has given little, if any, leadership to Houston SNCC.

During the major portion of the spring, 1968, FLOYD NICHOLS and STANLEY WRIGHT absented themselves from Houston and gave no substantial leadership or direction to Houston SNCC.

For a considerable portion of the summer of 1968, KENNETH SIMPSON was away from Houston, Texas and during that time gave no leadership, guidance or direction to the organization.

- 3 -
Upon NICHOLS' return from the West Coast, a meeting was held at the headquarters of Houston SNCC during the latter part of July, 1968, and at that time FLOYD NICHOLS announced that effective as of that meeting, Houston SNCC would be considered dissolved.

(9/19/68)

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(10/9/68)

The Houston SNCC is reported to have only a handful of members left. It reportedly has become increasingly
difficult and almost impossible to recruit new members or interest former members in becoming active again in Houston SNCC.

(11/15/68)

STANLEY WRIGHT indicated on November 11, 1968 that Houston SNCC is broke and will, in all probability, have to abandon its offices at 2024½ Eastex Freeway, Houston, Texas, within the next several days.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

A. General

(6/26/68)

(7/1/68)

FLOYD NICHOLS, Chairman of Houston SNCC, and STANLEY WRIGHT, Treasurer, have both returned to Houston, Texas, from the West Coast.

(7/3/68)

(7/5/68)
The TSU Five are five young Negro males, formerly students at Texas Southern University (TSU), Houston, Texas, who were indicted following the riots on the campus of TSU during the night of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a policeman of the Houston, Texas Police Department was shot and killed.

Two of the TSU Five are FLOYD NICHOLS and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER who were elected on December 8, 1967 to be respectively the Chairman and Secretary of Houston SNCC.

Within the last few days Houston headquarters of SNCC released a quantity of a leaflet bearing the caption "Black is Beautiful, Unite Now Because Tomorrow May Be Too Late". This leaflet bore the identification of SNCC, 2024 Eastex Freeway, phone 228-7531.
On August 28, 1968, LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC, was found guilty of selling marijuana and sentenced to thirty years in the State Penitentiary.
(11/15/68)

WENDELL JOHNSON is the brother of LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of Houston SNCC, was ousted both as an officer and member of Houston SNCC in late 1967 and in December of that year, new officers were elected for Houston SNCC.

Since that time, LEE OTIS JOHNSON has nonetheless on various occasions reportedly held himself forth to individuals and to the public as continuing to remain a representative or member of SNCC. JOHNSON has attempted personally to exploit for self-gain the idea that he continues to remain affiliated with Houston SNCC even though he has not regularly attended meetings of Houston SNCC since December, 1967, and even though he was ousted from membership in and the officer's position he held with Houston SNCC reportedly on the advice of H. RAP BROWN who was at the time national chairman of SNCC.

As a consequence, there are certain cronies of JOHNSON's who reportedly refer to themselves on occasion as being associated with SNCC. As a matter of fact, however, these individuals are not representatives or members of Houston SNCC. JOHNSON's brother, WENDELL JOHNSON, for example, is not known to have ever been a member of Houston SNCC and he definitely is not the "leader" of Houston SNCC.

B. Expressed Desires by Individuals Affiliated With Houston SNCC To Organize A Black Panther Party; And A Group Known As The Black Berets

(6/24/68)
LEE OTIS JOHNSON and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER have recently stated that they want to organize Black Panthers in Houston, Texas, although it has been generally indicated that Black Panthers and SNCC are practically one and the same at this time.

FLOYD NICHOLS is interested in organizing a group of Black Berets in Houston. NICHOLS, although Chairman of the Houston SNCC, seems to lean toward the Black Beret idea and has evidenced his interest by currently wearing black shirt, black trousers, black boots, black beret and black glasses.

Information has been received which indicates that there is extreme hard feeling between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP) which has resulted in an open break between these groups.

This is as a result of STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's completely disassociating himself from SNCC and becoming associated with the BPP on a full-time basis and engaging in attempting to raise money for the BPP through speaking engagements. CARMICHAEL did this on his own without the permission of the Central Committee of SNCC and as a result was thrown out of SNCC. He thereafter took the position of prime minister with the BPP and as a result was successful in taking some of his personal followers in SNCC with him.

BONNY SEALS, who is the head of the BPP in Oakland, California, has issued instructions and orders that the BPP should move in the areas where SNCC is operating and attempt to take over the SNCC operations in these areas. It appears that CARMICHAEL may be behind this move in an attempt to retaliate against SNCC.
To the best knowledge of these sources, neither LEE OTIS JOHNSON, DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER or any other member or officer of Houston SNCC was ever successful in organizing a chapter of the BPP at Houston, Texas, and no such chapter is known to exist in Houston. Moreover, to the best of these sources' knowledge, FLOYD NICHOLS was never successful in organizing a group of Black Berets in Houston.

C. Efforts of Houston SNCC or Its Personnel For and On Behalf of the TSU Five

The following leaflet, entitled "Black Brothers and Sisters - Protect and Defend Your Five Brothers", has been prepared for distribution by SNCC in the Houston area. It pertains to the forthcoming trial of the TSU Five.
BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS — PROTECT AND
DEFEND YOUR FIVE BROTHERS

WE WERE THERE, YOU COULD HAVE BEEN THERE, BUT WHETHER YOU WERE
THERE OR NOT MATTERS VERY LITTLE AND THEN, IT WOULD HAVE MATTERED A
GREAT DEAL BECAUSE YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF THE SAME SITUAT-
ION THAT FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY STUDENT WERE THE VICTIMS OF. WHEN
WE WERE THERE, IT WAS A STRUGGLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE AND THE STUDENTS
THAT AttENDED TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY. IF YOU HAD BEEN THERE AT THE
TIME, IT WOULD BE THE SAME FOR YOU.

THE MANY PLEASURES THAT YOU ENJOY NOW, SUCH AS BETTER DORMITORY
HOURS FOR WOMEN AND THE FOOD CONTAINERS THAT ALLOW YOU TO OBTAIN
JUST ABOUT AS MUCH TO DRINK THAT YOU DESIRE IS A PART OF THE RESULTS THAT
occurred FROM OUR FIGHT FOR STUDENT POWER.

THE RESULT OF THAT FIGHT LEFT MANY OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN
JAIL AND FIVE INDICTED FOR MURDER. IT IS YOUR DUTY AS A BROTHER AND SISTER
E. Rally Held September 15, 1968 at Houston, Texas

advised on September 15, 1968 that plans had been made to hold a rally at 3:00 PM that afternoon in the 2600 block of Calumet Street, Houston, Texas, for the purpose of raising funds for the appeal and to protest the conviction of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, former Chairman of the Houston SNCC, Houston, Texas, who was recently sentenced to thirty years in prison after being convicted at Houston for a narcotics violation. The rally was reportedly being planned by various representatives of SNCC at Houston, Texas.

advised as follows on September 15, 1968:

Commencing at approximately 3:45 PM, September 15, 1968, a rally was held in the 2600 block of Calumet Street, Houston, Texas. Several individuals spoke at the rally, the first of whom was Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON, wife of LEE OTIS JOHNSON, above.

In her speech, Mrs. JOHNSON called for financial and moral support of LEE OTIS JOHNSON and told the audience that her husband, who had recently been convicted of a narcotics violation and sentenced pursuant thereto to thirty years in prison, was tentatively scheduled to have a retrial on September 26, 1968. She called for those in attendance to assure that on the day of retrial, the courtroom would be packed with Negro people. A collection was taken up for LEE OTIS JOHNSON and announcement made that $37.50 had been received.

Another speaker was LARRY JACKSON who described himself as the Director of SNCC at Austin, Texas. In his talk, JACKSON appealed for unity among the black people of the community and urged that closer ties be formed and better communication effectuated between the Houston, Austin and Dallas, Texas chapters of SNCC. In his speech, JACKSON pointed out that violence was no answer to the problems of the Negro and the ghetto, but that nonviolent solutions must be found.

Other speakers were CHARLES FREEMAN and DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, each of whom is one of the TSU Five.

The TSU Five are five young Negro males, former students at Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas, who
were indicted following the riots at TSU during the evening of May 16-17, 1967 at which time a Houston police officer was shot and killed.

FREEMAN and WALLER both spoke for and on behalf of LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

Reverend (First Name Unknown) LOTT, pastor of a Baptist Church located on Cleburne Street, Houston, Texas, also spoke and a great portion of his speech was devoted to praising LEE OTIS JOHNSON as a leader of Negro people and he appealed for the Negro community to become more united and to stand behind and give support to the Negro leaders of the community.

further advised that another speaker was a male Negro, name unknown, approximately 25 to 26 years of age, about 5'10" tall, who weighed about 160-165 pounds, dark ginger complexion, with scars on his forehead, and attired in a pink slip-over shirt and darker pink trousers who wore his hair in an Afro style. In his speech, this man advocated the use of violence as an aid in solving the problems of the Negro living in the ghetto areas. He called for the Negroes to arm themselves, stated that he was presently armed and asked if anyone else in attendance was armed. He also boasted of actually having helped to burn Detroit, Michigan; Los Angeles, California and Newark, New Jersey. After the rally he drove away in a beige colored Chrysler automobile, bearing 1968 Texas license plates DTT 618.

According to , the rally ended at about 6:00 o'clock without incident of violence.

furnished the following information on September 16, 1968:

The rally commenced at about 3:45 PM, September 15, 1968 in the park area located in the 2600 block, Calumet Street, Houston, Texas. DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, member and Secretary of Houston SNCC, was in attendance and chaired the meeting which was held for the purpose of raising funds and lending moral support to LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

Among the speakers at this event were LARRY JACKSON, affiliated with SNCC at Austin, Texas; DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER; Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON, wife of LEE OTIS JOHNSON; and a male Negro whose first name is CLAUDE and whose last name is unknown.
In his speech, CLAUDE (Last Name Unknown) spoke of the need for Negroes to resort to violence as a means of rectifying the social and economic ills they had traditionally been subjected to. He said that the Negroes should arm themselves and said that at the present time he himself was armed. He said that he had helped burn Detroit and Newark and that he would just as soon shoot a white baby as a white adult if it became necessary for him to do so.

CLAUDE (Last Name Unknown) is approximately 6' tall, weight about 150 pounds, has black hair which he wears in an Afro style, brown eyes, is about 24 years of age, has what appears to be a knife scar on his face below his right eye and below his right ear. He is allegedly from Detroit, Michigan and is presently residing somewhere in Austin, Texas.

advised that approximately 45 persons were in attendance, most of whom were young Negro adults. According to this source, the rally ended without incident of violence.

advised on September 16, 1968 that a rally was held on Sunday, September 15, 1968 commencing about 3:30 PM. Source advised the rally was an impromptu affair and there was a very poor turnout. Source advised people kept coming and going during the speeches and there were an estimated 50 people who remained during the rally. The rally was reportedly to gain support and money for LEE OTIS JOHNSON who had recently been sentenced to 30 years for a narcotics violation.

The speakers at the rally were the following:

Mrs. LEE OTIS JOHNSON
First Name Unknown, JOHNSON (brother of LEE OTIS JOHNSON)
RUSSELL JONES
DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER
CHARLES FREEMAN
LARRY JACKSON
Some Negro preacher

JOHN, the Black Devil

The speeches were generally to gain support for JOHNSON except the speech by JOHN, the Black Devil. His speech dealt with violence and the fact that he had engaged in shooting and burning during riots in Detroit, Newark, Chicago, and Los Angeles. JOHN, the Black Devil said he was from New York but he appeared to be an associate of LARRY JACKSON who
HO 100-10390

As involved in SNCC activities in San Antonio, John, the Black Devil stated that the black people should get their guns. Source advised that although John, the Black Devil gave a rather agitating type speech he did not get through to the people and the rally broke up with nothing accomplished except that they collected a few dollars reportedly for Lee Otis Johnson.

F. Texas State-Wide Meeting of SNCC and The Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), September 21 to 22, 1968 at Austin, Texas

A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the appendix of this report.

(9/17/68)

The following individuals from Houston, Texas, reportedly intend to attend a state-wide meeting of SNCC to be held at Austin, Texas, September 20 to 23, 1968: Ronald Evans, Floyd Nichols, and Stanley Wright.

(9/23/68)

From September 21 to 22, 1968 a proposed state-wide SNCC conference was held in Austin, Texas. Numerous individuals from the Houston SNCC organization were present during the conference and upon arriving in Austin, Texas, immediately went to the SNCC office located on Rosedale Street and met with Larry Jackson, the Austin chairman of SNCC. It was determined during the meeting that Eldridge Cleaver, leader of the BPP, who was scheduled to attend the conference had postponed his trip for unknown reasons. Also, it was determined that Phil Hutchins, national leader of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, had also cancelled his trip to Austin. Jackson had indicated that Hutchins was unable to make the trip because of lack of funds. After a brief meeting at the Austin SNCC headquarters, the group proceeded to the Victory Grill which is located approximately two blocks from the SNCC office in Austin, Texas. The Victory Grill is a night spot and restaurant which caters to SNCC members and the general public.

The Victory Grill was picked for the conference because the owners are friends of SNCC and the grill has a banquet room located in the rear which can be sealed off from the public for special meetings. On Saturday night, September 21, 1968, no business was taken care of and everyone enjoyed the music played by a combo band and they danced and got drunk.
On September 21, 1968, it was learned at the Victory Grill that the SDS was at that time holding a meeting at the apartment of DICK REAVIS, located at 15th and Rio Grande Streets in Austin. This meeting reportedly was held to discuss the SNCC conference and the fact that the SDS members were planning how they could be represented at the SNCC conference.

At approximately midnight the party at the Victory Grill was over and LARRY JACKSON asked everyone to report to the Austin SNCC office in order to locate places for the visitors to stay that night.

The motels in the city were unavailable because of the football games between the University of Houston and the University of Texas. At the SNCC office, LARRY JACKSON telephoned DICK REAVIS of SDS and REAVIS made arrangements with a few of the SDS members to board some of the SNCC members.

It was determined that DICK REAVIS was already housing several SDS members from unknown cities, but stated that he would take in three more SNCC members who were identified as TERRY-AUDREY from New York City, HELEN JOHNSON and PEGGY-HOSKINS, both of Houston. Arrangements were made for other Houston people to stay at various places in Austin for the night. During conversations between SNCC and SDS members on the night of September 21-22, 1968, it was determined that SNCC and SDS would attempt to form a coalition between SDS, SNCC and the BPP. This was further brought out during a joint meeting between SNCC and SDS on September 22, 1968 which was opened by LARRY JACKSON. JACKSON stated that SDS and SNCC were going to form a coalition and join together on a state-wide basis. He thereafter called to the floor TERRY AUDREY from New York City to discuss charges against black leaders in Dallas, Austin, and Houston, Texas. AUDREY told that he was being sent from the SNCC office in New York City to try and help solve the problems of SNCC leaders throughout Texas. He discussed trumped-up charges against LEE OTIS JOHNSON, Houston, HELEN JOHNSON, Houston, EARNEST-MC MILLAN, Dallas, the TSU Five, Houston, and LARRY JACKSON of Austin, Texas. He spoke of funds that were needed to help these black leaders who have been accused by the white power structure. TERRY AUDREY indicated he was a very good friend of DICK REAVIS of SDS and was in favor of joining with SDS.

DICK REAVIS thereafter spoke and gave a summary of SDS activities and stated that he and other SDS members were in favor of joining forces in a drive to raise funds for
black convicted leaders and set up "legal means" and also a "political issue". He indicated that the organizations are preparing to distribute propaganda literature across the State of Texas and nationally regarding black leaders who have been accused in Texas. Another speaker at the meeting was DOUGLAS WAYNE WALLER, SNCC leader in Houston who was not in favor of meeting with the white SDS members and indicated during his talk that the white people in the audience are his enemies and spies. Of the 65 people in attendance at the conference, approximately half were white. A motion was passed to set up a general fund for all convicted SNCC leaders and also to set up a central committee which would be located in Austin, Texas under the leadership of TERRY AUDREY and DICK REAVIS. The two organizations also voted to end racism and form a political force to deal with problems of black and white people oppressed under the existing system. In summation, the conference was set up mainly to effect a coalition between SDS and SNCC in the State of Texas. It was brought out that a merger with SDS and black militant organizations would present a tighter bond between the organizations, as well as make a stronger fighting force to combat racism that exists.

Below is a three page document relative to the intention of the SDS to support members of the black nationalist organizations. This three page document was obtained from the material which was in the possession of TERRY AUDREY:
STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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 Nonviolent 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. Neglie 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, Dallas, Houston, and Kilien have been jailed on various charges (some have already been sentenced), 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. Larry 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 obstructing the labor of others. Larry 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 Dallas, SNCC led demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillon, SNCC Field Secretary, and his aide, received ten-year sentences within the past week for "destruction of private property worth over $50" (that is—dropping merchandise).

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houston SNCC, has been harassed ever since his first case 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 Kilien, near Fort Hood, the Summer of Support ran a coffee house which offered GI counseling. The Kilien 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 SNCC, 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 SNCC, 1311 Rosedale Ave., Austin Texas. A support rally will be held on Saturday, Sept. 7, at 12:30 p.m. in Union Sq., New York City.
G. Interest of Communist Party (CP) Displayed Towards SNCC

(10/21/68)

JOHN STANFORD is Chairman of the CP of Texas, member of the National Committee, CP USA and Southern Organizer, CP USA.
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 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 Non-Violent 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, afore-mentioned, 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.

APPENDIX
Liturature is given by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Dr. Ralph Bunche, has appointed himself as not being a member of any particular program or agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of thesituation which erupted across the South in the spring of 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, was convened together many of the personalities involved to develop a network of militant young people in the South in October, 1960.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded by the Central Committee. In May, 1960, the Central Committee was elected by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was held in Atlanta, Georgia, in May, 1960. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. traveled to North Carolina to inaugurate the SNCC. He returned to the United States from Africa where he had been on a speaking tour of the United States, Canada, and countries.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was established in 1957 with the purpose of eliminating racial discrimination and the violation of civil rights, and to strengthen its programs in order to the draft and to the United States local and national election.

The national chairman, Ralph Bunche, in January, 1960, identified SNCC as a rank and file in the revolutionary vanguard. It adopted the idea that in order for it to be necessary to develop a revolutionary line, there must be revolutionary program.

On August 14, 1960, while addressing a group in the United Press International, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "You better turn up to this civil rights movement," later in February, 1963, Dr. King addressed these words, "America, you should have no fear and to organize your children, to organize your country and to organize against the government that is responsible for this, if you want your country and to organize against the government that is responsible for this, if you want your country and to organize against the government that is responsible for this, if you want your country and to
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.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Houston, Texas
November 22, 1968

Title       STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
            COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report of S.A.;
at Houston, 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.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 12 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY
SA [redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Albany, 1/31/68.

LEADS:
DETROIT - INFORMATION

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND OTHER OFFICES AUTHORIZED BY ROUTING CLIP (5) OF CLASSIFIED MAIL.

INDIANAPOLIS

At South Bend, Indiana

Will follow and report the activities of SNCC.

100-439190-21-7
This report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" inasmuch as information reported from
is under development as a PSI.

The names of LEONARD A. JOYCE and RANDALL C. FASNACHT are included
inasmuch as they were instrumental in bringing SNCC organizers to
South Bend.
Leads have already been set out for the Chicago Office by Indianapolis airtel to Director dated 2/6/68, captioned "MICHIANA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM; IS-C," to contact sources in SNCC if such were available in an attempt to identify
COPY

1 - MIG, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (RM)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (RM)
1 - OSII, Chanute Field, Illinois (RM)

File Number: IP 100-14281
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

ANN RUTH MAXWELL, Negro student at South Bend Campus of Indiana University, is nominal head of SNCC at South Bend and also reportedly belongs to SNCC group at Niles, Michigan.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the FBI, and is a loan to your agency. It and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
DETAILS:

At South Bend, Indiana

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...has advised that in January, 1968, LEONARD A. JOYCE, a white student at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, was chairman of the Michiana Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MCEWV).

...advised that in January, 1968, RANDALL C. FASNACHT, a white former graduate student at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, was active in the affairs of the MCEWV.

A characterization of the MCEWV is set forth on an appendix page to this report.

...related that prior to January 31, 1968, JOYCE and FASNACHT had attempted to interest Negro teenagers from the area of South Bend, which had experienced racial disturbances during the summer of 1967, in the SNCC meeting.
A characterization of SDS is set forth on an appendix page to this report.

Confidential informant IP T-2 has advised that R. Rap Brown in May, 1967, was elected National Chairman of SNCC, replacing Stokely Carmichael.

Advised that Ann Maxwell is the nominal head of SNCC in South Bend, although it could not be said that SNCC has any formal organization. Maxwell also claims to be a member of a SNCC group in Niles, Michigan. Maxwell will take the credit for any
activities carried on in the name of SNCC; but, since she has no money nor transportation, the actual SNCC organizational activities are being carried on by FASNACHT and JOYCE.
APPENDIX

MICHIANA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A source advised that in late March and early April, 1967, Audrey Helminen, Chairman of the Women's Club of the Communist Party (CP) at South Bend, Indiana, at the instruction of Simon Boorda, Chairman of the CP of Indiana, organized the April 15th Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (AMCEWW), which, as its first major endeavor, held a Peace Parley at the South Bend Public Library. The AMCEWW on April 19, 1967, changed its name to the Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam (MCAWW) and sponsored a Peace March held in South Bend on April 29, 1967. On May 23, 1967, the MCAWW changed its name to the Michiana Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MCEWW) and thereafter held open meetings each two weeks at the First Unitarian Church, 101 East North Shore Drive, South Bend.

The source further advised that the MCEWW, through its literature and sponsorship of demonstrations, has consistently opposed the draft and U. S. war efforts in Vietnam. Leonard A. Joyce, an undergraduate student at the University of Notre Dame (UND), is Chairman of the MCEWW and in April, 1967, had described himself as being to the "left" of "The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper. Those individuals who have participated in MCEWW activities have, for the most part, been students and faculty from UND and St. Mary's College (SMC) at South Bend.

The source advised on January 8, 1968, that the CP has retained its control of the MCEWW through Audrey Helminen, Recording Secretary, Simon Boorda's wife, Avanelle, Co-corresponding Secretary, and Simon Boorda, who regularly attends and participates in the meetings. The MCEWW continues to meet regularly and to oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam. It is attempting to gain additional support for its program from UND, SMC, and South Bend high school students.
APPENDIX

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Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above, at Indianapolis, Indiana.

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 | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
--- | --- | --- | ---
INDIANAPOLIS | ATLANTA | 7/31/68 | 7/23/68

TITLE OF CASE

☑ STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - SNCC

REFERENCES:


LEADS:

DETROIT (INFORMATION)

One copy of this report is being furnished to the Detroit Office for information due to the fact that it has been reported that individuals from Niles, Michigan, have been attending SNCC meetings at South Bend, Indiana.

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No; Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

APPROVED

☑ - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
1 - MIG, Fort Harrison, Indiana (RM)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (RM)
1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488(RM)
1 - Detroit (Info)(RM)
3 - Indianapolis (100-14281)

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100 - [Redacted] - 1 - 18
17 AUG 5 1968

RE: 23

EX-109

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.
IP 100-14281

INDIANAPOLIS

At Bloomington, Gary, South Bend, and Valparaiso, Indiana
Will follow and report the activities of SNCC.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Characterization of</td>
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<td>ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN</td>
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<td>ROBERT LESLIE JOHNSON</td>
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<td>Characterization of</td>
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<td>EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON</td>
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<td>100-14281-108 -109 -111</td>
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This report, page 4 and 5
Characterizations of
ANN RUTH MAXWELL
ROBERT BENJAMIN JOHNSON
JOHN WILSON
This report is classified confidential inasmuch as information reported from and if revealed, could result in the identification of sources of continuing value who are furnishing information concerning the national defense.
IP 100-14281.

has been unable to furnish any information indicating that ever had actually arrived in South Bend.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - MIG, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (Registered Mail)
1 - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (Registered Mail)
1 - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (Registered Mail)

Office: INDIANAPOLIS

Report of:
7/31/68

File Number:
100-14281

Title:
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

- P -
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADvised BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) 08/05/1968
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADvised BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF CLASS,
DATE 9-13-77 PROG

CLASSIFIED BY 3832
Exempt from OPA Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the FBI, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix pages hereto.

SNCC ACTIVITIES, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Robert Alfonzo Brown has advised that Robert Alfonzo Brown was director of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

Jane Dillencourt has advised that Robert Leslie Johnson is residing with a Jane Dillencourt at 448 East Second Street, Bloomington, Indiana. Jane Dillencourt, in 1967, was elected Vice Chairman of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a characterization of which is attached in the appendix pages hereto, at Indiana University. Both Johnson and Dillencourt are students at Indiana University.

SNCC ACTIVITIES, GARY, INDIANA
IP 100-14281

advised in August, 1967, that EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON, also known as "TUCK", was a graduate of Lincoln University and was a known "agitator" and "black power" advocate. 

stated that ADDISON was opposed to the war in Vietnam

SNCC ACTIVITIES, SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

has advised that JOHN WILSON was head of the black anti-draft, anti-war caucus of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and was also connected

-3-
with SNCC, the exact connection not being known to

IP T-6 has advised that ANNIE RUTH MAXWELL
is Chairman of SNCC at South Bend, Indiana.\n
in February, 1968, made available a list of names, addresses, or college and group affiliations for approximately 150 persons out of 200 to 250 individuals who had attended a black students conference held at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, on the weekend of February 23 - 26, 1968. He had stated that the purpose of this conference was to unify students nationally and regionally and a number of those in attendance were members of SNCC. Militant Negroes of national prominence had been invited but none appeared. He commented that there was no ANN MAXWELL or anyone from Notre Dame or South Bend, Indiana, whose names appeared on this list.
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 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 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.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape of 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 campus, 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.
Title  STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference  Report of source, dated and captioned as above, at Indianapolis, Indiana

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

[Contact name redacted] - contact with whom has been insufficient to establish 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
INDIANAPOLIS

## Office of Origin
ATLANTA

## Date
1/21/69

## Investigative Period
8/9/68 - 1/20/69

## Title of Case
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

## Report Made By
[Redacted]

## Character of Case
RM - SNCC

## Reference:

## Informants

## Accomplishments Claimed

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## Approved
[Redacted]

## Special Agent In Charge
[Redacted]

## Case Has Been:
- Pending Over One Year: [ ] Yes [ ] No
- Pending Prosecution Over Six Months: [ ] Yes [ ] No

## Location
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- This report
- This report
- This report

## Court Cases:

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## Do Not Write in Spaces Below

## ST-101

## Racial Nat. Sect:
[Redacted]
Identity of Informants (Continued):

This report
This report
This report
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

l - MIG, Fort Harrison, Indianapolis, Indiana (RM)
l - NISO, Chicago, Illinois (RM)
l - OSI, Chanute Field, Illinois (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: 1/21/69
Date:

Office: INDIANAPOLIS

Field Office File #: 100-14281
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: through advised that SNCC is not active in South Bend, Valparaiso, Gary, or Bloomington, Indiana. advised no indication SNCC active in the State of Indiana.

DETAILS: A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix pages attached hereto.

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

On January 17, 1969, and January 20, 1969, advised that SNCC has not been active in the South Bend area for the last four months.

Both and stated the organizational efforts on the part of SNCC appear to have been abandoned.

On January 9, 1969, South Bend, Indiana, advised there has been no information developed through his sources that SNCC is active in the South Bend, Indiana, area.

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 January 10, 1969, [redacted], University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, advised his sources on campus advised that there has been no activity on the part of SNCC at the University of Notre Dame.

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

On January 17, 1969, and January 20, 1969, respectively, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that no information has come to their attention that reflects that SNCC is active in Bloomington, Indiana, or on the campus of Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

VALPARAISO AND GARY, INDIANA

On January 20, 1969, [redacted] and [redacted] advised that no information has come to their attention that SNCC is active in Valparaiso or Gary, Indiana.

[redacted] advised on January 20, 1969, that no information has come to the attention of his men or their sources that SNCC is active in the State of Indiana.
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.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Indianapolis, Indiana
January 21, 1969

Title
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Reference
Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above at Indianapolis, Indiana

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 13 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: LOS ANGELES
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATL/USA
DATE: 3/16/65
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 10/19/64 - 3/5/65

TITLE OF CASE:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCES:
Report of S
acted 1/23/64,
at Atlanta.
Los Angeles letter to the Bureau dated 1/7/65.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 1/9/65.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The pretext conducted on 1/15/64 was a pretext telephone call by S
JAMES GARRETT at
6's place of employment, but under the pretext a

This report is classified SECRET, NAFB because a
information furnished by
Dis
eclosure of course could reasonably result in the identification
of informants of continuing value and compromise future
effectiveness.

APPROVED
SPECIAL AGENT

SEE COVER PAGE B FOR COPIES

LA file 100-62822

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI [redacted]
DEPT: LID, CKB
DATE FORWARDED:
HOW FORWARDED:
BY:

56 APR 1965
LA 100-63822

Copies:

5 - Bureau (100-439190) (REGISTERED)
1 - 115th INTC, Region II, Pasadena, Calif. (REGISTERED)
1 - OSI, District 18, Maywood, California (REGISTERED)
1 - FIO, Los Angeles, California (REGISTERED)
2 - Atlanta (100-6483) (REGISTERED)
2 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)

INFORMANTS

Source:  
Location: 100-63822-267

Characterization of FRED RINALDO and FRANK PESTANA

100-34683-37C

- B -

COVER PAGE
LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA will review the California Department of State records to determine whether or not SNCC or LA-SNCC has been incorporated.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA will follow and report communist infiltration of LA-SNCC.

- D* -

COVER PAGE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Los Angeles Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 6501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, Calif. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC set forth. JAMES GARRETT, Chairman of LA-SNCC reported to have stated that he is member of a N. E. B. Du Bois Club.

P

CONFIDENTIAL

Group

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.
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- 1a -
DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information that two members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), had evidenced interest in the affairs of the Los Angeles Affiliate (LA-SNCC) of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of CP infiltration of the LA-SNCC, or whether the LA-SNCC 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 and the Los Angeles Affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office", of the SNCC is located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W. Atlanta 14, Georgia.

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...."

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

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

"Rights Group Returns Here

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

It was ascertained through an appropriate pretext on December 16, 1964, by a Special Agent of the FBI that the LA-SNCC, often referred to as the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC, has an office located at 8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, California.
Characterization and Membership
of LA - SNCC

Lt. 1-1 (9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below:

Purpose:

The program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a threefold purpose: Education, Mobilization and Fund Raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council Of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized offices as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment
of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses. Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like Chairman, Secretary, Publicity Director, etc. and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and
supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the national office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program and work all over the south. An important part of the local friends' groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE: This would be a Steering Committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, Women's Clubs, Social Clubs, Men's Clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings etc. may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Business men in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this Steering Committee must be channeled through the Southern California office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE: This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of Parents and Friends of the student
volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated National group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this Committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the Administrative Director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the National Policy, lies with the National office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS: Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO"
Corner." Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

(10/19/64)

In the Los Angeles, California, area there are not more than 20 individuals who participate in functions of LA-SNCC. This is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

(10/11/62)
HERBERT PORTER

(2/27/61)
Informant advised that HERBERT PORTER admitted being a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1948 to 1952, but dropped out due to dissatisfaction with CP leadership.

(2/27/55)
Informant advised that although it was stated in the summer of 1954 that PORTER had been expelled from the CP, it was pointed out in the latter part of 1954 or early part of 1955, that he was not being dropped or expelled.

(2/14/62)
Informant reported that PORTER was a member of the Los Angeles Chapter, National Lawyers Guild (see appendix).

AUGUST MAYMULES

(1/7/63)
As of January, 1963, AUGUST MAYMULES was a member of the Youth Commission, SCDCP.

(3/7/63)

(12/5/62)
It was ascertained through an appropriate pretext on December 16, 1964, by a Special Agent of the FBI, that JAMES GARRETT is Chairman of LA-SNCC, and works out of an office located at 6501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles.

The FW is a west coast communist newspaper.

JAMES GARRETT was in attendance at the annual May Day Celebration sponsored by the May Day Committee (see appendix), held May 1, 1964, at 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles.
ALBERTA AHEARN, 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 CARL BRADEN, husband of ANNE BRADEN, testified that CARL and ANNE BRADEN 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 (AHEARN's) CP membership.

(9/30/63)

(10/19/64)

Two SCDCP members have indicated an interest in LA-SNCC. These two are FRED RINALDO and FRANK PESTANA, who have helped primarily with fund raising.

- 11 -
FRED RINALDO

(10/5/64)

FRANK PESTANA

(10/22/64)

FRANK PESTANA has been a hostile witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has served as legal counsel for other witnesses before the House Committee.

(10/20/64)

(11/2/64)

RESULTS OF THE CP PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND LA-SNCC AND INFLUENCE SNCC POLICY INCLUDING CP AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
Discussion Unlimited, Inc. (see appendix), sponsored a program and rally honoring the Negro people of Mississippi and the Mississippi Volunteer Workers, which was held at Fairfax High School Auditorium, 7850 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, on October 16, 1964. JAMES GARRETT, who was project coordinator for his region in Mississippi, spoke of his experiences in Mississippi.

JAMES FORMAN, National Executive Secretary of SNCC, appeared as a special guest speaker. FORMAN spoke optimistically of SNCC's progress.
APPENDIX

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB, formerly known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

A source advised on May 12, 1964, that during the period January through March, 1962, a series of formation meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD POTASH was acting chairman in charge of the group and PAUL ROSENSTEIN and MAXIMILIAN REINER were named to a provisional committee to help organize the new group. On April 4, 1962, the group officially selected the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism (LAUPS), and elected officers.

A second source advised that POTASH, ROSENSTEIN, and REINER were all members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

A third source advised on May 12, 1964, that the LAUPS was in contact with the full knowledge and assistance of "OLDIES"包括 chairman of the SCDCP and that several communist party (CP) members had been approached by POTASH to enter Marxist theory to members of the LAUPS. This source further advised that the LAUPS was to be a study and action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to be followed. Source also advised that although the official policy of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United States, the group considered themselves to be "Communist Party oriented" and were anxious to study the fourth rank associated with the CPUSA.

The first source above further advised that in June, 1965, LAUPS changed the name of the organization to Youth Action Union (YAU) for two reasons: The first reason that was felt that LAUPS had gained a bad reputation because of its association with CP groups, the second because it was felt the word "Socialism" in the title was driving many potential recruits.

The first elected chairman of the LAUPS and YAU and continued in this position until early 1966, was

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES IU OUIES CLUB, formerly known as the Youth Action Union and Los Angeles Youth for Peace and Socialism

HARVEY TAHUNE, was as of April, 1966, was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCOF.

The first source above advised in October, 1964, that in the later summer of 1964, the YAU affiliated with the W. H. B. DeBois Clubs of America and adopted the name of Central Los Angeles W. H. B. DeBois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name and as of September, 1964, the chairman of this group was CIV I.F.

The second source above advised that as of September, 1964, CIV I.F. was a member of the SCOF.

APPENDIX
STUDYING COMMITTEE TO PREVENT AMERICAN FREEDOMS

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

"The Citizens Committee to Prevent American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at destroying the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1941, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently received the full-time paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign on another front in New York City, the American Civil Liberties Committee.

Then the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1950, to inquire into the nature of the Committee's recent organization in California, the Citizens Committee to Prevent American Freedoms, made public a series of public meetings to protest the closure and the very existence of the committee.

Witneses and witnesses were repeated in Senate.

At this point, leader of the party's Southern California District, a now publicly prominent in the area for contributions to an unidentified campaign to publish this committee's literature, was the Citizens Committee to Prevent American Freedoms and the party in this effort was directed by (Communist Party) District Chairman EDWARD NAGEL. In a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 30, 1950, he noted that the party's closed and public protest meetings were held by the Citizens Committee to Prevent American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists were forced without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional candidates witnessed could not appear before hand in openly organized rallies and were unwilling to withdraw information from Congress.

"Citizens Committee to Prevent American Freedoms," Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 1, 1951, p. 7 (italics.)"
Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal place of office as Los Angeles County, California. The name and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "... to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems."

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who started in small card parties in various parts of the country, coordinating their work by mail and radio. In 1964, the educational director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on May 27, 1963, and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited has not changed. It continues to present "left" ideas to interested non-committed audiences. It prepares to fulfill special activities around various Branches or in larger centers. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum for organization.
The meeting on May 7, 1945, began the May Day celebration in Los Angeles. In recent years, (excepting 1941) sub-official celebrations were organized at the behest of the Los Angeles County Branch of the Communist Party (CCP) under the name May Day Committee, called "Committee for 150 Years of May Day," or variations thereof. It is advised that no official committee is formed for this purpose. Let an appropriate name be selected for purposes of identification and sponsorship of the celebration. The needed arrangements for the celebration have usually been made by the CCP, with the CCP's Executive Secretary of the CCP, with ZHENG XIAOYUAN, Chairman, CCP, serving as organizer for chairing the celebration and making the "speech." Under these conditions, the celebration is usually held at the CCP field offices and sponsored by the USACC.

Attest:

[Signature]
APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

A court, the National Lawyers Guild has reported, in various cities and states the Los Angeles Chapter and the Hollywood-Beverly Hills Chapter are affiliated with the "Anti-Subversive Organizations," revised December 1, 1934, by P. H. Mal. describe the National Lawyers Guild as follows:

1. Cited as a Communist Front.
   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Un-American Activities, Political Action Committee, March 9, 1934, p. 33).

2. Cited as a Communist front which is the front legal arm of the Communist Party, its front organization, and controlled unions.
   (Citizens for the Defense of the United States and its front organizations, People's Front to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual trade union, including unemployed, Communists, 200,000.
   (Citizen's Committee for America, Inc., December 1, 1934, p. 33)

3. The accused cases of Communists have all worked making a clear case that the Communist Party does not work for the liberation of the people, but for its own strangle the people and the Communist Party itself is nothing but a brutal organization.

FREEDOM COMMISSION
APPENDIX D: TITLE

NATIONAL LABOR COUNCIL

"(National Security Subcommittee of the
House Judiciary Committee, Hearings
on Amendments S. 1247, April 25,
1955, p. 31)."
On April 26, 1964, a source advised that the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles, was organized by RUTH GREMBAUER with the assistance of HARVIE TANIGER in February, 1964.

A second source advised on April 17, 1964, that as of April 1964, RUTH GREMBAUER was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCP) and that HARVIE TANIGER was chairman of the Youth Commission, SCP.

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

The records of the Office of Dean of Student Activities at UCLA disclosed that the DuBois Club has filed for permission to hold meetings and other special functions on the UCLA campus and that permission has been granted. In addition, the club listed a statement of purpose under Section 15 of the rules of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of West Los Angeles, "We are together to help fashion a new movement in a socialist system free from racism, 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 seek this in a unified commitment to any honest person to join with us in fighting for a better America and a more rational world."

A third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, WALT JAPIC, Executive Secretary of the SCP, spoke on youth movement and stated that the DuBois Club was one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-oriented and that members considered themselves Marxist.
APPENDIX

U. E. B. DJ DOLL CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on October 5, 1964, that since its inception, the activities of the DJ Doll Club have been mainly limited to participation in protests against alleged racial discrimination, participation in Marxist classes and participation in conferences which led to the creation of the U. E. B. Clubs of America in the summer of 1964. This source advised that the U. E. B. Dolls Club of West Los Angeles is now affiliated with the U. E. B. Beets Clubs of America and is operating as a chapter of that organization.
Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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.
LA 100-63822

Copies
5 - Bureau (100-439190)
   (REGISTERED)
1 - 115th INTC, Region II, Pasadena (REGISTERED)
1 - OSI, District 18, Maywood (REGISTERED)
1 - FIO, Los Angeles
   (REGISTERED)
3 - Atlanta (100-6488)
   (REGISTERED)
2 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63822).

INFORMANTS:

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Characterization of ROSE ARIAN and ARTHUR ARIAN

Characterization of SUSAN FAY ROMO and JOANN ESTHER FIONTIKOWSKI

- B -
COVER PAGE
LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA: (1) Will cause a check to be made of the records of the Secretary of State, Sacramento, to determine if the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC or SNCC have filed articles of incorporation in the State of California.

(2) Will obtain names of officers, their addresses and pertinent information concerning the organization, if such information is available.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report communist infiltration of LA-SNCC.
COMMUNIST INfiltration of student
Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Los Angeles friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC set forth. CLIFFORD A. VAUGHNS is the new Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC.


- P -

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.
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DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon information that two members of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), had evidenced interest in the affairs of the Los Angeles affiliate (LA-SNCC) of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of the LA-SNCC, or whether the LA-SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

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

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office," of the SNCC was moved from 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, during the latter part of May, 1965, to 360-362 Nelson Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

It was ascertained from the new regional coordinator and director of LA-SNCC on September 2, 1965, that LA-SNCC has an office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF LA-SNCC

(9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below.
PURPOSE:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three-fold purpose: Education, mobilization, and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operations, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this, the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten-fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund-raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.
Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the national office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An important part of the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE: This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi project.
MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE: This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the National Policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS: Press releases should be issued each week leading to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO Corner."
Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

(10/19/64)

In the Los Angeles, California area there are not more than 20 individuals who participate in functions of LA-SNCC. This is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On September 2, 1965, CLIFFORD A. VAUGHNS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is now the Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC with office at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. VAUGHNS advised that JAMES GARRETT is no longer associated with LA-SNCC.
On June 13, 1965, CLIFFORD VAUGHGS spoke at a meeting of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (see appendix), 2936 West Eighth Street. VAUGH GS gave a report on Mississippi and civil rights works.

On August 16, 1965, LYNN APPLEBAUM, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is one of the sponsors of the Long Beach area LA-SNCC and that this organization was founded by SAUL STOLZBERG and herself. She advised that they have obtained office space at 205 East Broadway, Suite 601, Long Beach, California.

LA T-29 (8/9/65)

A Bakersfield, California, Friends of SNCC was recently formed with headquarters at 618 California Avenue, Bakersfield. The following persons are the principal officers:

MELVIN A. BROWN, President
HAROLD J. BOLWER, Chairman and treasurer
MARTHALL GANZ, Organizer
There are approximately 35 people who work with SNCC in the Bakersfield area.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE SNCC AND LA-SNCC AND INFLUENCE SNCC POLICY

(2/2/65)

Information was received that a member of the Theodore Dreiser Youth Club, SCDCP, has LA-SNCC as his mass organization and that he has three possibilities for recruiting from this organization.

(4/6/65)
SAM KUSHNER has indicated that he was going to
the Federal Court in Los Angeles on March 19, 1965 and
distribute 100 copies of the "People's World" to the LA-SNCC
and other civil rights demonstrators.
APPENDIX

CENTRAL LOS ANGELES DU BOIS CLUB
Formerly known as the Youth Action
Union and Los Angeles Youth for
Peace and Socialism

A source advised on March 25, 1965, that during
the period January through March, 1962, a series of formation
meetings to establish a "Socialist Youth Organization," was
held in the Los Angeles area. LEONARD FOTASH was acting
chairman in charge of the group and PAUL ROSENSTEIN and
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER were named to a provisional committee
to help organize the new group. On April 3, 1962, the group
officially selected the name of Los Angeles Youth for Peace
and Socialism, (LAYPS), and elected officers.

A second source advised that FOTASH, ROSENSTEIN,
and ALEXANDER as of 1963 were all members of the Southern
California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

A third source advised on May 12, 1964, that the
LAYPS was organized with the full knowledge and assistance
of DOROTHY HEALEY, chairman of the SCDCP and that several
Communist Party (CP) members had been approved by HEALEY to
teach Marxist theory to members of the LAYPS. This source
further advised that the LAYPS was to be a Marxist study and
action group and that the teachings of KARL MARX were to
be followed. Source also advised that although the alleged
purpose of the group was to promote "Socialism" in the United
States, the group considered themselves to be "Communist
Party Orientated" and were anxious to study the brand of
Marxism associated with the CPUSA.

The first source above further advised that in
June, 1969, LAYPS changed the name of the organization to
Youth Action Union (YAU) for two reasons: The first being
that it was felt that LAYPS had gained a bad reputation
because of its association with CP groups, the second because
it was felt the word "Socialism" in the title was driving
away possible recruits.

The first elected chairman of the LAYPS and YAU
who continued in this position until early 1964, was MARVIN
TREICHE, who as of April, 1964, was chairman of the Youth
Commission, SCDCP. Since the organization's inception, key
officers have been members of the CP.
APPENDIX CONTINUED

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. Du Bois Club. This club continues to operate under the above name.
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 2-5, 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, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 4, 1965, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian-Un universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist front" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, aka Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights and the Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organization", 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 'varicous area or local committees.(* * * constitute ** * one organization within the meaning of the ** statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born 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, 1950, 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.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, a/k/a
Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights
and the Protection of Foreign Born

"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 CHERNIK served as 'the operating head' since
the time of its organization.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House
Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion,
August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54,
50, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for

A source advised on May 25, 1965, that the Los
Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has also
been using the name Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of
the Bill of Rights and the Protection of Foreign Born and
continues to be active in the Los Angeles area.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 18, 1965, 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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

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" 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. 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 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 CONTINUED
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

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 third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke on the CP youth movement and stated that the Du Bois Club was one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-Orientated and that members considered themselves Marxist.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB
OF WEST LOS ANGELES

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 lead to the creation of the W. E. B. 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.
A source advised on May 1, 1963, that the Women for Legislative Action was formed in 1952, claiming to be an independent organization dedicated to non-partisan participation in legislative and civic activities. Its position in favoring or opposing legislation usually parallels the position of the Communist Party and related groups. It also supports legislation to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Membership in the Women for Legislative Action does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

Another source advised on May 18, 1965, that the Women for Legislative Action continues to be active in the Los Angeles area.
APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" ("YSA"), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated 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 YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and the 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 7, 1965, 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 7, 1965, YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA is located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
September 28, 1955

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-5352

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of FBI 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 issued to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COMMUNIST INFRINGEMENT OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

TITLE OF CASE

REPORT MADE BY

COMMUNIST INFRINGEMENT OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

COMMENTS

DATE

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

4/11/66

2/15 - 3/14/66

TYPED BY

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCE:
Report of SA [redacted] at Los
Angeles dated 3/29/66.

Report of SA [redacted] at Atlanta
dated 2/4/66.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

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

This report is classified confidential because
information reported from [redacted] through [redacted]
and [redacted] could result in the loss of a
valuable source of intelligence data and
undermine future effectiveness thereof.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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REC. 3

- Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
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- PID, Los Angeles (RM)
- Atlanta (100-64866) (RM)
- Los Angeles (100-63822)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

[Table with columns for Distribution Date, Name of Recipient, and Notes]

67 MAY 12 1966
INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

- 3 -
COVER PAGE

100-63822-679

Instant report
Special Agent [redacted] was in contact with CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director LA-SNCC on 12/22/55.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES,

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report Communist Infiltration of LA-SNCC.

- C* -

COVER PAGE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:
Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 5635 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Purpose and scope of LA-SNCC and Communist Party efforts to infiltrate LA-SNCC see forth.

- F* -

This document contains Neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to you for the purpose of this report; it is not to be distributed outside your agency.
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DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC, when appropriate in this report.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

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

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

Secretary of State
State of California
Sacramento, California
(3/30/65)

On September 30, 1965, [omission] that the records of that office contain no record of Articles of Incorporation for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or for the Los Angeles Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The National Headquarters, "Central Office", of the SNCC are located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia.
CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director, on December 22, 1965, advised a Special Agent of the FBI, that the LA-SNCC has an office at 6505 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

(2/10/66)

LA-SNCC have an office at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF LA-SNCC

(9/25/64)

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," the contents of which are set forth below:

PURPOSE:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three-fold purpose: education, mobilization and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this are the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office function have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is
expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier etc. and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCI (California State College at Long Beach), CSULB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.

Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California Office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the National Office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.
The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program, and work all over the South. An important part of the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE

This would be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be channeled through the Southern California Office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE

This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put


PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATION

This is what we hope to see at the event. The event should be well advertised to attract the desired audience. The venue should be selected carefully to ensure the comfort of the guests. The menu should be diverse and include both vegetarian and non-vegetarian options.

The event should be followed by a media release. The media release should be issued each week.

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles County

PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the event. They will be in charge of the following:

- Security
- Catering
- Decorations
- Entertainment

This committee will be responsible for making sure that the event runs smoothly. They will be in charge of:

- Coordinating with the venue
- Coordinating with the vendors
- Coordinating with the caterers

This committee will also be responsible for ensuring that the event meets all safety and compliance requirements.
Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

LA T-34 (10/10/64)

SNCC is not a membership organization. SNCC is trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" and is fundamentally a paper organization.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On December 22, 1965, CLIFFORD A. VAUGHNS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is the Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC with office at 6303 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

LA T-16 (2/15/66)

Officers of LA-SNCC, Long Beach, California, as of January 10, 1966, were shown as THOMAS ADDISON, President-Chairman; HENRY SMALZ, Vice-President; RONALD FOSTER, Secretary.
February 1, 1966. He was immediately taken to appear on the Louis-Lornax Show. LORNAX is a Negro narrator of a controversial television show in Los Angeles.

(2/1/66)

After JULIAN BOND made his appearance on the Lorax Show on February 1, 1966, he attended a reception in his honor at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, sponsored 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 for about five minutes concerning his not being seated in the Georgia Legislature.

The PJ is a West Coast communist newspaper.

M.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF AMERICA (Supra)

(10/12/66)

The M.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Los Angeles as of October 12, 1966 are scheduled to support a demonstration in the form of a motorcade in Los Angeles on October 15, 1966 carrying signs protesting the Vietnam war. It is not known if this demonstration will definitely take place. LA-SNBK, SCDP, and other organizations are to participate in the demonstration.
As of October, 1965, LA-SHCC was maintained on the regular active mailing list of the J.E.B. DuBois Club.

{REDACTED} (2/10/66)

As of February, 1966, the LA-SHCC was maintained on the PW subscriber's list.

DEMONSTRATIONS

{REDACTED} (1/10/66)


CLIFFORD VAUGHNS was in charge of the demonstration.
Participants included members of the SCACP, LADRIPTS and W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

The demonstration was in protest of the killing of a civil rights exponent in Alabama.

(2/12/66)

On February 12, 1966, there was a picket demonstration in front of the 77th Street Station, Los Angeles Police Department, for civil rights and protesting the war in Vietnam. LA-SCAPC, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, SCACP, and other organizations participated.

JOHN LEWIS, National Executive Chairman, SNCC, participated in the demonstration. LEWIS made a short speech from the front steps of the police station comparing the war in Vietnam to the civil rights war. LEWIS said he advocates bringing the United States troops out of Vietnam and spending the money, which is being spent on this war, in poverty areas of the United States.

OTHER ACTIVITY TO INFILTRATE LA-SNCC
APPENDIX

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 units of local committees constitute one organization within the meaning of the "** statutes (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, Decision No. 103-51, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 4, 5, 12 and 13.)

"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 and 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."
APPENDIX CONTINUED

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

"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 Protection of Foreign Born had
been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified
Communist ROSS CHERMN served as 'the operation head' since
the time of its organization.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House
Report 1102 on Communist Political Subversion,
August 15, 1957, pp. 56, 87, 55, 52, 54,
58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for

A source advised on December 5, 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.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL - SWP)

On May 13, 1965, 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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, 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 7, 1965, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

On May 5, 1968, 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

APPENDIX CONTINUED
aspect of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program.
APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR ABOLITION
OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
COMMITTEE, also known as Citizens
Committee to Preserve American Freedoms

A source advised on January 25, 1966, that the
Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (CCPAF),
555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, has
changed its name to Southern Californians for Abolition
of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The change
in name was voted on at a special meeting of the CCPAF Executive
Board on January 6, 1966, subject to approval by all Executive
Board members and local sustainers of the CCPAF. Approval was
rendered by an overwhelming vote to adopt the new name of
Southern Californians for Abolition of the House Un-American
Activities Committee.

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

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American
Freedom * * * 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 RALPH 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 2-5, 1956, 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. Now the Citizens Committee to
Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR ABOLITION
OF THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
COMMITTEE, also known as Citizens
Committee to Preserve American Freedoms

"was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY
HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California
District Council on September 21, 1956. 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, 1959, pp. 7
and 8.)
APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October, 1965, a source advised "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District, Communist Party. DAN BISSIL originated the idea, and more or less organized the school. As of October, 1965, approximately 100 persons were enrolled in the school. Source further advised that as of October, 1965, JUAN RABA appeared to be one of those involved in the actual organizational work of the school.

Another source advised as of July, 1965, DAN BISSIL was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District, Communist Party.

Another source advised in September, 1965, JOHN RUDGE RABA was present at a meeting of the Los Angeles Area Council, In Da's Club of America, at 1735 West 11th Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting he stated he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), because if he joined, his wife, HILDA, who is not a citizen, could be deported. He further stated if he became a member, he would lose effectiveness in the community because many people look up to him as an independent radical. He stated he would join the CP if it were legal, and not under pressure by the Government.

In May, 1965, another source advised that EDWARD HOUDE, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, had been voted approval by the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (IWW - SWP) to associate himself with "The New Left School of Los Angeles" as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

Another source advised September, 1965, that JOHN M. "TOMMY" KEMP, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, was a member of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (IWW - SWP), and alternate member of the National Committee, SWP.

Another source advised on May 12, 1965, that the LA-CP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LA-CP is a local branch of the National CP, with aims and purposes identical to those of the National CP."
The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
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M. E. R. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (MCA)

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 getting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the next peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the use 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 20-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name M. E. R. Du Bois Clubs of America (MCA) 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. To 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

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

V. J. E. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

of the socialist alternative."

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 STEVENSON FLOOD, II (who, according to the third source, attended a CP cadre encampment held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, in June, 1965, and following his election as Chairman of the DCA, attended another national CP cadre youth conference held on September 9-12, 1965, on a farm located in Northern Indiana, according to a fourth source); Director of Publicity CARL ELLISER BLOCH (who was elected to the San Francisco County Committee CP in April, 1964 according to a fifth source); Educational Director MARTHA "DYNAMITE" WALKER (who, in June, 1964, was stated to be the Youth representative on the Northern California CP District Board, according to a sixth source); Organizational Secretary THERESA "SAYO" HALLUM (who, according to a seventh source, met in June, 1965, with the District Staff of the Illinois CP to discuss the proposed DCA Midwest Summer Project), and Treasurer SUEAN PHILLIPS BORENSTEIN (who, according to an eighth source, has attended meetings of the Youth Club of the CP of Illinois during 1965 in connection with the DCA Summer Project).
APPENDIX

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 third source advised on March 12, 1964, that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Los Angeles, February, 1964, BEN DOBES, Executive Secretary of the SCDCP, spoke on the CP youth movement and stated that the Du Bois Clubs were one of two youth groups operating in the Los Angeles area, both groups were Marxist-Orientated and that members considered themselves Marxist.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
A fourth source advised on May 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. 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.
Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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  LOS ANGELES  OFFICE OF ORIGIN  ATLANTA

TITLE OF CASE  COMMUNIST INfiltration of
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

DATE  10/1965  INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD  5/3 - 10/3/66

REPORT MADE BY  *  TYPE BY  jbe

CHARACTER OF CASE  IS - SHCS

REFERENCE:

Letter of complaint to Los Angeles dated 6/1/66.
Letter of complaint to Albany dated 9/2/66.

AN INVESTIGATIVE

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

This report is classified secret and must be handled
with the utmost secrecy. Disclosure of information in
this report, through unauthorized disclosure, could result in the
identification of confidential sources of continuing value and
compromise future effectiveness thereof.

The records of the Articles of Incorporation, Secretary
of State, State of California, Sacramento, California, are being

APPROVED:  C. F.

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

[Handwritten notes and redactions]
Characterization of GEORGE DAVIS

Characterization of PELL BEASLEY, characterization of Committee to End the War in Vietnam, characterization of Freedom Now Committee

Characterization of MARVIN TRIEGER

Characterization of FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, characterization of ROBERT DUGGAN, characterization of ALLAN ZAK

-C-
COVER PAGE
Characterization of AL LEWIS

Characterization of KAREN KROGAN,
characterization of ROBERT HIRMAN,
characterization of CLIFFORD VAUGHN

Characterization of SUE DOUGLAS

100-0322-500

- D -
COVER PAGE
Characterization of LENNY GOLDBERG

Characterization of LENNY GOLDBERG

Characterization of GEORGE LALLIS

Characterization of IDA GOLDBERG

Characterization of IDA GOLDBERG

Characterization of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE, aka Malcolm X

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE

Characterization of MALCOM LITTLE

Characterization of BEN RATHER

- E -

COVER PAGE
LA 160-63822

LEAP

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT
ACTIVITIES OF LA-31000.

- F* -

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  

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Copy to:  
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1 - CSI, Norton AFB (RM)  
1 - PIO, Los Angeles (RM)  

Report of:  

Date: 10/7/60  
Office: Los Angeles, California  

Field Office File #: 100-33222  
Bureau File #: 100-433130  

Title:  
GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT OF  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE  

Character:  
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  

Synopsis:  

- F -  

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For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials LA-SNCC when appropriate in this report.

All individuals whose names are followed by an asterisk appear in the glossary section of this report.

I. SCOPE

Source furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption, "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC."

Excerpts from this article state, "The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three-fold purpose: education, mobilization and fund raising. The Los Angeles SNCC program is geared toward students and adults who are interested in broad national SNCC policy, its program and work all over the South. An important part of the local group would be the involvement of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC."

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

Informant furnished a leaflet on September 25, 1964, which bears the caption, "Program for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC," contents of which are set forth below:

The purpose for Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has a three-fold purpose: education, mobilization and fund raising. In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is
a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized office as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles Office. From this base, there should be local friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), USC (University of Southern California), Cal Tech (California Institute of Technology), CSCLA (California State College at Los Angeles), CSCLB (California State College at Long Beach), LACC (Los Angeles City College), and all other campuses.

Each of these local friends groups would have officers like chairman, secretary, publicity director, etc., and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California Office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting
direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to
the National Office. All funds must be channeled through the
head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and
receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students
and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy,
its program, and work all over the South. An important part of
the local Friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers
and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE:

This would be a steering committee composed of individuals
who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising
drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest
high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills,
Beverlywood, Pacific Palisades, and much of its success depends on
public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in
that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs,
may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw
participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they
may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or
time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been
contacted.

Businessmen in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee must be
channeled through the Southern California Office. The funds
raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE:

This committee was formed at the beginning of the
Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the
student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal
Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, and operate funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE:

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the administrative director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the national policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS:

Press releases should be issued each week leading up to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call attention to the "SNCC Corner" or "CCFC Corner." Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.
Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

III. ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

Secretary of State
State of California
Sacramento, California

[9/20/65]

[Blank space]

Advised that the records of that office contain no record of articles of incorporation for the SNCC or for the LA-SNCC.

On September 21, 1966, CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that LA-SNCC was not incorporated.

IV. HEADQUARTERS

CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC advised a Special Agent of the FBI on September 21, 1966, that their main offices were located at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

[Blank space] (9/22/66)

Source stated that KAREN KOMAN, Secretary of LA-SNCC, advised that SNCC had two main chapters at Long Beach and Bakersfield, California.
Source advised that LA-SNCC has a branch office at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California.

Source stated that LA-SNCC has a chapter headquarters at 315 Anaheim Street, Long Beach but has recently moved to 906 East Pacific Coast Highway, Long Beach, California, which is an income tax service office of the LA-SNCC chapter president, at Long Beach, THOMAS ADDISON*. This chapter is known as the Long Beach chapter of SNCC.

BAKERSFIELD

Source advised that BEN RAINE,* is chairman of the Bakersfield chapter of LA-SNCC with headquarters at 318 California, Bakersfield, California.

V. OFFICERS

SNCC OFFICERS

An article appearing in the "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner," Los Angeles, California, on May 17, 1963, which revealed a change in the national leadership of SNCC, read as follows:

"Two of the nation's most militant civil rights leaders, John Lewis and James Foreman, were deposed yesterday by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). One source said they were considered 'too moderate.'

'Spunky' Carmichael, a founder of the all-Negro 'Black Panther political party' in Alabama, was named to succeed Lewis as SNCC chairman and he promptly announced the organization would
"Identify its efforts in the area of independent politics."

"A 24-year-old West Indies native now living in New York, Carmichael will be part of a ruling triumvirate including executive secretary Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson of Atlanta and program secretary Cleveland Sellers of Denmark, S.C.

"Carmichael, one of the original 'freedom riders' who brought about desegregation of interstate transportation facilities, accused the Federal Government of 'inaction' in ensuring equal political rights for Negroes. He is expected to lead SNCC toward greater activity in voter registration and elections.

"Lewis, 29, and Foreman, 37, remain on SNCC's central committee, which was reduced from 21 to 16 members."

OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On September 21, 1966, CLIFFORD VAUGHNS* advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC.

Source advised that KAREN KOCHAN* is Secretary of LA-SNCC and works out of their headquarters at 6605 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

OFFICERS OF THE BAKERSFIELD CHAPTER OF SNCC

Source advised that BEN RATHER* is Chairman of the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC. The other officers in the chapter are FRANK BRUNS*, Vice-Chairman, MURRAY BRUNS*, Secretary, and EMITTY SCOBLES*, Treasurer.
(9/26/66)

On September 26, 1966, source advised that the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC maintains an office at 618 California Avenue, Bakersfield, California, but there have been no SNCC meetings during the past several months. BEN RATNER* has resigned as Chairman of SNCC and MELVIN A. BROWN* former SNCC President has been inducted into the United States Army. Bakersfield chapter of SNCC has no present leadership and all of its officers are no longer with the organization.

OFFICERS OF LONG BEACH
CHAPTER OF SNCC

(2/10/66)

On February 10, 1966, the records of the Long Beach, California, were checked and noted that THOMAS ADDISON* of 19216 Marlan Avenue, Compton, California, and at that time declared himself as President-Chairman of the Long Beach chapter, Friends of SNCC, for its new location at 316 East Anaheim Street, Long Beach, California. The officers, according to the record, were HENRY SMALZ*, Vice-President, and DONALD FOSTER*, Secretary.

(9/27/66)
VI. MEMBERSHIP

(9/26/60)

Source stated that LA-SNCC is not a membership organization but they are trying to secure field workers to assist them in their various programs and functions. The Los Angeles group calls itself the Friends of SNCC and is fundamentally a paper organization.

(9/26/60)

Source stated that SNCC is not a membership organization but a loose-knit group with approximately 13 people who have identified themselves with LA-SNCC. Their leader is CLIFFORD VAUGHNS* and their headquarters is at 5665 Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles, California.

MEMBERSHIP OF BAKERSFIELD
CHAPTER OF SNCC

(3/3/60)

Source furnished a list of the following individuals who have associated with the Bakersfield chapter of SNCC. They are as follows:

BEN RATHNER*, Chairman
FRANK BRUNIS*, Vice-President
EUGENE BRUNIS*, Secretary
DETTIE SCHEALES*, Treasurer
RICHARD VINEYARD*, Publicity Director
CLEY SUTTON

(4/26/60)

On September 25, 1966, source advised that BEN RATHNER* has resigned as Chairman of SNCC and that NELVIN A. BROWN, former SNCC President has been inducted into the United States Army.
Source stated that SNCC is disorganized at the present because of the absence of all top officers and no new officers have been installed to date.

MEMBERSHIP OF LONG BEACH
CHAPTER OF SNCC

(9/27/66)

On September 27, 1966, source advised that the only active member of the Long Beach chapter of SNCC is their Chairman THOMAS ADDISON*. Other individuals who have been active in the past in this chapter are MIKE SWEENEY*, MARY ANN MC CATHY*, HENRY SMAIL*, and DONALD FOSTER*.

VII. ACTIVITIES

(2/13/66)

On February 1, 1966, a meeting was sponsored by LA-SNCC at the Embassy Room of the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, California. The meeting honored JAMES* BOND*, a young Negro who was recently elected to the Georgia House of Representatives and was refused by a two-thirds vote of his fellow lawmakers for making public statements criticizing the conflict in Vietnam.
VIII. POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIETNAM (CEW)

(6/5/68)

On June 5, 1968, source stated that CEW is an
organization of representatives from numerous peace-
oriented and/or civil rights groups and includes
representatives of the Southern California District
of the Communist Party (SCDCP), the Los Angeles Local-
Socialist Workers Party (IAT-SWP)(see appendix), etc.
and its objective is to protest the United States
involvement in Vietnam and cause withdrawal of all
American troops from that country.

(2/18/66)

(2/22/66)

(1/15/66)

A CEW demonstration on April 7, 1966, originated at
Sunset and Vine in Hollywood, California, which was a protest
against the war in Vietnam. The demonstrators walked for several
blocks on Hollywood Boulevard then went south on La Brea Avenue
and then east on Sunset to their starting point. BILL BEASLEY*
represented STRC at this demonstration.
IX. PUBLICITY

CLIFFORD VAUGHN*, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, on September 21, 1966, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that "The Movement" is a monthly newspaper published by the SNCC of California in San Francisco, California, and is the publication for SNCC in the west coast.

"The Movement" of September, 1966, page 2, contains an article which lists the location of the editorial office for the newspaper at 401 17th Street, San Francisco, California. The Los Angeles staff for this newspaper was listed as KAREEM ROGERS* and LOI HENDON*.

An article appears in "The Movement" of September, 1966, page 3, column 3, entitled "Halcom K* defines black power," which reads as follows:

"The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are paid off for the outside forces."

An article appears in "The Movement" of September, 1966, page 6, which was written by STOKELY CARMEICHEL*, leader-chairman of SNCC, entitled "Black Power not anti-white, unless whites make it that way." It reads as follows: 

- 13 -
'Over the years, SNCC has been concerned above all with making changes in the daily life of impoverished Southern Negroes, basic charges, not 'tokenism.' Almost from the start, in 1960 SNCC realized that political and economic power was the key to this and that Negro-controlled political groups must be formed to achieve it.

"Disenfranchisement, maintained by racist terror, made this impossible at the time. The right to vote had to be won and SNCC workers addressed themselves primarily to winning the vote from 1961 to 1965. That struggle was ended, though far from won, with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. SNCC workers could then address themselves to the logistics of self-determination, putting a Negro sheriff into office, winning power.

'Black power means that in Lowndes county, Alabama (60% negro), if a Negro is elected tax assessor, he will be able to tax equitably and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving Negroes. If elected sheriff, he can end police brutality. Where black people lack a majority, it means power representation and sharing of control. On state or national levels it means that black people can say to white authorities, 'We need X million dollars to fix our roads, and we have X million votes behind us.' Without power they can only say, 'Please, we need it."

"We seek, then, to create power bases which can make important changes in daily life on a local level and go on to change state wide or nation wide patterns of oppression through negotiation from strength rather than weakness. Negroes cannot form political alliances with the white community until they have strength and until there are whites with whom they can form coalitions. This is not the case in the deep South today. But it is one of our hopes and goals to encourage poor whites to build a base with which poor Negroes may eventually combine their strength."

- 14 -
"Essential in the process of organizing Negroes to win power is the conquest of fear and the development of 'black consciousness' self-respect, pride in black history, our culture and institutions. We must change the attitude expressed by an Alabama Negro who voted for the white sheriff on May 3, saying, 'We aren't ready to have a colored sheriff. The white folks wouldn't have liked that a bit.'

"The acquisition of political power responsible to black people is the current stage in our struggle to create a society in which people can make free choices as equals about all aspects of their daily lives. This is our goal and our concept of integration. Too often the goal 'integration' has been based on a complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education, Negroes must move into a white neighborhood or go to a white school. What does this mean? First of all, it involves among both Negroes and whites the idea that 'white' is automatically better and that 'black' is by definition inferior. Second, it allows the nation to focus, for example, on a handful of white children who finally get by Southern racist mobs and run away from white schools, and to ignore the millions who are left behind in improved, all-black schools. Such situations will not change until Negroes have political power—to control their own school boards, for example. With the achievement of such control, Negroes can become truly equal—and integration then becomes relevant, meaningful.

"None of this thinking is new in SNCC. 'Two-Black' has never meant 'anti-white' unless whites make it so. We continue to believe, as always, that SNCC's leadership must be black. We have concluded that Negroes make the best organizers in Southern communities because they encourage the idea that Negroes can do something for themselves. This releases the energy and creativity needed to create change.

"Today SNCC's field secretaries face even greater danger and poverty than before. As Negroes register to vote and begin to organize white resistance stiffens. Any Negro who runs for office loses his job, eviction from his home, death itself. SNCC works full-time to overcome the genuine fear, white and black, North and South."
An article appears in "The Daily Trojan" the newspaper of the University of California at Los Angeles, California, on April 27, 1966, entitled "Friends of SNCC Begin Working for Civil Rights," which reads as follows:

"Friends of SNCC, a support group for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, became an official campus organization yesterday after a five-month struggle for recognition.

"The group, which has been operating off campus with approximately 65 members, will inform students of civil rights activity in the South, raise support for SNCC projects, and involve USC students in work to bring about a change in existing conditions in the South.

"Negro Leadership

"SNCC itself is a civil rights organization operating in the South that focuses on the development of local organizations and the training of emerging Negro leadership.

"It is a coordinating committee of student protests that originated in Greensboro, North Carolina, lunch counter sit-ins in 1960.

"Friends of SNCC at USC will support SNCC by calling on politicians to lend more federal support to civil rights movements.

"USC workers will collect food and clothes for Southern Negroes and whites involved in community development projects.

"They will also raise money to build community centers and libraries for southern communities that lack such facilities, and establish 'freedom schools' for Negroes who have no access to formal education.

"Exert Pressure

"Friends of SNCC will operate as a pressure group to force politicians at all levels of government to become more
involved in civil rights action. The group will also serve as an important means of financial support for SNCC activities.

SNCC members try to pressure the current power structure in the South to change their attitude toward Negroes and allow the Negro to become a first-class citizen.

Some SNCC members feel campus recognition of Friends of SNCC was delayed because of the controversial aspect of SNCC itself.

Campus organizers, however, said their own inability to write a constitution played a part in the delay.

SNCC, with its byword of 'one man, one vote,' is trying to create self-awareness and dignity in the Negro. The group wants to bring about a peaceful social revolution through the application of direct-action techniques as sit-ins and picketing.

An article appears in the "Daily Collegian" the newspaper for Fresno State College, Fresno, California, on May 9, 1966, entitled "SNCC Stages Mock Mock, ProtestForum," which reads as follows:

Folksingers protesting the Viet Nam war and the Delano farm strike highlighted Monday's Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee's forum.

An array of singers sang for three hours on the platform behind the Student Activities Booth before a crowd that ranged from 300 to 500 students. Local folksinger Mark Snoelstra and Badger King, a San Francisco singer and author, were the main entertainment for the 'hoot.' King also spoke on the Delano strike situation and most of his songs were directed at President Johnson's administration and United States foreign policy. King said he thought that 'hoots' should go on everyday at Fresno State College.
"Between the folk and protest songs various students and professors used the platform to make informal statements on the views they hold. English professor Richard Yanez spoke to the occasion and warned students that it was their duty to violate bad laws."

"On civil disobedience Yanez said he is 'utterly' disappointed in students who merely sit around discussing social problems. He proposed that if a person is to find evils in society he cannot always use a rational approach to discover them. 'If the law is wrong,' break it,' he said."

"Yanez said most laws are made to maintain the present power structure or they are out of date by the time they are enacted."

An article appears in the "Fresno Bee" daily newspaper Fresno, California, entitled "FSC Draft Test is Set for Tomorrow" on May 13, 1966, which reads as follows:

"About 450 Fresno State College male students will put their draft status on the line tomorrow along with some 900,000 other young Americans in examination halls all over the country. The tests have drawn considerable opposition around the country and FSC campus groups have announced plans to give their own test tomorrow morning. The Friends of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) have a publication called 'The Draft and You,' which they just distributed yesterday and said they plan to give their own test of 'fair and objective questions' about the Vietnam war and American policy.

"Associate Dean of Students Gordon Wilson said the college administration has asked the groups not to interfere with the draft test. He said, however, representatives of the organization will be free to pass out literature in prescribed areas."

An article appears in the "Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles, California, entitled "SNCC and Black Nationalism" on May 15, 1966, which reads as follows:
"A shakeup in the top command of the radical Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has brought into positions of power younger and apparently even more militant Negro leaders.

"As a result some observers now expect that in its activities throughout the South SNCC will turn increasingly to more aggressive black nationalist policies, thus further dividing itself from the main current of the civil rights movement.

"The potential threat this poses to Negro progress and to a lessening of racial tensions is a serious one. SNCC's radicalism has already provided fuel for white extremists. If, as expected, it now concentrates on militant, separatist tactics, it could also dangerously divide and weaken the gathering Negro political strength in the southern states.

"The shakeup in SNCC saw two longtime leaders, John Lewis and James Forman—neither ever accused of being a moderate—replaced over the weekend by Stokely Carmichael, 24, and Mrs. Doris Robinson, 25. Carmichael, long known as one of SNCC's more radical leaders, organized the all-Negro Black Panther political movement in Alabama, formed by Hosea Williams, an aide to Martin Luther King, a form of 'reverse racism.'

"Carmichael has promised that SNCC will 'intensify its efforts in the area of independent politics.' This apparently means that it will work to expand an all-Negro political base. Many white supporters of SNCC have already been driven from the movement.

"SNCC's chief tactic has always been direct action. It also emphasizes maximum, though largely undefined, freedom. A former SNCC worker, in a critical article in the recent anthology 'The New Student Left,' notes that "as a part of a group or personal ideology, this sort of freedom can and does provide a rationalization for numerous anti-social and selfish actions.'

"Whether SNCC will become a stronger force in the South under its more aggressive leadership remains to be seen. Certainly its appeal to younger Negroes, increasingly frustrated by
"the slow pace or even seeming halt in progress toward equal
rights, could be more. Certainly, too, it will have an appeal
to those for whom radicalism provides its own reward.

"Yet it should be clear that militant black nationalism,
by definition divisive, isn't going to further general Negro pro-
gress. Its most predictable result rather would be to strengthen
the stand of die-hard segregationists, and to rekindle the fears
of many recently converted white moderates. If this is what SNCC's
new leaders want, they can hardly claim to be working in the cause
of Negro betterment.

An article appears in the Los Angeles Times," Los
Angeles, California, entitled "Black Power"--The SNCC Manifesto"
in the home edition of August 9, 1966, which reads as follows:

"Advocates of the 'black power' doctrine have often
complained that the term is misunderstood or distorted by press
and public. But a manifesto released last week by the Student
Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and statements by SNCC's
Chairman, Stokely Carmichael, show that reasonable critics of
black power have understood only too well what this line of thought
involves, and what dangers it presents.

"The SNCC manifesto, drawn up last May, is a shrill,
abusive call for Negro nationalism and separatism, a denunciation
of white liberals who have aided the civil rights movement, and a
blanket condemnation of the nation's whites as 'in reality 150
million racists.' The document calls for a Negro divorce from
American society, and a rejection of that society's values.

"In Cleveland over the weekend Carmichael elaborated on
these points.

"'When you talk of black power,' he told a crowd, '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 picking up where Malcolm X (the late Black
Muslim leader) left off.'"
"Carmichael and his youthful followers, whatever their pretensions, certainly are in no position to bring this nation to its knees. But those racist radicals are, unfortunately, capable of deepening seriously the divisions between Negroes and whites and of smashing not the products of Western civilization, but much of the progress and understanding and goodwill that has evolved in relations between the races in recent years.

"A white extremist reaction to black power has already become evident. So, too, has a white liberal backlash. Contributions and moral support for SNCC, and for the equally-militant CORE, have fallen drastically. But the radicals have only become more vocal. They seem to glory in their growing isolation. Separation, after all, is what they preach. They are achieving it.

"Black power has been denounced by all responsible civil rights leaders. But the ugly danger remains that the racism and lynchings of SNCC will become identified in the popular mind with the entire Negro movement. Wrong though this would be, it is certainly what Carmichael and his kind seek.

"Their goal is an unbridgable gap of hate between the races, a revolutionary bipolarization of 'us' against 'them.'

"This objective, it hardly need be said, is not that of the great majority of American Negroes. Their goal instead is the just one of equal opportunity and equal rights within American society, not outside or against it.

"The black power doctrine is a malicious and ultimately futile exercise. But unless it is kept in proper perspective, its potential for inciting racial hatred will be great."

The names of LIONEL JOHNSON* and GEORGE BALLIS*
came in separate news articles in the "Fresno Bee," Fresno, California, in September and October of 1965 in which they were cited as spokesmen for SNCC.
An article appears in the "Daily Californian", Fresno State College's newspaper, on April 9, 1961, and lists DAVID BRADLEY, HANK BRADLEY, and DENNIS GILBERT as negotiating in a CHC rally at Fresno State College in April, 1961.

An article appears in the "Tuscan Sun", a Fresno, California, newspaper, on October, 1963, which lists JOHN "JOEY" MATTISON, NICHOL JOHNSON, and DENNIS GILBERT as individuals active in the Fresno Chapter of CHC at Fresno State College, Fresno, California.

An article appeared on page 1 of the April 12, 1963, edition of the "Fresno Bee", the newspaper of the Fresno City College, Fresno, California, which listed Professor RICHARD YAPCHUK and JACK KAUFMAN of Fresno City College, Fresno, California, as faculty sponsors for CHC activities on the college campus.

2. SUBVERSIVE RATIONALIZATION

CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)
In response to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), it is noted that the Preamble of the SDS Constitution states, "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left... one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterpointed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the Domestic Right."

During the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, the Preamble of the Constitution was amended to eliminate "counterpointed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the Domestic Right." The SDS is opposed to present American foreign policy in Vietnam.
The SCDCP Spring Convention was held at Dooto's Music Center, 135th and Central Avenue in Compton, California. DOROTHY McALEY, Chairman of the SCDCP, reported that she was in agreement with SNCC's politics and backed the philosophy of "black power". This convention was held on June 12, 1966.

On July 19, 1966, a meeting of the SCDCP was held at Basin Hall, Los Angeles, California. WILLIAM O. TAYLOR* spoke on the Negro question and indicated that SNCC and the CP had a great deal in common because the CP had always held the present views of SNCC such as "black power".
On June 16 and 17, 1966, the PCA National Convention was held at the Coliseum, Bashback Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was agreed that the convention should go on record as supporting SNCC's position on the issue of "black power." It was also agreed that the convention should attempt to enlist the support of SNCC in its future demonstrations.

On June 19, 1966, a meeting of the PCA was held at Garvin Hall, First Unitarian Church (See Appendix), Los Angeles, California. Several of the persons in attendance were active in LA-SNCC.

On July 17, 1966, a meeting of the Los Angeles PCA was held at the Sunset Recreation Center, University
of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California.
ROBERT DUGGAN commented at the meeting that SNCC was
represented at the National DCA Convention that was recently
held in Chicago, Illinois.

D. CONNECTIONS WITH
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS
On May 22, 1966, the SDS sponsored a demonstration protesting the manufacturing of napalm at the Dow Chemical Corporation, 305 Crenshaw Boulevard, Torrance, California. Several representatives from LA-SNCC spoke and deplored the use of napalm which is being used to burn innocent victims in Vietnam and urged the United States to withdraw their troops from Vietnam.
"PEOPLE'S WORLD"
(PN)

The "PN" is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

"LIDOK NOU" COMMITTEE
(PNC)

LA T-10 (9/27/66)

The PNC is a voluntary association having no membership as such, whose purpose is to
On the various peace, civil rights, and anti-poverty groups for social progress. The committee is opposed to the United States involvement in Vietnam and is concerned with the problems of the Negro community and the civil rights movement.

(7/3/66) (7/17/66)

On February 15, 1966, the SNCC sponsored a demonstration protesting the war in Vietnam and police brutality in front of the 77th Division Station of the Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles, California. JOHN LEWIS, President of SNCC, was one of the main speakers. LEWIS likened the struggle of the Negro in the South to that of the Vietnamese.

VI. GLOSSARY

THOMAS ABDON

(9/27/65)

Source advised that THOMAS ABDON is Chairman of the Long Beach Chapter of SNCC.

FRANKLIN ALEXANDER

(10/21/66)

Source advised that FRANKLIN ALEXANDER is the National Chairman of the SCA.

GEORGE BALLIF

(11/23/65)

Source advised that BALLIF is active in the Fresno area as a representative of SNCC.
BILL BEASLY

(5/23/66)

Source advised that BEASLY is an active member of the SNCC and has been associated with LA-SNCC.

HAROLD J. BOYER

(3/8/66)

Source advised that BOYER is the former chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC and continues to be a member of that Chapter.

DANIEL BRADLEY

An article in the Fresno State College newspaper, "Daily Collegian", Fresno, California, the edition of April 22, 1966, lists BRADLEY as a participant at an SNCC rally at Fresno State College.

HANK BRADLEY

An article in the Fresno State College newspaper, "Daily Collegian", Fresno, California, the edition of April 18, 1966, lists HANK BRADLEY as a participant at an SNCC rally at Fresno State College.

VUNICE BRUINS

(3/8/66)

Source advised that VUNICE BRUINS of 3512 Canadian, Bakersfield, California, is secretary of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

FRANK BRUINS

(3/8/66)

Source advised that FRANK BRUINS, 3512 Canadian, Bakersfield, California, is Vice Chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.
GEORGE DAVIS

[Redacted] (11/10/66)

Source advised that GEORGE DAVIS is a member of the Executive Committee of the LAL-SNP.

JOANNE DIETIKER

The name of JOANNE DIETIKER appeared in a news article of the "Fresno Bee", a newspaper in Fresno, California, in October, 1965, as a leader of SNCC at Fresno City College, Fresno, California.

DOUGLAS

[Redacted] (7/6/66)

Source advised that DOUGLAS is a candidate member of the Los Angeles PDP. A candidate member is a term used to describe a member who is in a six-month probationary period before being admitted to a full membership.

ROBERT JARVIS

[Redacted] (9/19/66)

During March, 1966, source advised that ROBERT JARVIS is Chairman of the Los Angeles area DCA and is a member of the Youth Commission of the SCOP.

DONALD FOSTER

[Redacted] (12/10/66)

Source advised that DONALD FOSTER is Secretary of the Long Beach Chapter of SNCC.

DENNIS GILBERT

In February, 1966, DENNIS GILBERT was identified in the "Fresno Bee", Fresno City newspaper, Fresno, California, as a Secretary-Treasurer of the Fresno State College Chapter of SNCC.
IDA GOLDBERG

[redacted]

IDA GOLDBERG subscribed to the "MM" on December 11, 1965.

[redacted]

Source advised in January, 1965, that GOLDBERG was a member of the International Workers Order ("IWO") in January, 1939, and continued as a member until 1951.

The IWO was designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted]

[redacted]

The name of LIONEL JOHNSON appears in an article in the "Fresno Bee", a Fresno City newspaper, "Fresno, California" in September, 1965, as a "spokesman for UFWO".

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JACK KAUFMAN

The name of JACK KAUFMAN appeared in an article of the Fresno State College newspaper, "Tommie", on March 10, 1966, which listed KAUFMAN as a faculty sponsor of SNCC at Fresno State College, Fresno, California.

LOIS KAUFMAN

(3/13/66)

On June 9, 1966, source advised that KAUFMAN was a member of the CP and a Secretary at the head-quarters of LA-SNCC.

AL LAMIS

(4/1/66)

Source advised that AL LAMIS has been active in CP-LA.

JOHN LAMIS

LAMIS is publicly known as the former director of SNCC.

CLAUD LIGHTFOOT

(6/29/66)

Source advised in June, 1966, that CLAUD LIGHTFOOT was elected to the National Committee during the CP National Convention which was held in New York City from June 22 to June 26, 1966.

MALCOLM LITTLE, also known as Malcolm X

(10/2/61)  (1/28/61)  (3/1/61)

Source advised on the indicated dates that subject is a National Nation of Islam (NOI) (See Appendix) official.
and is the Minister of the NOI Temple Number 7 located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City, New York.

ANTHEM ANEUS

(1/10/66)

Source advised that ANEUS is an active member of the University of California at Los Angeles Chapter of BCA.

DEN NATHAN

(1/11/66)

(2/14/66)

Source advised that NATHAN is now Chairman of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

BETTY SCALE

(3/2/66)

Source advised that BETTY SCALE, 4116 Coronado Avenue, Bakersfield, is Treasurer of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

HENRY SHADE

(1/10/66)

Source advised that HENRY SHADE is Treasurer of the Los Angeles Chapter of SNCC.

CLEO SUPTON

(7/5/66)

Source advised that CLEO SUPTON, 912 Second Street, Bakersfield, is associated with the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.
ILLIAR TAYLOR

(3/14/66)

Source advised that WILLIAM TAYLOR is Vice Chairman of the SNCC.

CLIFFORD VAUGHN

(3/13/66)

(3/28/66)

Source advised that CLIFFORD VAUGHN was Director of LA-SNCC and has attended meetings of several CP front groups.

RICHARD VINEYARD

(3/9/66)

Source advised that VINEYARD is Publicity Director of the Bakersfield Chapter of SNCC.

BRUCE R. WISHARD

The name of BRUCE R. WISHARD appears in a news item in the "Fresno Bee", a newspaper of Fresno, California, in October, 1965, as a leader of SNCC at Fresno State College.
LA 109-6382

RICHARD VANCE

The name of RICHARD VANCE, Professor of English at Music City College, appears in the by-passed College Language Art Course, of March 10, 1966, where described VANCE is a professor in the English Department and identified as "representative of." (Redacted)

[Redacted]
APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES.

A source advised on July 25, 1935, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West Vermont, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITTSMAN has been minister of the church since 1949.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITTSMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1945, page 110, as a very active "Communist front" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1947, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party workers. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1939, 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 Internal Security Act' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-Front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Pocket No. 149-59, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1949, pp. 11, 12, and 51.)

2. "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."

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
Formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born.

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

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House
Report 1152 on Communist Political Subversion,
August 15, 1957, pp. 26, 27, 55, 53, 54, 50,
and 52; also cited in Annual Report for 1956,
House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist news-
paper, issued an account of results of
the 15th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born
which was held 4/19/56. The accomplishments include a change
of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill
of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/56 that the Los Angeles
Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to
by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection
of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1966, 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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised that Elijah Muhammad had described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temple 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-1966 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.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

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

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 party 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. The 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 allegedly following the Chinese Communist line."

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

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, stated 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 803, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.
APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October, 1965, a source advised "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District, Communist Party. DAN BESSIE originated the idea and more or less organized the school. As of October, 1965, approximately 100 persons were enrolled in the school. Source further advised that as of October, 1965, JOHN HAAG appeared to be one of those involved in the inner organizational work of the school.

Source further advised as of July, 1965, DAN BESSIE was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District, Communist Party.

A second source advised in September, 1965, JOHN RICHARD HAAG was present as chairman of a meeting of the Los Angeles Area Council, Du Bois Clubs of America, at 1733 West Temple Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting he stated he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP) because if he joined, his wife, ANNA, who is not a citizen, could be deported. He also stated if he became a member, he would lose effectiveness in the community because many people look up to him as an independent radical. He stated he would join the CP if it were legal, and not under pressure by the Government.

In May, 1965, a third source advised that EDMOND KOVACS, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, had been voted approval by the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP) to associate himself with "The New Left School of Los Angeles" as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

This source further advised in September, 1965, that EDMOND ANTHONY KOVACS, commonly known as Theodore Edwards, was the organizer of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP), and alternate member of the National Committee, SWP.

APPENDIX CONTINUED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on May 12, 1966, 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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 2, 1966, a fifth source reported that The New Left School continues to operate at 1853 South Arlington Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and that DAN BESSIE continues to be one of the driving forces in the operation of the school.
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 function 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 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."

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.
Los Angeles, California
October 7, 1956

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

To the Secretary

Title: Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Character:

Int'l Campaign for C R
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Reference:

Forward to BPA for reply and continued as agent at Los Angeles, California.

This report (except any stated above) whose
contents are not disclosed in referenced communication have
been filed with information in the file.

This document contains neither recommendations
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A A was in contact with CALIFORNIA: WALKER Regional Coordinator and Director 100-42-383 on 3/24/67

LEAD

DOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: "All fellow and report prominent activities of the Angelos" under one of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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All individuals whose names are followed by an asterisk (*) appear in the glossary section of this report.
LA 100-63/62

DETAILS:

For the purpose of brevity, the Federal Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials "SNCC" and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials "LA-SNCC", with appropriate in this report.

I. BASICS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

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

II. CODE

Mr. Fred A. Bohlen, Regional Director of LA-SNCC, notes in a March 20, 1964, that the Los Angeles branch of SNCC has three main purposes: education, mobilization, and civil rights. 

The LA-SNCC program is geared towards black students and people who are interested in broad national SCLC policy, training, and work all over the South. An important part of the local group would be recruitment of volunteers and black people to continue the work of SNCC. The emphasis is being placed on politics and SNCC will organize the Negro into a political force.
Transfer of a leaflet on September 23, 1955, which bears the caption "Program for Los Angeles Friends of S.N.C.C.", excerpts of which are set forth below:

The program for Los Angeles Friends of S.N.C.C. has a
very varied purpose: mobilization, training, and fundraising.
In the past, most of the activities of the Los Angeles Friends
of S.N.C.C. have been concentrated in a central office. This office
has served as an information center, business office, home of
S.N.C.C. and mobilization for fund raising. However,
recently, California is a well spread-out area which has more
than one center and this calls for a broader base of opera-
tion. Added to this the events which transpired in
California and the role S.N.C.C. played in the formation of
the Justice for All movement (JFAM) this past year,
the demand for which has increased tremendously. To meet these
needs and to promote the cause of nobility, we must turn the
attention to a second office.

The second office would serve as the leader of
mobilization centers, to include the entire Southern
California area. This decentralization is exemplified in the
recent growth of a number of Friends of S.N.C.C. groups located
in the Los Angeles. These must all be established specific
branches to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will
be utilized within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the
impact already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of S.N.C.C.
and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues, which
will allow this group to aid those in the field who are
struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of MCC will become Southern
California Friends of MCC, working out of the already
established Southern Los Angeles Office. From this base,
they could be Local Friends of MCC groups in Hollywood,
Santa Monica, Tarzana, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus
areas of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA),
University of Southern California (USC), California Institute
of Technology (Cal Tech), California State College at Los
Aneles (CSULA), California State College at Long Beach (CSCLB),
Los Angeles City College (LACC), and all others, etc.

Each of these local friends groups would have
its own chairperson, secretary, publicist, etc...

and conduct its own program of education and fund
raising in a manner similar to that of
the National Office and would be
under the coordination of the
National Office. The local office would
be responsible to the National Office for
the conduct of the program.

The National Office would be responsible for
the overall coordination and planning of the
program, and would provide a complete list of
activities and expenditures.

The Friends of MCC program is geared towards
youth and adults who are interested in the broader national
and international issues, and work all over the South. An
important part of the local friends groups would be the
work of volunteers and staff people to continue the
program.
MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE:

There will be a steering committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas according to their skills and abilities to raise funds and raise awareness. This group may be creative in order to keep interest high. The work could be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and such. The success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area. Church groups, women's clubs, social clubs, men's clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings, etc., may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (or specific program). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Furthermore, in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this steering committee will be channeled through the Southern California office, and any raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Office.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE:

This committee was formed as the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of parents and friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to pressure on the federal government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated national group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function.
It could continue to raise funds for odd. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operation funds, food, clothing, and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country, where Parents groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, circular newsletters, postcards, and notices could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meet at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is this body that has the administrative direction and primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the national policy, lies with the national office. This committee is composed of persons we have been and will continue to be committed to the role and direction of SNCC.

The sponsoring Committee is a group of well known and respected persons and organizations who wish to lend their name, prestige, and time to various things we feel need support and encouragement.

PUBLICATION AND COMMUNICATIONS:

Press releases should be issued to the press leading up to the event. Special features should be written for the local and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the "Sentinel", the "Echo", and the "Free Press". We should, or someone in those newspapers call coordination the "Echo" over or "CSD author". Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.
Some television stations may use special features of SCOC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

For use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A network of volunteers and SCOC radio stations, returning summer volunteers, or persons new from the field may often report to these radio stations and keep information correct. It's vital for one person and could avoid a great deal of time in developing news right with volunteers and the press.

I. ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

[Redacted text]

On March 20, 1937, CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Director, filed a Special Agent of the FBI in SCOC as an attachment.

K. HEADQUARTERS

CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director of SCOC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI on March 20, 1937 that their office was located at his residence, 7923 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles.
VAUGHNS indicated that there are no present recognized chapters of LA-SNCC, but a chapter was being reorganized in Long Beach, California, and will have its headquarters at 2626 East Anaheim, Long Beach, California, and a group that calls themselves the UCLA Friends of SNCC at the University of California (UCLA), Los Angeles, California has been formed.

VI. OFFICERS

OFFICERS OF LA-SNCC

On March 23, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHNS advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he is Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC.

[redacted]

Source advised that PAPER WASHED is Secretary of LA-SNCC.

PRESIDENT OF LONG BEACH CHAPTER OF LA-SNCC

[redacted]

On September 28, 1966, source advised that CHUCK ARRINGTON is Chairman of the Long Beach Chapter of LA-SNCC and the chapter headquarters will be at 700 East Pacific Coast Highway, Long Beach, California.

On March 29, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHNS, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that the Long Beach Chapter of LA-SNCC Headquarters are located at 2626 East Anaheim, Long Beach, California.
MEMBERS OF UCLA FRIENDS OF SNCC

An article appearing in the "UCLA Daily Bruin", the UCLA student newspaper dated October 27, 1967, written by THOMAS RAW, entitled "Local Civil Rights Group Aids Radical SNCC", indicated that DR. NELMAM is Chairman of UCLA Friends of SNCC.

An article appearing in the "UCLA Daily Bruin", the UCLA student newspaper dated December 1, 1966, written by BILL WILLIAMS, entitled "Friends of SNCC", indicates that ARTHUR E. is the present Chairman of UCLA Friends of SNCC.

VII. MEMBERSHIP

On March 10, 1967, CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director, LA-SNCC, indicated that LA-SNCC is a "pseudonym" organization. SNCC is trying to secure more black people to assist them in their various operations and activities. The Los Angeles group calls itself "Friends of SNCC" but it is quite actually a paper organization.

VIII. PUBLICITY

CLIFFORD VAUGHN, Regional Coordinator and Director of LA-SNCC, on March 10, 1967, advised a Special Agent of the FBI that "The Movement" is a West Coast monthly newspaper published by SNCC in San Francisco, California.

"The Movement" of February 1967, has 2, contains an article which lists the location of the Editorial Office.
II. ACTIVITIES OF PRINCIPAL

COUNCIL MEMBERS OF SNCC IN LOS ANGELES

(1/25/66)

On November 26, 1966, SPECKLEY CHARITABLE, National Chairman 1 SNCC, spoke at a Black Power Rally at 1:30 p.m. at Hill Rogers Park, 103rd and Central Streets, Los Angeles. With approximately 3,000 persons in attendance at the rally. CHARITABLE, the main speaker, warned the whites: "That the blacks were not afraid of them and they would deal with them the same that they liked it or not."

(2/8/66)

A rally sponsored by the Black Congress, featuring LARRY HARRISON, National Chairman of SNCC. It held at Hill Rogers Park, 103rd and Central in Los Angeles, on January 26, 1966.

The sponsoring organization, Black Congress, was organized on December 1, 1966 by RICH REDHORSE. The other persons associated in forming the Black Congress were JOHN CHABAY, I.D. TACOSITA, TERRY BLOCH, BARTY CRAY, FRANK GREENWOOD, JESUS CHAVEZ and CLIFFORD VAUGHN.
In February 20, 1967, sources advised that on February 1, 1967, a Black Power Conference was held at 1055 East 45th Street, Los Angeles, California, under the sponsorship of "US", which is headed by BOB HAMPION, a well-known Black Nationalist with the lectured speaker being STOKELY CARMECHABA, National Chairman of USO.

HAMPION described "US", which is headquartered at 1055 East 45th Street, Los Angeles, California, as generally an 'ideologically oriented organization rather than a politically oriented organization'. HAMPION stated that the purpose of the organization "US" is to help the Afro-American identify himself by emphasizing the culture and history of the Afro-American. The ultimate goal of "US" is to establish a Culture Center, preferably in the Watts area, "for the purpose of teaching Afro-History and culture and to provide training for Negroes so they, the Negroes, will look into their histories and help to improve themselves accordingly."

N. COMBATIVE MANIPULATION

II. COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

On August 15, 1965, a youth meeting of the Southern California Section Communist Party (SCSCP) was held at Burt's Restaurant at Sunset and Vermont in Los Angeles. HAMPION
Mr. Valadez, Secretary of LA-CIOCC, who is a member of the CP Youth Club, indicated that Communist youth should support CIOCC and its activities in the civil rights movement.
On December 4, 1965, the Annual banquet of the LACDR was held at the Hollenbeck Hilton Hotel, Hollenbeck Boulevard, Los Angeles. Several organizations were praised for their work in the Freedom Movement, one included CSOC. It was stated that CSOC is considered to have the same goals and policies as the LACDR.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

[Date: 11/11/67]

ATTACHMENT III: CALIFORNIA AT LOS
ANGELES UNIVERSITY SITUATION


[Signature]

[Date: 12/21/67]

In October 1965, a teach-in at a UCLA student union was held at the UCLA Student Union, California, which was attended by the UCLA CSOC. Many CSOC members were present but said it was not at the war in Vietnam.
II. SUMMARY

1. EXHIBIT #1

[Redacted]

Sources advised on March 27, 1947, that ROBERT HUCK was a member of the CP from 1942 to 1944.

Sources advised on August 2, 1947, that HUCK attended a party in honor of HARRY MATTHEW HARRIS on July 31, 1940 at 11:45 a.m. at 1001 South Farnsworth Avenue, Los Angeles. HARRIS died in 1924. HUCK is Executive Secretary of the CP.

2. EXHIBIT #2

[Redacted]

[Redacted]
Source says that JACQUIN is a Black nationalist leader and heads a militant Black Nationalist Organization called "Self-Determination for All Nationalities (SDAN)" which is an organization to further liberation for the Afro-Americans.

At the same time, a group of Mexican-Americans met and decided to start an educational organization to provide cultural and historical education for the Mexican-American youth. The organization is called "The Mexican American Historical Society" and its goal is to provide educational programs and materials to increase awareness and understanding of Mexican-American history and culture.

The society plans to establish a Cultural Center, preferably in the central area of Los Angeles, where concerts, lectures, and cultural events can be held. The center will provide training and opportunities for Mexican-Americans to learn about their history and culture, and to explore their roots and traditions.
C. BARRON

[Redacted]

Source advised on March 27, 1979, that BARRON
was then active in numerous militant
group organizations in the Los Angeles area,
which include Black Unite (BU), the
Los Angeles Black Eagles (LABE),
and the Black Panthers (LP). BARRON
was also involved in the armed and paramilitary
activities.

D. BARRON

[Redacted]

Source advised that BARRON
was involved in the Black Panthers' armed and paramilitary
activities on an ongoing basis.

E. ALLEN BARRON

[Redacted]

Source advised on March 27, 1979, that BARRON
is a member of and an organiser for the FNL.
1. MARK ENGLISH
   [REDACTED]

   In September 1969, the author states that
   Dwayne Fitch is a member of the United Group
   in the film. Dwayne is also a member of the
   14-SP.sale in the staff at the West
   Coast News newspaper "The Milan Times."

2. RICK SMITH
   [REDACTED]

   In March 1974, the author states that Dwayne
   Fitch is the chairman of the Organization for
   [REDACTED]

3. RICK SMITH
   [REDACTED]

   In August 1974, the author states that
   Dwayne Fitch is a member of the United Group.

4. JOHN SMITH
   [REDACTED]

   The author states as March 1970, that Dwayne
   Fitch is a member of the 14-SP.sale.
MINISTER TO THE NATION OF ISLAM (NO)(See Appendix)
Temple No. 97, Los Angeles, Calif. U.S.A.

M. COLEMAN

[Redacted]

Source advised on November 14, 1964, that
NOCIC (ICCN) is a Western Regional Director of
the Nation of Islam (NO). [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Source advised on February 1, 1965, that NOCIC
(CCC) has been active in the International
Committee (ICC) and has raised support of
members for the NO.

Source advised on September 27, 1964, that
NOCIC (CCC) is a voluntary group of members
in the NO organization as such, whose purpose is to
work for world peace, civil rights and
acceptance of groups for social purposes.
This attitude is opposed to the NO
philosophy in the United States and is opposed
with the views of the Nation of Islam and
the Nation of Islam movement.
APPENDIX

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED, INC.

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 6, 1968, noting its principal place of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as stated in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote critical and open discussion on our society and problems.

A source advised on May 8, 1969, that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1968, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in shaping union fronts and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was BERNARD BUSHER, who in 1961, was an official director of the Southern California District Communist Party.

This source was recontacted on April 9, 1970, and related that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited, Inc. was not altered. It continues to present "left" ideas to an otherwise unconvinced audience. It proceeds to the is ideological activities around various issues in an informal way. It is not a nationwide organization, and is not in a central political or national, but rather in strictly a regional division.

On May 1, 1968, another source reported that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. continued to operate as a Pareto-type organization.

APPENDIX
Appendix

Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights,
formely known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised
December 2, 1951, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as
follows:

1. The branch of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born known to be under the actual management,
direction and organization of Communist Party members. The
Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October 1950, and
reported that it is affiliated to the national organization
known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The American Committee and the various area and local
committees of the committee are one organization within the
meaning of 505 (c) (3) of the Internal Security Act under
which the Los Angeles American Civil Liberties Board found the American
Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a Communist-
front organization and ordered it to register as such with the
Attorney General.

2. The Los Angeles Council Board, 24th St.
3. The Los Angeles Council Board, 24th St.
4. The Los Angeles Council Board, 24th St.

5. This is a regional organization of the American
Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its most
important affiliates. The Committee on Un-American Activities
identified it as one of the local affiliates of the regional committee.

6. The Los Angeles American Civil Liberties Board required that, as affiliates, to
register as Communist fronts.

[Signature]
Appendix Continued

Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights
Formerly Known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"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 December 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHEMIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.


The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/18/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advises on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1946, 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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

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

On April 30, 1966, a second source advised that, Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (MOI); Nation's Temple of Islam No. 6, 5010 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the MOI; and in mid-1966 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, referred to either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Nation's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization said to have originated in Detroit, Michigan. According to a claim to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the United States 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 a racial, spiritual and moral superiority of the so-called Negro race over the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States and that the white race, because of the inferiority of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approach of the "nation of Islam".

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

In May 1966, the first source advised that Muhammad, now advised of legal action, modified his position, took steps to remove allegations to his ability to persuade and conform his organization in order to avoid violation of the Selective Service Act, by the United States Government, now stated that he will not follow any fundamental change in the structure of his organization.

APPENDIX COMPLETED
APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 1, 1966, a third course advised that Muhammad
was, early in June, 1966, decided to de-emphasize the religious
aspect of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic
benefit that would derive by those Negroes who joined the NOI.
This wider change, according to Muhammad, would help him
secure a more federated following and create more interest in his
program.
A source advised on April 26, 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 26, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 19, 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-year 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 allegedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a weekly news magazine.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 5, 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 offices 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.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

A motion had advised that on October 26th, 1945, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion steps for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would serve the cause of peace and world socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young people attracted to this new organization would eventually join the CP itself.

A second motion was taken that the Founding Convention of the new youth organization be held on June 11-13, 1946, at 1900 Old Joe Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name of the DTA (Democrats of America) was adopted. Approximately 30 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, were: "It is our desire that the issues can best be made to prevail in this young generation on a consistent, non-racial, international, and broad basis by all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country. Emphasis will be given to the working class and industrial labor movement, in particular the Negro and other minority workers.

The DTA aims to promote the rights of organized labor and to advance the interests of the working class of all races.

The Founding Convention resolved to abide by the constitution and by-laws of the DTA as adopted by the Founding Convention and to abide by their by-laws and the constitution of the CP as they may be adopted by the CP.

New York, Labor Day weekend, 1945, the DTA was a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new national officer was elected to a National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DTA. Since Labor Day, 1945, identities of those serving on the NEC have varied; however, according to a third source as of July, 1946, 11 members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco District.

On July 1, 1946, the headquarters of the DTA was moved to 1900 Old Joe Avenue, San Francisco, California.

APPENDIX
ARCHIVE

R. E. D. IN THE U.S.

OF INDIAN ORIGINS

On April 28, 1945, a source advised that the W.K.B.
American Club of West Los Angeles, was organized, to
function with the assistance of HARRY HINES, in February,
1944.

In another source advised on April 28, 1945, that as
of April 1945, the AMERICAN CLUB was a member of the Southern
California War Relocation Authority (SCICWA) and that W.K.B.
American Club was the Latest of the West Coast, 1945.

The above sources stated that the Dr. Pei
American Club was organized mainly to meet the needs of Chinese
students at the University of California at Los
Angeles (UCLA) but that the club eventually hoped to spread
its influence into other areas in Los Angeles.

A second source advised in March 19, 1945, that as
the Chinese Party (CC) meeting held in February,
1945, the CC, Executive Secretary of the CC, spoke on
the evacuation of Chinese and stated that the Dr. Pei is Club was
one of the Ninth groups operating in the Los Angeles area
with a group of Chinese restaurants and that members consid-
ered it as non-revolut.

A third source advised on March 22, 1945, that the
Chinese American, the activities of the Dr. Pei Club
had been mainly limited to participation in protests against
social discrimination, participation in Christian classes,
participation in conferences which led to the creation of the
Chinese American Club of America in the spring of 1945 and partic-
ipation in demonstrations protecting U.S. intervention in Viet
Nam. This source advised that the W.K.B. Dr. Pei Club of West Los
Angeles is no longer affiliated with the W.K.B. Dr. Pei Clubs of
America and is operation as a chapter of that organization.
The above source further advised on July 24, 1946, that in February, 1946, the Los Angeles Rape Police Club and others have formed a similar club known as the Los Angeles Police Club. The West Los Angeles Police no longer remain as a separate club but members of the club are now members of the GPA commission, which is one of several committees formed in anticipation of consolidation of the Los Angeles area Police.
APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist", (YS), Page 1, Column 1, 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, 1937, 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 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 515, 1 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
April 7, 1967

Title: COORDINATE INVESTIGATION OF STUDENT FOR VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

All sources (except any listed ones, whose identities are special) in recorded communication were financial relations in question in the past.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
LOS ANGELES

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
1/2/67

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
3/21/65 - 1/14/67

TITLE OF CASE
COMMUNIST INFLTRATION OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERIOR SECURITY - C

Report of 3A dated 7/12/67, at - -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED
NONE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 1

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

CASE HAS BEEN:
- PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [YES] [NO]
- PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [YES] [NO]

NOTATIONS
All persons mentioned herein, except a Southern California area, are either

LOST AND UNCLAIMED

At Los Angeles, California: will follow and
perform periodic activities of Los Angeles Friends of the
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (LA-VCC)

INVESTIGATED

LOCATIONS

10-11-68-00
Greeley St. S
10-1-68

10-08-68-00
Greeley S. S
10-5-68 (Diamond District)

10-08-68-100

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

1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - CI, Norton AFB (RM)
1 - RLS, San Diego (RM)

Office: Los Angeles, California

Report of:
Date: 10/6/62

Field Office File #: IOC-65822
Bureau File #: IOC-43919C

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

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) has discontinued its operation. Headquarters formerly located at 7323 Romaine Street, Los Angeles, California, has been closed. Former Regional Director of LA-SNCC resigned. There are no official organized chapters of SNCC in the Los Angeles area. SNCC activities and subversive connections are forth.

- P -

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials "SNCC" and the Los Angeles affiliate of the SNCC will be abbreviated by the initials "LA-SNCC", when appropriate in this report.

I. BASIS

This investigation is directed solely toward establishment of the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC, or whether the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interest on the legitimate activities of SNCC.
II. HEADQUARTERS

On October 9, 1967, sources indicated that LA-SNCC had closed its office at 7922 Rosina Street, Los Angeles, California, in May 1967. Due to financial reasons and the relocation of key leaders in LA-SNCC there are no plans to open a new headquarters for LA-SNCC.

Indicated that there are no present recognized chapters in LA-SNCC. Formerly there were SNCC chapters in Fresno, San Bernardino, Long Beach and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), California. But these have all been discontinued.

III. ORGANIZATION

MEMBER LIST

Source indicated on the above date that CLIFFORD McELHENY, a former SNCC organizer and director of LA-SNCC, resigned this position with SNCC in June 1967. McELHENY now lives in CHICAGO.

CLIFFORD McELHENY, former field director of LA-SNCC. In his position with SNCC he is presently serving in the Los Angeles area.

An article entitled "Wine and Dine" appeared in the LAPD wire service, a Los Angeles, California, newspaper, on June 15, 1967, which said, "We understand that Cliff wood is back in charge of SNCC in the Los Angeles area. He is expected to return to SNCC.

IV. MEMBERSHIP

MEMBER LIST

On or about May 1, 1967, sources indicated that SNCC is not in a membership situation. SNCC's situation is

C

[Handwritten notes and scribbles on the back of the page]
V. ACTIVITIES OF PROFESIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN SNCC IN LOS ANGELES

[Redacted]

In May 9, 1961, STOKELY CARmichael spoke at a rally of the California Black Congress (scheduled for May 21, 1961) on May 20, 1961, at Jefferson High School, 1235 E. 16th Street, Los Angeles. CARmichael

[Redacted]
VI. SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES

C. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

On April 30, 1967, a May Day meeting sponsored by the Northern California District of the CP was held at Davis's Unity Center, 1900 North Central, Compton, California. At this meeting, it was announced that in the back of the hall was a table containing printed material concerning SNCC and people present were urged to read and support SNCC.

D. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

1. AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS (RAC) (See appendix)

On April 29, 1967, the annual conference of the PAC was held at Larchmont Hall, 116 North Larchmont Avenue. Several delegates represented SNCC at the conference.

2. PACIFIC ACTION COUNCIL (PAC) (See appendix)

On a meeting of the PAC at the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, 4607 Prospect, Hollywood, California, on June 1, 1967, it was announced that H. ZIP BROWN, new National Chairman of the SNCC, has agreed to be a speaker at the June 30, 1967, Anti-War demonstration at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, California.
PEOPLE'S WORLD (7W)

The PW is a west coast Communist newspaper.

14 T-D (3/24/67)

TO: "March 24, 1967, the LA-3403, 6305 Hollywood

Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, was a recipient of

a yearly PW subscription which would terminate February 12, 1968."
APPENDIX

1. LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
   formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
   Defense of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
   Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

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

   1. "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 *
      Institute *** are organization within the meaning of the ***
      statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive
      Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection
      of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered
      it to register as such with the Attorney General.'

   "Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket
   No. 196-28, Report and Order with respect to
   the American Committee for Protection of
   Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 42, 43.
   and 51."

   2. "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
      'readily identified themselves as chapters of the American
      Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation
      as 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'.
APPENDIX CONTINUED

The四川省支部 for Defense of the Bill of Rights, for years headed by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

suspicion of the local organizations. "She was made possible by the fact that the leaders of the Los Angeles C.P. were identified with the offices of the Party. The local officials were probably little more than administrative 'functionaries.' It was to implement the program of the Central Committee in the respective areas.

CARTER, E. Y., 1937, p. 24.16. (Hansard are Los

American Anti-Comintern Political Committee.)

Herbert, G. T., A. and T., p. 66. 77. 59. 70. 94. 98.

The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was established in order to implement a change of attitude on the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

In 1937, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Bill of Rights still referred to the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as currently active in the Los Angeles area.
APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL BY LES ANDERSON

In October, 1969, a student group, "The New Left School of Los Angeles," originated in the Education Committee of the Los Angeles Federation of School and Party. In April, 1969, Bessie organized a large and militant demonstration in the schoolhouse at the end of October, 1969, approximately 100 persons were involved in the school. Shortly after that, as of December, 1969, there were approximately 1000 persons involved. The total organization was of 2000

Bessie was a member of the Education Committee of the California District Community Party.
A fourth source advised on May 25, 1969, that the
LAN-SAP has been in existence since the early 1960's and continues
to exist. The source further advised that the LAN-SAP is a
local branch of the National SAP and that it performs
identical functions to that of the National SAP.

The SAP was born in 1952 by the
Army General of the United States
Army in a Executive Order

On May 15, 1969, a fifth source reported that the
New York School was eager to operate in New York, Virginia,
Anners, New Hampshire, California, and is likely willing to
participate in the Federal Reserve in the operation of the local
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COordinating Committee (SNCC)

PART 10 OF 14

BUFILe: 100-439190 SECTION 13 (CONTINUED)
APPENDIX

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article entitled, describes the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a national agency for peace activists" which conducts emergency mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam.

On July 19, 1966, a source reported that the PAC, now more often known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace Action Council (GALPAC), was formed during the early summer for the purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam during the National Governors' Conference held in Los Angeles, California, from July 4, to July 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of this conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protests at later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 10, 1967, and confirmed that the PAC continues to operate under the same.
APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advises on April 20, 1966, that the
Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive
Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention
April 15-18, 1966, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a
"PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establish-
ment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

page 37, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was
formed on April 18, 1966, under the name of the PLP.
Mr. Rosen was described as an "outgrowth of the PLM." Its officials
were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President; and
William Epstein of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco,
Vice Presidents. A 50-member National Committee was elected
to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "the Progressive Labor
Party was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after
they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA. For assertedly
"advocating Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly
newspaper, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper; and
"Progress," a bi-weekly, local newspaper.

The June, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states
that its newspaper is dedicated to fight for a new day of life-
freedom for working man, and work, own and control their homes.
"Control" the police, courts, and the entire government of every
level.

A second source advised on September 28, 1966, that
the PLP maintains the address of General Post Office Box 603,
New York, N.Y., but also utilizes an office in Room 612,
Columbia Square West, New York City, where PLP publications are
sold.

APPENDIX

- 11 -
Title

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT OF THE
INVESTIGATION COMMISSIONING COMMITTEE (1938)

Character

INTELLIGENCE - CONFIDENTIAL

Reference

Page 1 of [redacted], October 6, 1938.

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


TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTER

REFERENCES: Los Angeles airtel to Bureau dated 3/13/68.
Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 4/15/68.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 5/1/68.
Atlanta report of SA dated 5/14/68.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

APPROVED:  W. W. SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency  Request Recd.  Date Recd.  Hour Recd.  Issue

Notations

70 JUN 24 1968

Subject 806 940

RAF/USCIT.
LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from the date of this report.
INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

100-63822-1153 through 1188

Orally to SA 5/16/68

157-1312-31

100-63822-139 through 1189

100-68783-68

100-63322-1588

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COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - INS, San Diego (RM)

Report of:
Date: 5/29/68

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER


- P -

CONFIDENTIAL

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LA 100-63822

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

(3/11/68)

Records
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC is a tenant at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, as of February 26, 1968. Their account indicates that TOBY JACQUETTE is president, FRANKLIN ALEXANDER is vice-president, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is secretary of this political organization which has not been incorporated. The office is open from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. and employs ten office workers. The owner of this property is ALBERT COYCAUL, 417 East 52nd Street, Los Angeles.

(5/6/68)

Source indicated that LA-SNCC was reorganized by TOBY JACQUETTE, who appointed himself director of LA-SNCC in February 1968. This office was supposedly opened at the request of STOKELY CARMECHIEL and H. RAP BROWN when they were in Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.

II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

- 3 -
LA 100-63322

Records
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

Records
Los Angeles, California
(3/11/68)

Records of the above company indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, and have telephone number 731-7378.

(5/16/68)

On May 16, 1968, the above sources advised that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

(3/11/68)

(4/18/68)
RONALD LEROY HILKINS is president, Mrs. BARBARA RENT HARDING is secretary, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is treasurer of LA-SNCC.

IV. MEMBERSHIP

On April 6, 1968, [redacted] advised that four Negro males were arrested at SNCC headquarters, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard on April 5, 1968, when they were observed standing in front of LA-SNCC headquarters carrying shotguns and side arms.
On attempting to arrest these individuals, they barricaded themselves in SNCC headquarters and it was necessary for LAPD officers to force their way into the office and arrest CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN; GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS; MICHAEL ROBINSON SEAL; and MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, who all claimed to be members of SNCC. The four persons arrested had two Reising .45 caliber automatic rifles; one 30 caliber carbine, and one shotgun. While at the office, observed a membership list which contained the following names:

TOBY JACQUETTE
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER
JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD
RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGILA Y. DAVIS
STANLEY ALEXANDER
BARBARA FETE HARDING
CLARICE ALLEN
SHIRLEY GRANT
WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.
CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEAL
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN
HIRAM CHANDEL
ELIZABETH ALLEN
DAHNY J. BAKER, SR.
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE
THOMAS DAVIES SCOTT
JOHNIE EDSON RAINES
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR.
FRANK C. HARDING
BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES
ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY

The above sources indicated on May 16, 1968, that SNCC is not a membership organization per se but any Negro person who believes and follows National SNCC policy is considered to be a SNCC member and there are no dues, initiations, or lists to sign or any type of formal membership to join LA-SNCC.
LA 100-63322

V. FINANCIAL.

advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and ELIZABETH ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to SMCC.

(2/19/63)

(4/30/63)

(4/30/63)
On May 8, 1968, sources furnished a brochure published by LA-SNCC which called for a protest against the LAPD for the arrest of FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, THOMAS VALENTINE, BETTY ALLEN, and MARK SIMMONS, who are involved with SNCC on charges of armed robbery. They were released on a Writ of Habeas Corpus, bail fixed at $6,200 each. The literature indicated that the arrests followed a series of acts of racist terror by police and were calculated to incite a white backlash and halt the developing black protests.

On February 21, 1968, a meeting was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which brought together ROY KARENGA of US (see appendix) and representatives of SNCC, which included STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JAMES FORMAN. The purpose of the meeting was to divide funds from a rally which was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968. This meeting showed a definite split between US and LA-SNCC because of disputes over the distribution of funds.

On March 2, 1968, a reception was held for the Defense of H. Rap Brown at 1330 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, officer of LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker and indicated that $100,000 was necessary to meet the bond set for BROWN. He indicated at this meeting that LA-SNCC had just reorganized and would attempt to raise a good portion of this money.
(3/12/63)

On March 12, 1963, source received a pamphlet advising "A People's Tribunal" to be convened at 3:00 p.m. March 17, 1963, in South Park, 51st and Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles. The purpose of this tribunal is "to try" a LAPD officer who killed GREGORY CLARK, a male Negro, during an arrest in South Los Angeles on February 16, 1963. Individuals were requested to contact LA-SNCC office for further details.

(4/9/63)

On March 20, 1963, a demonstration was held at the New Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, sponsored by LA-SNCC in protest of the arrest of H. RAP BROWN.

(4/2/63)

On March 22, 1963, source advised that LA-SNCC was holding weekly meetings in their headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

(3/22/63)

(3/29/63)

(4/13/63)
On April 5, 1968, LA-SHCC called for a general strike on this day to commemorate the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. A tribute to MARTIN LUTHER KING was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which was sponsored by LA-SHCC.

(4/5/68)

LA-SHCC sponsored a protest at the Broadway Department Store, 4101 South Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, due to the failure of the store to close during MARTIN LUTHER KING's funeral.

(4/9/68)

On April 11, 1968, LA-SHCC sponsored a fund raising affair at 1800 North Vermont, Los Angeles. FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, officer of LA-SHCC, was one of the featured speakers.

(4/13/68)

On April 5, 1968, the LAPD arrested three LA-SHCC members, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS for possession of loaded weapons in front of LA-SHCC headquarters, 994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

(5/18/68)

On April 5, 1968, at 8:30 p.m. at 994 West Jefferson Boulevard, the headquarters for LA-SHCC, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL K. SEALS were observed entering LA-SHCC headquarters carrying weapons. These three persons were observed to remove two .30 caliber M-1 carbines and a pump type shotgun. When the LAPD officers arrived at the headquarters, the above persons slammed the front door and locked it. After they were commanded to open the door, HOPKINS
and SIMIEN came out and were placed under arrest. LAPD officers then forced entry into the building and recovered the above weapons which were in the back room at this location. The above carbine had a 30 round magazine fully loaded and inserted into the carbine and a 12 gauge shotgun pump action containing four rounds of Super X, 00 gauge buckshot was also recovered.

(5/16/63)

On May 4, 1963, the following SHCC members were arrested at 2837 South Bronson for suspicion of robbery:

STANLEY ALEXANDER
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT
BETTY ALLEN

When these individuals were arrested, they possessed two nine millimeter Astra automatics; one .38 colt revolver; and one .380 caliber Browning automatic.

(5/16/63)

On May 4, 1963, source furnished a brochure published by LA-SHCC indicating that BARBARA REINE HARDING,
program director, would be the featured speaker at 1830 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California.

(5/14/69)

On May 14, 1969, source advised that MIKE WILLIAMS, a member of SNCC was passing out LA-SNCC literature to students at Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, California.

VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC
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, STOKEY 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 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 move up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

- 14 -
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."
VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST PARTY BACKGROUND

(5/16/63)
(5/16/63)

As of May 16, 1963, FRANKLIN D. ALEXANDER, assistant director of LA-SNCC, was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

IX. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

(2/14/63)

On February 2, 1963, JAMES FORMAN, a representative of National SNCC was one of the featured speakers at a mass rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles.

(2/19/63)
(2/23/63)
(2/23/63)
(2/23/63)

The above sources advised that H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMECHIEL were featured speakers at a Black Congress sponsored rally for the Defense of Hucy P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, on February 18, 1963.

X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

(4/7/63)
On April 9, 1968, source indicated that TOMMY RAY JACQUETTE would be speaking at Arizona State University on May 14, 1968.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

The above sources indicated that LA-SNCC members have been instructed to purchase weapons and to be armed at all times. According to the above sources, most SNCC members are armed and if they do not have weapons on their person, they will either have them in their automobiles or their residence.

LA-SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.
XII. GLOSSARY

FRANKLIN DELANO ALEXANDER
Vice-president of LA-SNCC
(3/11/68)
Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDCP.

STANLEY ALEXANDER, also known as "Deacon"
Office manager of LA-SNCC
Described in SNCC literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SNCC Youth Corps, and is involved in the black draft resistance movement.

BETTY JO ALLEN
Office worker of LA-SNCC
Described in LA-SNCC literature as young dedicated office worker who was formerly involved in National SNCC schools.

CLARICE ALLEN
(3/11/68)
Source advised that CLARICE ALLEN is an office secretary for LA-SNCC.

ANTHONY ASHLEY
(3/11/68)
Source indicated that ASHLEY is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.
DANNY J. BAINWELL, SR.

Carried on the membership list of LA-SNCC.

HUBERT GERROD BROWN, also known as H. Rap Brown

Publicly known as National Chairman of SNCC.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Publicly known as the former chairman of National SNCC and is presently organizer and representative for National SNCC.

HIRAM CHANNEL

Source advised that CHANNEL is a member of LA-SNCC and is part of the LA-SNCC security force.

ANGITA Y. DAVIS

DAVIS is publicly known as a member of SNCC.

RONNIE MC KINLEY EVERTT, also known as Ron Karenga

Chairman of US.

JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD

In the LA-SNCC literature, FLOYD has been given the title of organizer, secretary-treasurer, and is presently called chairman of LA-SNCC.

JAMES FORMAN

FORMAN is publicly known as the director of international affairs for National SNCC.
CHARLES GORDON

(5/16/63)

Source indicated that CHARLES GORDON is a member of LA-SNCC.

SHIRLEY GRANT

(3/3/63)

Source indicated that SHIRLEY GRANT is office secretary at LA-SNCC.

BARBARA RENEE HARDING, also known as Rene Hodges

(5/16/63)

Source indicated that HODGES is currently secretary and program chairman for LA-SNCC.

FRANK C. HARDING

(5/16/63)

Source indicated that HODGES is the spouse of BARBARA RENEE HODGES (characterized above) and is a member of LA-SNCC and has been given the assignment of purchasing weapons for LA-SNCC members.

WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.

(5/16/63)

HAYES is considered a spokesman for LA-SNCC and is a constant companion of LA-SNCC member JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD.

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

(5/16/63)

BOBBIE HODGES is office secretary and former assistant treasurer of LA-SNCC.
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS

(4/5/68)

Source indicated that HOPKINS is a security officer for LA-SHCC and has been arrested by the LAPD for possession of loaded firearms at SHCC headquarters.

TOLLY RAY JACQUETTE

(5/16/68)

Source related that JACQUETTE is an extreme Black Nationalist militant and was former LA-SHCC director and is presently field director for SNCC.

HUEY P. NEWTON

(5/16/68)

NEWTON is minister of defense for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (see appendix), Oakland, California.

JOHNNIE E. RAINES

(5/16/68)

RAINES is a member of LA-SHCC.

JAMES ROBERTSON

(5/16/68)

ROBERTSON is a LA-SHCC member who has aspirations for a leadership position in LA-SHCC.

ELIZABETH KOTTGER

(11/29/67)
KENNETH ROTTGER

Sec characterization for spouse, ELIZABETH ROTTGER.

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT

(5/16/63)

Source indicated that SCOTT is LA-SNCC photographer and writes many of their pamphlets.

MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS

(4/6/63)

Source indicated SEALS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested April 6, 1963, at LA-SNCC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been arrested by LAHD in the past for assault and battery.

MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN

(4/6/63)

Source advised on April 6, 1963, that SIMIEN is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.
LA 100-63322

CAROL RUTH SILVER

On January 17, 1963, SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Los Angeles Communist Alert Patrol, an organization of Black Nationalists who spy on police officers performing their duties in South Los Angeles and is an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN

(4/6/63)

Source indicated that SULLIVAN was arrested on April 6, 1963, at LA-SNCC headquarters for interfering in the arrest of three SNCC security officers.

THOMAS VALENTINE

(4/3/63)

Source furnished literature on April 3, 1963, which indicated that VALENTINE is a staff worker for LA-SNCC.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, also known as Mike

(5/16/63)

On May 16, 1963, source indicated that WILLIAMS is a member of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crooks

(5/16/63)

Source indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT
(1/19/69)

Source furnished a LA-SHCC brochure which listed WRIGHT as a student of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have killed a Houston policeman and is presently on the West Coast to speak on college campuses for SHCC.
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 SEALE, 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 guns 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, SEALE, 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 SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, 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, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, 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, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, 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.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

COMMENCEMENT OF THE
WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE,
Also Known As
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a non-violent oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In recent months, the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1967, it was instrumental in organizing and putting into effect a campaign advocating "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1968 congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-denominational organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities women of any political sympathies, or persons sympathetic to the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP group is MARY CLARK. A second source advised in July 1967, that CLARK was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1967, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP calls its office at 833 West Pico Boulevard in Los Angeles, and that further information can be obtained through Post Office Box 2237, Los Angeles 3, California.
APPENDIX

"US", Also known as "US" Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1956, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "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 for 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 Malcolm", authored by MALCOLM X, MALCOLM, also known as Ronel Le Minco 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) Ethics. 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 win the violent one. Then the word is given we'll see how tough you are. Then it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. Then it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill, then it's 'bleed', let's see how much you bleed. 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 fear they need. Legitimacy is set up by the system and no system can contain itself. Men are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
May 29, 1968

Title  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character  
RACIAL MATTER

Reference  
Report of SA dated and cautioned as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.
to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by taking 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 us a Christian has enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that leads us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that puts us down on the streets, and quiet as it's kept, then the thing you done 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 versus get--washed that way by the blood of a 'God See'. You know if Biblical blood doing damn couldn't do it, no dead Jesus 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 Potable Karanga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is composed of new members who enroll in the study of the Kikilli language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and poetry. The second level is comprised of members who act as official spokes 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 Kikilli language they are then assigned Kikilli names which they use in lieu of their given names.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: LOS ANGELES
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 9/18/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 6/27/68 - 9/18/68

REPORT MADE BY: SA
CHARACTER OF CASE: RACIAL MATTER

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCES: New Orleans airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 6/5/68.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/19/68.
Atlanta letter to Director dated 9/4/68.
New York letter to Los Angeles dated 9/10/68.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been prepared at the request of Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, concerning certain documents and information contained in referenced New Orleans airtel and LHM dated 6/5/68.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

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APPROVED: WJ
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE: 

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

1 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
1 - Atlanta (100-5488) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (100-147933) (Info) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-53822)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Date Fed: DATE FORM:
How Fed: BY:

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This report is being classified "Confidential" since information reported from [REDACTED] through [REDACTED] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness thereof.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: SA

Report of: Date: Office: Los Angeles, California
9/16/68

Field Office File #: 100-53022 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Documents obtained from Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) members in New Orleans, Louisiana, during 5/14/68 through 5/25/68 are set forth. Enclosed are authors, authorization, purpose, and dissemination of documents set forth. SNCC Youth Corps, its curriculum, and program set forth. SNCC Youth Corps program terminated in Los Angeles.

DETAILS:

PREDICATION

Investigation in this matter was requested by Mr. J. WALTER YENDLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., concerning certain literature and programs of the SNCC organization.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) (See Appendix)

(6/4/68)

On June 4, 1968, source furnished documents which were obtained from members of LA-SNCC (See Appendix) who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of

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.
May 14, 1968 through May 25, 1968, for the trial of H. RALPH BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. The following documents were furnished:

"A Black Survival Curriculum"
"National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in Los Angeles"
"Don't Shut Me Out"

"A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM"
A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM

by

HERMAN FERGUSON

Los Angeles S.W.C.C.
1934 West Jefferson
Los Angeles 90012
732-7378
A Black Survival Curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with word curriculum to mean all of the forces both inside and outside the school; waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the American public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with no relevancy for black pupils at all. Inasmuch as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the Anglo-Saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this cruel omission. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes committed against Black people in America has long been exhausted. Great Black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmark Vesey, Malcolm X, pointed out time and time again that we must act in a bold and defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand the control of our schools. Once we really take this control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.
Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon biased curriculum is one enemey for our children and that in addition to substituting an African-American biased curriculum in its place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all black people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process. Our black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammed Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as, "Learn or Burn", "Teach or Reach", "Instruct or Duck", "Unite or Perish", "Keep on Pushing", etc. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones, "We Are Beautiful People".

After the morning exercises are over he goes to Physical Training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practiced on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a basis in one of the eastern martial arts of self-defense. He is given study of original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba.
will not be able to learn adequately in these classes until he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necessary for use in the Self-Defense and Weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prestige courses of study will be courses in the school. In as much as a good course is weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as Math, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, and since his Physical training will deal with developing his neuro-muscular system to high degree of efficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core or base.

As our Black Student moves about the building, loud speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sound of Malcolm X speaking, Leboi Jones reading one of his poems, Aretha Franklin singing a soul song, and other Black heroes speaking to him and filling him with a constant pride in his blackness. His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and it focuses on the life stories of Black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Leboi Jones, Nat Turner, and other lesser known Black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the Black child. His math will not only deal with the mechanics of the science, but go deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems will focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity, and other mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Program material put together by Black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other equipment.
Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The Home Economic course stresses first aid and how to survive of the surrounding environment if all food and fuel supplies into the Black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to understand fully the unique contributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

The school day ends with a 15 second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of Black heroes who have given their lives that we might survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after school activities that are provided for him in the building and the allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

His school is the focal point for all community activities. Social events, political meetings, cultural programs, etc., are held in the building because the building belongs to the community. His school is controlled by an elected parent group that is fully responsible for setting standards, hiring and firing all personnel, evaluation of the program, and budget control with all money allotted to the school deposited in a Black bank to the account of the controlling parent group.

Parent participation in all phases of the school life is welcomed and given freely. It is impossible to distinguish between the professional teacher and the parent teacher. A Black child who completes this course of study will emerge with a mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in the society as it stands presently.
Our graduates will not be found dying in far off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit us daily. He will know exactly where his battlefield is.
The March 9, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" (See Appendix) on Page 16, contained a column captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which is identical in content to that which is furnished above. The column is written by HERMAN FERGUSON who is described by the editors as an ex-school principal and current consultant to the Board of Intermediate School, 201, New York City, New York.

(3/1/68)

On June 1, 1968, source furnished a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum" obtained from the headquarters of the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), 50 West 25th Street, New York City. Inscribed next to the title were the words "By HERMAN FERGUSON". The source was unable to ascertain the author of the words. A second pamphlet was obtained from YAWF by source on the same date and was captioned "Another Look at the Case of the Queen's 17" by HERMAN FERGUSON. This contained information about the New York trial of 17 Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) (See Appendix) members charged with criminal anarchy.

(8/30/68)

On August 20, 1968, source advised that "A Black Survival Curriculum" was written by HERMAN BENJAMIN FERGUSON, for use in SNCC's Liberation Schools. He related that SNCC is currently attempting to create a liberation school project on a national basis. The FERGUSON article is being considered for inclusion in the curriculum. The project itself has not yet been instituted and appears to be somewhat dormant according to this source.

(9/5/68)

On August 3, 1968, source obtained a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum". The source stated that the philosophies set out in the document are a rewording of the RAM philosophy prepared by RAM leaders.
On (9/3/68) at LA-SNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, source obtained "A Black Survival Curriculum" which was furnished to all SNCC members present. Source indicated that the author of this pamphlet was HERMAN FERGUSON from New York City, New York, but was unaware of his connections with the SNCC organization.

A source from Atlanta, Georgia, where the Headquarters for the National SNCC organization is located, indicated that he was not familiar with the literature written by HERMAN FERGUSON entitled "A Black Survival Curriculum".

The article captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which appeared in the "National Guardian" on March 9, 1968, on Page 16, which was mentioned above written by HERMAN FERGUSON is as follows:
Liberated Forum

A black survival curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with the word curriculum to mean all of the forces, both inside and outside the school, waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and every action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the U.S. public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with nor relevancy for black pupils at all. Inasmuch as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the Anglo-Saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this exclusion. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes committed against black people in America has long been exhausted. Great black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmark Vesey and Malcolm X, pointed out time and again that we must act in a bold and defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand control of our schools. Once we really take control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.

Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon based curriculum is one of enslavement for our children and that in addition to substituting an African-American based curriculum in its place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process.

Our black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammad Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as "Learn or Burn," "Teach or Reach," "Instruct or Duct," "Unite or Perish,"
"Keep on Pushing," etc. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRon Jones' "We Are Beautiful People."

After the morning exercises are over he goes to physical training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a lesson in one of the Eastern martial arts of self-defense. To make his study of original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, all instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba. He will not be able to function adequately in these classes until he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necessary for use in the self-defense and weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prerequisite courses in the school. Inasmuch as a good course in weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as math, physics, chemistry and biology, and since his physical training will deal with developing his neuromuscular system to a high degree of efficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core of base.

As our black student moves about the building, loud-speakers placed in the ceilings continuously battle him with the quiet sound of Malcolm X's speeches, LeRon Jones reading one of his poems, Aretha Franklin singing a soul song and other black heroes speaking to him and filling him with a constant pride in his blackness.

His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and for the life stories of black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, II, Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, LeRon Jones, Nat Turner and other lesser-known black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the black child. His math not only deals with the mechanics of the science, but goes deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity and other mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Programmed material put together by black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other electronic equipment that is used in a technological society so that he will be familiar and at ease with the language and the operation of this type of equipment.

Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The home economics course stresses first aid and how to survive off the surrounding environment if all food and fuel supply lines into the black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to fully understand the unique contributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

The school day ends with a 15-second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of black heroes who have given their lives that we may survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after-school activities that are provided for him in the building and that allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

His school is the focal point for all community activities. Social events, political meetings, cultural programs, etc., are held in the building because the building belongs to the community. His school is controlled by an elected parent group that is fully responsible for setting standards, hiring and firing all personnel, evaluation of the program and budget control with all money allotted to the school deposited in a black bank to the account of the controlling parent group.

Parent participation in all phases of school life is welcomed and given freely. It is impossible to distinguish between the professional teacher and the parent teacher.

A black child who completes this course of study will emerge with his mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in society as it stands presently. Our graduate will not be found dying in far-off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit him daily. He will know exactly where his battlefield is.

Herman Ferguson
It would appear that the SNCC organization in Los Angeles, California, attached a cover sheet to the copies of FERGUSON's article taken from the "National Guardian" and misspelled his name.

"NATIONAL SNCC COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES"

A copy of the pamphlet "National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in Los Angeles" is as follows:
PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CARE

A committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24-hour call to offer legal aide to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work i.e., accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs – doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on the job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24-hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black community of events which directly affect our survival, and it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to.
give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the White press in
informing Black people of information and services vital to our survival.

The Newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who
are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs
of Black people.

PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE CLASSES

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is
becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self-Defense.
We will form raffle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of
firearms. These classes will be open to all members of the Black community.
Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black
Karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for
all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial Arts - our survival de-
pends on this.

PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGE SOLUTIONS

This project is ongoing and will only be used in crisis time. We will
find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to
store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people through the com-
unity will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the
community and teach other brothers and sisters.

PROJECT # 6 - AFRO-AMERICAN SKILLS BACK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will
send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid
in the development of their nation. This program will be initial, hopefully
throughout all of the Third World, and thus it offers an alternative to the
so-called Peace Corps.
CONFIDENTIAL

PROJECT 7: KENNEDY (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR-ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.U.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance through the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives, and an escape mechanism.
On August 13, 1968, source obtained a copy of the above pamphlet at LA-SHCC Headquarters, 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

On September 13, 1968, source indicated that the above program has not been established in LA-SHCC, and to date there has been no attempt to establish this curriculum for the organization.

"DON'T SHUT ME OUT"

The pamphlet "Don't Shut Me Out" also known as "Some Thought of How to Have a Group of People from One Point to Another or Some Basic Steps Toward Becoming a Good Political Organizer!" written by JAMES FORSE, then Organizational Secretary of SNCC is as follows:
DON'T SHUT ME OUT

SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW TO MOVE A GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM ONE POINT TO ANOTHER OR SOME BASIC STEPS TOWARD BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER.
THIS PAPER IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS.

A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POWERLESS.
B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.
C. THREE QUALITIES OF A GOOD ORGANIZER.
D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE.

PREPARED FOR S.C.C.'S PROGRAMMATIC WORKSHOPS HELD IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, FEBRUARY 1 THROUGH 21, 1967.

THIS PAPER IS ALSO A RESPONSE TO SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT LEADERSHIP RAISED IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF ROCK BOTTOM.

JAMES FORMAN
ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY
A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POOR PEOPLE.

POWER
ORGANIZATION
EDUCATION
HARD WORK

POWER = ORGANIZATION + EDUCATION + HARD WORK

PEOPLE GAIN POWER THROUGH ORGANIZATION WHICH CAN BEST BE MAINTAINED BY CONTINUOUS INFORMAL EDUCATION AND THAT MEANS HARD WORK.

GOT IT!

POWER IS ORGANIZATION THROUGH ORGANIZATION AND THIS IS MAINTAINED THROUGH
CONSTANT POLITICAL EDUCATION AND THAT TAKES HARD WORK.

HARD WORK + EDUCATION + ORGANIZATION = POWER

POWER
ORGANIZATION
EDUCATION
HARD WORK

1. YOU WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND IF YOU'RE NOT WILLING TO WORK, THERE'S NO NEED TO READ FURTHER, FOR IN ORDER TO ORGANIZE PEOPLE YOU MUST BE WILLING TO OUTWORK THOSE YOU ORGANIZE AND YOU MUST NOT LOOK FOR ANY THANKS OR PRAISE. YOU HAVE THE STRENGTH FROM WITHIN THAT WHAT YOU ARE DOING IS GOING TO HELP IN THE LONG RUN OF HISTORY AND THAT IS YOUR REWARD!

2. YOU EDUCATE SOME PEOPLE IN THE BEGINNING AS TO WHAT YOUR OBJECTIVES ARE WHICH MUST BE IDENTICAL WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

YOU SAY:

"THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF S.M.C.C. AND WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND WHY THIS PROGRAM IS IMPORTANT TO US AND WHY IT SHOULD BE IMPORTANT TO YOU...IF YOU AGREE WITH THIS PROGRAM WE EXPECT YOU TO EDUCATE OTHERS ABOUT IT. WE HAVE A PROGRAM OF INFORMAL EDUCATION FOR THOSE WHO WE ORGANIZE AND WE WANT YOU TO USE IT SO THAT ALL OF US MAY GROW STRONG. THE MORE PEOPLE WE HAVE WHO ARE UNITED THE STRONGER WE WILL BE, AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST ORGANIZE, AND HAVE ORGANIZATION.

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3. WE MOVE AS A POLITICAL UNIT. WE ARE ORGANIZED INTO SIMILAR UNITS IN OTHER PLACES. WHAT I AM TELLING YOU ALL OUR ORGANIZERS ARE TELLING TO PEOPLE JUST LIKE US, POOR BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE SO MUCH POWER, BUT THAT POWER IS UNDERESTIMATED. IT IS INSTEAD IN YOU AND ME, BUT WE MUST TIE TOGETHER FOR STRENGTH. THAT IS WHY WE ARE ORGANIZING INTO SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS.
WE INTEND TO USE THOSE ORGANIZATIONS AS A FORCE, A RESISTANCE FORCE AGAINST RACISM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. WE WILL TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF JOBS, OF INCOME, OF AUTOMATION, AND HOUSING, LACK OF QUALITY EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE IN AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

AND WE WILL ALSO WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE FOR WE MAY WELL BE A LOST GENERATION BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE FUTURE. WE MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION ON ALL LEVELS. EVERY TIME ONE, TWO, OR THREE OF US ARE GATHERED WE MUST ORGANIZE OURSELVES AND EDUCATE OTHERS AND WORK HARD.

I. THIS IS A PROGRAM FOR POWER, FOR BLACK POWER, POWER FOR US.

II. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.

THROUGHOUT S.N.C.O.'S HISTORY WE HAVE FACED VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED VERBALLY AND IN ACTION. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN OURSELVES AS SELF-PROMOTING ORGANIZERS WHO ARE NOT LEADERS IN ANY SENSE OF THE WORD. WE HAVE ON THE OTHER HAND SEEN STRONG LEADERSHIP EXERCISED BY SELF-PROMOTING, SO-CALLED NON-LEADERS. SOME HAVE SAID THAT WE GO INTO A COMMUNITY AND WORK ON WHATEVER THE PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN. OTHERS HAVE SAID THIS IS HOUSEWORK, WE HAVE IDEAS AND WE WORK TO SELL THESE IDEAS IMPLEMENTED. THERE IS AN INTERACTION BETWEEN US AND PEOPLE.

NOTWITHSTANDING OUR WORDS, EXCEPT FOR VERY FEW INSTANCES, WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD PLANS -- DIRECT ACTION, VOTER REGISTRATION, FREEDOM SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, SOCIAL ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, AND SO FORTH.


HENCE, THIS SECTION STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT ANY ORGANIZER IS A LEADER, BUT IT PANS THE STRONG ASSUMPTION THAT ANY ORGANIZER WHO IS WORKING ON A POLITICAL PROGRAM IS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER, A POLITICAL LEADER. VIEWED HIMSELF IN THIS CATEGORY, HE MUST UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES THE LEADERSHIP IMPOSES UPON HIM, FOR A POLITICAL ORGANIZER OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC POSITION OF LEADERSHIP.

FIRST, THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER REALIZES THAT HIS LEADERSHIP ARISES FROM AND IS SHAPED BY THE PEOPLE. WHILE HE BRINGS PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS TO THE GROUP, THESE PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS FIND EXPRESSION THROUGH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED AND THE PEOPLE HE ORGANIZES.

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THE ORGANIZER MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP THROUGH EXAMPLE, WORK, EDUCATING, AND TRAINING OTHERS. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THE UGLY CRIMTY AND SHITTY WORK THAT PEOPLE ARE OFTEN NOT WILLING TO DO. AT THE SAME
N I D E N T I F I C A T I O N

THRU THRU HIS OWN EFFORTS HE DEVELOPS IN AWARENESS IN OTHERS THAT THEY TOO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO THE SO-CALLED DRESS-UP WORK, FALING TO DO THIS, HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BECOME NEGATIVE AND THE PEOPLE WILL SOON SAY HIM KNOW IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER: "JACK, YOU CANT MAKE IT, AINT NOTHING RE... FOR YOU TO DO. YOU COOKED!"

LEADERSHIP IMPLIES THE WILLINGNESS TO GIVE DIRECTION AND TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IT IMPLIES A RESPONSIBILITY FOR PLANNING, NOT ONLY PLANNED MEETINGS, BUT OTHER COURSES OF ACTION THAT MUST BE TAKEN, BUT IT ESPECIALLY IMPLIES PLANNING FOR MEETINGS OF ALL SIZES. PEOPLE ARE BUSY AND LEADERSHIP MUST BE EXERCISED IN ORDER TO MAKE MATTERS MORE EFFICIENT.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER MUST INSURE CONFIDENCE AND THIS RESULTS FROM A WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD, TO EDUCATE AND TRAIN OTHERS, AND TO REALIZE HIS ACTIONS WILL AFFECT THE LARGER GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED. THEREFORE, HE UNDERSTANDS THAT HE HAS TO UPHOLD THE STANDARDS OF THE GROUP, WITH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ORGANIZING AND THE ONE WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED (S.W.S.C. IN OUR CASE). THEN ONE MEMBER OF A LARGER UNIT GOES IN THIS PLACE IT IS VERY HARD FOR ANOTHER TO GO AND SOLVE THE SITUATION, THE DUTIES ON BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO RESTOR OR SLOW DOWN THE CLOCK.

THE ORGANIZER MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS VERY HARD FOR PEOPLE TO SAY I DON'T KNOW. THEY ARE PROTECTIVE OF THEIR EGOS AS WE ALL ARE. BUT AS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. HE TRIES TO FIND A WAY OF WORK THAT IS HELPFUL WHERE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING DIGNITY. AS HE DOES THIS HE AND THE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP MORE AND MORE STRENGTH AND WILL OPENLY TALK ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS AND SEARCH FOR ANSWERS.

THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO FIND THAT HIS POSITION OF LEADERSHIP WILL MAKE HIM THE CENTER OF PROBLEM SOLVING, IF HE ALLOWS THIS TO HAPPEN. THAT IS, MANY PEOPLE WILL WANT HIM TO SOLVE THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE GROUP. ALSO, DEPENDING UPON THE SIZE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP, HE WILL FIND THAT MANY OF THE YOUNGER AND MORE INVISIBLE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WILL EXPECT HIM TO RUN INTERFERENCE WITH SOMEONE WHO IS IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION, TO CUT THROUGH THE RED TAPE. HE, THE YOUNGER AND LESS VISIBLE MEMBER, HAS NOT FOUND THE STRENGTH OR THE METHOD TO WHICH HE CAN CUT THROUGH SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS OR GET AROUND THE "BUREAUCRATIC HAND-UP."

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST FIND WAYS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM HIM AS THE PROBLEM SOLVER. ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OR STRUCTURES MUST BE FOUNDED TO MINIMIZE CONFLICTS THAT ARE EXPECTED TO OCCUR. ALSO, PEOPLE WHO ASSUME ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS MUST RECOGNIZE A DIFFERENCE IN ROLES AND A CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" WANTS TO DO. THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" HAS TO ALSO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS AND THE POLE OF VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATOR. THESE PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT A CONSTANT D eve. FAILING TO DISCUSS THEM AND ARGUING AT A POINT OF VIEW INJURIES FOR THE ENTIRE UNIT ... THE FIGHT IS ON, THE IS LOS T, ENERGY IS WASTED, FEELINGS ARE HURT, ANXIETY AND HATRED BEGINS TO
CROW THAT AFFECT THE UNITY IN MANY STRANGE WAYS. SOMETIMES THE SO-CALLED NON-ADMINISTRATOR TURNS TO SELF-DESTRUCTIVE ACTS AND INCITEMENTS THAT FORC HD PEOPLE TO BREAK AWAY OF HIS EXISTENCE. THE ADMINISTRATOR REACTS NEGATIVELY AND THE CIRCLE GOES AROUND AND AROUND. A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND!

THERE ARE OTHER WAYS THIS PROBLEM CAN BE STATED: IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANY POLITICAL UNIT EVERY PERSON WHO JOINS IT SHOULD BE ASSIGNED AND SHOULD ASSUME SOME ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY. EVERY POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AN ADMINISTRATOR IN SOME SENSE OF THE WORD. THERE REALLY IS THEN ONLY A DIFFERENCE IN THE HIERARCHY OF ADMINISTRATORS. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THE AUTHORITY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SOME PEOPLE WITHIN THE UNIT. SOMETIMES THERE DEVELOPS WITHIN DIFFERENT PEOPLE WHO ARE WORKING AT A HIGHER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY THAN OTHERS A CERTAIN VESSEL IN THE RANKS THEY ARE PERFORMING. MANY TIMES THEY MAY NOT BE AWARE OF THESE INTERESTS, YET I AM ASSUMING THAT THESE VESTED INTERESTS ARE ALL NEGATIVE. YET THESE INTERESTS OFTEN CLASH WITH THE VESTED INTERESTS OF SOMEWHERE WHO IS IN A LOWER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY, THE PERSON WHO HAS TO DO IN ORDER TO GET HIS JOB DONE IS NOT THE SAME AS THAT PERSON IN A HIGHER POSITION OF AUTHORITY.

LET US TALK ABOUT THE CASE WHERE THE S.M.I.C. POINT OF VIEW IS THE ORGANIZATION A LONG PERIOD OF TIME HAS BEEN AND HAS REACHED AN ASSIGNMENT, MANY OF THESE VESSEL HAZARDOUS, HE IS STILL WILLING TO TAKE THESE ASSIGNMENTS. YET, HE WORKS IN AN OBSCURE PLACE, ANY FROM THE CAPITOL OF B.M.I.C. OR EVEN ARND IT. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT IN MANY SITUATIONS THEY ARE NEGATIVE HIERARCHIES TO PUT IN PULLET UNTIL THERE IS AGAIN A HAZARDOUS ASSIGNMENT, HE HAS TO STRUGGLE TO GET MORE RESOURCES AND NOT OTHERS TO HAVE TO MAKE THE SAME STRUGGLE BECAUSE THEY ARE A PART OF THE SO-CALLED HIERARCHIES, HE FEELS.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST BE AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AS HE BUILDS UNITS. HE TAKES TO HEART ALL THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS REALIZE THEY MUST STRUGGLE AGAINST INCONSISTENCY SOMETIMES CAUSED BY OVERWORK AND NOT ENOUGH TIME TO THINK OF THE PROBLEM FROM THE OTHER MAN'S POINT OF VIEW. AT THE SAME TIME THE GOALS AND FORM OF THE UNIT MUST BE AGREED TO BY ALL OR OTHERWISE THE PROBLEM WILL INCREASE, CONTENTION, CONTENTION, ACCEPTANCE OF LINES OF AUTHORITY, DISCIPLINE, HARD, FOOD OF APPEARANCE AND CONSTANT DISCUSSIONS ARE SOME METHODS BY WHICH THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICTING INTEREST CAN BE SOLVED.

THERE IS A RULE OF ADMINISTRATION THAT SAYS ONE CAN DELEGATE AUTHORITY BUT ONE CANNOT DELEGATE RESPONSIBILITY. THIS SIMPLY MEANS THAT IF I AM IN CHARGE OF X PROJECT I CAN GIVE ASSIGNMENTS AND AUTHORITY TO THIS PERSON BUT IF THE ODDS GO DOWN AND I AM CALLED ON THE CARPET IT IS ADMINISTRATIVELY UNSOUND AND A WEAK-SPUN POSITION TO PUT THE BLAME ON SOMEONE WHO IS WORKING UNDER ME. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AND ACCEPTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURES OF THIS OR THAT PROJECT NOT WORKING IF IT IS UNDER HIS JURISDICTION OR SUPERVISION. HE DISCUSSES WITH THOSE WHO WERE ASSIGNED TO CARRY OUT CERTAIN FUNCTIONS AND FAILED TO DO THIS AND HE MAY EVEN TAKE ACTION. HOWEVER, HE SHOULD NOT SHIFT THE BURDEN OF THE RESPONSIBILITY.
TO SOMEONE ELSE. AFTER ALL, HE WAS IN CHARGE.

SINCE HE IS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER MUST STRENGTHEN THE UNIT AND THE TRANSITION IN HIS OWN LEADERSHIP. THIS IS BEST DONE THROUGH THE PROCESS OF INITIAL EDUCATION. ANY ORGANIZER CARRIES WITH HIM CERTAIN SKILLS, INFORMATION, CONTACTS, TRAINING AND ASSOCIATION WITH A LARGER GROUP AND THE ONE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. YET HE MUST TRY TO TRANSFER SOME OF THESE TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT THIS ATTITUDE, THE STRUGGLE HURGES ITSELF AT A MUCH SLIGHTER PACE THAN NECESSARY. NATURALLY IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING AND DEVELOPING AN INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO LEARN MUCH FROM THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING. THEIR IDEAS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR ARE GOING TO MODIFY MANY OF HIS IDEAS AND BEHAVIOR.

WHEN AND HOW THE TRANSITION IN LEADERSHIP WILL TAKE PLACE IS A VERY KNOWN QUESTION AND THE BEST SOLUTION IS COLLECTIVE DECISION ABOUT THE PROBLEM. IT IS HIGHLY DANGEROUS IF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER ALONE IS RESISTING TO MAKE THIS DECISION. IN FACT, HE SHOULD NOT EVEN TRY. HE MAY WILL LOOK AT THE SITUATION FROM TOO PERSONAL A PERSPECTIVE AND THEREBY CAUSE DOOM TO THE UNIT.

THE ACID TEST OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP BY THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS HIS WILLINGNESS TO SUBMIT HIS ROLE FOR EXAMINATION, EVALUATION AND CRITICISM. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THIS WITH THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING AND WITHIN THE UNIT HE REPRESENTS. IT IS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO LEAD THIS DISCUSSION AND TO ALWAYS INSIST THAT HIS ROLE IS UP FOR CONSTANT EVALUATION. NATURALLY HE MUST BE WILLING TO EVALUATE HIS OWN EFFORTS, TO ADMIT MISTAKES, TO CORRECT THEM AND AVOID ONE, FOR THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE.

IT IS OF COURSE EASY TO CRITICIZE THIS ACTION OR THAT ONE. IT IS NOT SO EASY TO SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES, BUT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO TAKE POSITIONS AT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER TO SUGGEST DIFFERENT MODES OF PROCEEDING. FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSTANT CONSTRUCTIVE EVALUATION IS TO BUILD SOMETHING BETTER, FOR THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE.

FINALLY, THE ORGANIZER MUST HIMSELF REALIZE THAT HE IS HUMAN. HE WILL MAKE MISTAKES. THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT HE CAN DO IN A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME AND THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT OTHERS CAN DO. PERFECTION-SICKENING IS A DANGEROUS THREAT AND LEADS TO MORE DESTRUCTION THAN PERFECTION. WE DO WHAT WE CAN IN THE LIMITED TIME WE HAVE. WE MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON INFORMATION AT THE MOMENT; INFORMATION WE MAY WELL FIND NOT VALID FIVE YEARS FROM NOW, BUT WE MUST MOVE AHEAD, THERE IS INDUBITABLE WORK TO BE DONE. THE HARVEST IS GREAT BUT THE REAPERS ARE FEW.

C. THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER. THESE THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF GOODNESS OR TRAITS APPLY TO MANY WHO CONSIDER PLOUGH AN ORGANIZER TO A SPECIAL OR ANY ACTIVITY, WHETHER IT IS SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL, OR FUNDRAISING. 24

1. HE IS CREATIVE. HE IS A SELF STARTER. HE MOVES WITH A PLAN, WITH LONG AND SHORT RANGE GOALS LEARNED FROM COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION WITH HIS
UNIT. IF ANY CAT TELLS YOU THAT HE HAS NOTHING TO DO, THAT HE IS WAITING DIRECTION WHILE HE SITS IN A PILE OF DIRT OR SEES A DIRTY MUG, AND DOES NOT GET A BLOW RIGHT AWAY, THEN THAT CAT IS NOT AN ORGANIZER, HE IS SAYING IN FACT: "I AM LAZY AND I'M NOT REALLY A GOOD HUSTLER OF WORK."

2. HE IS A PUSHER. HE HAS A GOAL IN MIND, HE MUST GET FROM A TO Z IN X NIGHTS OF TIME. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THERE ON TIME UNLESS HE PUSHER HIMSELF AND PUSHES OTHERS WHO ARE WORKING WITH HIM. VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE PUSHER HIMSELF FIRST OF ALL, FOR HE HAS NO RIGHT TO EXPECT OTHERS TO FOLLOW A FALSE LEAD. IF HE PUSHES HIMSELF AND WORKS HARD, THEN OTHERS WILL WILLINGLY FOLLOW. WE KNOW WHEN THE PUSHER IS SLOWING AND JUVING. SLAVERY IS ALMOST DEAD WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.

3. HE PAYS ATTENTION TO DETAILS AND HE FOLLOWS THROUGH. LACK OF FOLLOW-UP IS THE CAUSE OF MOST IDEAS AND PLANS. THIS DEATH OFTEN HITS FIRST TAKING ON TOO MANY JOBS, INADEQUATE PLANNING OR RECORD KEEPING, AND SOMETIMES DOGMEAT LAZINESS.

D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE. COMBINED WITH THE THREE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER IN ANY FIELD, THESE SEVEN STEPS THEREFORE CONSTITUTE THE BASIC STEPS IN BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER.

1. HE THINKS HE KNOWS AND, YET HE MAY NOT KNOW. THE OTHER GUY MAY BE RIGHT, FOR THE ORGANIZER MUST TALK WITH THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. THEY CAN TEACH HIM SOMETHING AND HE MUST LEARN IT. THERE IS NO PLACE FOR A DOGMEAT POSITION OR A BELIEF THAT I, THE ORGANIZER, AM ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. I MUST HAVE THE LAST WORD. THIS ATTITUDE MAY WELL LEAD TO THE FINAL WORK, BUT THERE WILL BE FEW PEOPLE AROUND WILLING TO LISTEN.


3. HE ASSES HX EN TO PEOPLE, TO MEN AND TO WOMEN AND TO YOUNG PEOPLE. HE TAKES THE ATTITUDE: "I MUST HAVE ORGANIZE OTHERS AND IF YOU REALLY WANT TO DO THIS YOU MUST TAKE STEPS YOURSELF. I CAN HELP YOU GET STARTED, BUT IF YOU AIN'T WILLING TO WORK FOR YOUR OWN LIBERATION THEN I MUST GO!

HAVE SKILLS. MUST TRAVEL.
NO TIME FOR CLEANSING VIOLETS.
FERTILE FIELDS I MUST FIND."

4. THE ORGANIZER MUST ALSO CONCENTRATE WITH HIS OWN SURVIVAL AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNIT WITH WHICH HE IS WORKING. HE SHOULD FIRST LOOK FOR ALL NECESSARY RESOURCES FOR SURVIVAL IN THE AREA WHERE HE IS WORKING. THERE IS A RUSH THAT NO AREA IS STRONGER THAN ITS SUPPLY ROUTES.
5. He needs full opportunity to develop a sense of struggle in the people with whom he works. He must be alert and look around for weak spots in the system and activate small and large struggles. He knows people grow and learn and develop from commitments and involvement. A spirit of initiative and fight does not arise just from theory. Action is key to change and mass mobilization will knock down all sorts of doors.

6. You must have a sense of timing. Pushing too fast will make people not ready and will lead to negative reactions and the organizers will lose their trust. Yet there are some issues which cannot wait no matter what the plan might be. People must be smart enough to do not live in a controlled vacuum or a shield box. An awareness that positive action is better than none and will lead to positive consequences of which we might not know ... This is fundamental to developing a social awareness and a sense of struggle in ourselves and the people with whom we work.

7. He must constantly improve his own intellectual development. He must very timid to read, to write, to rest. He must constantly evaluate his actions and the actions of others and discuss them collectively with his friends and fellow-workers. We live in a rapidly changing world and the good organizer must be very aware of world events.

If the organizer keeps reading, studying, and writing about his experiences, the future unit will grow and the organizer himself will acquire skills that make him very mobile, able to move into many different kinds of situations -- an absolute must in our time.
Lt. 100-53822

This particular pamphlet is self-explanatory in its authorization and purpose.

and had no knowledge of a pamphlet written by JAMES FORMAN entitled "Don't Shut Me Out".

SNCC YOUTH CORPS (SYC)

(5/4/66)

On June 4, 1966, source furnished documents which contained information concerning the SYC and members who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of May 14, 1966 through May 25, 1966 for the trial of H. RAPP BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. Selected portions of this information concerning SYC are enclosed.
BLACK POWER
Weekly schedule

field
black peas
red or green beans

S. C. (mebsis)

S. C. (mo)

S. C. (co)

S. C. (lo)
Orientation for SYC

Introduction by S.O.I.

1. espr. de corps Hakin

2. mental and physical training Ali

3. Program outline:
   A. weekly schedule - explain each and give purpose of each
   B. uniform - explain reason for uniform - why this kind and
   C. structure of SYC - S.O.I
      S.C. S.C. S.C.

-30-

CONFIDENTIAL
Panel of judges & one of his peers
3. mob's one witness was picked by defendant accused

Ali Hakan Jr
Office in Tokyo needed by 285
Movie (check with Bobby)
Projector everything

Drill

Security officer —
Sec. comm. —

20
On May 17, 1960, four members of LA-SHCC were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In attache cases carried by these individuals the following information regarding SYC was located:

SYC ORGANIZATION

The organization consists of a Security Officer in Charge (SOIC), three Section Commanders, and nine Group Commanders. The Group Commander is in charge of ten members of the SYC. A Section Commander is in charge of three Group Commanders and 30 members of the SYC. This is basically a military type organization and they are attired in uniforms consisting of black pants, sweatshirts monogrammed with SYC, boots, and field jackets.

SYC CLASSES

SYC classes will be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the subject to be instructed and only those directly involved with SYC will be admitted to class. Classes will begin on time and will be one hour and 30 minutes in duration of which one hour will be spent in covering material and the remaining 30 minutes will be open discussion of the material covered.

The curriculum for SYC will include the following courses: Orientation, Drill, Code of Conduct, Liberation School, Political Education, Recruitment, Maintenance and Security.

SYC MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the SYC is only open to Negro males between the ages of 14 and 17.

In the information obtained in New Orleans, it was indicated that there were, at one time, 15 members in LA-SHCC SYC School.
On May 27, 1962, source observed eight members of the LA-SYC between the ages of 12 and 17 attired in SYC sweatshirts dreaming in a church parking area on the Southwest corner of Cinnamon and Jefferson Streets, Los Angeles, California.

On July 17, 1962, source was advised by a member of LA-SNCC that the SYC was discontinued and is no longer a project of LA-SNCC.

On August 23, 1962, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI and indicated that the SYC was terminated by him in July, 1962.

The above sources on dates related that they were unaware of any SYC program in their particular Chapters of SNCC.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

- 35 -
APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, p. 193, describes the "National Guardian" as follows:

"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."

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, page 78, describes the American Labor Party as follows:

"For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn Sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control."
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 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 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,
APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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."
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
September 18, 1968

Title                      STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character                  RACIAL MATTER

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

REPORTED LIEUT. | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
LOS ANGELES | ATLANTA | 9/19/63 | 8/1/63 - 9/4/63

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE
RACIAL MATTER

REFERENCES:
Los Angeles report of SA dated 5/29/63.
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/2/63.
Los Angeles letter to Bureau 9/4/63.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

SIGNATURE OF AGENT

COMMENTS:
40 - Bureau (100-439159) (RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RN)
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - TWR, San Diego (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-63533) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-439122) (RM)

Note: Dispensation Report, Attached Report

61 0618 1968
LA 100-53822

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.
LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will in accordance with
Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/53, submit
a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from
the date of this report.

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**COVER PAGE**
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

RACIAL MATTER

Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) reorganized in June 1968, Los Angeles, California. LA-SNCC headquarters located at 7406 South Western, Los Angeles, with telephone number 771-2950. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and also Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Financial, program, and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members and connections with other organizations reported. Activities indicating the military and revolutionary nature of organization set forth. LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

P

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.
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DETAILS

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

(7/3/68)

(8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC reorganized in June 1968 and its new director is RONALD LEROY WILKINS who is also Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC Organization. CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT assist WILKINS in directing the affairs of LA-SNCC.
II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

(7/8/63)

On June 25, 1963, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, and several members of the organization were observed moving furniture from the LA-SNCC Office at 1934 West Jefferson Boulevard, to 7405 South Western Avenue, which is to be the new headquarters for LA SNCC.

(3/9/63)

On July 31, 1963, source advised that the new SNCC Office is located at 7405 South Western Avenue, in Los Angeles.

(3/13/63)

On August 13, 1963, source advised that LA-SNCC headquarters is located at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

On May 17, 1963, JOHN CLIFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SMITH, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNE EDSON RAINES, III, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana, when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. These four members of Los Angeles SNCC had in their possession a list of LA-SNCC officers which included the following:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGELA DAVIS
BOBBI HECKS
MARI HARDING
FRANK HARDING
FRANKLIN ALFRED
HIRE WILLIAMS
TED PAYNE
EBONY SCOTT
CLARENCE ALLEN
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON
On May 23, 1963, source furnished the following list of officers for LA-SNCC:

RENE HARDING, Program Coordinator and Secretary
MICHAEL SEAL, Security Officer
GEORGE HOPKINS, Editor
LAMAR CHANNEL, Security Officer
LHSARIE BELL, Office Secretary
MARK SUMN, Security Officer
CHARLES CORRIN, Security Officer
TOM TAYLOR (position unknown)
JONH FLOYD, Secretary-Treasurer and former LA-SNCC Director
JOHNIEE RAYNE, Security Officer
BROSNY ANN SMITH, Office Secretary

On August 5, 1963, source advised that RONALD LEROY
WILKINS of LA-SNCC is Deputy Chairman of National SNCC.

On August 12, 1963, source indicated that CHARLES
MICHIEL, WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOT, are assistants to
RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, in administering
the affairs of the organization.
On June 21, 1963, source indicated the following persons are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT, Program Coordinator

CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS, Protocol Officer

MICHAEL SEAL, Editor

GEORGE HOPKINS, Staff Member

IV. NEMETHTE

On May 17, 1963, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SUGDEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JAMES EDSON RAINES, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. These individuals admitted to being members of LA-SNCC. When arrested the above persons had in their possession a list of staff members of LA-SNCC, which list included the following names:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
ANGELA DAVIS
BOBBIE ROGERS
RENEE HARRELL
FRANK RAPPLE
FRANKLIN ALBERGER
NELL WILLIAMS
TUT HALE
TOLLY SCOTT
CLARICE ALLEN
CHARLES GORDON
On June 12, 1968, source advised that the following individuals were members of LA-SMCC:

SERGE HARDY
MICHAEL SEALS
GEORGE HOPKINS
LAMAR CHANEKEL
LAMARR BELL
MARK SEMIEN
CHARLES GORDON
TOMMY AUDREY
JOHN FLOYD
JOHNNE RAINES
SHELLEY ANN SMITH

On April 25, 1968, source advised that ANGELA DAVIS is a member of LA-SMCC.

On June 17, 1968 and June 12, 1968, sources indicated that BARBARA REXE HARDY was a member of LA-SMCC.
On August 13, 1968, source indicated the following individuals were members of IA-220C:

ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY
RONALD HENRY WILKINS
CLARICE ALLEN
WILLIAM TOT HAYES, JR.
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS
THOMAS BENJAMIN SCOTT
FRANK C. HARDING
CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS
V. FINANCE

(6/13/68)

On May 23, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC was in need of financial support and it was attempting to sponsor a fund-raising affair with leading nationally known Black Nationalist leaders.

(6/12/68)

(6/27/68)

(7/9/68)
(7/9/63)

On July 9, 1963, Los Angeles SNCC moved from their office at 1934 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, to 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, because ALBERT COOCAULT, owner of the property at 1934 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, doubled the rent for LA-SNCC and the organization did not have funds to pay their rent for July 1963.

(5/3/63)

On April 20, 1963, a fund-raising affair for LA-SNCC was held at 1930 Hi-Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RENE HARDING, Program Director for LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker. The affair raised approximately $254 for LA-SNCC.

(6/27/63)

On June 27, 1963, a fund-raising affair sponsored by SNCC was held at 4727 Kenniston Drive, Los Angeles, California. Speaker for this meeting was RONALD ERSOY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, who spoke concerning the local program of SNCC. The purpose of the meeting was to raise $250,000 bail money for five LA-SNCC workers who were recently arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

(9/4/63)

On September 4, 1963, TOBY SCOTT, an officer of LA-SNCC, indicated that the organization was in a poor financial condition and money was needed to meet current expenses for the office.
VI. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

(8/15/63)
(7/16/63)

On the above dates, sources furnished a brochure which contained the projects and program presently being conducted by LA-SNCC. This brochure is as follows:
PROJECT #1 - MEDICAL CARE

A committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aid to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work, i.e., accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a twofold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on-the-job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT #2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis, however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT #3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black Community of events which directly
effect our survival. Also, it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to give. Thus it serves the black community as an alternative to the white press. Informing black people of information and services is vital to our survival.

The newsletter will be operated by members of the black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of black people.

**PROJECT # 1 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS**

We are concerned with the survival of our people - black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of self-defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of our community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the martial arts - our survival depends on this.

**PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGE STATIONS**

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people throughout the community will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the community and teach other brothers and sisters.

**PROJECT # 6 - AGRICULTURAL SKILLS BANK**

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be initiated,
hopefully, throughout the third world, and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

**PROJECT #7 - IDAWLULU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION)**

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance throughout the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives and an escape mechanism.
On May 17, 1968, four members of LA-SNCC were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana, by the New Orleans Police Department. In their possession they had material concerning the self-defense program for LA-SNCC. The outline of this program is set out below:
I. House
   a. weapons
      1. shotgun
      2. 30 caliber carbine
      3. two pistols
         a. extra (3) 9mm
         b. .45 automatic
      b. at least one extra clip for each weapon
   5. a knife
   b. communication
      1. list of phone numbers
         a. Sure office
         b. close friends
         c. your lawyer

II. Community
   a. groups
      1. gun club
      2. community defense plan
      3. community patrol
         a. two or three sons
         b. arrest
         c. carry: radio talking
I. Individual Sc. Sense
   a. waza
      1. geiko extra 600
      2. in-brief case
   b. periodic classes in hand to hand combat
      1. karate
      2. shada khan
SNCC Youth Corps (SYC)

Also, additional material was obtained concerning the organizing of a SNCC Youth Corps (SYC). The literature on the SYC indicates that they were being given instructions in drill, political education, recruiting, building, maintenance, and security. These classes were being taught after school hours by LA-SNCC leaders. Classes started at 3 o'clock every day of the school week, and on Tuesday, Thursdays, and Saturdays, classes were held from 6 P.M. to 10 in the evening.

Instructions concerning SYC classes related that they would be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the business of the subject to be instructed. Only those individuals directly involved with SYC will be admitted to classes. Classes will begin on time and will last one hour and thirty minutes at which one hour will be spent covering material and the remaining thirty minutes will be spent upon discussion concerning the material presented. The curriculum indicated that time would be given to fire arms and combat type training.

The uniform for class would be a sweatshirt with a SYC emblem and the letters S Y C monogrammed on the front of the sweatshirt.

(7/7/68)

(6/4/68)

On May 17, 1968, eight members of SYC between the ages of 15 and 17, all wearing SYC sweatshirts, were drilling in the school parking lot on the southwest corner of Cimarron and Jefferson Boulevard in Los Angeles, California.
General Activities of LA-SNCC

(5/21/63)

(5/3/63)

(5/16/63)

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was the former chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro civil rights group headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.

(6/22/63)

On May 12, 1963, ANGELA DAVIS, Protocol Officer of LA-SNCC, spoke at the College Center group, The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (see appendix), 2556 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles. DAVIS related that SNCC's major projects consisted of karate and rifle club training for its membership, organized the Negroes politically and economically; and to set up legal teams and medical teams to combat police brutality in Los Angeles.
Source indicated that the Black Congress is an organization representing all militant Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

On May 6, 1968, source reported that on May 4, 1968, seven persons connected with IA-SNCC were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department and booked on charges of armed robbery. The IA-SNCC members were FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WHITET, THOMAS VALENTINE, GEORGE HOPKINS, MARK SETH, and PERRY ALLEN.
VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC (see appendix)

VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS

Southern California District of the Communist Party (SCDCP)

(6/10/68)

(7/30/68)

Black Panther Party (BPP)
(see appendix)

(6/25/68)

On June 24, 1968, source indicated that the BPP was in contact with the LA-SNCC headquarters at 1996 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

"People's World" (PW)

The PW is a West Coast communist newspaper.

(3/26/69)

As of August 26, 1968, LA-SNCC was a recipient of a PW subscription at their headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
May Day Committee (MDC)  
(see appendix)

(5/14/68)

Black Congress

Black Congress is an organization representing numerous Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

(7/19/68)

IX. NATIONAL SNOOP OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

(5/22/68)

On May 6, 1968, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was appointed Director of LA-SNCC.

(6/7/68)
On July 2, 1963, source indicated that RONALD DEREOY WILKINS was appointed deputy chairman of SNCC at a National SNCC committee meeting in May 1963.

On August 5, 1963, RONALD DEREOY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and Deputy Chairman of National SNCC, was arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at 12:30 AM on this date, and was charged with kidnapping. WILKINS was holding RICHARD MACLEIS, a 19-year-old male, at 2787 South Crentron, Los Angeles, by force in order to obtain information from him which neither WILKINS nor MACLEIS would divulge to arresting officers. A Negro male approximately 20 years of age with a last name of SCOTT who was a friend of WILKINS, was also at the above residence during the time MACLEIS was held.

Officers of the Los Angeles Police Department, after a search of the residence at 2787 South Crentron, obtained two rifles and one handgun both owned by WILKINS. WILKINS was also booked at the Los Angeles Police Department on the charge of kidnapping MACLEIS. SCOTT, who may be identical with THOMAS DEREOY SCOTT, a member of the LA-SNCC, was not held.
On August 6, 1962, source indicated that WILKINS was released from the Los Angeles Police Department on August 6, 1962, and all charges were dismissed because the kidnapped victim MALES would not file a complaint against WILKINS. MALES indicated to police officers that he was afraid to make any statement because WILKINS or other members of this organization would kill him.

ROBERT DONALD WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Bureau agents on August 23, 1962.
RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Director of Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), was interviewed on August 23, 1968 by Special Agents THEODORE M. CARDELL and JOHN W. WARRER outside LA-SNCC Headquarters at 7106 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. WILKINS was informed by SA WARRER that he did not have to say anything and that anything he did say may be used against him in a court of law. WILKINS was advised that he had the right to talk to a lawyer of his own choice or anyone else before saying anything at all.

WILKINS was questioned concerning information received by the FBI that LA-SNCC was formulating plans to bomb the FBI Office and additional federal buildings in Los Angeles, California, the Los Angeles Police Department, and the Pacific Telephone Company, also in Los Angeles, California. WILKINS indicated that he had made no statement concerning bombing of the above buildings and installations. He indicated that LA-SNCC has no plans to blow up any buildings in Los Angeles, California.

WILKINS would not volunteer any information concerning STEPHEN CAMPBELL, former National Chairman of SNCC, on CAMPBELL's being dropped from the organization. He did indicate that he planned to attend a Black Panther rally featuring CAMPBELL in Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, on August 24, 1968.

When questioned concerning the current association between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP), he indicated that they are cordial and tolerant to each other because of
similar views, but they are definitely two separate organizations. He implied that SNCC and BPP in Los Angeles were not as sympathetic as other cities because after dismissing several members of SNCC from the organization they were admitted to membership in the BPP.

WILKINS was questioned concerning FRANK HARDING, a SNCC member and procurer of guns for LA-SNCC, and he related that HARDING had been dismissed from LA-SNCC.

WILKINS refused to discuss any information concerning the SNCC Youth Corps, with the exception of stating that it was no longer in existence in LA-SNCC.

He indicated that the FBI and local police agencies were harassing SNCC around the United States and other black organizations that were opposed to the establishment. The Los Angeles Police Department had arrested numerous LA-SNCC members on trumped-up charges and had attempted to force the LA-SNCC office to close by "gestapo" type tactics. He indicated that he had been recently arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department on charges of kidnapping but these charges were dismissed after he was held one day.

WILKINS related the FBI, all police agencies, and all white men, are the enemy of the black. The only way the Negro is to have freedom is to destroy the white man and his organization. He knew that the FBI was against SNCC because he read a press release by J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, who stated to Congress that SNCC was a militant, black nationalist organization that was creating racial unrest and advocated the overthrow of society and the Government.

He related that SNCC was not a subversive organization but did not deny its militancy.

He indicated that LA-SNCC is attempting to organize the Negroes in South Los Angeles politically, economically and socially. The emphasis of their current program is political unity in order to get more Negroes elected to office in November.
During the interview, WILKINS was cordial but refused to discuss SNCC, its leadership, membership and financial backing.
X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC MEMBERS

(5/20/68)

On May 20, 1968, source advised that JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY STHEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNIE EDSON RAINES, traveled from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial being conducted in New Orleans, Louisiana, in May 1968.

On May 23, 1968, an article entitled "A Scary Saturday Afternoon" appeared in the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Los Angeles, California, newspaper which indicated that four LA-SNCC members, GEORGE THOMAS, MARIE BELL, PULICAR CHANCELL, and JOHNNIE RO GREGORY, were driving from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial in that city.

(5/26/68)

On May 27, 1968, NILE SEAL, RILEY HARDING, TONY AUGUST, and SANDY CALHOUN, all members of LA-SNCC, were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

(5/3/68)

On May 27, 1968, SHELLY ANN SMITH, a member of LA-SNCC, was in Atlanta, Georgia.

On May 17, 1968, MARK ANTHONY STHEN, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNIE EDSON RAINES, III, were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In their possession at the time of arrest was a United States Passport, Number J59/601, issued to MICHAIL SEAL on April 30, 1968, and passport applications for JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD and JOHNIE EDSON RAINES.

The passport application of FLOYD indicates countries to be visited as England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Kenya, Israel, Tanzania, and China. The passport application of RAINES lists countries to be visited as France, Tanzania, and Germany, with anticipated departure of July for a six-month period.
On April 7, 1969, a source indicated that CHAMPS would be traveling through New Orleans to attend the Third National Conference on Peace. In October, the conference was to be held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in August 1969.
One Iffy automatic, 
Nine millimeters, 
Serial Number 31624

One CR automatic, 
Nine millimeters, 
(similar to Astro in design) 
Serial Number 1117

The New Orleans Police Department also obtained in a search of these attack cases, the following information on sabotage and guerrilla warfare tactics:
A bottle is filled with boric acid. A fuse is inserted in the bottle. The fuse is lighted. A burning cigarette or match is placed on the fuse. The fuse will be unlit to extinguish it with water.
A piece of cord soaked in gasoline or alcohol is tied around the bottle and ignited which will cut the bottle in half. The bottom part of the bottle is then filled with dynamite. A fuse is inserted to match with the switch and the bottle sealed. The piece of wire is then connected to the switch. When it explodes, the bottle will also explode and shoot through the window and into the surrounding area. It is suggested that this be done in a darkened room to avoid injuring those nearby.
XII. BIOGRAPHY

ALFRED AXEL BLESS

Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCOTT.

STANLEY ALFRED BLESS, also known as "Frank"

Source indicated that STANLEY ALEXANDER is a member of the SCOTT.

Described in SCOTT literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SCOTT Youth Corps, and is involved in the black civil rights movement.

CONSULTANT

Source advised that CONSULTANT is an office secretary for M-SCOTT.

LAWRENCE

Source indicated that LAWRENCE is a member and officer of M-SCOTT.

LAWRENCE, also known as "K. Geo. Brown"

Publicly known as National Chairman of SCOTT.

C. L. BROWN

Source advised that C. L. BROWN is a member of M-SCOTT and is part of the M-SCOTT security force.

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ANGEFA Y. NOYES

DAVIS was formerly known as a member of OJCC.

HOMER M. KERR has also known as Ken Kramer
Chairman of US. (see appendix)

FRAZIER, CHARLES

In the EA-OJCC literature, FRAZIER has been given the title of organizer, secretary-treasurer.

[Redacted]

Source advised that FRAZIER is presently a representative for the Black Congress.

COURT, EDWARD

[Redacted]

Source indicated that COURT is currently a member of EA-OJCC.

MAGNESS, PAUL

[Redacted]

Source indicated that MAGNESS is currently secretary and member of EA-OJCC.

EXHIBIT 12, 2019

[Redacted]

Source indicated that HOMER is the member of NAACP and NAACP (organizing the 1921) and in a meeting of OJCC.
MISSIS LEE WATSON

MISSIS LEE WATSON is a constant companion of former LA-COSS Chair, Mr. SHRIFTS MCYDEN.

POWELL H. LEE

POWELL LEE is office secretary and former assistant treasurer of LA-COSS.

SHIRTS MCYDEN

SHIRTS MCYDEN is said to be a security officer for LA-COSS. He has been suspected by the Los Angeles Police Department in the protection of famed filmmaker of S. O. here.

MAK. LEE WATSON

MAK. LEE WATSON is a member of LA-COSS.

SHIRTS LEE MCYDEN

SHIRTS LEE MCYDEN is a member of LA-COSS.

POWELL H. WATSON

POWELL H. WATSON is a member of LA-COSS who's involved in LA-COSS activities.
SOURCES INDICATED SMITH was a security officer for DA-SSOC on or about 9 April 1968, at DA-SSOC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been reported by the Los Angeles Police Department in the past for similar charges.

SOURCES INDICATED:

[Redacted]

SOURCES INDICATED that SMITH is a security officer for DA-SSOC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.

SOURCES INDICATED:

[Redacted]

SOURCES INDICATED that SMITH was arrested on April 6, 1968, at DA-SSOC headquarters for interfering in the duties of other DA-SSOC security officers.

SOURCES INDICATED:

[Redacted]

SOURCES INDICATED that SMITH was arrested on April 6, 1968, which indicates that WILLIAM is a security officer for DA-SSOC.

SOURCES INDICATED:

[Redacted]

On May 10, 1968, sources indicated that WILLIAM was a security officer for DA-SSOC.
ROWELL J. WILKINS, also known as Freelon Proctor

[Redacted]

Source indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.

[Redacted]

WILKINS is Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC organization and Director of LA-SNCC.

[Redacted]

Source indicated a LA-SNCC member went listed as TIGER or a contact of other Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have called a Houston policeman and in person to the West Coast to secure college application form of unknown.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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XIII. APPENDIX
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP) was formed by HUEY PERRY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BLYTHE CLARENCE SPIKE, 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 terrorist tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, BLYTHE CLARENCE, Minister of Publicity, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and restored title of Minister of Information, BPP, upon H. RAPP BANK, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which practices 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 3411 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX
- a4 -
APPENDIX

CONGRESS INVESTIGATION OF THE FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that the property of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2102 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for several years for Communist propaganda purposes. The church has been used for Communist Party rallies, meetings, and for other Communist activities.

The church is used as a social center for the propagation of Communist propaganda.

The Congregation of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2102 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, is a member of the National Unitarian-Universalist Association.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1966, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 174 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a permanent organization but a loose-knit agency comprised of young militant blacks, nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all traces of their past, and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam, and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program uniting armed force, politics, and black action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organized in Washington, D.C., and with the naming of C. T. Vivien as Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affiliation between the National and local organization will be more harmonious.

The same source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 28, 1966, the group indicated it was necessary for the SNCC personnel to be armed in order to meet a "pig snare" with the new Negro in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1966, indicated that the LA-SNCC leadership had encouraged the participation of LA-SNCC leaders in armed actions and to be armed at all times.

On April 25, 1966, four LA-SNCC leaders were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at 174 South Western Avenue in possession of two fully loaded .38 caliber revolvers and one 100 round clip, seventeen, with four rounds of 30 gauge ammunition. On May 6, 1966, three of the 12 SNCC leaders were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1966, Vivien, Director of SNCC, and three SNCC leaders, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen vehicles. The New Orleans Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation initiated an investigation in the holding of 'clergy conference' over and over trying to learn the truth in varying ways. This alternative was refused in Cambodia. China
A search started on May 2, 1983, that the May Day Celebration in Los Angeles, in recent years, excepting 1982, has been severely organized by the leadership of the Southern California's District Committee Party (SDCP) on a proper May Day and May Day Sunday, or rather on the International Workers Day, or variations thereof. The SDCP advised that the celebration be organized for this purpose, but it is appropriate that it be directed by representatives of the party. A properly organized and conducted celebration is by the workers and for the workers. The celebration was organized by the workers. The party and labor movements are the central core of our political activity. In 1938, the May Day Celebration was organized by the SDCP.
APPENDIX

"US"
Also Known As
"US", Incorporated

"US" was chartered by the State of California as a non-profit corporation in September, 1968 with offices at 4118 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. The corporate charter alleges that "US" is primarily an Afro-American cultural organization.

During the spring of 1968, however, a source advised that KENNEDY-RHODES, true name Rennie McKinley Everett, Founder-Chairman of "US", has published a booklet entitled, the Quarter Expression, in which he talks of revolution, black power and communism for the plight of the black man.

In this booklet, KENNEDY-RHODES states: "...you must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. ...the revolution being fought for is a revolution to win the rights of our people. If we fail to win this, we cannot win the violent one. ...Then the word is given to end as hard as you can. When it's "burn", let's do as much as you can. When it's "blow", let's see how much you will. When it's "pick up", let's see how much you will. And when it's "take the white girl's head too", we'll really see how tough you are."

The above source advised that "US" members are required to study and memorize this booklet. "US" members are also assigned short lists which they are to know.

A second source advised that KENNEDY has spoken at various meetings in Los Angeles, at which time he has talked of creating an "US" army of 1,000 men, obtaining weapons and ammunition, guerrilla warfare tactics and revolution. KENNEDY has also stated, "The only way to get life is to take a life and as we get stronger, we will take what we want from the white man's United States." He also stated that if the police killed any "US" members, the "US" organization would kill more of them.

The third source above advised that KENNEDY has also stated that recent race riots throughout the country were not riots but were actually revolts or revolutions and that the black people are going to win their freedom by violence if necessary.

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)
A third source advised that NIHUSA has stated that a revolution will take place in the near future and that no one can believe in black revolution without believing in armed conflict because the two go hand in hand.

The Third source above advised that the "US" organization has approximately 20 militiamen, hard-core members, a number of whom during the past year have been arrested for possession of incendiary devices, automatic arms, armed robbery and burglary. "US" militiamen are known to carry firearms. There are an estimated additional 20 individuals, ranging in age from 14 to 40, who are known to attend meetings and social activities sponsored by "US" and which are clearly at odds with the Negro race.

Recently, the "US" organization opened an affiliate office in San Diego, California.

The name "US" refers to the personal pronoun and is not an abbreviation.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

DATE
12/18/61

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
9/19/63 - 12/9/63

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM


ANNEXATION

SHERWOOD D. GRANT W. Halls, Director of the Black Panther Party, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by [redacted] on [redacted].

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the exposure of confidential sources of continuing value, an compromise of effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
Comics Made:

10 - Bureau (100-430190)(RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NISU, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6333)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-63322)
LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions, submit a supplemental report on this organization within 90 days of this report.

RECOMMEND

SOURCE

LOCATION

100-63222-1207
-1625
Urally to SA
12/9/33, instant report,
page 3

100-63222-1591

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RJ)

Copy to:
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RJ)

Report of: [Redacted]
Date: 12/12/60

Field Office File #: 100-63822
Bureau File #: 100-639120

Office: Los Angeles, California

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LASNCC) Headquarters located at 7400 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 776-3350. RUDALD HENRY WINSLOW, aka Brother Crook, Director of LASNCC, and also Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known leaders not forth. Finances, progress, and activities of LASNCC not forth. Travel of LASNCC leaders and connection with other organizations reported. LASNCC IF THERE ARE URBAN ARMED AND STUDENT COORDINATING COMMITTES.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
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LA 100-63522

DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details, are characterized in the "Glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(LASNC) HEADQUARTERS

(10/1/63)
(12/2/63)

On December 2, 1963, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LASNC) (See Appendix) Headquarters are located at 7466 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number 710-3500.

II. OFFICERS

(10/22/63)

On August 26, 1963, the source indicated that RONALD CRAW WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, Director of LASNC, was appointed as a Deputy Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in June 1963, at a SNCC conference in Atlanta, Georgia.
On December 9, 1969, the above sources indicated that the following persons are the current officers of LASHCC:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS
Director

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT
Program Coordinator

CHARLENS MICHAEL WILLIAMS
Protocol Officer

SANDRA SCOTT
Secretary

Source One indicated that on the above date, MICHAEL BRAY was Editor for LASHCC.

III. MEMBERSHIP

On August 13, 1969, GEORGE FLOYD BANKS, Director of the Black Panther Party (PPF) (see Appendix) in Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by agents of the FBI at his residence, 2109 N. Vidal Avenue, Los Angeles, California. During the interview, BANKS indicated that the SNCC organization in Los Angeles was, "a dead organization and most of the former SNCC members were now members of the PPF." He related that the local SNCC organization had approximately three or four members.
On December 9, 1969, sources indicated the following persons are currently members of LASNCO:

RONALD TERRY WELLS
THOMAS DELMIS SCOTT
CHARLES HENRY WILLIAMS
MICHAEL DEALS
SANDRA SCOTT

Source One indicated that RONALD TAYLOR was a recent member of LASNCO.

IV. FINANCES

On October 16, 1969, the source advised that LASNCO was in need of financial support and it has been attempting to sponsor fund raising affairs to raise funds for the organization.
On August 13, 1968, SHERMONT LE GRANT BANKS, Director of the FBI in Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by agents of the FBI and indicated that the local office of SNCC was, "a dead organization," and one of the reasons that the organization has been unable to operate is because of the lack of finances.

(12/9/68) 
(12/9/68)

On December 9, 1968, the above sources related that SNCC had been unable to raise sufficient funds to meet their rent at 7408 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and may have to close their headquarters.

V. LASCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

(3/22/68)

On August 13, 1968, the above source furnished a brochure, which contained the projects and program presently being conducted by LASCC. This brochure is as follows:
PROJECT #1 - L.A.W. DEFEND - MEDICAL CARE

A committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aid to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work, i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on-the-job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT #2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis, however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT #3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black Community of events which directly
effect our communities. Also, it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the white press! Informing Black people of information and services is vital to our survival.

The newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

**PROJECT #4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS**

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self-Defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of our community. Also there is a need to know how to handle defense. We are holding Black karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the martial arts - our survival depends on this.

**PROJECT #5 - SURVIVAL FOOD STATIONS**

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people throughout the community will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the community and teach other Brothers and Sisters.

**PROJECT #6 - AERONAUTICAL SKILLS BANK**

We have a program working with the Zeavidian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be initiated,
hopefully, throughout the Third World, and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

**PROJECT #7 - SNMAUD (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION)**

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance throughout the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives and an escape mechanism.
On August 20, 1963, the source obtained several pamphlets edited by IASCO near IASCO Headquarters, 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. These pamphlets contained information concerning fund raising affairs and dances to be held by IASCO in August 1963.

On August 17, 1963, the source observed RONALD LEROY WILLIAMS and CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS entering the IASCO Headquarters, 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

On August 20, 1963, the source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILLIAMS and THOMAS D. SCOTT, members of IASCO, on August 4, 1963, were arrested and charged with kidnapping a male Negro teenager and holding him prisoner at the residence of TERENCE SCOTT, 2728 South Cameron Street, Los Angeles, California. Upon arrival of the Los Angeles Police Department went to the location of
SCOTT's residence and freed the Negro youth, they searched
the residence and obtained a 9mm pistol registered to RONALD
LEROY WILKINS. The kidnapping charges were later dismissed.

(9/22/63)

(9/27/63)

On September 17, 1963, MICHAEL WILLIAMS of LAECC,
related that SNCC was attempting to form chapters of the
organization in various cities around Los Angeles.

(10/12/63)

(10/14/63)

(10/19/63)
on October 19, 1968, a fund raising reception, sponsored by IASKCC, was held at 1450 Carla Ridge, Beverly Hills, California, honoring Philip Hutchins, the National Program Director for IASKCC.

On October 24, 1968, the source indicated that IASKCC had been contacted by the National CHOC Headquarters to connect the Paper Olympic track and field event to inform them that they should propose a line against the Olympics held in Mexico in 1968.

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CHOC AND IASKCC
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerrilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

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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 GERIOD 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

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VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On August 13, 1968, SHERWOOD LE GRANT BANKS, Director of the BPP of Los Angeles, was interviewed at his residence, 2105 E. El Segundo Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, by Special Agents of the FBI. BANKS related that there is little cooperation between the BPP and the SNCC.

BLACK STUDENT UNION (ESU)

The FSU is a militant black nationalist student based organization.

(10/4/68)

BLACK CONGRESS (BC)

The BC is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

(3/27/69)

On August 1st, 1969, the BC held a demonstration protesting police brutality in front of City Hall in Downtown Los Angeles. TOMIE SCOTT, a member of LASNCC, was one of the speakers at the demonstration.
On October 17, 1963, the source furnished a letter from LASMCC directed to the BC, which related LASMCC's reasons for resigning from that organization. It indicates that the BC, located at 7223 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California, is exploiting the black community and not living up to the expectations for which it was created.
VIII. NATIONAL SHCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

On August 26, 1965, the source indicated that RONALD
LEROY MILHILLIS, the Director of LASHCC, was appointed Deputy
Chairman of the National SHCC organization, in Atlanta, Georgia,
in June 1965.

On October 19, 1965, a fund raising party sponsored
by LASHCC was held at 1450 Carly Ridge, Beverly Hills, California.
PHILIP MILCHNER, the National Program Director for SHCC, was the
honored guest and spoke concerning the reorganization of the SHCC.

On December 9, 1965, the above sources related that
RONALD LEROY MILHILLIS, Director of LASHCC, is a National Deputy
Chairman of SHCC.
IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC FIELD OFFICERS

PHILIP LEROY HUBBARD,
Assistant Director of SNCC

(9/14/63)
(9/26/63)

On August 13, 1963, the source indicated that
BROOKS GROOM, whose true name is RUHANN LEROY HUBBARD,
Director of SNCC, was made National Deputy Chairman of
SNCC in June 1962, at Atlanta, Georgia.

(10/4/63)

On October 4, 1963, the source indicated that
PHILIP HUBBARD, the National Director of SNCC, was in
Los Angeles, California, in October 1963, on speaking
engagements for the SNCC organization.

(10/12/63)

(10/15/63)

(10/22/63)
(11/6/62)

On November 6, 1962, the source indicated that PHILIP NEROY HUTCHINGS, program Director for SNCC, was in Los Angeles, California, in October 1962.

RONALD NEROY WILKINS,
Director of LASCOC and
Deputy Chairman of
National SNCC

(10/22/62)

On October 22, 1962, RONALD NEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC, was on the East Coast attending a meeting of the National SNCC organization in Maryland.

(11/4/62)

On November 4, 1962, RONALD NEROY WILKINS, Director of LASCOC, attended a meeting of the General Committee of SNCC, in Baltimore, Maryland, from October 27, to October 30, 1962.

(11/5/62)

On November 5, 1962, RONALD NEROY WILKINS, a Deputy Chairman of SNCC, attended a meeting of the Central Committee of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, from October 29, to October 30, 1962.
X.GLOSSARY

CLARICE ALLEN

(10/15/63)

The source indicated that CLARICE ALLEN is a member of LASHCO.

SHERMAN LE GRANT BARKS

(12/9/63)

The source indicated that SHERMAN LE GRANT BARKS is the Chairman of the DPP in Los Angeles, California.

JOELLE JOYCE HODGES

(5/15/63)

JOELLE JOYCE HODGES is the former Assistant Treasurer of the LASHCO and currently is a member of this organization.

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS

(12/1/63)

The source indicated that PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS is the Program Director of SHCC.

SAL LA SCOTT

(12/15/63)

The source indicated that SAL LA SCOTT is Secretary of the LASHCO.
LA 100-65822

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT

[Redacted]

(12/9/66)

The source indicated that THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT is the Program Director of LASNCC.

MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS

[Redacted]

(12/9/66)

The source indicated that MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS is Editor for LASNCC.

RONALD TAYLOR

[Redacted]

(12/9/66)

The source indicated that RONALD TAYLOR is a member and Instructor several classes for LASNCC.

CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS

[Redacted]

(12/9/66)

The source indicated that CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS is the Protocol Officer for LASNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
also known as Brother Crock

[Redacted]

(12/9/66)

The source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is the Director of LASNCC and a Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

LASNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.
XI. APPENDIX
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 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 KINZER, 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 106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.
APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE,
Also Known As
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 27, 1968, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed that year in Washington, D. C. It is a peace-oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition to conducting numerous letter-writing campaigns which concern current United States civil rights and foreign policy problems, WSP locally has become quite active in draft counseling and draft leafleting. Counseling, in the form of providing information concerning alternatives to the draft and distributing leaflets providing this information, has taken place on an increasingly consistent pace. Much of the leafleting takes place adjacent to high schools and church centers. WSP feels that these methods of opposing United States intervention in Vietnam have been quite effective and more effective than frequent participation in demonstrations protesting the war in Vietnam.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP group is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1968, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACC) in the spring of 1965, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACC.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LALSWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LALSWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LALSWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
Title
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
RACIAL MATTER

Reference
Report of SA [redacted] dated and cautioned as above, at Los Angeles

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

Los Angeles

STUDENT FOR NORTHEAST COORDINATING CENTER (SNCC)

REPORTS:
- Los Angeles reports of SA dated 12/18/68, and 2/25/69.

ANONYMOUS

EHAL W. DEWKNO, former Chairman of the Black Caucus,
Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by Law.

This report is being classified confidential because of

INFORMATION FOLLOWED BY CONFIDENTIAL CONTENT WHICH COULD INDUCE
NINTH IN TACT OF CONFIDENTIAL MATERIALS, CONTAINING VARIOUS,

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

MISCELLANEOUS

SPECIAL AGENT

IN CHARGE

(SIGN COVER PAGE B)

(SEE COVER PAGE B)

COPY (1) - RECEIVED

30 March 1968

Dissolution Report of Attach I Report

AGENT: ASSOCIATION OF THE BLACK CAUCUS

100-439190-3-69

APR 22 1969

NO ACC.
SCORES WERE:

10 - Bureau (100-439150)(RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NIAO, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - GSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-6483)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-65822)

- D -

COVER PAGE
LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instruction, submit a supplemental report on this organization within 90 days of this report.

INFORMERS

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COVER PAGE
Location: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Reported: 4/15/69

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MOVEMENTS

Synopsis:
Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) headquarters located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. CHARLES PEABODY WILLIAMS, currently Director of LA-SNCC, ROBERT DENTON WILKINS, also Brother Crook, former Director of LA-SNCC, is Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and staff numbers not forth. Finance, program, and activities of LA-SNCC not forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members and connection with other organizations reported.
LA-SNCC INTERNS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details, are characterized in the "glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(LA-SNCC) HEADQUARTERS

(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) (see Appendix) Headquarters are located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number 776-3350.

II. OFFICERS

(2/1/69)

(2/27/69)

On February 27, 1969, source indicated that MIKE WILLIAMS, whose true name is CHARLES BAYARD WILLIAMS, was recently made Director of LA-SNCC, replacing BROOKE CROOK, who is a Deputy Chairman of SNCC for the West Coast, because BROOKE CROOK has been traveling extensively outside of Los Angeles, and has been unable to handle the affairs of LA-SNCC.

(3/14/69)

On March 14, 1969, source advised that CHARLES BAYARD WILLIAMS was Director of LA-SNCC.
(1/7/69)
(1/23/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated the following persons are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS
Director

THOMAS DELANO SCOTT
Program Coordinator

LONNIE HODGES
Officer

(12/16/68)

In December 1968, LAMAR CHAMPELL, CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS, and LONNIE HODGES, were members of LA-SNCC.

(12/23/68)

In December 1968, sources advised that RONALD JENrys WILLIAMS, CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS, LAMAR CHAMPELL, and LONNIE HODGES were members of LA-SNCC.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BERGHEID, former Chairman of the Black Congress, 6002 Lenora Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI at his residence, and he indicated that LA-SNCC was a former member of the Black Congress. He indicated that LA-SNCC had withdrawn from the Black Congress, and it was his opinion that SNCC is "dead" in Los Angeles. The membership of LA-SNCC was estimated to be at approximately four or five people.

The Black Congress is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.
On April 7, 1969, sources indicated the following persons are currently members or associated with LA-SHCC:

RICHARD LEROY WILLIAMS
THOMAS DELMADRO SCOTT
CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS
LAMAR CHANDLER
ROBBIE JOYCE HODGES

Source One indicated that PHYLLIS WILLIAMS is associated with LA-SHCC.

IV. FINANCES

On January 4, 1969, an article appeared in the "Los Angeles Times," a daily newspaper, entitled "New Negro Group Attacks Three Million Dollar Brotherhood Drive". The article indicated that a campaign was being organized to raise three million dollars to finance improvements in the Los Angeles Black Community. Money raised by this drive would be distributed to numerous organizations in South Los Angeles, which included assistance to LA-SHCC.
On April 7, 1959, the above sources related that LA-SUCC has been unable to raise sufficient funds to meet their rent at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and are indebted to several merchants in the Negro community.

V. LA-SUCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

(11/14/58)

On November 1, 1958, source indicated that LA-SUCC was counseling young Negroes on ways to avoid the military draft.

(12/16/58)
On December 16, 1968, a teach-in demonstration was held at San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, California, protesting the war in Vietnam. One of the organizations sponsoring the teach-in was LA-SHCC.

The Los Angeles Times of February 8, 1969, carried an article entitled "1.6 Million Dollar Suit Charged False Arrest", which indicated that RONALD L. MILLER, 22, and THOMAS D. SCOTT, 23, who identified themselves as officers of LA-SHCC, sued the city Friday for $1,600,000 alleging battery, false arrest, and invasion of privacy. The article went on to say that the two petitioners were taken into custody on August 4, 1968, at SCOTT's apartment, 2123 Cimarron, after 20 police officers surrounded the premises with drawn revolvers and shotguns. They said they were released the next day without being charged.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BAXTER, former chairman of the Black Congress, an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California, indicated that LA-SHCC was formerly a member of Black Congress and was now a "dead" organization.
On the above dates, the sources furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organization of self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by the above sources:
TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PISTOLS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO IMPRINT THE LIVING COMMEMORATION OF THE NERCESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE GIFTS AT THIS TIME TO HAVE IT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT WE MUST BE READY TO DEFEND OURSELVES AND PROTECT OUR RIGHTS, YET NOT
SUFFER, NOT GIVE IN AND OUR RIGHTS MUST BE MAINTAINED.

PEN:-

STUDENTS ARE AUTHORIZED TO LEAVE THE CLASSROOM AT THE END OF THE CLASS PERIOD, ONLY IF THEY HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WORK.

CLASS:-

NEW:-

COMPLETE RECORD AND TRY AGAIN

FOR:-

CLASS A (RIFLE)

AND WILL GO INTO THE PROPERLY RIFLE AND SHOTGUN. TO BE
USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE INSTRUCTION AND PRACTICE OF RIFLING, ETC.

GROUP:

DRESSES WILL BE ORGANIZED ACCORDING TO S X AND AGE. EACH GROUP
AND EACH DRESS WILL RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF EACH SHOTGUN.

THOSE WILL BE ORGANIZED AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP I (RIFLES) SHOTGUN: 8 THRU 15TH, O.I.
GROUP II (RIFLES) SHOT: 16 THRU
GROUP III (RIFLES) SHOT: 17 THRU 15TH, O.I.
GROUP IV (RIFLES) SHOT: 16 THRU...
1. Community Defense Organization (.D.O.)

PURPOSE:
To eventually become the framework which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and the Black Karate Clubs. These two clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:
Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. Its future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective goal.

2. INITIAL FEE:
Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.N.C.C.
MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK. THIS CLASS WILL BE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. AT THIS CLASS YOU WILL BE TAUGHT TO BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR WEAPON.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION (FIELD WORK). DATES: CLASSES TO BE HELD SATURDAY MORNING AT 9:30. THIS IS WHERE STUDENTS WILL BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND TO APPLY THOSE METHODS DISCUSSED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES WILL ALSO BE HELD.

PURPOSE AND GOALS:

TO HAVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS BLACK TEAM IN MOST OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE FAMILIES IN THAT S.C. BLOCK AREA. THEY WILL STORE FOOD AND WATER IN INCONSPICUOUS PLACES IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.

THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO COME UP DEFENSE SYSTEMS AND PLANS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR AREA. THESE PLANS AND STORED PLACES MUST MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.H.C.C. SECURITY. THEY ARE TO ALSO SET UP SURVIVAL AND ESCAPE PLANS WHICH MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.H.C.C. SECURITY.
On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was unaware of any attempt of SNCC to organize self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC currently is not large enough to organize a program of this magnitude. After observing the above pamphlet, source related that MBB and HMK, the names mentioned under the heading of the pamphlet, would be CHARLES FRANKLIN CONDON, also known as MBB, and CHARLES BAXWARD WILLIAMS, also known as HMK.

Source indicated that CHARLES BAXWARD WILLIAMS is an officer of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN CONDON is a former officer of LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (see Appendix).

The above sources, who are familiar with LA-SNCC indicated that they were unaware of any real attempt to organize self-defense clubs and related that they were of the opinion that LA-SNCC does not have the finances or personnel to follow through with the program mentioned above.

On February 27, 1969, CHARLES BAXWARD WILLIAMS, also known as Mike Williams, Director of LA-SNCC, advised that he has recently taken over LA-SNCC, because the former director, CLARK COCHRAN, was involved with the national SNCC organization.
On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that IA-SHCC no longer holds official meetings, but because of its small membership, the only type meetings held are gatherings at the IA-SHCC office during the day, when their program is discussed.

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SHCC AND IA-SHCC
A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director ROBERT LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 2, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, booby traps for sabotage in guerrilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.
APPENDIX

No specific text content provided.
VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

COMMUNIST PARTY

(1/31/69)

LAL-SIP

(11/12/68)

(12/23/68)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP)

(1/25/69)

On January 15, 1969, source indicated that the LA-SNOC was in contact with the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California.
(3/24/69)

On March 14, 1969, source indicated that MIKE WILLIAMS, Director of LA-SHCC, indicated that SHCC and the BPP were attempting to organize students at Los Angeles junior and senior high schools to ban together in order to conduct a mass boycott of all schools in the Los Angeles area. LA-SHCC was also attempting to coordinate the activities of the Black Students Union (BSU) in the high schools with the BPP.

The BSU is a militant student based black nationalist organization.

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL
(PAC) ________________

(1/7/69)

BLACK CONGRESS
(BC) ________________

The BC is an amalgamation of black nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

On February 7, 1969, WALTER BURNSIDE, former Chairman of the BC, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI. BURNSIDE indicated during the interview that LA-SHCC was a member of the BC, but had withdrawn its membership from the BC in the early part of 1969. He indicated that LA-SHCC is "dead", because its membership has dwindled to just a few black militants and is in grave financial trouble.
VIII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

PHILIP BENJAMIN HUGHES

(11/12/68)

RONALD DEROY WILLIAMS

(10/31/69)

On April 7, 1969, the above sources indicated that RONALD DEROY WILLIAMS is currently the West Coast Deputy Chairman of the national SNCC organization.

IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC OFFICERS

(12/3/68)

From November 28, 1968, through December 1, 1968, RONALD DEROY WILLIAMS, then Director of LA-SNCC and West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, attended a conference known as the "Headquarters Conference to Find the Way in Vietnam", in Montreal, Canada.

(12/16/68)

On December 3, 1968, CHARLES HOWARD WILLIAMS, LAMAR CASEY, and PHILIP WILLIAMS, all members and associates of SNCC, traveled from Los Angeles, to the San Francisco area, to contact black nationalists in that area in order to obtain support for the SNCC organization.

(12/31/68)

(1/7/69)
(2/13/69)

On February 13, 1969, source reported that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, East Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, had traveled to Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago, concerning public relations work for SNCC.

X. GLOSSARY

LAHAR CHANEILL

(4/7/69)

Source indicated that LAHAR CHANEILL has been associated with SNCC for approximately one year during which most of his time has been spent in the military. CHANEILL has participated in few SNCC functions and could not be considered an active member.

CORNELIUS GORDON
also known as Attila

(4/7/69)

On April 7, 1969, source indicated that GORDON was a former member of the LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the LIP.

BOBNEY JONES HODGES

(4/7/69)

HODGES is the former Assistant Treasurer of LA-SNCC and is currently a member of the organisation.
PHILIP LARCO-HUTCHINS

HUTCHINS is Program Director of the national SNCC organization.

THOMAS BENJAMIN SCOTT

SCOTT is the former Program Director of IA-SNCC and is currently a member of the organization.

CHARLES JAYYARD WILLIAMS

WILLIAMS is currently the Director of IA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
also known as Brother Crook

Source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is the former Director of IA-SNCC, and is the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

IA-SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.
XI. APPENDIX
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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 PONY GEORGE SELLE, 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 5106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered
at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a
membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young
militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have
eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a
program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination
and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force,
political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is
an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming
of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC
for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local
organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC
leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary
for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops"
when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership
had encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be
armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested
by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in
possession of two loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one
12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge
shotshell. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested
by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded
firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three
Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police
Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police
Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried
by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning
instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby
traps for sabotage in guerrilla-type warfare. This literature was
published in Communist China.
APPENDIX

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article on Page 3, describes the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a coordinating agency for peace activists" which conducts emergency mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam.

On July 22, 1966, a source reported that the PAC, which has also been known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace Action Council (GLAPAC), was formed during the early summer of 1966, for the express purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam during the National Governors' Conference held in Los Angeles, California from July 4 to July 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of that conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protest demonstrations at later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 8, 1966, and reported that the PAC continues to operate under the same basic concept.
APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Peachtree 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 world. In 1967, 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 red capitalist system of the United States with all its life-sustaining branches of exploitation and racism that seek the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition installed in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellion when oppression becomes too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1969, EDWARD GILCHRIST was National Chairman of SNCC. As of May, 1969, GILCHRIST resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coordination group. In May, 1967, a new leader was appointed by the National Committee, commonly known as R. Thy Bethea, 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 two deputy national chairmanship. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

APPENDIX
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-63822

Title       STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character   RACIAL MALPERS

Reference   Report of SA dated and captioned as above, at Los Angeles.

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

-PR-308-127

ADDITIONAL.

This report has been prepared in view of referenced communication.

This report is being classified as Confidential since information reported from [Redacted] would reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

[Redacted]

NEEDS RECONSIDERED

[Redacted]

ACQUIETED

CASE HAS BEEN

RECEIVED OVER ONE YEAR

RECEIVED IN EXCESS

OVER SIX MONTHS

OVER ONE YEAR

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

RECEIVED:

FEB 27 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.
UNIDENTIFIED
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles
1 - CIA, Norton AFB, San Bernardino
1 - 119th Misc, Region II, Pasadena
Copy for:
1 - NSCC, San Diego

Report of:

Date: 2/25/63

Field Office File #: 100-63329

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MAFIA

Synopsis: LA-SNCC is attempting to organize self-defense clubs. Incident concerning LA-SNCC self-defense clubs set forth. Sources familiar with LA-SNCC passing of any information concerning where or when those clubs will be organized.

-3-

INVESTIGATION

Investigation in this matter was conducted in view of the fact that Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see Appendix) was reported to be attempting to organize and conduct Liberation Schools which would teach African history, political education, martial arts such as karate and judo in the art of self-defense.
On February 12, 1969, sources furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organizing of self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by...
PURPOSE:

TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PIPIERS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO INHAKE THE DEEPEST CONSIDERATION OF THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITIES AT THIS TIME. TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT WE MUST BE CAPPABLE OF HANDLING ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT AGAINST US. WE MUST SURVIVE. OUR O xONOMY AND OUR FUTURE MUST SURVIVE.

GROUPING:

GROUP III: RIFLE AND SHOTGUN

NOTE:

THEY WILL GO INTO THE OXEMITY RIFLE AND SHOTGUN TO BE SPLIT FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE DISTRIBUTION AND PURCHASING OF EQUIPMENT, ETC.

EQUIPMENT:

THEY WILL BE GROUPED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE. EACH GROUP WILL RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF EACH WEAPON.

THEY WILL BE GROUPED AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP I: (PARENTS) AGES: 61 THRU 81 YEARS OX.

GROUP II: (POLLITORS) AGES: 1161 YEARS

GROUP III (SHOOTERS) AGES: 81 THROUGH 

GROUP IV (SHOOTERS) AGES: 151 THROUGH
1. Community Defense Organization (C.D.O.)

PURPOSE:
To eventually become the framework which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and The Black Karate Clubs. These two clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:
Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. Its future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective goal.

2. INITIAL FEE:
Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.B.C.C.
GUARDS

MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

This class will be held one day during the week. This class will be in the maintenance of your weapon. At this class you will be taught to be aware of the political implications of your weapon.

Practical Application (Field Work). Date: Classes to be held Saturday morning at 9:30. This is where students will be taught to shoot and to apply those things discussed in the maintenance of your weapon. Political education classes will also be held.

Perspective Goals:

To have within six months block team in most of the block community who are capable of handling the security and safety of the families in that 20-block area. They will store food and water in inextinguishable places in case of emergency.

They are to be able to set up firefighting systems and plats in defense of their area. These plans and storage places must have the approval of S.W.O.C. Security. They are to also set up survival and medical stations which have the approval of S.W.O.C. Security.
On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was
unaware of any attempts of SNCC to organize self-defense
clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC currently has ten
members and is not large enough to organize a program of
this magnitude. After observing the above pamphlet, source
related that ATTILA and RIKZ, the names mentioned under
the heading of the pamphlet, would be CHARLES FRANK GILSON, also
known as ATTILA, and CHARLES HAYWARD ROLF, also known as RIKZ.

Source indicated that CHARLES HAYWARD ROLF is an
officer of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANK GILSON was a former
member of LA-SNCC and currently a member of the Black Panther
Party. (YF) which indicates SNCC is being assisted by the
BPP on this project may be handled by the BPP.

The source indicated that SNCC, due to the lack
of finances, may have to close their office in South Los
Angeles and due to a small membership does not have regularly
scheduled meetings in the Los Angeles area.

The above sources, who are familiar with the LA-SNCC,
indicated that they were unaware of any real attempt to
organize self-defense clubs and relate they were of the opinion
that LA-SNCC does not have the finances or personnel to follow
through on the program mentioned above.

The above sources are aware of our location, any
SNCC personnel or any other group involved in a Liberation
School and self-defense clubs.
A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director REV. LE erfahren WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.
ALTERNATIVE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Walton 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 forces throughout the world began to understand very fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "revolution will come only on the heels of final destruction of this evil capitalist system of the United States with all its life-sapping taints of exploitation and racism that made the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of their life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression becomes too great.

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, James Forman was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1967, SNCC/ROD resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as national chairman of a black construction group. In May, 1971, G. W. Wilson was replaced by Robert Marrion of SNCC, commonly known as Y. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1969.

In June, 1968, at the 1968 and National Constitution meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by decentralization of responsibilities 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 NON-VIOLENT CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE

Character

RACIAL MATTER

Reference

Report of SA

dated and approved as above

at Los Angeles.

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
LOS ANGELES

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK

DATE
7/14/69

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
4/9/69 - 7/7/69

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COordinating Committee (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE
RM

REFERENCE: Los Angeles report of SA dated 4/15/69.

P

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, Director of Los Angeles SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON were interviewed in April 1969 by SAs and .

This report is being classified Confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources which could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVICTED
1 - Bureau (100-464190)(RM)
1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
3 - Atlanta (100-141483)(RM)
3 - New York (100-147963)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles (100-633822)

DISCUSSION
Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: FBI, ISD, IIL, RAO, CD, AC15, OSI

RECEIVED

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REG: 07-11-69
REG-23

EX-101

3 JUL 16 1969

NOTATIONS

8 JUL 1969

81.66
of continuing value, and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Set forth below are individuals whose names appear in the details of this report, and who are currently members or associates of the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC).

NAME
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON
BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES
ANN MERRITT
ANTHONY ORANGE
SANDRA E. SCOTT
THOMAS DELMARIO SCOTT
RONALD LEROY WILKINS
CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS
PHYLIS WILLIAMS

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will in accordance with Bureau instructions submit a supplemental report in this organization within 90 days of this report.
INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

100-63822-1765
Orally to SA
7/1/69 (instant report)

Orally to SA
7/1/69 (instant report)

100-63822-1739

100-63822-1749

100-63822-1736
-1786

100-63822-1736
-1775

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COVER PAGE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) Headquarters located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350.

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS currently Director of LA-SNCC.
RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, former Director of LA-SNCC is West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program, and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of SNCC members and national officers in connection with other organizations reported. LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the "Glossary" of this report.

I. LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC) HEADQUARTERS

(7/1/69)
(7/2/69)

On July 1, 1969, the above sources indicated that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) (See appendix) Headquarters are located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, with telephone number 778-3350.

II. OFFICERS

(4/15/69)

(5/7/69)

On April 29, 1969, source indicated that SANDRA E. "SCOTT, Secretary of SNCC opens the SNCC Office at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, on a daily basis.

(7/1/69)
(7/1/69)
On July 1, 1969, the above sources indicated the following officers are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, Director

SANDRA E. SCOTT, Secretary

THOMAS DEMING SCOTT, Program Coordinator

III. MEMBERSHIP

(4/22/69)

On April 22, 1969, source indicated that Los Angeles SNCC is "dead" and has only a few members. He indicated that most of SNCC's former membership are either affiliated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See appendix) or militant student groups.

(4/15/69)
On July 1, 1969, above sources indicated the following persons are currently members or associates with the LA-SNCC:

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON
Bobbie Joyce Hodges
Ann Merritt
Anthony Orange
Sandra E. Scott
Thomas Delmar Scott
Ronald Leroy Wilkins
Charles Raynard Williams
Phyllis Williams
On June 17, 1969, above source related that LA-SNCC has been delinquent in their rent and the owner of the building at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Dr. HILTON GOODMAN, will evict LA-SNCC if their rent is not paid by the end of July 1969.

V. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

On February 18, 1969, source furnished a pamphlet published by LA-SNCC concerning the organization of a self-defense club in the Los Angeles area. The following is the pamphlet furnished by the above source:
FIRST PROJECT

RIFLE AND GUN CLUBS

PURPOSE:

TO EDUCATE MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN TO THE PROPER USE AND MAINTENANCE OF FIRE ARMS, (RIFLES, PISTOLS, SHOTGUNS, ETC.)

TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING SELF-DEFENSE CLUBS AT THIS TIME. TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE MUST BE CAPABLE OF HANDLING ANY AGGRESSIVE ACT AGAINST US. WE MUST SURVIVE. OUR COMMUNITY AND OUR PEOPLE MUST SURVIVE.

STRUCTURE:

FEE:

$1.00 A SESSION

FEES WILL GO INTO THE COMMUNITY RIFLE AND GUN FUND. TO BE USED FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE INSTRUCTOR AND PURCHASING OF EQUIPMENT, ETC.

GROUPING:

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE. EACH BROTHER AND SISTER WILL RECEIVE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION IN THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF EACH WEAPON.

TEAMS WILL BE GROUPED AS FOLLOWS:

GROUP I (BROTHERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15 yrs. OLD.

GROUP II (BROTHERS) AGES: 16 THRU----

GROUP III (SISTERS) AGES: 8 THRU 15 yrs. OLD.

GROUP IV (SISTERS) AGES: 16 THRU----
ADDENDUM TO SELF DEFENSE CLUB

1. Community Defense Organization (.D.O.)

PURPOSE:
To eventually become the framework which the community assumes control of itself. It will encompass the Rifle and Gun Clubs and The Black Karate Clubs. These two clubs will supply trained men and women to service our community.

PERSPECTIVE:
Community Defense Organization will be an outgrowth of Rifle and Gun Clubs and Black Karate Clubs. It's future will depend on the success of these two clubs. The Community Defense Organization is our perspective goal.

2. INITIAL FEE:
Initial fee will be $3.50 plus $1.00 per session. The initial $3.50 fee will go to S.N.C.C.
CLASSES

MAINTENANCE OF WEAPONS

THIS CLASS WILL BE HELD ONE DAY DURING THE WEEK. THIS CLASS WILL BE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. AT THIS CLASS YOU WILL BE TAUGHT TO BE AWARE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF YOUR WEAPON.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION (FIELD WORK). DATE: CLASSES TO BE HELD SATURDAY MORNING AT 9:30. THIS IS WHERE STUDENTS WILL BE TAUGHT TO SHOOT AND TO APPLY THOSE METHODS DISCUSSED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF YOUR WEAPON. POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES WILL ALSO BE HELD.

PERSPECTIVE GOALS:

TO HAVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS BLOCK TEAM IN MOST OF THE BLOCK COMMUNITY WHO ARE CAPABLE OF HANDLING THE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE FAMILIES IN THAT SQ. BLOCK AREA. THEY WILL STORE FOOD AND WATER IN EXCAVABLE PLACES IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.

THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO DRAW UP DEFENSE SYSTEMS AND PLANS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR AREA. THESE PLANS AND STORAGE PLACES MUST MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.H.C.C. SECURITY. THEY ARE TO ALSO SET UP SURVIVAL AND REFUGEE STATIONS WHICH MEET THE APPROVAL OF S.H.C.C. SECURITY.
On February 13, 1969, source advised that he was aware of an attempt by LA-SNCC to organize self-defense clubs in the Los Angeles area. LA-SNCC is currently not large enough to organize a program of this magnitude.

CHARLES MAYHARD WILLIAMS is the current Director of LA-SNCC and CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON is an associate of LA-SNCC.

On May 23, 1969, CHARLES MAYHARD WILLIAMS, Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed outside of the LA-SNCC Office located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The following is the interview with WILLIAMS:
CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS was interviewed on May 23, 1969 by SA [Redacted] and SA [Redacted] outside the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) office located at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. WILLIAMS was informed by SA [Redacted] that he did not have to say anything and that anything he did say may be used against him in a court of law. WILLIAMS was advised that he had a right to an attorney of his own choice or anyone else before saying anything.

WILLIAMS was shown a pamphlet entitled, "Self Defense Clubs" with the names Attila and Mike under the caption of this pamphlet which set forth information concerning rifle and gun clubs sponsored by LA-SNCC. WILLIAMS indicated that Attila was CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON and the name Mike was his nickname. In February 1969, GORDON and WILLIAMS attempted to organize rifle and gun clubs for all ages of people residing in the black community. He stated that the program never "got off the ground" and said that this program is no longer in effect.

WILLIAMS stated that the rifle, gun, and karate clubs were an attempt on the part of LA-SNCC to keep abreast of the other militant organizations such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Los Angeles, California.

WILLIAMS stated that SNCC does not have the finances at this time to promote this type of program but the organization recommends that the black people own weapons for their protection in the community.

WILLIAMS, when questioned concerning the present SNCC program and activities in the Los Angeles area, indicated that he had no comment concerning these programs. He indicated that the FBI was part of the "establishment" and was opposed to the black man in his attempts to organize.

WILLIAMS terminated the interview by stating he had nothing more to say to the FBI.
LA 100-63822

On May 23, 1969, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON was contacted in front of the IA-SNCC Office located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The following is the previous interview with GORDON:
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON was contacted on May 23, 1969 outside the office of the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

When SA ___________ and SA ___________ identified themselves to GORDON before any comment could be made GORDON indicated that he had nothing to say to the FBI and would make no comments concerning his activities with SNCC or any other organization.

With this comment GORDON returned to the LA-SNCC office and the interview was terminated.
On April 8, 1969, source indicated that LA-SNCC current program is relating to the high schools and colleges in the area. Several of the SNCC officers are instructing in black history and black nationalism in local universities.

On April 29, 1969, SANDRA E. SCOTT, an officer of LA-SNCC opened the office at 7405 South Western. SCOTT is known to open the LA-SNCC Office on a daily basis.

On May 11, 1969, 12 black militants interrupted a service at the First Methodist Church, 813 South Hope Street, Los Angeles, California and harangued the worshipers with demands for money.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC presented a manifesto similar to the one presented at the Riverside Church, New York City, New York by the nationally known Negro militant, JAMES RUFUS FORMAN of SNCC. The group demanded $500,000,000.00 reparation from churches and synagogues for the wide oppression and profiteering of the blacks over the centuries.

Ten of the intruders were arrested without incident outside the church by the Los Angeles Police Department on suspicion of conspiracy to disrupt a religious service. Seven of the persons arrested were juveniles. Two of the
individuals arrested were RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and SANDRA E. SCOTT, a member of LA-SNCC.

On May 13, 1969, source advised that Brother Crook whose true name is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, continues to be associated with IA-SNCC even though he is a West Coast Chairman of SNCC.

VI. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SNCC AND THE IA-SNCC
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 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

- 16 -
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot “pig cops” when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

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VII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) (See appendix)

(4/15/69)

On April 3, 1969, source advised that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of SNCC held a press conference at the Black Panther Office, 4115 South Central, Los Angeles, California in which he spoke out against police brutality and harassment in South Los Angeles.

(4/22/69)

BLACK STUDENTS ALLIANCE (BSA)

The ESA is a coordinating organization for the Black Student Union (BSU) in the Los Angeles area.

The group uses for study purposes the red covered book entitled the "Quotations of Mao Tse-tung".

The ESU is a student based militant Black Nationalist organization active on high school and college campuses.

(5/15/69)
On May 23, 1969, source furnished a brochure published by the Southern California Regional Black Student Alliance which indicated it supported the acts of LA-SNCC.

BLACK CONGRESS

The Black Congress was formerly an organization composed of militant and non-militant Black Nationalist organizations in South Los Angeles.

On March 4, 1969, source indicated that SNCC has been completely against the activities of the Black Congress because it has groups which are non-militant.

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR
DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
(LACDBR) (See appendix)

On April 19, 1969, the 19th annual conference of the LACDBR was held at Larchmont Hall, 118 North Larchmont Boulevard, Los Angeles, and one of the organizations represented was LA-SNCC.

LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
(See appendix)
VIII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

(6/2/69)

On April 2, 1969, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crook, was the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and resides in Los Angeles, California.

On May 20, 1969, a source in Los Angeles, California, advised that James RUPES TORMAN, Deputy Chairman of the SNCC and a spokesman for the National Black Economic Development Conference, an organization which is attempting to obtain $500,000,000.00 in reparations from White religious groups for the White oppression and profiteering of the blacks throughout the centuries, spoke at a rally sponsored by a coalition of Black students at UCLA at Pauley Pavilion, UCLA, Los Angeles, California, at 11:45 AM, May 19, 1969. This rally was held in memory of MALCOLM-X, a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) (see appendix) who was supposedly murdered by one of his followers.

In the May 27, 1969 edition of the "College Times", a student newspaper at California State College, Los Angeles, California, an article appeared entitled "Program to Explore Black Expression". This article related that PHILIP HUTCHINGS, Program Secretary of SNCC, would be on campus today May 27, 1969. HUTCHINGS would be one of the featured speakers on the program which was being sponsored by the BSU and other Afro-American groups.

(6/2/69)

On June 2, 1969, source advised that SNCC will hold a national staff conference in New York City, New York between June 13 and June 15, 1969. One of those
expected to attend is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC who resides in Los Angeles, California.

IX. TRAVEL BY SNCC MEMBERS

(3/17/69)

On March 1, 1969, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Creek from Los Angeles, California, attended a political conference in East St. Louis, Illinois which was sponsored by the Mid-West Deputy Chairman of SNCC.

(3/17/69)

(5/14/69)

On May 14, 1969, source indicated that JAMES RUFUS FORMAN, a Deputy Director for SNCC, would be in Los Angeles, California sometime the end of May 1969.

(6/11/69)

On June 8, 1969, PHILLIP HUTCHINSON, a national leader of SNCC and RONALD LEROY WILKINS of IA-SNCC were selected in Albuquerque, New Mexico on June 7, 1969.

(6/16/69)

On June 16, 1969, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS and SANDRA E. SCOTT, IA-SNCC, were present at a SNCC staff meeting at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York.
RONALD LEROY WILKINS, TOMMY SCOTT, and SANDRA SCOTT of LA-SNCC were present at the National Conference of SNCC at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City, New York on June 16, 1969 and June 17, 1969.

X. GLOSSARY

CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, also known as Attila

(6/18/69)

On July 1, 1969, source indicated that GORDON is associated with LA-SNCC and is a member of the BPP.

DOROTHY JOANNE HODGES

(7/1/69)

HODGES is currently a member of LA-SNCC.

JAMES RUPUS FORMAN

(7/1/69)

FORMAN is Deputy Chairman of International Affairs for SNCC.

PHILIP LEROY HUTCHING

(7/1/69)

HUTCHING is Program Director of SNCC.
LA 100-63822

ANN MERRITT
(7/1/69)
MERRITT is a member of LA-SNCC.

ANTHONY ORANGE
(7/1/69)
ANTHONY ORANGE is a member of LA-SNCC.

SANDRA E. SCOTT
(7/1/69)
SANDRA E. SCOTT is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.

THOMAS DELMIELO SCOTT
(7/1/69)
THOMAS DELMIELO SCOTT is Program Director of LA-SNCC.

CHARLES HAYWARD WILLIAMS
(7/1/69)
(7/1/69)
WILLIAMS is currently Director of LA-SNCC.

ROY WILLIAMS, also known as Brother Crook
(7/1/69)
(7/1/69)
LA 100-63822

The above sources indicated that RONALD PEROY WILKINS is former Director of LA-SHCC and is currently West Coast Deputy Chairman of SHCC.

LOS ANGELES SHCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

XI. APPENDIX
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 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

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born (LACDBR)

A source advised in May, 1968, that the LACDBR has
expanded its former scope of interest relating to the foreign
born, and has become a militant general defense organization
allegedly seeking to safeguard the rights of all individuals,
including the Foreign Born, as well as those seeking to avoid
military service in the Armed Forces of the United States.

The LACDBR is a non-membership organization which is
represented by an Administrative Board of about 125 individuals
from loosely organized area committees interested in the work
of the LACDBR. These board members are invited by ROSE CHERNIN,
Executive Director of the LACDBR, who is the guiding, dominant,
and motivating force behind the LACDBR. Its headquarters are
maintained at 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles, California.

Another source advised in May, 1968, that ROSE CHERNIN
is currently Organizational Secretary of the Moranda Smith
Section of the Southern California District Communist Party
(SCDCP).
APPENDIX

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 by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered
at 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a
membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young
militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have
eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a
program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination
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for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops"
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by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning
instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby
traps for sabotage in guerrilla-type warfare. This literature was
published in Communist China.
APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1963, 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 "Messenger 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) #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 its exploitation of the so-called Negro will be destroyed by ALLAH 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.

APPENDIX
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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, STOREY 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 GEROD BROWN, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

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APPENDIX
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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 | DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
--- | --- | --- | ---
LOS ANGELES | NEW YORK | 11/26/69 | 7/1 - 10/31/69

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

CHARACTER OF CASE

RACIAL MATTERS

REFERENCE: Los Angeles report of SA dated 7/14/69.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential because of information furnished by confidential sources which could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVICTED | AUTO. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | ACQUITALS
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR: YES NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS: YES NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REO 12

100-439190 (RM)
1-Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1-NISO, San Diego (RM)
1-Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
3-Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
3-New York (100-147963) (RM)
2-Los Angeles (100-63822)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Requesting

Date Filed

Page

EX-111

Notation

b DEC 1, 1969

EB 1 1970

COVER PAGE
LA 100-63822

The individuals named below appear in the details of this report and are currently associated with SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS

and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

100-63822-1816, instant report
100-63822-1816
100-63822-1823
100-63822

- B* -

COVER PAGE
1-Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)
1-NISO, San Diego (RM)
1-Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1-OSI, Norton AFB (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date: 11/26/69

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Los Angeles Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formerly located at 7406 South Western, currently does not have an office due to their inability to pay rent. Members of the organization have left it with the exception of RONALD LEROY WILKINS, former Director of SNCC in Los Angeles, and West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC, and CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS. Travel of SNCC national officers reported. LOS ANGELES SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

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. HEADQUARTERS

(7/30/69)

This source advised that on July 6, 1969, the headquarters of the Los Angeles Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (see appendix), at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles, was vacated.

(8/11/69)

This source stated that SNCC no longer maintains their headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles. SNCC had been unable to pay their rent at the above address for several months and they were forced to vacate their offices.

(8/11/69)

This source advised that SNCC had been evicted from their headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue in Los Angeles.

(8/12/69)

This source advised that SNCC did not have an office in Los Angeles at the present time.

II. OFFICERS

(9/24/69)

These sources advised that the only SNCC representative in the Los Angeles area is RONALD LEROY WILKINS, West Coast Deputy Chairman.
LA 100-63822

III. MEMBERSHIP

(8/11/69)

This source reported that it had been learned that the members of SNCC in Los Angeles have deserted the organization and that most of the leaders of SNCC were working outside of Los Angeles.

(10/31/69)

This source stated that the only SNCC representative in the Los Angeles area is RONALD LEROY WILKINS. The Los Angeles SNCC did not have any other members.

IV. FINANCES

(8/11/69)

This source advised that the Los Angeles Chapter of SNCC had been evicted from their headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue for nonpayment of rent. Telephone service for SNCC had been discontinued in July, 1969 because the organization had not paid their telephone bill for several months.

(8/31/69)

This source advised that SNCC had been unable to pay their rent at 7406 South Western Avenue and they had been forced to vacate their office. The organization owed considerable amounts of money to various agencies.

V. PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

(8/31/69)

This source advised that SNCC had ceased all of its operations in the Los Angeles area and was a dead organization.

(8/11/69)

This source advised that there currently is no SNCC organization in the Los Angeles area.
VI. ASSOCIATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

(8/11/69)

This source reported that a meeting of SNCC and Black Panther Party (BPP) (see appendix) members was held on July 23, 1969 at 4115 South Central Avenue in Los Angeles, BPP headquarters.

VII. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

(10/31/69)

Source advised that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was the West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC and resides in Los Angeles.

(10/27/69)

Source advised that SNCC would hold a national staff conference in New York City, New York on November 1 or 11, 1969. One of those expected to attend would be RONALD LEROY WILKINS.

(November, 1969)

Source advised that CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS, who was Director of the Los Angeles SNCC, was in Louisiana and was reportedly returning to Los Angeles.
VIII. GLOSSARY

CHARLES MAYNARD WILLIAMS

(7/11/69)
(7/1/69)

WILLIAMS is currently Director of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS,
also known as Brother Crook

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The above sources indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS is former Director of SNCC in Los Angeles and is currently West Coast Deputy Chairman of SNCC.
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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 NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference  
Los Angeles 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

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

PART 11 OF 14

BUFILF: 100-439190  SECTION 14
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 14 of 19 Sections
# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**NEW YORK**  
**ATLANTA**

**TITLE OF CASE**  
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

**DATE**  
10/20/57 - 12/29/67

**REPORT MADE BY**  
pom

**CHARACTER OF CASE**  
IS-SNCC

**REFERENCE:**  
Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67.

---

**ADMINISTRATIVE:**

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**ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED**

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**ACQUITTALS**

Case has been pending over six months.

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**SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE**

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-5488) (RM)
3 - 106th MI Group (RM)
1 - OSI (RM)
1 - NISO (RM)
2 - New York (100-147953)

**Dissemination Record of Attached Report**

**Agency:** USCIT, NGO, OSI, SEC. SEC.

**Type:** INT. SEC.

66 JAN 18 1968
NY 100-11,7963

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED):

The following SAS observed the demonstrations reported herein:

At U.S. Court House, NYC, on 2/5/65

At the U.S. Mission to UN, NYC, on 3/18/63

At FBI, NYC, on 6/21/65

At Apollo Theatre, Harlem, NY, on 7/12/66

At Cuban Mission, NYC, 6/7/67

JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

SHIRLEY WRIGHT

JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

Miss WILEY, a coordinator of SNCC
NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON is Fund Raising Chairman for SNCC

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

Mr. LESTER is described as SNCC Photographer

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

Miss SUTHERLAND is described as Coordinator of Public Information Projects for SNCC.

BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES is described as Staff Member of SNCC.

ELLA J. BAKER

Miss BAKER is described as Advisor to SNCC.

WILLIAM HALL

WILLIAM HALL is described as Field Representative of SNCC and is one of the SNCC leaders in the NY area.

-C-

(COVER PAGE)
NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

ROBERT ELLIOT FULLILOVE III

ROBERT FULLILOVE, Negro, male, was described as an employee of SNCC, NYO, as of August, 1956, and has not been reportedly active in SNCC since April, 1957.

ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC activist in the NY area.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source                                       File Number Where Located
100-147963-1439

100-154616-44

(E) (COVER PAGE)
INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

157-1227-114 (7)

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS

100-58229-1016, 1070

100-58229-1217

100-57639-590, 571
NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

100-97078-6634

100-147963-590

100-25780-2530

100-110803-406

100-158457-51

100-147963-545

100-147963

(COVER PAGE)
INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

- 100-147963
- 100-147963
- 100-147963
- 100-147963-1411

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS
100-147963-1245

Used to characterize
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Used to characterize
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
100-147963-1055

-H-
(COVER PAGE)
NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

100-147963-1205

100-25603-1A

100-147963-173, 337, 646, 1149

Used to characterize
HERBERT APTEKER

Used to characterize
LOUISE R. BERMAN

-I-
(COVER PAGE)
INUFORMANTS CONTINUED:

Used to characterize ALVA BUXENBAUM

Used to characterize ROSE M. COE

Used to characterize WILLIAM EPTON

Used to characterize EUGENE GORDON

Used to characterize WILLIAM MC ADOO

Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

Used to characterize GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

Used to characterize VICTOR RABINOWITZ

Used to characterize JOHN WILSON

-J-
(COVER PAGE)
LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. WILL SET UP A SIX-MONTH'S ADMINISTRATIVE TICKLER FOR SUBMISSION OF ANOTHER REPORT IN THIS CASE ON 6/10/58.

-K*

(COVER PAGE)
SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Copy to:
1-OSI (RM)
1-NISO (RM)

Report of:
Date:

Field Office File #: 100-147963

Title:
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:
SNCC, NYO, is located in rooms 802 and 803 at 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. The International Affairs Division of SNCC is located in the same premises. JAMES FORMAN is Director of the NYO of SNCC as well as being in charge of its International Affairs Division. Other officers and staff members of SNCC identified.

International Affairs Division of SNCC set up May, 1967. Activities of this division in the areas of Latin-American affairs and African affairs set forth.

Statements by ROY WILKINS of NAACP and DREW PEARSON, Radio Commentator, point out a change in position on the part of SNCC from pro-integration to "Black Racist" Leadership of SNCC described in August, 1967, as taken over by "Apostles of Violence." At rally in St. Albans Plaza Theatre, Queens, NY, 8/6/67, H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC, urged Negroes to arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide. Instances of SNCC disruptive tactics set forth. In demonstrations and rallies during the period 2/23/66 to October, 1967, SNCC manifested its opposition to US Government policy in Viet Nam and its campaign of draft resistance. Evidence set forth of SNCC support and sympathy for the Communist movement and of SNCC participation in affairs sponsored by such organizations as WEB Du Bois Club, Harlem Council for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

-P*

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

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The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is being referred to throughout this report by its initials SNCC.

Individuals and organizations which are characterized in appendix I (individuals) and appendix II (organizations) have been designated in this report with an asterisk.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location

SNCC, New York Office, currently occupies rooms 802
... 803 at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This building is managed by Vogar Realities, 131 West 58th Street, New York City. SNCC renewed this lease April 26, 1965, and it is not due to expire until May 31, 1969. The individual representing SNCC who signed the lease was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*. An earlier lease signed in 1964 bore the signature JAMES FORMAN as Executive Secretary of SNCC.

August 28, 1967

As of September, 1967, the International Affairs Division of SNCC was located in the same offices as its New York headquarters, namely rooms 802 and 803, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. JAMES FORMAN was in charge of this operation for SNCC.

September 18, 1967

B. Officers and Staff Members

The officers and staff members of SNCC, New York Office, are the following:

JAMES FORMAN
SHIRLEY WRIGHT
JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY
JOHN WILSON*
JULIUS LESTER

Director
Assistant Director
Program Coordinator
Fund-Raising Chairman
Photographer
JAMES FORMAN served as Office Manager of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, as of November, 1967.

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

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

SHIRLEY WRIGHT

As of November, 1967, SHIRLEY WRIGHT was a member of the Office Staff of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News", July 23, 1966, page three, related that the New York Office of SNCC had announced the appointment of its new Assistant Director, namely, Miss SHIRLEY WRIGHT. The following background information concerning SHIRLEY WRIGHT was contained in this article.
"Miss WRIGHT, a 22-year old New Yorker, has been on the staff of SNCC since spring, 1965. Before coming to the N. Y. office, she worked in the Northern Coordination department of SNCC's national office in Atlanta; she has also spent time in all of SNCC's Southern projects."

JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

JEAN WILEY acts as Program Coordinator in the New York office of SNCC. She is one of the principal assistants to James Forman in the New York office. During August, 1967, she played a major role in coordinating the raising of bail for H. Rap Brown, National Chairman, SNCC.

JEAN WILEY, prior to becoming associated with SNCC in New York City, taught at Howard University in Washington, D. C. She is a Negress, about 26 years of age, and is described as "quiet and efficient."

October 3, 1967

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON, as of September, 1967, was serving as Fund-Raising Chairman of SNCC, 1055th Avenue, New York City.

September 1, 1967

John Wilson resides at 520 East 12th Street, New York City. John Wilson and James Forman are alleged to have taken over H. Rap Brown's speaking engagements.

October, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

JULIUS LESTER was described as a Negro organizer for SNCC as of September, 1966.
NY 100-47963

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

July 5, 1967

RICARDO ALARCON, Ambassador, Cuban Mission to the United Nations, New York City, on July 18, 1967, obtained permission from Havana, Cuba, for JULIUS LESTER to visit Cuba.

July 18, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER's application for United States Passport facilities dated March 8, 1967, reflected his permanent address as 329 West 21st Street, New York City. He was last married on December 22, 1952 to JOAN BRINKWORTH STEIN. His occupation was listed as writer and photographer.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

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

April 5, 1966

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, described as Director of the New York office of SNCC, was present at a luncheon and round-table discussion held under the auspices of the National Guardian at the Tavern on the Green, Central Park West and 57th Street, New York City, on April 12, 1966.

April 19, 1966

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

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND worked regularly at the SNCC office 100 Fifth Avenue, up until about the summer of 1967. Thereafter, she appeared for brief periods only on occasion at the New York office.

October 10, 1967
BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES, Negro, female, is described as a Staff Member of SNCC in New York. She handles money and checks that come into the office and confidential expenditures of the office. She is well-liked by members of SNCC and lives with her husband MATTHEW JONES at 130 West 87th Street, New York City. It has been noticed that BOBBI JONES is very much in control whenever SNCC has a table or booth selling posters, records, and printed matter. All money collected from such sales is turned over to her.

October 3, 1957

ELLA J. BAKER

A program covering a teach-in at New York University, New York City, October 28, 1965, sponsored by the New York University friends of SNCC listed ELLA BAKER as an Advisor of SNCC. She was also listed as a speaker at this teach-in which concerned the general subject "New Directions in Civil Rights".

November 29, 1965

WILLIAM HALL

A rally billed as a benefit for SNCC was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, 1 West 122nd Street, New York City, on August 29, 1965. This was attended by approximately 190 persons. WILLIAM HALL, identified as a SNCC Field Secretary, was a speaker at this rally.

August 30, 1965

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

September 18, 1965
ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH was described as on the Staff of the

December 6, 1967
I) Fund-Raising Events

An article in the Herald Tribune, April 26, 1966, entitled "SNCC Plans a Fight to Unseat Mississippi Congressmen" stated that SNCC announced plans on April 25, 1965, to unseat Mississippi's five Congressmen. The article also narrated that a major fund-raising dinner was held by SNCC on April 25, 1965, at the New York Hilton Hotel at $100.00 a plate. Some 1500 people allegedly attended this event and approximately $125,000.00 was raised. The dinner marked the 5th Anniversary of SNCC.

The "New York Post", March 21, 1966, page 2, carried an article entitled "All Star Cast Leads Tribute to SNCC". The article reported that several actors participated in a tribute to SNCC at a $100.00 a plate benefit at the Hilton Hotel, New York City, on the evening of March 20, 1966. Nearly 1,000 persons allegedly attended the event which was addressed by JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC.

A benefit concert for SNCC was held on Saturday evening, April 2, 1966, at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, 668 people attended. The lease for the hall for this occasion dated March 17, 1966, was signed by ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND* as Director of New York Office of SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York City.

April 5, 1966
On December 22, 1966, SNCC sponsored a jazz concert at the Village Theatre, 105 2nd Avenue, New York City, the purpose of which was to raise funds for SNCC. A $2.00 admission fee was charged and some 400 people attended the concert. STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an appearance at the concert at 10:15 pm. He spoke for approximately five minutes and protested United States intervention in Vietnam.

December 27, 1966

II. ACTIVITIES OF SNCC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DIVISION.

A. General Information.

MEMBER OF SUBJET ORGANIZATION

January 16, 1966

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

June 23, 1967
November 9, 1967

Unsolicited mail received by an occupant of an apartment at [redacted] on November 24, 1967. It contained a letter in an envelope which bore the return address "H. RAP BROWN, 100 6th Avenue, New York City, Room 803." The letter from SNCC was signed by H. RAP BROWN as Chairman of SNCC. He states: "SNCC officially declared itself a Human Rights Organization in May, 1967." He stated further that SNCC has established an office of International Affairs in New York City, "in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world. . . . Our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have launched armed revolutionary struggle against their oppressors. To aid them we are trying to mobilize support against the possibility of United States intervention on behalf of the White South African Government. We are encouraging the development of nation-wide liberation schools, a concept with which SNCC pioneered during the 1964 Mississippi summer project."
ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND was observed by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) entering the Cuban Mission, 6 East 67th Street, New York City on June 7, 1967.

And made available on September 22, 1967, copies of press-releases which covered a press conference given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JULIUS LESTER of SNCC while they were in Havana, Cuba, on August 13, 1967. The following statements
of CEMIL PASA are excerpted from these press releases:

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare
within the United States since there is no other way to
obtain our homes, our lands and our rights."

STIKELY CAMMICHEIL's explanation of black power
in the press release is the following:

"It is the union of the Negro population who fight
for liberation by any means whatsoever. It is the union of
the Negro population of the United States with the oppressed
peoples of the rest of the world."

A reporter asked if United State's whites who call
themselves liberals have joined the present Negro movement.
Both CAMMICHEIL and HECTOR answered the question:

"Whites who call themselves liberals are enemies
of the Negro struggle. After all, they are rich
people who derive benefits from the system, and we are
fighting to destroy that system that oppresses us and
brings about tragedy."

The above sources also made available a copy of the speech of
United States 'Representative' STIKELY CAMMICHEIL at the First
Conference of Latin - American Solidarity (CLAS) held in
Havana, Cuba, July 31 - August 10, 1957. The following state-
ments by STIKELY CAMMICHEIL are excerpted from this speech:

"I greet you as comrades because it becomes increasingly
clear to us each day that we share with you a common struggle;
we have a common enemy - our enemy is white western imperialistic
society.

"We speak with you comrades because we wish to make
clear that we understand that our destinies are intertwined.
Our world can only be a third world: our own struggle, for
the third world; our only vision, of the third world."

18
"The civil rights movement could never attract and hold the young bloods who clearly understood the savagery of white United States who had to meet this savagery with armed resistance. It is the 'young bloods' who contain especially the hatred CHE GUEVARA speaks of when he says, 'Hatred is an element of the struggle - relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of many and transforms us into effective, violent, selective and cold killing machines.' The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: a real revolutionary proletariat ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people.

"Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the United States. It is more than a figure of speech to say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and colonial exploitation.

"The future potential revolutionaries in this country are the black people of the ghetto - those who had developed resistance in their daily life - African American and Latin communities where most rebellions had taught important lessons in dealing with the government's armed reaction to our uprising.

"This rebellion should not be taken lightly. In the past three years there have been over 100 uprisings in the internal colonies of the United States...... These are major rebellions with numbers of participants who are developing a consciousness of resistance.

"During the past year we have instituted a black resistance to the white movement, not only because we are against blood and hatred their training in Vietnam, but also I can say with certainty that the next Vietnam will be on this continent."
"As the resistance struggle escalates, we are well aware of the reality of CRE O'SHA's words that the 'struggle will not be a mere street fight but will be long and harsh.' In the end our common brotherhood sustains us all as we fight for our liberation by any means necessary."

October 13, 1967

THE NEW YORK POST, June 11, 1967, page two, contained an article entitled, "SNCC In Aids To Afro-Asia". The following is quoted from the article:

"The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has petitioned all African and Asian Missions to the UN to pressure the U.S. government into wiping out racial discrimination in the U.S."

"The petition contended that the U.S. government is critical of racial injustice in other countries but fails to move against it in America."

"James Forman, SNCC Director of International Affairs, said the immediate basis for the appeal was the violence Sunday in Selma, Ala., during which former SNCC chairman Stokely "Chic" Carmichael was arrested."

28
September 7, 1957

In September 3, 1957, made available a two page leaflet dated August 27, 1947, issued by SNCC, 192 Fifth Avenue, New York City, setting forth a telegram sent by SNCC to "His Excellency Houphouet-Boigny, President, Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occasion of his visit to the United States."

The following is quoted from the letter:

"We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people in America, Mme Beatrice Domond and M. Alphonse Nurchi, two officials of the United States government, detained by you while they were attentive to the United Nations.

"Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we, the African-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrung 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. Fadel 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."

The letter is signed among others JAMES FURMAN, a. KAPWAPA, and JEMELIYU SAM; ISMAIL. The letter indicated that "for further information contact International Affairs Commission, 600 Fifth Avenue, New York City."

The "National Guardian" newspaper September 16, 1957, on page eight, set forth a press interview of JEMELIYU SAM; ISMAIL, Field representative of SNCC, conducted in Algeria, North Africa. JEMELIYU SAM; ISMAIL was interviewed September 7, 1957, by a reporter for the Algerian Press Service. Portions of the interview were made available exclusively to the "National Guardian" in the United States. The following questions by the Algerian Press Service and answered by JEMELIYU SAM; ISMAIL concerning the recent middle east crisis was excerpted from the press interview:

"SNCC was the only major organization in the United States to support the Arab countries in the recent Middle East crisis. What was the basis for this stand?"

"We matter that the Jews have been mistreated for centuries and centuries. We understand and we sympathize with
the loss of six million Jews under Hitler. However, the Jews are not the only people to be persecuted. Africans have been persecuted for years and years. We lost 12 million people during the slave era alone. Our persecution comes from the white man. The persecution of the Jews comes from the white man. There is no need for the Jews to turn around because the white man persecuted them, and persecute the Africans and especially the Arabs. If the Jews want a state of their own it seems to me that what they should have done after the war was that the white national rulers were divided up, Germany was divided up, and the victors divided up the victors below the clouds. But for the Jews to use the extermination of the Jews in Germany by Germans as an excuse to take land from the Arabs is clearly unjust.

On November 1, 1957, H. RAP BROWN and MAE BESS FORMAN of S.C.L.C attended a party at the United Nations in celebration of the new state of Israel. Attendance at this affair was by invitation only.

November 2, 1957

On December 9, 1957, H. RAP BROWN held a press conference on the 11th floor of the United Nations Methodist Church, 44th Street and First Avenue, New York City at 2:00 p.m., a copy of a letter from H. RAP BROWN of S.C.L.C was made available to members of the press from the International Affairs Division of S.C.L.C. This letter was dated December 9, 1957 and was addressed by H. RAP BROWN to William, General Secretary of the United Nations, New York City. The letter stated as follows:

"In response to the strong appeal made by the South West Africa National United Front Leaders to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, today:

"That the United Nations General Assembly must authorize the Council for South West Africa to recruit and train volunteers for a United Nations Peace Force to expel the racist colonial South African regime from South West Africa."

21
"We, African-American citizens of the United States of America, are prepared to organize and to establish the AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL MILITARY UNITS for South West Africa for the purpose of:

1. Serving as a United Nations Peace Force for South West Africa in cooperation with the South West African liberation organizations;

2. Insuring by force the entrance of the United Nations Council into South West Africa, and;

3. Providing material assistance to the South West African liberation movement."

December 5, 1965

III. LATIN AMERICA

[Redacted]
NY 100-147763

An article by A. B. WILKINS, head of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) appears in the "New York Post", June 4, 1960, page 37. The article is entitled, "SNCC's New Look". In it, A. B. WILKINS discusses SNCC's changed position. He stated that SNCC had declared that it was "no longer interested in integration." A "new gang" took over in SNCC and the "whites have been booted out". WILKINS stated that "SNCC had formally chosen a racist course, that is, black racism."

D. W. EMERSON, radio commentator, made the following statements in a broadcast over radio station WABC, New York, on August 17, 1967, at 10:15 p.m.:

"The leadership of SNCC has been taken over by apostles of violence. Most of them believe in the brand of Communism preached in Peking. They also no longer try very hard to hide their Communist sympathies. The most notorious SNCC leader, HUEY SAUNDERS, is not the only one that has been attending Communist conferences. He was accompanied by two other SNCC leaders, JULIUS KLEBER and JULIUS BRINKER. Still another SNCC leader, WILLIAM SPILLERS, went to attend a Communist-called convention there. He was as outspoken as SAUNDERS in calling for a Negro rebellion against the United States."

A rally in support of 17 NAACP members arrested by the New York City Police Department was held on August 7, 1967 at 26. A. ALLEN PLAZA, 130-31 Linden Boulevard, Queens, New York. Approximately 1,500 Negroes attended this rally and listened to speeches of Mr. Samuel C. Smith. Mr. Smith allegedly said at this rally that Negroes should arm themselves against the white enslavers of mankind and "when the revolution starts, the Negroes should go to the jails and free all the Negro prisoners."

A. B. WILKINS on August 13, 1967, wrote a press release stating that SNCC is one of the most powerful organizations in the city. The press release emphasized the importance of the NAACP and other organizations.
The first was that August 13th should be known as black man's independence day because on this day in 1965 the riot in Watts started. The second announcement was that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had left Cuba and was at that time at Hanoi, North Vietnam. H. RAP BROWN was asked if he supported STOKELY CARMICHAEL's alleged statement from Cuba that Negroes should arm themselves for total revolution. H. RAP BROWN allegedly replied "our sentiments exactly". He went on to say that if the black man endorses guerrilla fighting he would be the first to join up and fight.

August 31, 1967

R. Disruptive and Violent Tactics

A picket demonstration was conducted by SNCC commencing at 3:15 p.m. on February 3, 1965, at City Hall, New York City. The purpose of the demonstration was to induce the Mayor of the City of New York to intercede with the President of the United States for federal intervention in the voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. By 4:00 a.m. February 4, 1965, all demonstrators had left the area.

On February 4, 1965, at 3:15 p.m. SNCC again assembled at the United States Courthouse located at Foley Square, New York City. Twenty-nine demonstrators representing SNCC and carrying signs reading "Federal assistance in Selma" attempted to enter and stage a sit-in within the lobby of the United States Courthouse, but were restrained by United States Marshals. Several representatives of SNCC were granted an interview with VINCENT T. FREDERICK, Chief Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York. After the interview with Dr. FREDERICK, the individuals were asked to leave the office. Upon their refusal they were escorted by United States Marshals from the office outside the United States Courthouse.
February 5, 1965

On February 5, 1965, SNCC again conducted a picket demonstration at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, commencing at 3:45 p.m. They carried signs demanding Federal intervention in the voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. At approximately 4:10 p.m. several of the pickets began making sorties up the steps of the United States Courthouse in an effort to gain admission. They were restrained by United States marshals who had taken position at the head of the steps. The demonstration terminated at 5:30 p.m.

Personal observation by
OAS of the FBI
February 5, 1965

At approximately 3:00 a.m., June 23, 1965, a group of approximately 11 pickets, representing SNCC and members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), chained themselves to the main entrance of the United States Courthouse blocking the entrance. Approximately 140 demonstrators marched in front of the building carrying signs bearing large letters which spelled the word Mississippi. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the arrest of civil rights demonstrators in Mississippi. United States marshals removed the chained demonstrators and took them into custody in order of Federal Judge UGW R. ATAY.

United States Courthouse,
Foley Square, New York City
1965, and provided bail money for five SNCC officers who had been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for staging a sit-in at the South African Consulate, 645 Madison Avenue, New York City. The five SNCC officers were identified as follows in the newspaper article:

"JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary
"JOHN LEWIS, National Chairman
"WILLIAM HALL, New York Director of SNCC
"Cleveland SMITH, Program Director
"WILLIAM KICKS, SNCC Staff Member"

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

An article in the "New York Herald Tribune", a former New York daily newspaper, March 22, 1965, page three, set forth the purpose of the above sit-in demonstration as a protest against the "inhuman and barbarous system of apartheid practised by the South African government."

On December 19, 1965, commencing at 10:00 a.m., the Board of Education, City of New York, conducted school budget hearings at their headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York. At 3:30 p.m. the hearings were interrupted by members of a so-called "Ad Hoc Board of Education" which demanded a voice in the hearings. The official hearing was terminated at this point and the Ad Hoc groups staged a sit-in demonstration in the budget hearing room. They conducted their own "Board of Education" hearing. The sit-in was still in progress at of 10:00 a.m., December 21, 1965. Among those participating in the insurgent group was WILLIAM HALL of SNCC who was named "Superintendent of Schools" by the Ad Hoc Board of Education.

December 29, 1965 also "New York Times"
December 21, 1965
Page 1, 32, article entitled, "Brooklyn Sit-In Bars Second Hearing By School Board"
A picket demonstration was conducted at Intermediate School 201 in Harlem, New York City, at 7:00 a.m. on September 21, 1966. SNCC members participated in this demonstration, the purpose of which was to protest the action of the Board of Education in reinstating STANLEY LESSER, white male, as Principal of Intermediate School 201 located at 127th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. When the school doors opened at about 3:15 a.m. on September 21, 1966, five pickets attempted to rush past school Principal LESSER and block his entrance to the school. They were arrested by the New York City Police Department on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Included among those arrested was WILLIAM HALL, male Negro, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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

On September 12, 1967, WILLIAM HALL of SNCC with approximately 20 supporters attempted to push their way at 9:10 a.m. through the police guard toward ten white teachers who were conducting peaceful picketing at Intermediate School 201, Harlem, New York City. WILLIAM HALL pushed past the police guard and was arrested for obstruction, harassment, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. H. RAP BLACK of SNCC appeared at the above demonstration at 9:10 a.m. He talked to spectators and reporters but did not participate in the demonstration.

September 2, 1967

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

August 31, 1967
IV. SNCC OPPOSITION TO UNITED STATES POLICY IN VIETNAM AND DRAFT RESISTANCE

SNCC participated in a picketing demonstration and rally in the vicinity of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 49th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, on February 23, 1966, from 6:30 P.M. to 9 P.M. ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND of SNCC was one of the speakers at this rally. The purpose of this demonstration was to protest United States Government policy in Vietnam.

February 23, 1966

On July 12, 1966, SAS of the FBI observed a demonstration held in front of the United States Army Recruiting Station near the Apollo Theater on 125th Street, New York City. The demonstrators, 16 in number, marched from 12 noon until 2 P.M. carrying signs which read: "Why should black men kill brown men in Vietnam" and "Black men should return home to protect black women."

A flyer was handed out by the demonstrators. The following is quoted from the flyer: "Black men! Whitey's plan for you is death in Vietnam. Choose jail, stay here and fight for your manhood. Black women will not allow you to stand alone in your decision." At the bottom of the flyer appeared the following notation: "Advice and help may be obtained from the following organizations - SNCC and CORE."

The "New York Post", August 25, 1966, page five, contained an article entitled "SNCC, CORE blast draft 'salvage' plan." The article related that Defense Secretary McNAMARA's proposal for "salvaging" draft rejectees was under fire from civil rights leaders. The article further related
that STOKELY CARMEAL® at a youth forum held in the First Corinthians Baptist Church, 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, on August 24, 1966, allegedly stated "This man is out to exterminate us. It is clear that the man is moving to get rid of black people in the ghettos and we in SNCC are going to urge black people not to submit to the draft."

On September 18, 1966, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) held a panel discussion on Selective Service and the draft. The discussions were held at the New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York City. A representative from SNCC was included among the panelists; however, he was not identified by name by the source reporting this information. The following question was put to the SNCC spokesman: "Are there any examples of mass refusal to be inducted?" The SNCC panelist answered that the move of SNCC is not to have mass action parades, jailings, etc. They are consolidating the Negro community for strength - "so that when the Government wants one man, the Government has to come into an organized community that is powerful. It will take force to get the one man."

September 12, 1966

On March 29, 1967, [redacted] made available a pamphlet which announced a "massive, anti-draft campaign". The pamphlet further related that on April 1, 1967, an "End the Draft Caravan" will visit every high school in the New York Metropolitan area and 200,000 young people will learn more about conscientious objection, more about Vietnam, and more about resisting the war. This pamphlet indicated the "draft campaign" is sponsored by several organizations including SNCC.
The "New York Times", May 13, 1967, wrote one, in an article entitled "Jackie Out as SNCC Chief", set forth a statement issued on May 13, 1967, by SNCC National Office which described SNCC as "a human rights organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world." SNCC encouraged the "liberation struggles" of peoples against racism, exploitation and oppression. "We shall seek a strong nationwide black anti-draft program and a 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..."

Their economic objectives, the statement said, would be "to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, to gain economic control of our communities and to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals."

An estimated 100 Negroes marched through Harlem on Saturday, April 15, 1967, in support of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. The march commenced at Lenox Avenue and 135th Street, New York City. Some of the Negroes carried signs reading "No war, no" and "Black men stay home". STOKELY CARMEICHALL of SNCC was in the line of march along with BILL DICKINS of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).
The above march on April 15, 1967, terminated at the United Nations Plaza where a massive rally was held. Many groups joined forces at the Plaza where the crowd numbered approximately 100,000 people. One of the featured speakers at the rally was PAN Tapol SPEAKERS of S.N.J.

April 20, 1967

On Memorial Day, May 26, 1967, a march was staged by the Black United Action Front commencing at noon in Harlem, New York. The purpose of the march was to protest the war in Vietnam and the drafting of Negroes into the Armed Forces. Among the groups participating was S.N.J. The flag of the Vietnam National Liberation Front was displayed in the line of march.

June 4, 1967

A demonstration sponsored by the Veterans and Reservists for Peace was held on June 3, 1967, in the occasion of the visit of President JOHNSON to New York City. The demonstration was held three blocks away from the Americana Hotel during the President’s visit to the hotel. S.N.J. was among the sponsoring organizations. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest United States involvement in Vietnam.

June 5, 1967
On July 13, 1967, a "Teach-in on Puerto Rico" was held at Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University, New York City. Approximately 300 persons were in attendance at this teach-in. Literature was distributed outside the auditorium by SNCC, among other organizations. The literature distributed covered Puerto Rico, Vietnam Peace Movements, anti-draft activities and Israel-Arab problems. H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, was a speaker at the teach-in. He discussed SNCC's relation to Latin American Revolutionary movements, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba. BROWN likened American Negroes to "enslaved Latin America", both being victims of colonialism and United States imperialism. BROWN remarked that "if America plays Nazi, Negroes will not play Jew", but favored violence when necessary. He stated Puerto Ricans should not be drafted to fight for the United States, but should fight "LBJ, RUSK, MC NAMARA".

July, 1967

A meeting entitled "Vietnam and Black America" was held on August 29, 1967, at the Village Theater located at 105 Second Avenue, New York City. This rally was sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and other organizations. Approximately 2,600 people attended. The speakers included JULIUS LESTER and H. RAP BROWN of SNCC, both of whom protested United States involvement in the Vietnam War.

September 11, 1967

On October 3, 1967, a meeting of various committees working on the massive October 21, 1967, Washington, D.C. protest demonstration against United States involvement in
Vietnam, not at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. A representative of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presided over this meeting and remarked that his contact with militant groups was habitually closed. 

October 5, 1967

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10473.

A half-page advertisement appeared in the National Guardian, October 7, 1967, entitled "Confront the War Makers at the Pentagon." The following is quoted from the advertisement: "Welcome JOHN WILSON of SNCC to the National Mobilization Committee as Co-chairman and co-project director by sending funds for transportation to Washington, D.C., October 21 for thousands of black people and Puerto Ricans, north and south, who cannot afford the fare. Make checks payable to National Mobilization Committee and mail to JOHN WILSON, Co-chairman, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 577 Broadway, Room 318, New York City."

V. SNCC CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS

On March 14, 1962, a picketing demonstration was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City, from 11:30 A.M. until 5:00 P.M. Approximately 125 people participated. SNCC, SCSU, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) participated in the demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest against the arrest of SNCC and SDS representatives in the Sour Court.

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Louisiana, in the spring of 1962.

New York City
(March, 1962)

March 14, 1962

A picketing demonstration at the United States Mission to the United Nations, 45th Street and First Avenue, New York City, was held on March 18, 1963, between 5:15 P.M. and 6:15 P.M. 20 members of SNCC conducted this demonstration and carried signs protesting "lack of protection of SNCC workers in voter registration campaigns". This demonstration was observed by SAS of the FBI.

On September 22, 1963, a picketing demonstration officially under the banner "National Day of Mourning for the children of Birmingham" was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The demonstration was sponsored by SNCC, CORE and the NAACP. Speakers called for more action by the Federal Government in the civil rights field and more protection for the Negro people.

September 24, 1963

SNCC participated in a demonstration at the New York Office of the FBI, East 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City, from 4:30 P.M. to 7 P.M., March 9, 1965. This demonstration was spearheaded by CORE, New York, and had the support of other civil rights organizations in the New York area. The demonstrators protested the handling of
civil rights workers by police in Selma, Alabama, and urged the Government to designate Federal Registrars for voter registration in the south.

March 17, 1965

From 4:30 P.M. until 7:10 P.M. on June 21, 1965, a peak number of 90 individuals under the sponsorship of SNCC and CORE picketed outside the New York Office of the FBI, 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City. The pickets were addressed by speakers who demanded a "Federal injunction" calling for the release of civil rights workers then in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The speakers also demanded that the United States Government provide Federal protection for civil rights workers in the south. Included among the speakers was MATT JONES, described as a SNCC member from the south.

Personal observation by SAS of the FBI, June 21, 1965

At 4 P.M. on July 27, 1967, 26 persons formed a picket-line before the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The group passed out handbills signed "Black Mail" which demanded the immediate release of H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC. H. RAP BROWN was released on July 27, 1967, from jail in Alexandria, Virginia, on $10,000 bond on charges that he incited a riot at Cambridge, Maryland. According to this source, persons affiliated with the PIRP, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, and SNCC were represented on the picket-line.

July 28, 1967
VI. USSR SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY
FOR COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Communist Party (CP)

May 21, 1962

July 5, 1962

On March 17, 1967, a forum under the name of Chelsea Forum was held at 311 West 24th Street, New York City, in the apartment of Eugene Gordon, Jr. Approximately 30 individuals attended this forum which was actually conducted by members of the Chelsea 31 Club, West Side Section, New York County. Also in attendance was William All, described as leader of Harlem 5.2. The speaker at this forum was WENDELL ADAMS, who spoke on the "United States in the World Today".

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

March 17, 1967
A youth resolution dealing with the "new left", which was in the possession of the New York District CP at 33 Union Square West, New York City, in November, 1967, described the "new left" as a significant feature of the generation of the 60's. "The roots of this newly emergent left current are to be found in rebelling against the hypocrisy, sterility and insecurity of an America strangled by the corporate establishment... The civil rights movement has had a very important effect upon it... One of the most important periods that this new left has yet to experience is the present period of struggle to end the United States imperialist war in Vietnam."

The youth resolution identified three main organizations of the new left as SNCC, SDS, and W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA)*. "SNCC has moved from its initial exclusive identification with militant civil rights approaches to a greater concern for the problems in the whole fabric of American society and foreign policy. It has become the center in the civil rights movement for radical youth to see the American crisis in its broader canvas." The resolution concludes: "We Communists do not see the 'new left' as a force separate and apart from our party... We see it rather as an outgrowth of the seeds we and others helped to sow."

November 9, 1967

[Includenote: 13th, 1967, to
February 17, 1967]
"The Worker" is an East coast Communist newspaper.

3. DCA Clubs of America

The third national convention of the DCA was held on September 8, to 10, 1967, at Columbia University, New York City. The convention was attended by 265 registered delegates and observers. One of the speakers at the convention was JULIUS LEITER described as Director of Photography, International Department, SNCC.

September 19, 1967

"The Kingsman", September 29, 1967, a student newspaper at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York, set forth an article on page four entitled "Summer Riots in America Subject of Du Bois Talks". This article related that the DCA club at Brooklyn College held a meeting on September 27, 1967, which was attended by representatives of various organizations including SDS and CP. TERRY ADREY also spoke at this meeting as a representative of SNCC.

2. Harlem Council for Peace

SNCC was one of six organizations which allegedly participated in the formation of the Harlem Council for Peace as of January, 1966.

January 31, 1966

D. SWP
The SWP sponsored a Women's Peace March to the Armory on 33rd Street, Manhattan, New York. About 300 people participated in the demonstration including members of SNCC.
VII. MISCELLANEOUS

On August 19, 1967, a social sponsored by the Movimiento Pro Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MIPR) was held at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York City. During the meeting members of the MIPR were observed talking with people attempting to get donations to be sent to SNCC to help pay the bond for F. SAP TROWN.

August 24, 1967

SNCC was represented at the National Convention of the SDS, which was held in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 to 30, 1967. At the convention, it was decided that SDS would support SNCC and its activity. At the final session of the convention, a representative of SNCC gave a talk and asked for contributions to its organization. A contribution of $150 was presented to SNCC.

July, 1967
HERBERT APThERMAN was elected to the National Committee CP, United States of America (USA), at the 15th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22 to 26, 1966, in New York City.

June 30, 1966

LOUIS R. FRANK

While appearing before a public session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, California, June 21, 1967, DOROTHY JEFFERS, a member of the Professional Section of the CP of San Francisco from 1943 to 1951, stated in her sworn testimony that LOUISE KRAUSS (also known as LOUISE R. KRAUSS) was a member of the Professional Section of the CP, San Francisco. Miss JEFFERS also testified that she had attended a meeting of the CP in the home of LOUISE KRAUSS.

April 17, 1967

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

ALVA BUXENBAUM

As of December 31, 1964, ALVA BUXENBAUM was a member of the New York Agricultural Committee representing Kings County.

December 31, 1964

ESTELLE C. FENT

As of Nov. 21, 1965, ESTELLE C. FENT was a member of the 14, VSA Farm Commission.

November 21, 1965
Appendix I (Individual)

William E. Brand

WILLIAM BRAND as of October 16, 1967, was Vice-President of the FLPS.

October 16, 1967

JOHN L. LAUGHLIN

On September 29, 1973, LOUIS F. SOUPE testified before the United States Senate Permanent Investigations Sub Committee that EARL KUEHN, as head of the CP in the United States, had referred to JOHN L. LAUGHLIN as one of the "four prides of the CP because JOHN L. LAUGHLIN was ready to cooperate with any Communist front or any Communist cause." SOUPE made this reference at a National Committee meeting of the CP in the early 1940's. SOUPE also recalled that JOHN L. LAUGHLIN was a member of the CP while he, SOUPE, was a member.

John L. Lauglin

The Foreign Intelligence Information Service reported on April 10, 1967, on "Brand from "Out", 1967."
APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

April 8, 1967, which read as follows: "The 4th Investigative Delegation of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal has arrived in Hanoi to continue the work of the first three delegations in investigating the United States War crimes in Vietnam. The delegation included, among others, American Negro, JULIUS LESTER, writer, cameraman and compositor in charge of SNCC Photograph Service."

MALCOLM X

For a characterization of MALCOLM X see characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) attached.

WILLIAM MC ADOO

WILLIAM MC ADOO was, as of May, 1966, the head of the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life.

May 10, 1966

ALEX E. O. MUNSELL

ALEX MUNSELL was present at a fund raising party of Village Clubs 1 and 2, CP, New York County, which was held on June 22, 1962, at 53 Barrow Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

VICTOR RASHKOVITZ

The December, 1966 issue of "Rights" published by the EECO on page 24 identifies VICTOR RASHKOVITZ as a member of the Executive Committee of the EECO.

April 3, 1967

VICTOR RASHKOVITZ attended the 10th Anniversary Dinner of the National Guardian held in New York City on November 4, 1966, and during the evening it was announced that he had donated $1,000 to the National Guardian.

November 10, 1966

ANNA ROCHESTER

Arrived on May 11, 1968, and as of September, 1968, ANNA ROCHESTER was still a member of the 00 in Greenwich Village, New York City.

ELIZABETH SATAIKIN

The November 11, 1963 issue of "The Militant" page five, column three, reflects that ELIZABETH SATAIKIN, a book editor, was treasurer of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba at that time.
APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

ABRAHAM WEISBURD

Volume 1, July-August, 1966, of "Labor News and Views", a newsletter of the Trade Unionists for Peace* of New York City on page two lists ABE WEISBURD as one of five individuals who are members of the board of editors of this publication.

JOHN WILSON

On February 21, 1967, [redacted] furnished a flyer printed by the Militant Labor Forum (MLF)* which indicated that the MLF would sponsor a MALCOLM X* Memorial meeting on February 24, 1967. One of the speakers listed on the flyer was JOHN WILSON, described as SNCC Field Secretary.

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

March 1, 1967
APPENDIX II (ORGANIZATIONS)
1. COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE TO GHETTO LIFE (CERGE)

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

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

A third source advised on December 28, 1966, that CERGE previously maintained an office at Room 617, 1 Union Square, New York, New York, but that it no longer occupies this office and is considered defunct.
APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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 Represent- atives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. *

The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representa- tive of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings.

* * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

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APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

***

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 54 and 35.)

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

1.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC)

A source advised that on October 17, 1963, about 20 individuals representing various pro-Cuban organizations in the New York City area, met in New York, New York, for the purpose of forming a committee to raise funds to assist victims of hurricane "Flora" in Cuba.

Literature distributed by the ECDRC at a later date reflected that the Chairman of the Committee is SIDNEY J. GLUCK and the Medical Director, DR. LOUIS A. MILLER. Its headquarters are at 41 Union Square West, Room 311, New York 3, New York, and its literature proclaims that the ECDRC is a non-profit organization formed to help Cuban victims of hurricane "Flora" by collecting funds for the purchase of food, medicine and relief supplies.

A second source advised that SIDNEY J. GLUCK, whose real name is ISADORE GLICK, maintained a 1943 Communist Party (CP) membership book in his possession in 1944.

LOUIS F. BUDEZ, former editor of the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, stated in 1950 that as late as 1945 he was advised by JACK STACHEL, CP leader, that DR. LOUIS A. MILLER was an active member of the CP.

A third source advised that on February 10, 1965, a meeting sponsored by the Committee for Special Medical Aid to Cuba (SMAC), formerly the ECDRC, was held in a New York
APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC) CONTINUED

hotel. SIDNEY GLUCK advised those in attendance that the emergency from hurricane "Flora" in Cuba was over. He stated that the ECDRC was disbanded and a legal name change was completed January 21, 1965.
1. 

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WORKING CLIPS

"The Jewish Nationalist" dated October, 1947, self-identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPDF) of the International Workers Order (IWO). Page 6, contained an article which reflected that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPDF was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPDF.

"The Morning Freiheit" (MF) on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPDF which took place in New York City on January 20 and 21, 1951. At this convention, it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 4, 1950, a source advised that the ELF was recognized by the Communist Party (CP) United States of America (USA) as an important national organization of women whose leadership was primarily made up of Communists. The source stated the ELF was dedicated to peace, in protecting the rights of foreign born, and against bomb testing, Negro discrimination and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source also stated the ELF renders support to and receives support from the MF and other Jewish progressive organizations.

The ELF National Office was moved and is now located at 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632, New York, New York.

The IWO and JPDF have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published as of December 1, 1951, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

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2. APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (CONTINUED)

"1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'.
   (Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE
   Congressional Record, September 24, 1942,
   p. 7686.)"

"2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest
   organs of Communist propaganda in this
   country for almost a quarter of a century.'
   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
   House Report 1311 on the CIO Political
   Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)"
APPENDIX

1.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR PEACE
Also known as Central
Harlem Committee on Vietnam

A source on January 10, 1966, advised that the
idea for the meeting and formation of the Central Harlem
Committee on Vietnam, which met on January 9, 1966, in New
York City, was conceived at a Communist Party meeting held
on December 18, 1965, between representatives of the
Communist Party, United States of America, New York District
and Harlem Region, Communist Party. On January 21, 1966,
the same source advised the Committee had now adopted the
name of the Harlem Council For Peace (HCPF).

A second source on February 10, 1966, furnished a
circular issued by HCPF, self-characterizing itself as an
ad hoc committee formed by a group of concerned people
representing several organizations.

The first source, on January 17, 1966, advised
that the purpose of the group is to foster sentiment against
the Vietnam War.

A third source, on February 1, 1966, furnished a
draft of proposed literature for the HCPF. This draft
listed the following aims and purposes of the organization:

1. The War Against Poverty in Harlem.

2. The liberation of non-white people here in
the United States.

3. The right of free expression as guaranteed
by the constitution of the United States.
APPENDIX

2.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR PEACE CONTINUED

The first source on May 10, 1966, advised that the HCFF was located at 357 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

A fourth source advised on October 10, 1966, that as of that date the HCFF was defunct.
APPENDIX

1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1966, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M) formerly known as the May 2 Committee was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 16, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

The characterization of the PLP has been set out separately.

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APPENDIX

1. MILITANT LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 17, 1967, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) - New York Local (NYL) on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

1.

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

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1969, 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 was indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN VARGAS, 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 indicated that "the Revolution would soon begin" and another source advised that another official of this organization had attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1951, the MPIPR adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

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

In December, 1966, the Governor of Puerto Rico signed into law a bill calling for a plebiscite on July 23, 1967, to determine the future political status of Puerto Rico. The press reported that this plebiscite has been denounced vociferously by the MPIPR as "an act of Yankee imperialism to maintain the colonial status of Puerto Rico". JUAN VARGAS stated that the MPIPR had asked the Cuban Government for "militant solidarity with our struggle, in all international forums to which Red Cuba has access".

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APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM LOCOU, INCORPORATED ("MLI")

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 "ALCOLUM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam ("NOI"), who broke with the NOI on March 9, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Locque, Incorporated ("MLI"). The MLI, 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, "ALCOLUM 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 MLI filed on March 16, 1964, with the business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MLI 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 BOONE in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by "ALCOLUM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MLI 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 NOI are on the Islamic Religion.
APPENDIX

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED ("MMI")

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 15, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (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.

This same confidential source advised on September 4, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in Judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead".

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NATION OF ISLAM, FORMERLY REFERRED TO AS THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, ALSO KNOWN AS MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

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

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

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

On May 5, 1968, 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 (CONTINUED)

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1966, 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.
APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

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 the "National Guardian":

"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 SOARES, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"
APPENDIX

1.

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 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 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.
APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

On May 8, 1967, the first confidential 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.

Characterizations of MII and NOI are set out separately.
PRESA LATINA

Prensa Latina (PL) is a Cuban news agency organized June 16, 1959, with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, and branches throughout the world. Its New York office is located in Room 367, United Nations Secretariat Building, New York City. It follows an editorial policy which is anti-United States and pro-Soviet Union.

On April 16, 1962, PL filed a statement with the United States Department of Justice conceding that the agency receives the sum of $125,000 (Cuban) monthly from Radio Difusora Nacional, an agency of or under the supervision of a ministry of the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On April 18, 1962, PL entered a plea of nolo contende in Federal District Court, Washington, D.C., to a charge of failure to comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and was fined $2,000.
APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, 16, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a 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" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party 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, 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 assertingly following the Chinese Communist line".


The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, 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".

A second source advised on September 25, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)

On February 9, 1961, a source advised that the PYOC was established at a national socialist-oriented youth conference held in Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1960, through January 1, 1961. This conference was the result of a mandate issued by the National Executive Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) calling for a youth conference to establish an organizing committee whose objective would be to set up a national socialist-oriented youth organization. The conference scheduled a convention to be held within a year to found a new national socialist-oriented youth organization.

On June 16, 1962, AARON COHEN, a member of the CP from 1947 to 1957 and from December, 1961, to October, 1963, advised it was reported at the meeting of the National Council of the PYOC held in New York, New York, June 16 and 17, 1962, that although it had been planned to form a Marxist-oriented youth organization by the fall of 1962, it would not be possible to form such an organization for the next few years.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that the PYOC no longer maintains its headquarters at 169 Allen Street, New York, New York, and from that can be determined the PYOC is no longer in existence.
APPENDIX

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, 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 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 capitalistic 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.

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APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

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 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 will most likely be where STANFORD resides.
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, 1952. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
APPENDIX

1. "THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
APPENDIX

1.

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

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

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

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

A fourth source advised on December 14, 1965, that at a meeting of the CP, USA, New York District Trade Union Commission, which was held on December 12, 1965, in New York City, it was stated that the CP had set up a caucus of Party members in TUFF which formulates the kind of policy to be carried out by this organization. It was also stated that it was up to the Party to involve workers in this organization and attempt
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. Du Bois 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 ZAGMCYLL, 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 during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth confidential source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 11th Street, New York, New York.
Title: Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Character: Internal Security - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Reference: is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at 300 Madison Avenue, New York.

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

[redacted] was in a position to furnish reliable information.
2.

**TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE (NEW YORK) (CONTINUED)**

to tie up the ideas of peace with economics.

A third source advised on April 17, 1967, that the TUFF is currently located in Room 408, at 857 Broadway, New York, New York.
NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

NYO is shown as office of origin since all evidence points to the present location of National SNCC at 300 Ninth Avenue, NYC.

SAS who interviewed and 8/13/69, were

Current status of SNCC leaders and activists in New York Division:

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INFORMANTS CONT'D
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NY 100-147963-3623

Information copy is designated for Atlanta since Atlanta was until recently office of origin in this case.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

4 - 108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1 - OSI, NYC (RM)
1 - NISO, NYC (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:  
Office: New York, New York
Date: 10/16/69

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC National Office is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, NYC, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal). A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference held 7/22/69, in NYC, reflects that H. RAP BROWN was renamed Chairman of SNCC. IRVING DAVIS was named Director of International Affairs for SNCC and JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three was made Director of National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU), SNCC's anti-draft program. SNCC is now governed by a Revolutionary Political Council. SNCC officers and staff members listed and results of national staff meeting 6/16, 17/69, set forth. SNCC described as bankrupt.

Power play currently taking place in SNCC between JAMES FORMAN and IRVING DAVIS. Current SNCC directed programs are the NBAWADU and the International Affairs Commission - as well as SNCC's support of National Black Economic Development Conference and recent appearances by SNCC leaders on campus.

-P*

DETAILS:

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GROUP 1
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I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location of National Office

The National Office of Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, Second Floor, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal).

September 26, 1969

B. Restructuring of SNCC

A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference conducted on July 22, 1969, at its National Headquarters, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, announced a new structuring of the SNCC organization as follows:

"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. And the R.W.C., which has various functions under the new structure.

"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 'Ft. Hood 3', was named to head up NBAWADU, SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POWs, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization".

July 31, 1969
NY 100-147963

C. Officers and Staff Members

National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN contacted the Cincinnati, Ohio Office of SNCC, June 4, 1969, and advised them of the forthcoming national staff meeting of SNCC scheduled for June 16, 17, 1969, at New York City.

The national staff meeting commenced at 11:00 am, June 16, 1969, and was conducted in the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City, with the following individuals present listed according to their origin:

New York

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, also known as "Che"
FRED MEELY
IRVING DAVIS
H. RAP BROWN
WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT
JAMES FORMAN
JAMES LYTLE
FRANCES BEAL
JOSEPH MILLER
DIANE JENKINS
JUDY SULLIVAN

Newark

PHIL HUTCHINGS

Dallas, Texas

MARION ERNEST McMILLAN (SNCC Midwest Deputy Director, Dallas, Texas)
MICKEY MCGUIRE
MAT JONES
MIKE DODD
ED HARRIS
MAT JOHNSON

-5-
NY 100-14 7963

Tuskegee, Alabama

Baltimore

New Orleans

Los Angeles

Detroit, Michigan

St. Louis

Cincinnati

NORMAN "DUKE" BARNETT

BOB MOORE

RUDY LEWIS

LYNN FRENCH

LEONARD GRANT

JIMMIE LAZARE

LIONEL MCINTYRE

Brother COOK

SANDRA SCOTT

TONY SCOTT

DAN ALDRIDGE

SAM PETTY

MCKINLEY PACE

GEORGE HUGHES

TAYLOR HUGHES

June 24, 1969

June 23, 1969

June 18, 1969

FRED MEELY as of May, 1969, continued to function as a member of the national staff of SNCC.

May 19, 1969
FRANCES BEAL of Queens, New York, was on the national staff of SNCC as of June, 1969, but was reported as taking no active part therein.

June 3, 1969

PHIL HUTCHINGS was in New Orleans from June 3, 1969 to June 5, 1969.

June 9, 1969

was interviewed by Special Agents (SAS) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on August 13, 1969, in the vicinity of 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, New York City. stated that at a recent national staff meeting of SNCC held in New York City, H. RAP BROWN had again assumed leadership of the organization. related that SNCC was not functioning with the impetus it has had in the past, and this was due to a severe lack of finances and deteriorating interest.

D. Funds

The financial backing for the June 16, 17, 1969 national staff meeting of SNCC was donated to SNCC by officials of the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City.

June 25, 1969
At the national staff meeting of SNCC held in June, 1969, in New York City, a financial report was given by SNCC leaders IRVING DAVIS and JAMES LYITLE. The substance of the report was that National SNCC was bankrupt and it was estimated that its total debt amounted to approximately $13,000.00.

June 23, 1969
advised on September 19, 1969, that National SNCC and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) have serious financial problems which are being compounded by increasing leadership conflicts between the two groups.

At an anti-war rally held in Central Park, New York City, on August 9, 1969, FRANCES BEAL and JUDY SULLIVAN, affiliated with SNCC, took up a collection and raised $50.00 for SNCC to be used for the Rap Brown Defense Fund. JUDY SULLIVAN was described as an employee of the New York Urban League operating in their Street Academy in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn.

August 11, 1969

E. Factionalism within SNCC

June 12, 1969

-10-
September 19, 1969

advised on September 29, 1969, that IRVING
DAVIS has been calling meetings of various SNCC functionaries
who he feels will support him in his effort to oust JAMES
FORMAN from SNCC.
II. NATIONAL STAFF MEETING

A National Staff Meeting of SNCC was held on June 16, 17, 1969, at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City.

The entire session of the National Staff meeting on June 16, 17, 1969, was confined to reports from the various geographical areas represented at the session and all were negative indicating nothing had been attempted or accomplished in those areas within the past year. During this session, H. RAF BROWN stated the organization was dying and it was incumbent upon those present to start anew.

JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at about 6 PM on June 16, 1969 and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and the potential for the NBEDC. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of the SNCC and rallying behind the ideals and program of the Black Manifesto During the June 17, 1969 session, DAN ALDRIDGE, affiliated with SNCC in Detroit, remarked that SNCC could not continue to function effectively because no one in the organization knew what was going on.

The entire two days of the Staff meeting embraced nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and nothing was accomplished or resolved. The only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta, Georgia, some time in July, 1969.

June 18, 1969

-12-
During the course of the SNCC National Staff meeting held in New York City, June 16, 17, 1969, the Texas Delegation together with WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, H. RAP BROWN, and others, attempted to take over control of SNCC and to change its name to Black Revolutionary Action Party headed by BROWN. The group said they were doing this because SNCC has had no major programs since 1966. JAMES FORMAN strongly objected to this strategy and threatened to resign from SNCC. Source stated that thereafter a motion was made and adopted calling another Staff meeting of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 17, 1969, at which time a definite decision would be made concerning SNCC reorganization.

June 23, 1969

On July 18, 1969, the following source advised that the SNCC Staff meeting scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969, was cancelled.

July 18, 1969

III. SNCC - DIRECTED PROGRAMS

A. National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

The NBAWADU, as of May 16, 1969, was located at 2409 7th Avenue, New York City, under the leadership of JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three. The Fort Hood Three were the three Fort Hood soldiers who refused to serve in Viet Nam. The NBAWADU is a SNCC-directed project and is their anti-draft program.

May 22, 1969
May 26, 1969

The following source advised on September 26, 1969, that there has been no activity in the NBAWADU, 2409 7th Avenue, since June, 1969. The source said that the NBAWADU had occupied a store front at 2409 7th Avenue, since early in 1969 and last paid their rent in June, 1969. The management of the premises has since rented the store to another tenant. No one has been observed in the NBAWADU Office for several months.

September 26, 1969

B. SNCC International Affairs Commission

At a press conference given by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC at New York SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, New York City, on July 22, 1969, it was announced that IRVING DAVIS now directs the International Affairs Commission replacing JAMES FORMAN in that position.

July 31, 1969
April 21, 1969

On August 26, 1969, advised that SVEN HEDMAN and SARA MARKSTROM, described by this source as connected with Scandinavian SNCC, travelled to the United States in August, 1969, and were in contact with IRVING DAVIS and FRANCES BEAL in New York City. HEDMAN and MARKSTROM were scheduled to return to Sweden the latter part of August, 1969, where they are students at Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT, about August, 1969, described his recent trip to Cuba. He claimed that while he was in Cuba he was afforded guerrilla warfare training by the Cuban Government and was trained in the use of firearms. He traveled to Cuba with DONALD STONE, Atlanta SNCC.
A. Support of the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC)

JAMES FORMAN appeared before the New York Presbyterian Conference in San Antonio, Texas, in May, 1969, and republished the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto issued by the NBEDC.
Supporters of JAMES FORMAN as of May 16, 1969 had seized control of the 11th floor at 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, which is the inter-church center. The purpose of this sit-in demonstration was to urge compliance with the demands of the Black Manifesto. Several individuals from SNCC were assisting in the sit-in demonstration at 475 Riverside Drive.

May 19, 1969

As of June 6, 1969, JAMES FORMAN had taken over three floor at 475 Riverside Drive with about two dozen of his followers in implementation of the Black Manifesto. Also present for a short time to lend his support was H. RAP BROWN.

June 6, 1969

July 23, 1969

July 28, 1969

-17-
August 19, 1969

B. Campus Appearance of SNCC Leaders

July 31, 1969

The following source advised on August 13, 1969, that SNCC was sending representatives to attend the National Students Association, 22nd National Student Congress, scheduled to be held at the University of Texas at El Paso, commencing August 16, 1969.
NY 100-147963

SNCC people attending the conference would be led by GWEN PATTON of SNCC Washington, DC. SNCC hoped through attendance at this conference to be able to formulate plans for organizing students on campus.

August 13, 1969
Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Reference: is made to report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above at New York.

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

Contact with this informant has been insufficient to determine reliability.
REFERENCES:

2. Bureau airtel, dated 12/12/69.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Confidential" due to the information from [redacted] who are informants of...

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

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1 JAN 22 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

[Signature]

62 FEB 5 1970 COVER PAGE
continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could compromise their future effectiveness and have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the United States.

Current status of SNCC members in New York is:

H. RAP BROWN
IRVING DAVIS
FRANCES BEAL
WILLIAM HUNT
RON JACKSON
JUDY SULLIVAN

Information copies of this report are designated for AT, CI, KK and SV, as current SNCC activity is occurring in these divisions.

COPIES (CONT'D)

1-Cincinnati (100-147963) (INFO) (RM)
1-Knoxville (151-102) (INFO) (RM)
1-Savannah (157-1422) (INFO) (RM)
**INFORMANTS**

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**LEAD**

**NEW YORK**

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report SNCC activity in 90 days.

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-C-  
COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4-108th MI Group, NYC (RM)
1-OSI, NYC (RM)
1-NISG, NYC (RM)
1-Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:  
1/21/70

Date:  

Field Office File #: 100-147963

Office: New York, New York

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:  
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:  
RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:  
SNCC shares space in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 W. 20th St., NYC. This is the National Office of SNCC. There are three SNCC chapters presently in the US; Atlanta, Georgia, Cincinnati, Ohio, and NYC, with seven persons active in NYC, including National Chairman, H. RAP GROWNE. SNCC published one issue of a newsletter in the summer of 1969, and has been trying to publish regular issues since that time. New rules and regulations for SNCC members were adopted at National Staff meetings in NYC, November, 1969. These rules set forth. SNCC is planning to buy land in Tennessee as part of their new Agrarian Reform Program. SNCC has issued several booklets, including one on organization of a Revolutionary Action Party and two on guerilla warfare. These booklets are set forth. After National Staff meetings SNCC leaders reportedly indicated they felt that due to lack of funds, SNCC is not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

CONFOIDANTIAL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is in the appendix.

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE

On November 25, 1969, it was advised that the National Office of SNCC is located at 336 West 20th Street, New York City (NYC). SNCC has the use of a large room in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church. SNCC use of this space is not exclusive and other groups also have use of this space. SNCC does not function regularly at this office and as much as three days will elapse between times when an SNCC member will be present. There is no telephone service for SNCC and no rent is charged for this space.

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

SNCC has three chapters currently active throughout the United States. All other previously active chapters have ceased functioning. These chapters are NYC, Atlanta, Georgia and Cincinnati, Ohio. NYC has seven members, Atlanta three and Cincinnati three. There are two people in Baltimore, Maryland, one in Austin, Texas, and two in Detroit, Michigan, who are considered to be part of SNCC, although they are not active and no chapters are active in those locations.

January 12, 1970
H. Rap Brown is the National Chairman of SNCC and Irving R. Davis is the Director of International Affairs. William "Mohammed" Hunt is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council. The other four persons active in NYC are considered to be members of the National Staff.

January 12, 1970

H. Rap Brown, Irving Davis and William "Mohammed" Hunt appeared to be the controlling forces within SNCC. Davis recently remarked that James Forman, a former National SNCC official, is no longer affiliated with SNCC. Brown, Hunt and Davis have the idea that SNCC can be built up again to the organization it once was, however, they currently lack the necessary finances and have not been able to afford the installation of a telephone in the space they use as an office.

December 22, 1969

The current membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members. The office is at Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

September 17, 1969

September 22, 1969

The SNCC office in Atlanta, Georgia, is at 360 Nelson Street Southwest. There are three persons who are currently active in SNCC.

December 3, 1969
The SNCC office in Atlanta has for the past few months developed into more or less "dormitories" for the "parasites" who have no jobs or other meaningful purposes.

September 19, 1969

III. FACTIONALISM IN SNCC

There continues to be dissension in SNCC with much dissatisfaction of IRVING DAVIS. DAVIS is considered by some to be dead weight and has been criticized for not having done anything of a constructive nature since he has been an SNCC official.

November 7, 1969

WILLIAM HUNT and IRVING DAVIS have not been able to get along as HUNT has been critical of DAVIS and DAVIS cannot stand criticism.

November 19, 1969

A severe conflict exists between FRANCES BEAL (a member of the National Staff) and WILLIAM HUNT. Reportedly BEAL recently made application to the Episcopal Peace Fellowship for money to get her group which she calls Women's Liberation Movement off the ground. DAVIS
is supposedly the cause of this application being re-
jected on the basis of his efforts to be included in
the grant. Because of this type conduct on DAVIS'
part, efforts have been undertaken by HUNT and others
to chastise him.

November 25, 1969

There have been accusations within SNCC that
IRVING DAVIS has been stealing SNCC funds for his own
use. Particularly, FRANCES BEAL has been heard to re-
late that in the past when SNCC receives checks and
DAVIS gets his hands on these checks he cashes them for
himself.

December 9, 1969

During the SNCC National Staff meeting in NYC
on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, WILLIAM HUNT
remarked to those present that IRVING DAVIS was suspected
of misappropriating organizational funds. HUNT advocated
that he be chastised, however, it was not advocated he be
expelled. It was speculated that expulsion was not enter-
tained due to the fact DAVIS is currently frequenting the
offices of African representatives to the United Nations
(UN) and is regarded by SNCC as the only one with foreign
contacts.

November 13, 1969
IV. FINANCES

On December 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that SNCC currently lacks finances to rebuild the organization. They have not yet been able to raise money to have a telephone installed in the NYC office.

V. FOREIGN CONTACTS

On November 19, 1969, [redacted] advised that IRVING DAVIS, Director of International Affairs of SNCC, has been spending a lot of time at United Nations.

JAPAN
VIETNAM
CHINA
RUSSIA
HUNT has claimed that on this trip he and STONE also visited Japan, North and South Vietnam, China and Russia, where they were allowed to tour these countries.

VI. NATIONAL STAFF MEETINGS,
NEW YORK CITY
NOVEMBER, 1969

advised on November 18, 1969, that on the evening of November 4, 1969 and November 5, 1969, members of the SNCC held meetings at the National SNCC headquarters in New York City. Those attending these meetings who were not from New York City had been sent special invitations. Among those present were TERRY AUDREY, FRANCES BEAL, MUHAMMAD HUNT, RON JACKSON, and PHIL HUTCHINGS of New York City. Others observed in attendance were JIMMIE LAZARE of New Orleans, Louisiana, and GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The main portions of these meetings were presentation and discussion regarding new guidelines and rules and regulations for SNCC members as well as an organizational restructuring of SNCC for the future.
A mimeographed draft of new rules and regulations pertaining to members was furnished to those in attendance. This draft had been prepared by RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT. After much discussion and suggestions of those in attendance, this draft was corrected and adopted.

Also at these meetings, those in attendance were provided mimeographed copies of SNCC's Agrarian Reform Program. After discussions and suggestions, corrections were made and these drafts were approved.

The following are the adopted drafts:
The absence of organizational guidelines has precipitated undisciplined and counter-revolutionary behavior on the part of individuals in the organization in the past. Therefore, the following rules and regulations shall heretofore be put into effect:

**POLITICAL**

1. All persons, volunteers, and organizers engaging in SNCC activities and functions shall be subject to the rules, regulations and political positions established by the decision-making body of the organization. (The Revolutionary Political Council)

2. All persons willfully engaged in politically detrimental activities to the organization shall be expelled from the organization after review by staff members and the RPC. Such activities to be determined by SNCC staff members and the RPC. Members who participate in or contribute to misinformation and untruths concerning the organization in public or elsewhere shall be reprimanded on the 1st account and given political education on the position of the organization and upon the 2nd offense, shall be expelled.

3. Those persons who are absent or late for organizational appointments 4 times within a one month period shall be brought before the local staff and if said person is a frequent offender, he will be brought before the R.P.C.

4. Members who willfully disobey orders from people delegated responsibility by the R.P.C. will be brought before the R.P.C. for disciplinary action and/or dismissal from the organization.
5. All internal dissension and discussion shall be carried out by those parties involved and at no time shall arguments be tolerated in the presence of the public.

6. No member or person involved in the organization shall sanction the use of his/her name by any indigenous group, organization, etc. without the acknowledgment of the R.P.C.

7. No SNCC person, chapter, etc. shall make alliances with local or national or international groups or individuals without informing the Revolutionary Political Council.

8. All SNCC personnel including office workers, indigenous groups, etc. shall spend at least 15 days per month in community on one or more political projects.

9. Any member convicted of victimizing any other member of the organization (or member of the community) shall be expelled after the first warning.

10. Those persons assigned special tasks by office staff head and who do not function properly shall be replaced if R.P.C. finds them working below his/her fullest capacity.

11. All officers heading up any of the 7 or more networks shall be subordinate to the R.P.C. Each member or head shall, after review, be placed on the Council or Committee according to his/her work record, dedication, political ability, etc.

12. All office holders of the aforementioned networks shall present an outline of past and future activities to be reviewed by the R.P.C. upon the request of the R.P.C.
13. All national and international verbal and written contracts, documents, and contacts shall be approved by the decision of the R.P.C.

14. Any member of the organization found guilty one or more times of being discourteous, arrogant or egotistical toward people in the community shall:

1. Be reprimanded and/or transferred or expelled if necessary from the project and/or the organization.

2. Be given political education on the correct nature of dealing with people.

15. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council shall be elected by the said Council and the National Chairman. (In cases of emergency where the Council cannot meet, the National Chairman and those members of the Council present shall elect a Chairman of the R.P.C. on the selection of RPC members.

16. All SNCC chapters are required to have (1) Work-Study classes, and (2) Cadre Meetings at least once a month (preferably the last Sunday each month).

ECONOMIC

1. Those persons actively engaged in full-time work for the organization shall receive only a subsistence allowance according to (a) need, and (b) circumstance.

2. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all monies will be distributed equally to SNCC personnel. Need will be a determining factor as to priority in cases of conflict.

3. Those persons who participate willfully in embezzlement, hide or conceal, or hide and conceal information
concerning financial matters of the organization or personal financial matters, shall be, upon conviction, punished by the following:

A. Mandated to solicit a job within the system within 2 weeks following conviction and mandated to contribute 2/3 of their net salary to the organization for a period of 3 months.

B. Mandated to organize a political function twice a month for a four-month period, with gross proceeds going to the organization.

C. Or other punishment to be determined by the Revolutionary Political Council.

4. All cadres will be required to sell 50 copies of the national SNCC newspaper. This number will increase or decrease proportionally as production and output increase. Whenever possible, cadres will be required to pay for newspapers in advance to insure payment for producing the next edition of the paper. Cadres will have 10 days in which to sell newspapers. Suggestions may be made to the communications network and/or other related printed matter.

5. All economic matters, implementation or organization programs, and so on, shall take precedence over all other matters. Monies shall be used to implement programs of the organization first, subsistence pay will have to take 2nd place.

REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

1. A high degree of respect between members and others of the organization must be maintained at all times.

2. Anyone who knowingly exploits either economic, military or political situations for personal gain will be brought before the R.P.C. and following conviction
shall be immediately expelled or otherwise punished. Opportunism in any form shall be dealt with appropriate action by the R.P.C. and/or office or committee head.

MILITARY

1. All members of the organization over the age of 15 shall know or be instructed in operating an automobile and truck.

2. SNCC personnel should be encouraged to register with a karate class. Cadres should achieve at least knowledge of self-defense and attack. Cadres will be tested by instructor.

3. The use of all drugs, narcotics, etc., including marijuana, is strictly forbidden to any member of the organization. The use of alcohol should also be extremely limited. Any member of the organization found in a state of intoxication will be immediately suspended from the organization.
RESOLUTIONS: TO BE ADOPTED

(1) THAT WE ADOPT AND SUPPORT THE SNCC AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM (see detached sheet).

(2) THAT WE ADOPT & INITIATE ALL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, & POLITICAL ASPECTS OF BLACK LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES.

(3) THAT WE (SNCC) SEE OURSELVES AS INITIATING ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE FUTURE; AND THAT WE (EACH CHAPTER) IMMEDIATELY EMBARK ON THE TASK OF RECRUITING A CADRE OF NO MORE THAN 15 BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

(4) THAT WE ADOPT NEW RULES & REGULATIONS LAID DOWN BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL FOR PURPOSES (RULES & REGULATIONS TO BE DISCUSSED BY MEMBERS PRESENT) OF DISCIPLINARY AND GUIDANCE.

(5) THAT WE ENERGETICALLY ADOPT & IMPLEMENT THE TWO MAJOR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION WHICH ARE THE MILITARY AND THE ECONOMIC, AND THAT STARTING IMMEDIATELY EVERY CHAPTER MUST SOLICIT AT LEAST ONE M1 GARRAND, A .38 REVOLVER, & A CROSSBOW.

(6) THAT ALL SNCC PERSONNEL SHALL BECOME A POLITICO-MILITARY CADRE, THAT IS TO SAY THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE & COMPETENT TO FUNCTION UNDER ANY POLITICAL SITUATION.

(7) THAT EACH CADRE BE TRAINED IN THE FIELD OF THE MARTIAL ARTS.

(8) THAT WE ADOPT THE CODE OF CONDUCT OF ACCEPTING IN MIND AND BODY BLACK WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT WE ACCEPT WOMEN ON AN EQUAL BASIS.

THAT WE BEGIN TO ORGANIZE AROUND THE CONSCIOUSNESS REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE.

-14-
advised that it was also brought out at these meetings that SNCC is to restructure itself in the future so that there will be seven councils within SNCC. One of these councils will be called the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC), which will be the new decision-making body within SNCC in much the same manner as the old Central Committee. Other councils to be the Revolutionary Economic Council, Armed Guerrilla Tactics Council, and the Research Council. Source advised he could not recall the identities of the other councils. This source stated that when all of the seven councils were formed, they would make up a body within SNCC to be known as the Revolutionary Action Party (RAP).

This source advised that at the present time the above restructuring is only in the formative stage and were the ideas of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.

It was also brought out at these meetings that the projected plans for SNCC in the future would be that each SNCC chapter would also have the same seven councils and, as the national body, seven to ten persons would be members of each chapter council. The chapter councils would be responsible to and guided by the corresponding council at the national headquarters.

Those in attendance were provided with SNCC handbooks with instructions to study and learn their content. They were also informed that from time to time other SNCC members from the United States would be asked to come to New York where they would be provided with the same information.

The source advised that they had been informed that these handbooks allegedly had been prepared within the past two or three months under the direction of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.
These handbooks are identified as follows:

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP) Handbook #1

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP) Handbook #2

A Guerrilla Warfare Curriculum Handbook #3

Handbook #4 entitled "Guerrilla Warfare"

A handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE"

A Xerox copy of RAP Handbook #1 is in the appendix of this report.

RAP Handbook #2 is a 19 page booklet on how to shoot both pistols and rifles.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #3, a Guerrilla Warfare Curriculum, is in the appendix of this report.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #4, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare", is in the appendix of this report.

The handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE" is a 26 page booklet on first aid.
On December 2, 1969, it was advised that in connection with the meeting held by SNCC on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, neither H. RAP BROWN nor IRVING DAVIS were present. Contacts with these leaders subsequent to this meeting revealed that both exhibited skepticism regarding the topics discussed and indicated that the organization, because of its lack of funds, was not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

VII. SNCC NEWSLETTER

On September 23, 1969, [Redacted] furnished a copy of volume one of a publication captioned "National SNCC". Informant stated SNCC hopes to publish this bimonthly, but this will depend on finances.

This first issue contained a [Redacted] number of articles as follows:

1. An article by H. RAP BROWN, in which he stated during the past year, SNCC has been trying to regroup, reorganize, study and pull itself together for the struggle that lies ahead.
2. An article on Zambia expropriating mining rights.

3. An article on AHMED EVANS, who is scheduled to be electricuted in Cleveland for murdering three policemen.

4. An article on the SNCC Program on Agrarian Reform.

5. An article on a SNCC Program to provide free medical service to people in Brooklyn, New York.

6. An article on the people of North Korea and on United States aggression in the Korean War.

7. An article on SNCC Black Women's Liberation Committee, which is to help liberate Black women from economic exploitation.

On November 13, 1969, [redacted] advised that this newsletter was mimeographed at SNCC headquarters in New York City on the SNCC mimeograph which SNCC has had for a considerable time. To date, this newsletter was printed only one time. The moving force behind it was WILLIAM HUNT, a SNCC official in New York. There was no financing necessary for this newsletter and while some copies may have been mailed, most were distributed by hand as SNCC has insufficient funds for a large mailing. This newsletter was designed to be informative, as well as to arouse interest and financing, but none of these objectives have been accomplished.
A characterization of the "Guardian" is in the appendix of this report.

Concerning this newsletter, on November 25, 1969, [redacted] advised that it is proposed that it will deal with the economic plight of oppressed people and will attempt to educate them.

On December 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that HUNT is experiencing considerable difficulty in publishing this newsletter due to mechanical failure of equipment he is using at the office of the "Guardian" in New York City.

VIII. SNCC PROGRAMS

A. Agrarian Reform Program
On December 9, 1969, [redacted] provided the following information:

He advised that MUHAMMAD HUNT is the Coordinator of the SNCC Agrarian Reform Program. He advised that SNCC is in bad financial shape but that HUNT claims that he has a person not further identified, who would put up the money for the purchase of land in Maryville, Tennessee, for the Agrarian Reform Program. HUNT has indicated that before this land is purchased, he wants to be sure that the land will fit the needs of SNCC's program.

HUNT has designated GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of SNCC at Cincinnati, Ohio, and TERRY ARDREY of SNCC at New York to make contacts in order to get professional help and counseling in the operation of this farm. These three persons have been charged with finding the manpower to come and operate the farm as well as to make contact with college students to see if they would be willing to come to the farm and do volunteer work. HUNT has indicated that he is presently working on the raising of money to buy the land as well as obtaining farm machinery.
On December 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that HUNT is still involved in the acquisition of a farm for SNCC in the vicinity of Morristown, Tennessee, which he stated would be an excellent base for SNCC affiliates to involve themselves in the mechanics of firearms familiarization. Source related HUNT is reluctant to discuss any details surrounding the acquisition of this farm site. He is the only one in the organization knowledgeable in the facts relating to the attempted acquisition of this farm; however, he has requested GEORGE and TAYLOR HUGHES of the Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Chapter to travel to Morristown, Tennessee to survey the farmland.

In early December, 1969, [redacted] advised that National SNCC had made a down payment of $2,000 on 200 acres of land located about 10 to 15 miles northeast of Morristown, Tennessee on Routes 11 E or 11 W; that HUNT himself did not know the exact location; that the purchase was in the hands of a broker, and in the name of another, name not disclosed, but that a map or details would be furnished Cincinnati SNCC whenever same became available.

Further advised that a group of SNCC leaders from Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 7, 1969, traveled to the general area northeast of Morristown, Tennessee, and received the impression that the land was old with deteriorating farms, a one crop yield, small Black population and some re-zoning to industrial use.
On December 18, 1969, [redacted] Blount County Courthouse, Maryville, Tennessee, advised that there has not been any individual or group negotiating for the purchase of land in the amount of 300 acres in the vicinity of Maryville. He stated that any such purchase would have to go through his office.

The SNCC Agrarian Program, adopted at the National Staff Conference on November 10, 1969 - November 11, 1969, as furnished November 13, 1969, by [redacted], is as follows:
The agrarian reform program is the concept of uniting working tenant farmers and sharecroppers of the South and Southwestern United States, into a co-operative system for the purpose of establishing:

1. A common means of production
2. A "socialized" use of agriculture, machinery, and livestock by pooling land purchased from indigenous sources.
3. An organized method of farmers engaged in work activity and receiving the fruits of their labor.

Thereby enabling them to deal with the problem of acquiring the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter.

In conjunction with this, the program will seek to raise the political consciousness of this segment of the Black Population, and turn them on to the road of constructive radical change.

The program will entail all aspects mentioned below:

1. Land purchases
2. Organizers and Administrators
3. Rules and Regulations
4. Political Education
5. Artificial insemination for increased production of hides, milk products, and meat.
6. Soil Cultivation and Conservation
7. House construction (to be carried out by the organizers)
8. Plant and Animal Culture
9. Equipment (tractors, ploughs, discs, combines, etc.)
10. Research teams (studying the soil, and land prices)
11. Purchase of plant and vegetables (seeds)
12. Community day care centers
13. Free medical centers
In the future, it is our hope to purchase a minimum of 200 acres of land, on which we will proceed to erect housing for the tenant farmers, and start cultivation of the acquired land immediately. To facilitate the manpower needed, we are initiating a drive on college campuses for students to go into the South to work on the Co-operatives.

SOME RULES AND REGULATIONS:

(1) All persons over the age of 15 years who live on the co-operative farm will be required to work in or around the farm in whatever manner the Tenant Farmers Directive see fit.

(2) Those persons who contribute their land or whatever resources to the co-operative farm shall be given 2/3 the value of their property whenever possible, when joining the co-operative farm.

(3) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive an equal share of all goods and services rendered by the co-operative farm.

(4) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive in-full, the nearest possible value of their labor.

(5) Those persons who work in the cities in factories and plants can become members of the co-operative farm by contributing such needed resources: machinery, plants and vegetables, and other such related items, on a regular basis or when the need arises.

(6) All persons living on the co-operative farm will be required to engage in some form of work activity.

(7) A Tenant Farmers Directive shall be immediately set-up, composed of those select persons who exhibit the greatest amount of political awareness and self-sacrifice.

(8) Once the T.F.D. has been established, SNCC will then become the administrator and advisor.

(9) A minimum of at least six (6) hours of political education per week shall be required of each person engaged in the farming Co-operative.
RESEARCH TEAMS:

We have co-ordinated a joint effort to establish a research team composed of (1) an Agricultural expert, (2) a land buying expert (or real estate agent), (3) an individual directly responsible for doing research into the holdings of all government-owned property, and (4) an expert who will assist in doing research and experiments in plant cultures. We are at present doing research on soil conservation and cultivation (the Atlanta SNCC Chapter has had some success in this area of research).

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION:

To increase and insure the continuity of the Agrarian Reform Program, we have embarked upon a complete and through examination of artificial insemination: we shall institute the artificial insemination process into the Co-operative farm because of the many benefits of this scientific process of cattle production and breeding. This process is of the utmost importance because of the many benefits gathered from it such as (1) a faster rate of cattle-birth, (2) hygiene, (3) an abundance of milk and milk by-products, (4) the hide, which can be used for leather (shoes, boots, etc.) and (5) the meat itself. Tenant Farmers shall be educated in this field.

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION:

Housing shall be built on the Co-operative farm as need and resources permit. All housing, which will accommodate Tenant Farmers, shall be built jointly by organizers and Tenant Farmers. Students and other indigenous organizers shall be instructed in the building of housing units, before doing work on the Co-operative. All housing shall be built with funds accumulated from various sources. All materials such as lumber, nails, hammers, saws, shovels, electrical wiring, tar, and other roofing materials will be solicited by the efforts of students. SNCC cadres and other indigenous sources.

Note:

(A) A downpayment will soon be made on the Agrarian Reform land.

(B) Preparations are also being made to have 25 head of cattle donated.

(C) Preparations are also underway to have chickens donated.

(D) The land will be "logged" (that is to say that the land will be cleared, and the timber sold, which would bring in some form of
B. Coffeehouse, Augusta, Georgia

On December 15, 1969, [redacted] advised that several SNCC leaders from Atlanta and New York had made a trip to Augusta, Georgia, in connection with some type of community project SNCC was considering.

On December 19, 1969, [redacted] advised that H. Rap Brown had recently commented that SNCC will open a coffeehouse similar to those presently operated by white anti-war groups. Brown remarked that Irving Davis had recently traveled to Augusta, Georgia and reportedly had located a site to establish a coffeehouse for Negro soldiers stationed at Fort Gordon, Georgia. He stated that he hoped to open this coffeehouse on January 15, 1970, and was trying to secure Julian Bond, Georgia State Legislator, and former national official of SNCC, as the opening speaker. He stated the purpose of this coffeehouse will be to foment anti-war sentiment among Black soldiers and residents of the Black community.
NY 100-147963

C. National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

NBAWADU is an SNCC directed project and is their Anti-Draft Program.

May 22, 1969

On October 9, 1969, [Redacted] advised that the leader of NBAWADU has been [Redacted]. Informant stated he has been totally inactive with respect to his efforts to reorganize NBAWADU. Informant stated this organization is not now functioning and has no office location in New York City or elsewhere.

IX. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. Republic of New Africa

[Redacted]

A characterization of RNA is in the appendix.
X. MISCELLANEOUS

On January 9, 1970, [redacted] advised that SNCC had compiled information on the installation of indoor firearms ranges and had prepared a document entitled "Reducing Noise in a Basement Range". This information was reportedly compiled by WILLIAM HUNT and as yet there has been no effort to effect distribution of this material. [redacted] advised that HUNT has made no effort nor does he have any plans for the establishment of an indoor firearms range. He reportedly obtained this information from commercial publications available in the open market, dealing with firearms and target shooting. This material is as follows:
REDUCING NOISE IN A BASEMENT RANGE:

The installation of an indoor range is very often practicable even in the average home basement. Provided a safe and variable range can be fitted into the available space, the principal difficulty with home basement ranges is the amount of noise.

A limited amount of sound absorption can be obtained with rugs and wall hangings. However, this may not be sufficient to prevent annoyance to those upstairs, and the neighbors; and in the basement such materials can hardly be used. The most efficient and effective method is to muzzle the noise at its source. The noise comes from both the gun and the bullet-stop.

Non-metallic bullet-stops for air, CO2, and .22 rimfire weapons, as detailed in the above thesis have the advantage of being quiet. Steel plate bullet-stops or bullet traps ring when they are struck. Experiments show this sound was somewhat dammed by wiring insulating board to all 4 sides of a heavy bullet-trap. Effectiveness is improved by encasing the insulation to the steel surface. It has been reported that sandbags piled closely on the trap or steel plate are also effective.

For muffling the more important noise at the gun, the most convenient arrangement is a pair of sound absorbing boards hinged to the ceiling so that when lowered, they hang close on each side of the gun muzzle. The boards must be at least 4 ft. square, and constructed of acoustical tile for this purpose, have the dealer recommend a type that has maximum sound deadening qualities. Sandbags should be held entirely within the boards. This arrangement is adequate only when a limited amount of sound reduction is sufficient.

The muffling can be improved by making up such sound absorbing boards in a large box. For small bore rifle firing, a box one foot square and 4 ft. long is adequate. This requires 4 acoustical tiles on each of the 4 sides and one on each end. A larger box is necessary for center-fire handgun shooting because for effectiveness the gun must be held with at least its barrel inside the box. With either size, the end holes of the boxes must be kept as small as practicable.
A box of this kind lowers the pitch of the report, which makes it less disagreeable. The actual noise reduction has been estimated by the user, after careful trials, as much as 50% in the case of the .22 target handguns of standard barrel length, to only 2% with .45 ACP full loads.

A large box on this system, measuring 2ft. square by 4ft. long, was tested by a technical staff with target handguns in .22 long rifle, .38 Special, and .45 ACP. A marked noise reduction was obtained, but not nearly so great as with a muffler of the type next to be described. Also the size and weight of such a box are definite disadvantages.

A highly effective muffler is shown in the photograph.

Its foundation is a 40" length of hardware cloth 36" wide. (Hardware cloth is a ½" wire mesh readily obtainable under that name at hardware stores.) Roll and fasten this material into a cylinder 36" long and about 12" diameter. Into one end make 6 cuts evenly spaced, each 8" deep. Do the same at the other end, making the cuts 6" deep.

Fold the segments inward like the ends of a fish trap, leaving a ½" and a 6" opening respectively. The overlapping cut segments should be stitched with light bell wire.

Wrap on a strip 3ft. wide by 6ft. long of fiberglass insulation 1" thick, such as Sears Roebuck "Aercos". This length will go around the cylinder almost twice. Hold the insulation in place with a layer of burlap. Then wrap on another length of the burlap, and also covering the whole cylinder with burlap, stitching it in place with bell wire. The completed muffler weighs a total of approximately 7 3/4 lbs.
In the judgment of observers stationed in an adjoining room, this muffler reduced the noise from .22, .38 Special, and .45 ACP target handguns by at least half, and also made it much less sharp and penetrating. The sound-absorbent qualities of sponge rubber have been used by lining a cardboard barrel with it. Sponge rubber taken from junked automobiles (seats), and therefore low in cost, can be used. As in a box lined with acoustical tile, the ends as well as sides of the container must be lined, and end openings kept as small as possible. All mufflers slowly accumulate unburned powder residue, in the same way that such residue accumulates on indoor range floors. In a closed muffler, the eventful ignition of this material would be disconcerting and might amount to a serious explosion. A lined box should be built with one side removable for vacuum cleaning the lining at intervals. This is also provided for in the removable lid of a lined cardboard barrel. A muffler built up by wrapping insulating material on a mesh form is not practically disposable and should simply be replaced after considerable service.
APPENDIX

1.

THE "GUARDIAN" FORMERLY KNOWN AS
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN" WEEKLY GUARDIAN
ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

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 the "National Guardian":

"1. ... 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

The February 3, 1968 issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian".

The May 10, 1969 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East 4th Street, New York, New York.

The February 12, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled, "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'." This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a Radical Movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."
APPENDIX

2.

THE "GUARDIAN" (CONT'D)

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stated that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

A characterization of the American Labor Party is attached separately.
APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

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 the American Labor Party:

"AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)

"2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc.117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

On October 7, 1956, PETER HAWLEY, New York State Chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party State Committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets.
APPENDIX

1.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

A source has advised that the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is an all-Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan, in March, 1968. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Peking, China, was named as its President-in-Exile. WILLIAMS fled the United States in 1961 following issuance of a local warrant for his arrest on a charge of kidnapping growing out of a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina. He published and broadcast hate-type material in Cuba and China prior to his return to the United States in September, 1969.

A second source has advised that the purpose of the RNA is to establish an independent black nation within the United States, demanding the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in addition to $10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

A third source advised on March 14, 1969, that an army of the RNA, known as the Black Legion, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution, has been established. Black Legion members are expected to participate in military training and engage in firearms practice. The RNA plans to establish an underground Black Legion in addition to an aboveground Black Legion in order to avoid detection by the police.

According to this source, Black Legion members acting as bodyguards at a session of the Second National Convention of the RNA in Detroit, Michigan, on March 29, 1969, were involved in a shoot-out with members of the Detroit Police Department which resulted in the killing of one policeman and the critical wounding of another.
APPENDIX

1.

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-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.
R.A.P.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY

HANDBOOK #1
If we are to organize in the urban areas (as well as rural), we must have such an organization that cannot be penetrated by the G.I.A., F.B.I., and the local police scoundrels, it is imperative that we, the SMICK vanguard organize on a 1 to 1 basis. Organizing on a 1 to 1 basis will eliminate (1) Infiltration by police scoundrel agents (2) Platoons will exist even if there is an informer or a Brother cracks under torture & interrogation. (3) No one will know more than one person.

Brothers should be constantly tested for sincerity, dedication, intelligence, and his ability to learn the Revolutionary martial arts. Training will consist of:

(1) Intelligence
(2) Weaponry (Field stripping, etc.)
(3) Demolition (under water demolition included)
(4) Karate
(5) Professional Organizing
(6) Medicine (comprehensive course in medical training)
(7) Supplies
(8) Structure
(9) Rank
(10) Subversion
(11) Method of selecting most important military targets to destroy.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY:

Techniques for Organising the Black Ristance Movement:

(1) Always organize and recruit 1 to 1. This is for your protection, as well as the network. This is to protect also the person with whom you are contacting. When you explain these rules of security to one person, make sure that you have confidence in him or her. For once you talk with him or her, he then becomes part of the network and there is no quitting once a person is in. Functions of Brothers may vary but there is no quitting once a person is in. Tell each person to talk to ten people. Operating from the basis that once you have made contact with one individual, it then becomes your responsibility to (1) Politically Educate (correctly) (2) Teach how to organize (3) Give him ideological direction and (4) Military Training. This Bro. or Sister will in-turn go out and get 1 brother or sister using the same training procedure used on him or her. The third (3rd) person contacted will not know the first (1st) person, nor will the fourth (4th) know the second (2nd) person in his or her network. At least 4 weeks of political education (basic) should be completed by the recruit before he is accepted (officially) into the network. Political Education classes should be carried out whenever and wherever possible. Minimum of 2 weeks must be completed by new recruits. After working with new recruits from 2-4 weeks the organizer must decide on whether or not the recruit will serve the revolution & the people. He (new recruit) must be given the option of deciding on working with the network or another branch of the Revolutionary Action Party. Once in the network there is no quitting. Anyone who tries to quit or desert must be put to death! Example should be made of these villainous cowards and traitors. Those accepted for the Revolutionary Action Party must be thoroughly dedicated only to the R.A.P. and should be ready to mobilize themselves whenever and wherever requested to do so. What happens, after organizing on a 10-10-10 basis, is that you then become the head of a network of at least one hundred people and it will grow larger. You are to talk to each of your ten people separately, even if they know one another. Under no circumstances are they to reveal your name to anyone, not even your code name. You are to keep in touch with those people you contact and train, but that contact must be minimal unless it is a situation where you normally see each other. It may be that some person you have confidence in, does not know ten people. This is acceptable an
he can still be counted on since there will be different functions.

(2) Never use the telephone for discussions of any political questions. Under no circumstances are RAP Brothers and Sisters to speak of revolution on the phone or in public. Never use the telephone unless it is for usual business. This is to be adhered to at all times. It is good policy to even make business calls from pay phones if they involve some of your contacts. We must minimize the use of the phone, and under no circumstances are you to discuss business on the phone. This is must. JUSTICE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN IF THE SAID IS VIOLATED AT ANY TIME.

(3) REMEMBER: telephones are mostly tapped. Telephone taps, bugging devices (houses) and infiltrators are the three ways that the authorities use to trap revolutionaries and frame them up.

(4) PLAY MUSIC OR A TELEVISION SET OR RUN WATER AT HOME OR IN HOUSRS WHEN TALKING. All discussions must be done on the outside; all information must be exchanged under cover (inside of buildings, restaurants, houses). This rule is to be applied to houses that you think are clean. It will maximize your protection. Play Music when driving cars & talking. We cannot take any chances on anything not being bugged. The man is not invincible, however we must take our time and be extra careful...

(5) Minimize contact with your people and only contact them when it is absolutely necessary. Brothers & Sisters must be contacted at least once a month to have them go on maneuvers. Contact should be made when absolutely necessary.

(6) Never reveal names. Never reveal the names of the persons who contacted you to anyone. The people you contacted must never reveal your name under any circumstances and this extend throughout the network. Keep everything secret and if anyone approaches you with the same type of information you are to listen and say you will do what you can do. It is quite possible that there may be some duplication in this type of network but under no circumstances do you reveal that you have been contacted before. Pretend ignorance and don't promise too much. At the same time you don't want to sound like a fool if someone has trust in you. Tell him or her you will do what you can do and if he is not willing to accept that, then he should be reported to your superior.

War names must be accepted. People in your respective units must know you by your war name, or code name only (If they must (all people in your unit) know your name it must be through your code name). It should be common practice to accept Irish or Jewish names—this will be done to confuse the enemy. These names should be adopted, but should not be exorbitant, for example: you should not except a name such as Harry Moskowitz or Joshua Zuckerman; names, however, such as John O'Brian, Bill Flannigan, Terry Goldman, or Billy Kupers. Names should not be accepted of those people whom you know, unless it is the name of an "uncle tom" or a reactionary. You will be known to your unit(s) or platoon only as your war name.

Identification should be duplicated or developed to support your name (in case you are picked up by authorities).... Birth certificates (phony) Licenses, credit cards, and/or anything with your picture on it.
ALL IDENTIFICATION MUST BE COVERED IN PLASTIC, TO MAKE IT LOOK LEGITIMATE. (This can be done by locating a library, or private concession shop)

(7) DEVELOP PATIENCE. (a good exercise in patience would be to go fishing for at least 6 hours at a time) Because a brother or sistor does not have vanguard conscience as you, their opinions are to be respected just the same as if they had this conscience. But, they should be told when they are incorrect. There must be discipline. This will be a long range protracted struggle and people must wait before action is often taken for the opportune time. Discipline must flow from total commitment to the objectives we are talking about, but people must understand that this is not a game and DISCIPLINE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN.

(8) BEWARE OF PROBERS AND THOSE WHO SEEK TO KNOW TOO MUCH OR KEEP ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NETWORK. One needs to know only that which he needs to know. Probers should be questioned and/or tortured if necessary to get information as to their validity. NO ONE WILL KNOW ALL!

(9) THE NETWORK MUST BE CLOISTERED. Organizing should be done on a 10-10-10 basis. It must be organized into horizontal and vertical zones. Everybody will not do the same thing and the people must not know each other and they will not know each other. Therefore, the police cannot "bust" the entire network on some trumped up charges for they will have to "bust" the entire population. You must be willing to work hard and to organize on a ten-ten-ten concept. This must be done very clandestinely.

(10) BEWARE OF THOSE PEOPLE PROPOSING MILITANT AND DRASTIC ACTIONS IN PUBLIC MEETINGS WHO SAY DANGEROUS THINGS IN FRONT OF PEOPLE THEY DO NOT KNOW. They are most likely police agitators. These people must be avoided at all costs.

(11) CHECK THE HISTORY, THE SOCIAL ORIGIN, THE CLASS BACKGROUND OF THOSE YOU TALK TO. Check his references and see if he is lying or telling the truth. This is important for the network as well as you. A dozier must be kept on all those people who are potential recruits.

(12) CHECK A PERSON'S QUALITIES AS A WORKER AND AS A MAN OR WOMAN. Observe his behavior and determine how much courage and tenacity he has or if he is a person who flees from task to task. He will be un-reliable if he cannot stick to a function. A DON JUAN IS DANGEROUS AND WILL HURT IN THE LONG RUN. A man who does not respect women is un-reliable. A drunkard is not to be touched. A pot smoker is apt to be an opportunist and un-controllable, and runs the risk of getting caught with some pot and may have some vital papers on him. Because those cats who wave a ninkle bag in your face (nickel bag of pot), there is a direct connection with the police even though he may not know it. Pot is permitted in this country only with the cooperation of the police. We are trying to build a new world and there are those things that are not needed. In this profession, a clear head must be maintained at all times. One's life must be the revolution and only the revolution.

(13) CHECK A MAN'S IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION. We do not have time to waste on those who are committed to CAPITALISM for they will sell you out! This does not mean however, that you should not make contact with housewives, workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. You should tell from experience whether they are ready to help. Their help is much needed if nothing other than financial reasons, and it will be more difficult for the government troops and assorted stooge co-conspirators to reach them. Talk to the masses, for they are more ready than some of us think.
(14) AVOID ALL PUBLIC MEETINGS WHERE THE POLICE ARE USUALLY IN FULL FORCE OBSERVING THE MILITANTS AND TAKING PICTURES. IT IS A GOOD RULE NOT TO BE IN PUBLIC UNLESS IT IS NECESSARY, YOU HAVE TO BE, AND IF YOU ARE INTO SOME HEAVY STUFF THEN YOU STAY AWAY COMPLETELY.

(15) WORK IN FRONT GROUPS. WE NEED PEOPLE IN ALL THE GROUPS OF THIS SOCIETY. ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE IN THE FOREFRONT WITH THE LIGHTS GLARING ON HIM. YOU MUST AVOID COMPLETELY THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. STAY IN THE BACKGROUND WHERE ONE WILL LAST LONGER AND DO MORE WORK FOR THE NETWORK.

(16) REMAIN CLANDESTINE. TRY TO GET PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN INVOLVED IN MILITANT GROUPS AND TRY TO GET THEM TO STAY THERE. THEIR CONTRIBUTION IS BEST SERVED BY REMAINING CLANDESTINE.

(17) AVOID LOOSE TALK IN A MEETING OR AT PARTIES. KEEP QUIET AND OBSERVE THE TALK OF OTHERS. ASK LEADING QUESTIONS TO FIND OUT WHERE PEOPLE ARE (WITHOUT EXPOSING YOURSELF). MAKE MENTAL NOTES ABOUT PEOPLE. LOOSE TALK ABOUT REVOLUTION WILL GET YOU INTO BIG TROUBLE IF THERE IS AN AGENT AROUND, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN YOU DO NOT SEEK INFORMATION FROM THOSE PRESENT.

(18) CHANGE LOCATION OF MEETINGS. NO MEETING SHALL BE HELD TWICE IN THE SAME PLACE CONSECUTIVELY. VARY YOUR SOCIAL SPOTS. DON'T BE SEEN FREQUENTLY AT THE SAME PARTIES, GATHERINGS, ETC. YOU WILL BE REQUIRED TO INFILTRATE VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. YOU CAN NOT DO THIS SUCCESSFULLY WITHOUT BEING RECOGNIZED IF YOU ARE TOO WELL KNOWN.

(19) SECRECY: CONSTANT SURVIVAL, constant mistrust, and constant mobility. Be very careful of what you tell your girl or your wife. They can sometimes form protective covers if they do not know too much. Also women must be very careful of what they tell their husbands. This is not to say that a man and his wife cannot make a team, at times they make the best teams. But, it has been proven that often people who are married or going together are not completely agreed upon the principles of revolution and there will be times when either husband or wife will have to leave to take care of other network business without the other understanding why they are leaving. This type of revolutionary discipline must be understood. The revolution is the greatest love.

(20) ALWAYS PRINT OR TYPE MESSAGES TO BE DELIVERED TO OTHER PEOPLE. MISTAKES AND MIS-INFORMATION WILL BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. ANYONE NOT ADHERING TO THESE PRINCIPLES SHALL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION COUNCIL (R.A.C.)

(21) GET A "CLEAN" TELEPHONE NUMBER, BUT NEVER GIVE OUT THE NAME OF THE PERSON TO WHOM THE TELEPHONE BELONGS. INSTRUCT THEM IN THE RULES OF SECURITY SO THEY WILL KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALLS THEY ARE RECEIVING. YOU MUST GIVE YOUR CONTACTS A CODE NAME IF THEY ARE TO CALL YOU AT A TELEPHONE NUMBER WHICH IS "CLEAN" NUMBER USING A PSYNDONYM (FAKE NAME). ALWAYS TALK WITH A HANKERCHIEF OVER YOUR MOUTH (THE PERSON TO WHOM YOU ARE CALLING MUST KNOW OF YOUR PSYNDONYM TO AVOID BEING TAKEN FOR AN AGENT). THERE ARE VOICE DETECTORS THAT CAN RECOGNIZE YOUR VOICE, HENCE, NO ONE HAS THE SAME VOICE VIBRATIONS, OR WAVES.

(22) IN BOTH THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE AND THE NEW "CLEAN" ADDRESS FOR THE MAIL, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THEY ARE NOT TO COME TO YOUR HOUSE AND GIVE YOU MESSAGES; BETTER STILL, IT IS BETTER IF THEY SEND SOMEONE WITH A MESSAGE. PEOPLE SHOULD NOT USE THE MAIL OR MAKE A CALL UNLESS IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL AND NECESSARY AND THIS MUST BE ADHERED TO AT ALL TIMES (THE ONLY EXCEPTION IS THAT THE BROADER SENDING MATERIALS THROUGH THE MAIL SHOULD GET STATIONERY (ENVELOPES) FROM OTHER CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE METHODIST CHURCH, ETC.)
(23) USE CODE NAMES. USE DIFFERENT NAMES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. TRY TO GET DUPLICATE IDENTIFICATION.

(24) MAKE ALL COLLECTIONS OF MONEY IN CASH AND SEEK OUT THOSE PEOPLE WHO WILL CONTRIBUTE FUNDS, FOR WITHOUT THEM THE NETWORK WILL NOT SURVIVE AND PEOPLE MUST BEGIN TO MAKE SACRIFICES WITH MONEY THEY EARN. THEY SHOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE 10% OF THEIR SALARIES TO THE NETWORK, FOR IT CANNOT HAVE FUND-RAISING PARTIES OR PUBLIC COLLECTIONS; EVERYTHING WILL HAVE TO BE DONE IN SECRECY.

(25) SPEAK THE REVERSE. IF YOU ARE A MAN, ASSUME A CODE NAME OF A MAN. IF YOU WANT TO MEET ON WEDNESDAY, THEN ARRANGE THAT BEFOREHAND. AND IF ONE OF YOUR CONTACTS SHOULD HAPPEN TO SEND A MESSAGE SAYING "LET'S MEET WEDNESDAY," THEN YOU KNOW THAT IT IS THURSDAY. THAT IS EXTRA PROTECTION.

(26) OBSERVE AND SEE IF FOLLOWED. THIS IS EASIER AT NIGHT WHEN THE STREETS ARE NOT SO CROWDED, BUT IT CAN BE DONE DURING THE DAY. IF YOU THINK YOU ARE BEING FOLLOWED, WALK TWO BLOCKS TO THE LEFT OR RIGHT OUT OF YOUR WAY. GLANCE BEHIND YOU TO SEE DIFFERENT PEOPLE HAVE ON (COLORS, TYPES OF CLOTHING, ETC.) WALK ONE OR MORE BLOCKS OUT OF THE WAY. REMEMBER WHAT EACH PERSON HAS ON. TAKE THOSE STREETS THAT ARE NOT TOO CROWDED. IT SHOULD BE VERY EASY TO SPOT ONE OR MORE PEOPLE YOU THINK ARE FOLLOWING YOU.

(27) POLICE INFLTRATORS MUST BE KILLED, ESPECIALLY IF THEY STAND UP IN COURT AND TESTIFY AGAINST A BROTHER OR SISTER THAT HE HAS INFILTRATED THIS OR THAT DEPARTMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY. ONE MUST BE CAREFUL ABOUT CALLING SOMEONE AN INFORMER AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD ANYONE SHAKY BE ALLOWED INTO THE NETWORK. BROTHERS & SISTERS OF THE R.A.P. SHOULD GO TO ALL TRIALS WHEN BROTHERS HAVE BEEN "BUSTED" BECAUSE OF INFILTRATORS (IN THE COURT ROOM, PAY ATTENTION TO (1) NAME OF INFORMER (2) BADGE NUMBER (3) PERSON, AND IF POSSIBLE, (4) HIS OR HER ADDRESS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOMEONE WILL TALK TO AN AGENT OR INFORMER, BUT HE WILL NOT KNOW THE EXTENT OF THE NETWORK AND IF HE PROBED TOO MUCH THEN YOU KNOW HE HAS TO BE KILLED.

(28) RECORDS SHOULD BE DIVIDED HORIZONTALLY AND VERTICALLY (METHOD OF DIVIDING THE COMMUNITY INTO ZONES) ZONES SO THAT THEY CAN BE WATCHED, AND WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDS ITSELF, THEY SHOULD BE ASSASSINATED.

(29) WE ARE TRYING TO INFILTRATE EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT AND ALL THE AGENCIES. WE WANT TO BE EVERYWHERE GATHERING INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION AND THE ENEMY WILL NEVER KNOW WHO IS WHO AS WE ARE CAREFUL AND OBSERVE THESE RULES.

(30) UNLESS YOU ARE WELL KNOWN IT IS NOT A GOOD POLICY TO GIVE OUT YOUR ADDRESS TO PEOPLE. THE FEWER PEOPLE WHO KNOW WHERE YOU LIVE THE BETTER IT IS FOR YOU. AND IF YOU ARE REALLY INVOLVED IN SOME HEAVY THINGS, THEN ONLY THE PERSON TO WHOM YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE SHOULD KNOW HOW TO CONTACT YOU.

(31) BE PATIENT WITH ALL PEOPLE. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO SOW DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE RANKS OF BLACK PEOPLE AND MAKE US ALL AFRAID OF EACH OTHER. THAT IS WHY THERE ARE PERIODIC FRAME-UPS SUCH AS THE STATUE OF LIBERTY CASE.
where the police initiated the action and then framed the militants. The BAM arrest in the summer of 1968 was designed to frighten the population. The history of Black people in this country who have been framed by the police should teach us all that everything that we do must be done in secrecy. And we will not make revolution by shouting it and identifying all the militants. This we will stop.

(32) We must get to the very young people to study the sciences, electronics and other revolutionary skills that can be useful for the long-range struggle. We must get the older people to help us in any manner they can. Most of them are more prepared to help than we realize and we must spend time with them explaining that we are fighting for a new world, free of racism, capitalism and imperialism, war, police brutality, hunger, bad housing, sickness, inadequate medical facilities. We must seek their support if only financially and places for us to hide. When we talk to them, they too are a part of the network, for we have revealed ourselves.

(33) Do not be afraid of risk. Be careful, but one must take risks. Contact those you know best first, but do not be afraid to expand your contacts. At this stage we must have mass support. And we can only get mass support by working hard each day, talking to people about the need for secret organization and showing them what it can accomplish. Do not argue in groups. Remember talk one to another. Be patient and be committed.

(34) Arm yourselves and store your weapons in secure places. The right wing and the police are well armed and we are not at this point of development.

(35) Patience, discipline, the future is ours if we learn secrecy, and more secrecy and if we organize and develop a sixth sense. The police and security agents in this country are powerful and they are trying to recruit more young Black people to help them, but they are not invincible and if we take the long view of history, we will win without a doubt.

(36) Study the revolutionary works of Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Che Guevara, Mao Tse Tung, Lenin, Marx, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, General Giap and all others concerned with revolution. Study not only African history but the history of Latin America and Asia.

(37) There will be tests imposed upon the entire network to see how efficient it is, how fast can secret communiques be issued, who is responsible, who has betrayed confidence, and who must be eliminated by whatever means necessary. We are building a new society, but secrecy and discipline and a passion for the liberation of Blacks is crucial and this means that we must have patience. Things will happen in this country but they can only happen if there is proper organization and a secret mobilization of the population. We are not interested in anyone who feels he needs to wear a uniform to mark him as a revolutionary. We are not interested in anyone who has uncontrollable ego problems. We want firm, disciplined, committed men and women, young and old who will work for the revolution so that the oppression which has marked our lives can be ended. We organize this resistance for the new day, the creation of the new man, the new society where the wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few but belongs to the people. We organize and we are ready to die for the African continent and the liberation fighters in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, all of whom suffer from the domination of the United States as we do.

(38) We are firmly aware that the United States government considers Black...
as surplus "items" in this country and is moving to exterminate us. We are also aware we must have a black resistance movement for survival. Therefore the Revolutionary Action Party has decided to launch a massive black underground, a massive resistance movement in this country. We call upon all those who are contacted to work day and night to enlarge the resistance network so that we may survive and wage revolutionary warfare in the United States. The Revolutionary Action Party is as secret as the Black Resistance Movement, but victory or death is our cry and we shall deal harshly with those who betray us, as as we intend to deal with the United States government. In other words, we will kill those who betray us and we know only organized violence will make a revolution in the United States.

LASIMA TUSHINDZE MBILASHAKA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
PATRICE LUMUMBA

A GUERRILLA WARFARE curriculum

Handbook #3
Guerrilla war has become the political phenomenon of the mid-twentieth century, like the visible wind of revolution, stirring people and fear on three continents.

In the world at large, it is destroying the last vestiges of feudalism and of traditional colonialism where they remain. Its full vigor is turned now against neo-colonialism and against what, in Marxist terminology, is called imperialism—the economic and political (and often military) domination of the weak, industrially poor nations by the rich, powerful, and technologically superior ones.

It is a confrontation, in its essence, of the world's "haves" and the world's "have-nots", of the rich nations and the poor nations. It is reshaping the world we have known, and its outcome may well decide the form and substance of the foreseeable future, not only in the present theatres of war, which are vast and shadowy out everywhere.

Nationalism, social justice, race, religion—beneath all of these symbolic and abstract "causes" that are rallying cries of the revolutions of the past two decades, one discovers a unifying principle: a common mainspring. Limitations that were formerly accepted all at once become intolerable. The hint of imminent change suggests opportunities that had not been glimpsed until now. The "will to act" is born. It is though people everywhere were saying: "Look, here is something we can do, or have, or be, simply by acting. Then what have we been waiting for? Let us act!"

The defeat of the military enemy, the overthrow of the government, are secondary tasks, in the sense that they come later. The primary effort of the guerrilla is to militarize the population, without whose consent no government can stand for a day.

The guerrilla is subversive of the existing order in that he is the disseminator of revolutionary ideas; his actions lend force to his doctrine and show the way to radical change. Yet it would be an error to consider him as a being apart from the seed bed of revolution. He himself is created by the political climate in which revolution becomes possible, and is himself as much an expression as he is a catalyst of the popular will toward such change.

One view on guerrilla warfare is the "Conspiracy Theory": The view that revolution is the (usually deformed) offspring of a process of artificial insemination, and that the guerrilla nucleus (the fertilizing agent, so to speak) is made up of outsiders, conspirators, political zombies—in other words, actual or spiritual aliens who somehow stand separate from their social environment, while manipulating it to obscure and sinister ends.

Another view is the "Methods Fallacy": held, at least until very recently, by most American military men: the old-fashioned notion that guerrilla warfare is largely a matter of tactics and techniques, to be adopted by almost anyone who may have need of them, in almost any irregular warfare situation.

The first view is both naive and cynical. It lacks confidence in popular decisions; it tacitly assumes that people in the mass are simpltons, too ignorant, unsophisticated, and passive to think for themselves or to have either the will or the capacity to wage a revolutionary war. Ergo, the revolution which in fact exists must be due to the machinations of interlopers. The guerrillas must be the dupes or the clowns, agents of an alien power or, at least, of an alien political philosophy.

On the more naive level, it seems to be assumed that people would scarcely choose the revolutionary path of their own accord; certainly not if the revolution in question were out of joint with the political traditions and ideals held dear by Americans. To quote former Pres. Eisenhower in this connection, relative to the war in South Vietnam:

"We must inform these people (Vietnamese) of what is happening and how important it is to them to get on our side. Then they will
Most American foreign policymakers and experts of the new politico-military science of counterinsurgency (the theory and practice of counter revolution) appear more cynical than General Eisenhower. It is manifest in their pronouncements that all modern revolutions are, or are likely to become, struggles between two world "systems," the Communist on one side, the Americans and their allies on the other, with the people most directly involved merely pawns, to be manipulated by one side or the other.

Since it is the United States that is, more often than not in this era, the interloper in almost any revolutionary situation that comes to mind (Viet Nam, Cuba, Iran, Guatemala, Brazil, Congo, Venezuela, to name four), it is not surprising that the Cold War's psychology should lead us to look for our Russian or Chinese counterpart in the given area of contention, and, finding him, to think of him as a major role in the conflict. Yet when Batista finally fled the country on the last day of the year, virtually the entire population of Cuba claimed participation in the victory. Far from being isolated or indifferent, all had been rebels, it seemed.

With respect to the question of popular support of the Viet Cong in South Viet Nam, Hilsman himself admits "...the vast majority of the Viet cong are recruited in the South; their food and clothing are procured in the South, and they collect taxes in the South to import other supplies through Cambodia."

On this same question, Walter Lippmann wrote in the N.Y. Herald Tribune in April, 1964: "The truth, which is being obscured for the American people, is that the Saigon Government has the allegiance of probably no more than 30% of the people and controls (even in daylight) not much more than a quarter of the (national) territory."

It should be fairly obvious that when a Vietnamese army of 400,000 men, supported by two divisions of American "advisors," an immense armada of fighter planes, jet bombers, and helicopters, and financial infusions on the order of close to 5 million dollars a day cannot control an insurgency, something more than "teenage" terrorism is involved. The error that the Viet Cong insurgency is the work of a fanatical minority directed from outside the country nevertheless persists, fostered by Washington for reasons which will be examined in subsequent chapters.
strike. His opponent must wait, and while waiting, he must be on guard everywhere.

Both before and after the war has begun, the government army is in a defensive position, by reason of its role as policeman, which is to say, as the guardian of public and private property. The military has extensive holdings to protect: cities, towns, villages, agricultural lands, communications, commerce, and usually some sort of industrial base to defend. There is also the purely military investment to consider: garrisons, outposts, supply lines, convoys, airfields, the troops themselves and their valuable weapons, which it will be the first tactical objective of the guerrillas to capture, so as to arm more guerrillas. Finally, there is a political system, already under severe strain if the point of open insurrection has been reached, to be preserved and strengthened. In all of these areas, the incumbent regime and its military arm present highly vulnerable targets to an enemy who is himself as elusive and insubstantial as the wind.

For, while the army suffers from an embarrassment of wealth, and especially of expensive military hardware for which there is no employment, the guerrilla has the freedom of his poverty. He owns nothing but his rifle and the shirt on his back, has nothing to defend but his existence. He holds no territory, has no expensive and cumbersome military establishment to maintain, no tanks to risk in battle, no garrisons subject to siege, no transport vulnerable to air attack nor aircraft of his own to be shot down, no massed divisions to be bombarded, no motor columns to be ambushed, no bases or depots that he cannot abandon within the hour.

He can afford to run when he cannot stand and fight with good assurance of winning, and to disperse and hide when it is not safe to move. In the extremity, he can always sink back into the peaceful population - that sea, to use Mao Tse-tung's well-worn metaphor, in which the guerrilla swims like a fish.

The population, as should be clear by now, is the key to the entire struggle. Indeed, although Western analysts seem to dislike entertaining this idea, it is the...
The government soldier can (for if the regime were not alienated from the people, hence the revolution?) fight with the support of the noncombatant civilian populace: he is his camouflage, his quartermaster, his recruiting office, his communications network, and his efficient, all-seeing intelligence service.

Without the consent and active aid of the people, the guerrilla would be merely a bandit, and could not long survive. If, on the other hand, the counter-insurgent could claim some support, the guerrilla would not exist, because there would be no war, no evolution. The cause would have evaporated, the popular impulse toward radical change - cause or no cause - would be dead.

Here we come to the vital question of aims, on which the strategy and tactics of both sides are necessarily based. The guerrilla fighter is primarily a propagandist, an agitator, a disseminator of the revolutionary idea, who used the struggle itself - the actual physical conflict - as an instrument of agitation. His primary goal is to raise the level of revolutionary expectation, and then of popular participation, to the crisis point, at which the revolution becomes general throughout the country and the people in their masses carry out the final task - the destruction of the existing order and (often not always) of the army that defends it.

By contrast, the purpose of the counter-revolutionary is negative and defensive. It is to restore order, to protect property, to preserve existing forms and interests by force of arms, where persuasion has already failed. His means may be political: insofar as they involve the use of still more persuasion, the promise of social and economic reforms, bribes of a more localized sort, counter propaganda of various kinds. But primarily the counterinsurgent's task must be to destroy the revolution by destroying its promise - that means, by proving, militarily, that it cannot and will not succeed.

To do so will require the total defeat of the revolutionary vanguard and its piecemeal destruction wherever it exists. The alternatives will be to abdicate the military effort in favor of a political solution - for example, negotiation, etc. Or words, compromise or complete surrender.

That military victory against true guerrillas is possible, seems doubtful on the basis of modern experience, barring the use of methods approaching genocide, as applied notably by the Germans in certain occupied countries during World War II.

The counterinsurgent cannot win by imitating the insurgent, because he is the alien in the revolutionary situation, and because his tasks are precisely the opposite of those of the guerrilla, where symmetry exists at all. The guerrilla's mere survival is a political victory; it encourages and raises the popular opposition to the incumbent regime. This he can afford to run and to hide. The counterinsurgent gains nothing by running and hiding. He surrenders everything. The guerrilla can disguise himself as - in fact, he can be - a peaceful agrarian worker, and still spread his revolutionary message. In a similar role, the counterinsurgent would be merely a police spy, and would accomplish little, spread no message. The guerrilla can hit and run. Every successful raid gives him more arms and ammunition, and more favorable publicity. The counterinsurgent can gain nothing by such Red Indian tactics - even if similar targets were available to him and they are not. His military campaign must be sweeping, continuous and cumulative in its effects. Either he clears the country of guerrillas, or he does not. If he does not, he continues to lose.

The distinction made here between guerrilla war as a politico-military technique and mere guerrilla-ism (banditry on the one hand or the application of irregular warfare techniques by regular military organizations on the other) is by no means as arbitrary as it may at first appear.

Popular insurrections have occurred throughout history. They have usually failed, or in any case have produced only limited victory, because the techniques they can exploit today were then irrelevant to the historical situation. This is simply another way of saying that, until now, the popular majorities, the laboring, unspecial-
were able to exert very little political or economic leverage.

The serfs of the medieval period, for example, were unable to resist the feudal military power not merely because they lacked arms and skills, political consciousness, and cohesion, but because they had no other means to affect the political and economic processes of their world.

Economically, they were manageable because they lived too close to the level of bare existence to be otherwise. They could not even think of withholding their labor — their only economic lever. Isolated by their brutish conditions and their ignorance, they lived below the level of politics. If they starved, or rebelled, and were slaughtered, there was no one to care, no economically or politically potent class to whom it would make the slightest difference.

Subsequent revolutions, from the Renaissance to the Russian revolution and not excluding Mexico, 1910-1917, have been bourgeois in character, or have quickly been converted into bourgeois movements, after an initially populist period. "Liberté, égalité, fraternité" applied only to the great and petite bourgeoisie of France, after a brief Jacobin interval (significantly, all bourgeois historians loathe and fear the proletarianism of the Terror), because, in the end, only the bourgeoisie had the leverage and the tools of production to assume leadership in a confrontation with the landowning feudal aristocracy. Although there was now some class mobility and a greater need of democratic slogans, the landless, unspecialized masses remained submerged. They could remain idle and starve — all the better. It reduced begging and banditry. Isolated, they could be slaughtered and no one would care.

History brings us to a pass in which (for a variety of reasons but principally because of the complexity of the productive processes, the fragmentation, specialization, and interlocking nature of the industrial society and the importance of disciplined labor and huge consumer markets, relative to the profit system) the laboring masses assume political potency. Their new role in the industrial society as producer, as distributor, as con

The modern industrial society cannot function, and its government cannot govern, except with popular participation and by popular consent. What is true of the industrial states is also true, with minor qualification, of the non-industrial states and colonies on which the former depend for the raw materials of their industry, and, often, for their export markets.

For the best of economic reasons, modern governments must seem to be popular. They must make great concessions to popular notions of what is democratic and just, or be replaced by regimes that will do so. The governments of the dominant industrial states themselves, even more than those they dominate, are strapped politically by this factor of the domestic "image".

This fact makes such governments extremely vulnerable to a sort of war — guerrilla war with its psychological and economic weapons — that their predecessors could have ignored, had such a war been possible at all in the past.

They are vulnerable because they must, at all cost, keep the economy functioning and showing a profit or providing the materials and markets on which another, dominant economy depends. Again, they are vulnerable because they must maintain the appearance of normalcy; they can be embarrassed out of office. And they are triply vulnerable because they cannot be as ruthless as the situation demands. They cannot openly crush the opposition that embarrasses and harasses them. They must be woeaser as well as doers. These are modern weaknesses. They invite a distinctly modern development to exploit them, and that development is modern guerrilla warfare. The weaknesses peculiar to the modern, bourgeois democratic, capitalist state make popular war possible, and give it its distinctive forms, which clearly cannot be imitated, except in the most superficial way, by the armies of the state itself.
Fundamentally, the guerrilla's tactics and choice of the counter-insurgent differ because their roles differ. They are dissimilar forces, fighting dissimilar wars, for disparate objectives. The counter insurgent seeks a military solution: to wipe out the guerrillas. He is hampered by a political and economic environment: he cannot wipe out the populace, or any significant sector of it. The guerrilla, for his part, wishes to wear down his military opponent and will employ suitable tactics to that end, but his primary objective is political. It is to feed and fan the fires of revolution by his struggle, to raise the entire population against the regime, to discredit it, isolate it, wreck its credit, undermine its economy, over extend its resources, and cause its disintegration.

Essentially, then, the guerrilla fighter's war is political and social, his means are at least as political as they are military, his purpose is almost entirely so. Thus we may paraphrase Clausewitz: Guerrilla war is the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. At a certain point in its development it becomes revolution itself.

Guerrilla = Revolutionary war: the extension of politics by means of armed conflict.

II. THE EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION

The policy of hitting the enemy when he is weak, evading him when he is strong, taking the offensive when he falls back, circling around when he advances - all of this is only common sense. There is no great novelty in it.

What IS new, is the application of guerrilla activity in a conscious and deliberate way to specific political objectives, without immediate reference to the outcome of actions as such, provided only that the revolutionary survive.

The explanation seems to baffles conventional military men, yet it is simple enough: guerrillas who know their trade and have popular support cannot be eliminated by the arms available to most governments. And on the other hand, few governments can stand the political, psychological, and economic stresses of guerrilla war, no matter how strong militarily.

In Lenin's view, a war is the same as political and social, his means are at least as political as they are military, his purpose is almost entirely so. Thus we may paraphrase Clausewitz: Guerrilla war is the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. At a certain point in its development it becomes revolution itself.

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An army deals from strength, seeking out the enemy's weaknesses in order to destroy him. The guerrilla is sometimes said to deal from weakness, but this is an absurdity. In fact, he exploits his own kind of strength, which lies in the extreme mobility of lightly armed forces without territorial or hardware investments, a bottomless well of manpower from which to recruit, and the fact that time which is both money and political capital, works in his favor.

Analogically, the guerrilla fights the war of the flea, and his military enemy suffers the dog's disadvantages: too much to defend; too small, ubiquitous, and agile an enemy to come to grips with. If the war continues long enough, the dog succumbs to exhaustion and madness without ever having found anything on which to close his jaws and to rale with his paws.

But in practice, the dog does not die of menia. He merely becomes too weakened - in military terms, overextended; in political terms, too unpopular; in economic terms, too expensive - to defend himself. At this point the flea, having multiplied to a veritable plague of fleas through long series of small victories, each drawing its drop of blood, each claiming the reward of a few more captured weapons to arm yet a few more partisans, concentrates his forces for a decisive series of powerful blows.

Time works for the guerrilla both in the field - where it costs the enemy a daily fortune to pursue him - and in the politico-economic arena.

Almost all modern governments are highly conscious of what journalism calls "world opinion." For sound reasons, mostly of an economic nature, they cannot afford to be condemned in the United Nations, they do not like to be visited by Human Rights Commissions or Freedom of the Press Committees; their need of foreign investment, foreign loans, foreign markets, satisfactory trade relationships, and so on, requires that they be members in more or less good standing of a larger community of interests. Often, too, they are members of military alliances. Consequently, they must maintain some appearance of stability in order to assure the other members of the community that contracts will continue to be honored, that treaties will be upheld, that loans will be repaid with interest, that investments will continue to produce profits and be safe.

Protracted internal war threatens all of this, for no capitalist investor will wish to put his money where it is not safe and certain to produce a profit, no bank lends without guarantees, no any wishes to treat with a government that is on the point of eviction.

It follows that it must be the business of the guerrilla, and of his clandestine political organization in the cities, to destroy the stable image of the government, and so to deny it credits, to dry up its sources of revenue, and to create dissension within the frightened owning classes, within the government bureaucracy (whose payrolls will be pinched), and within the military itself.

"The outbreak of the insurgency is the first step - it is a guided blow that inflicts severe damage on the prestige of the regime. The survival of the guerrilla force over a period of time, demonstrating the impotence of the army, continues the process. As the guerrilla's support widens, and this will come automatically as the weakness of the government is revealed - political trouble is sure to follow, in the form of petitions, demonstrations, strikes. These in their turn will be followed by more serious developments - sabotage, terror, spreading insurrection.

In such circumstances, it will be a remarkable government that will not be driven to stern measures - curfews, the suspension of civil liberties, a ban on popular assembly, illegal acts that can only deepen the popular opposition, creating a vicious circle of rebellion and repression until the economy is undermined, the social fabric torn beyond redemption, and the regime tottering on the verge of collapse.

This by no means indicate that the evolution of Guerrilla Warfare will follow the exact mentioned pattern.
In the end, it will be clear whether the government falls before the military is destroyed in the field, or whether the destruction of the military brings about the final deposition of the political regime. The two processes are complementary. Social and political dissolution bleeds the military, and the protracted and futile campaign in the field contributes to the process of social and political dissolution, creating the "climate of collapse."

This is the grand strategic objective of the guerrilla: to create the "climate of collapse." It may be taken as the key to everything he does.

Insurrection is a phenomenon, a revolution a process, which cannot begin until the historical stage has been set for it. Since guerrilla war is, in our definition, a revolutionary process, it can only come out of a revolutionary situation. For this reason, one should agree with Che Guevara when he writes in "Guerrilla Warfare":

"Naturally, it is not to be thought that all conditions for revolution are going to be created through the impulse given to them by guerrilla activity. It must always be kept in mind that there is a necessary minimum without which the establishment and consolidation of the first center (of rebellion) is not practicable. People must see clearly the futility of maintaining a fight for social goals within the framework of civil debate. When the forces of oppression come to maintain themselves in power against established law, peace is considered already broken.

"In these conditions, popular dissonce manifests itself in more active forms. An attitude of resistance crystallizes in an outbreak of fighting, provoked initially by the conduct of the authorities.

Where a government has come into power through some form of popular vote, fraudulent or not, and maintains at least an appearance of constitutional legality, the guerrilla outbreak cannot be promoted, since the possibilities of peaceful struggle have not yet been exhausted."

We have defined guerrilla war as the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. It follows that the extension cannot logically come without acceptable peaceful solutions - appeals, legislative and judicial action, and the resources of the ballot box have been proved worthless. Here it otherwise, there would be no hope of enlisting the popular support essential to revolution ary activity. If people are to accept the risks and responsibilities of organized violence, they must believe first that there is no alternative, second, that the cause is compelling; third, that they have reasonable expectation of success. The last named is perhaps the most powerful of motives.

Where the cause appears just, the situation is intolerable, and oppression past all appeal, the way to action is clear. Even then, however, much groundwork must be done before a guerrilla campaign will become feasible.

The experiences of Algeria, Cuba, and other successful revolutions indicate that, in most circumstances, guerrillas require the active support of a political organization outside of their own ranks but dedicated to their cause, an urban arm of the revolutionary movement, that can provide assistance by means both legal and illicit, from placing bombs to defending accused revolutionaries in the courts of law (provided that these still exist). Hence the creation of the R.A.P.

Isolation, military and political, is the great enemy of guerrilla movements. It is the task of the urban organization to prevent this isolation, to provide diversions and provocations when needed, to maintain contact, to keep the world aware of a revolution in progress even when there is no progress to report.

Usually the revolutionary political organization will have two branches: one subterranean and illegal, the other visible and quasi-legitimate. On the one hand, there will be the activists - saboteurs, arms runners, fabricators of explosive devices, operators of clandestine press, distributors of political pamphlets, and couriers to carry messages from one guerrilla sector to another, using the towns as communications centers.
The government is not concerned about the loss of a few policemen, or even an arsenal, but it is terrified of the attendant publicity, which casts doubts on its stability and thus on the future of the economy. Besides, who knows what other insurrections may not be brewing?

Reassuring statements are issued, provincial garrisons are quietly reinforced. An expedition is sent, with as little fanfare as possible, to extirpate the bandits, root and branch.

Now is the crucial time for the revolution. If the insurrection has been well timed, the terrain well chosen, and the guerrilla leaders competent and determined, the military effort will fail. The experience of scores of guerrilla campaigns in the era since World War II—indeed, of the Peninsular War in Spain (1804-14)—shows that it is virtually impossible to stamp out guerrillas in rural areas where they have room to maneuver and to hide, assuming that they have also the support of the rural population. Conceivably it may be accomplished by exterminating the rural population itself, but such draconian methods failed even the Nazis in eastern Europe, and not for scruples or lack of determination on their part.

This is not to say that guerrillas can win battles. In the early stage of the insurgency they will have NO BUSINESS TO SEEK BATTLES AND EVERY REASON TO SHUN THEM. Rather, the rebel strategy will be:

(1) To attack only when assured of success by the overwhelming superiority of firepower, position, and the element of surprise, and only in pursuit of limited objectives, such as the capture of arms, or to create a diversion from some other action, or to avoid encirclement;

(2) To use the campaign as an educational tool and a propaganda weapon by disclosing the impotence of the enemy, showing that he can be defied with impunity; to proselytize among the rural population by identifying with its grievances and aspirations and by putting the burden and the blame of blood-
In the beginning, only small actions in isolated sectors will be possible. Later, as the guerrillas grow stronger, they will divide their forces, to take their revolutionary message into new areas, and to harass the army on a broader scale, forcing it to extend its lines so that its defenses are weakened, and small units can be reduced, one at a time.

Throughout the campaign to the final stage, the rebel strategy will be to avoid a military decision, until an equalization of forces has been reached, and the government army can be confronted on the battlefield with clear assurance of success.

At the onset, defiance will be enough. The existence of insurgency will in itself serve to discredit the government and so to advance the rebel cause. The difficulty will be to continue to make political capital of an uprising that can consist, initially, of only small actions. Just as the regime depends for its life on an appearance of stability and progress, so does the rebel leader depend on assertion as the means of asserting his insubordination and winning mass support.

If their clandestine organization in the towns is up to it, there will now be incidents of industrial sabotage, communications sabotage to heighten the crisis. If there are atrocities in the way of reprisal on the part of the authorities, they must be well publicized. If there are martyrs, there must be big funerals, rosettes led by the mothers of the slain, outcries of popular indignation. Ideally, there will be a general strike. With it will come further repression, a curfew, beatings, arrests, creating further alienation of the populace from the regime, perhaps creating new martyrs, new incidents.

As it becomes clear that the government can no longer maintain order and cannot suppress the insurrection, the revolutionary tide begins to rise and swell. Students join the ranks of the underground. The working class and liberal middleclass elements of the towns - housewives, white-collar workers, the "out" political factions, the economic nationalists, idealists of one sort or another, and the disaffected of all classes join the movement.

As it grows, it becomes capable of action over wider territory; even more important, it becomes capable of establishing guerrilla bases in areas which the military can no longer control. With the establishment of such bases come into being a rebel government and a guerrilla economy, capable of supporting the guerrilla fighters independently of raids and smuggled supplies from the towns.

In a later phase, the base areas are expanded and, continual pressure being maintained against the government forces on their perimeters, until the guerrillas hold or operate freely in most of the rural territory of entire regions, confining the army, except for excursions which will grow shorter and more dangerous as time passes, to their fortified strong points in the towns.

At this point, the conflict begins to resemble a civil war between territorial entities of the same nation, each with its separate economy and government. There will, however, be significant differences:

(1) The territory of the guerrillas will be rural and its economy agricultural and primitive, while the economy of the enemy will be industrial - continuing to present targets for sabotage - and his territory increasingly restricted to urban areas;

(2) The legitimate government will continue to suffer all the pangs and pressures, political, diplomatic, economic, of a regime confronted by open insurgency which it cannot suppress, while the rebels will only gain prestige and popular appeal by their successful insurgency.

We have discussed characteristic developments in a revolutionary situation, from the start of an insurgency to the point at which a relative balance of forces is reached. The
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All follow — military or political. We believe that the decision will be political.

The Cuban revolution provides an excellent example of the process that we have been discussing in hypothesis. The stage had been set much as described above.

In December of 1956, Fidel Castro and 81 armed followers disembarked from a leaking motor cruiser on the lonely shore of Cuba's westernmost province of Oriente, arriving on Mexico. In the month that followed, the force was reduced to a round dozen, most of them dead or captured in a military ambush before they could make their way into the mountains.

THE CUBAN EXAMPLE

Fidel Castro's military activities during the next 6 months were minuscule. They consisted of small raids on isolated army posts (yet the first six months were uneventful, with no significant engagements). Castro's forces included guerrillas, who used the Sierra Maestra mountain range as a base of operations. In April of 1957, Castro had only 100 followers. Half of these had arrived only 2 weeks before from Santiago, the provincial capital, where they had formed a bulk of his urban underground.

The biggest single action of the "fidelista" period was an attack, May 28, 1957, on the small military outpost of Uvero, manned by about 70 soldiers. Rebel losses came to 8 dead; military losses were put at 30. No other actions in the first year were of similar scale, or smaller, and at no time did the entire insurrectionary period involve more than a few hundred men on either side. In almost all cases of unprovoked attack, where there was no prior knowledge by the Batista military, the rebel purpose was to capture weapons with which to arm the guerrillas.

EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA VICTORIES

The scale of the action was miniature, yet propaganda victories came early and were international in their scope. One followed the other. The reports of the N.Y. Times correspondent Herbert Matthews made Fidel Castro's name a household word in the U.S.; subsequent publicity carried it around the world.

The effect, on the political and economic

embargo ag: government of Fulgencio Batista, to discontinue investment and restrict credits to such an extent as to put a severe strain on the regime, and to cause, gradually, a failure of nerve within the administration that spread to the military and made it practically impotent long before most of the troops had ever heard a rifle shot.

The Batista regime was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient. When it fell, it appeared, superficially, to have fallen of its own weight and weakness. Foreign journalists covering the story could not quite believe that Castro's handful of bearded riflemen had had much to do with it, except on the propaganda level.

At first, Batista had been disdainful of what appeared to be a small band of political adventurers, almost completely isolated in the remote Sierra Maestra. After the first fitful attempts to flush the guerrillas out of the mountains, he was inclined to dismiss the danger, and to cede to Castro by default a territory so remote, inaccessible, thinly populated and uneconomic as to be scarcely worth bothering about. Bandits had existed in the Sierra before; they had attracted little attention and had done no great harm. Doubtless Batista reasoned that the publicity would soon die away and that in due time the adventurers would be starved out of their sanctuary, or grow weary of a fruitless campaign and give it up.

Later he was to feel that he had grossly underestimated the threat, and to see rebels everywhere — even when there were none. With a secure mountain base, Castro was able to recruit a strong irregular force, and to make what he had seen many times stronger than it actually was. Fast-moving guerrilla patrols, sometimes of only half a dozen men, managed to be everywhere at once. No army patrol was quite safe in the mountains; no outpost, sugar plantation, or village was safe in the foothills or within striking distance of them.

When Castro grandiosely announced a "total war" in March of 1958 and warned of "columns" moving quickly north, east and west toward key objectives in all parts of the island, the army reacted as to an invasion. It had no way of knowing that the "columns" consis-
The next step, important in winning a following politically and recruiting militarily, was to promulgate an agrarian reform law that conferred title on hundreds of small tenants, sharecroppers, and squatters, who were told that they now owned the land they tilled.

SECOND FRONT - FRANK PAIS

Similar tactics were followed in the more densely populated, rich coffee-growing upland of the so-called "Segundo Frente, Frank Pais", opened by Raúl Castro. A code of law was imposed, taxes were collected, and certain benefits - schools, hospitals - were conferred in return. Supplies were scrupulously paid for - in cash. The villagers were treated as they would have been treated by any ordinary government - except that political indoctrination was more intense and more was demanded of them, in the way of identification with the revolution and adherence to its goals.

The few rural guard posts in the area were quickly eliminated. Since they consisted of no more than a few men at each post, they presented no obstacle for even so small an "army" as that of Raúl Castro, with 65 men, all of whom could be concentrated on a single objective at a time.

Army columns sent into the area were ambushed as they entered, and then after brief resistance, allowed to pass. As they returned, they were likely to be ambushed again at other points - and again permitted to pass.

If pursued, the guerrillas simply withdrew into the wooded hills, dispersed, and regrouped elsewhere. When the zone was clear, they returned to the villages. After a few weeks of this futile exercise, the army ceased to send patrols, and contented itself with strengthening the garrisons in the towns on the outskirts of the free territory. But as the rebel force grew from internal recruitment and its economy prospered, these garrisons, too, became unsafe, and had to be reduced in number for reasons of security.

In terms of both expense and of military manpower, it became simply uneconomical for the government to attempt to hold dozens of tiny villages and farms and to police an area several thousand sq. miles in extent; and so
The rebels had built a strong force and a viable economy in secure rear-base areas. In northern Oriente, they had control of the entire national coffee crop, worth some $60 million; since the government had to have it and could not get it in any other way, it was allowed to come to market, and was duly taxed by the guerrillas.

Other farm produce was also marketed. In addition to the revenue it brought, it provided the guerrillas, in exchange, with supplies which they were unable to obtain within the liberated territory. The government needed the crops for the sake of its own economy; it was also in the position of having to maintain an appearance of normality, a pretense of business-as-usual (venality also played a part), and for these reasons tolerated a commerce that nourished the rebellion.

Guerrilla action continued, slow, sporadic and small-scale, often serving merely as a distraction while the rebel build-up within the free zones continued, yet always having definite objectives: the gradual extension of the territorio libre, the capture of arms, the training of new recruits.

A similar process had been going on in the middle of the island, in the mountains of the Escambray in Las Villas Province, on a smaller scale. In the late summer of 1956, 2 columns from the Sierra Maestra, having taken part in the defeat and capture of a regiment-sized expedition sent into the mountains in June, left the Sierra to join the rebels in the Escambray, arriving in early September.

The campaign gradually intensified on both fronts. Guerrilla patrols began to interdict the main roads and the national highway, railroad bridges were destroyed, traffic in the country was brought to a virtual standstill; except for the movement of large military convoys; then these, too, began to come under fire.
guerrilla. Going a war of attrition, slowly nibbling away the rural areas, gradually expanding the free territories and building a military force with captured arms while strangling the army in its barracks, whose action was decisive.

Virtually all of the weapons to arm some 1500 men, save a few hundred small arms smuggled in from the United States, were captured from Batista’s troops, a few dozen at the most. The fall of the Oriente capital of Santiago put tanks and artillery into the hands of the rebels. Further surrenders in Las Villas gave them the means to confront any remaining army regiments that might have been disposed to fight.

But by that time, Batista had already fled, a general strike had put Havana in insurgent hands, the principal garrison at Camp Columbia, outside the capital, had surrendered without firing a shot, the army had rebelled, and the war was over.

SECTION 4: REVOLUTIONARY PROTRACTED WAR: A NECESSITY AND AN ADVANTAGE TO THE GUERRILLA

Revolutionary wars are generally, of necessity, wars of long duration. The seed of revolution are slow to germinate; the roots and tendrils spread out silently and ground long before there is any sign of sprout or bud. Then suddenly one day, like new wheat springing up in a cultivated field, there is a blaze of color, an overnight growth: the rebels are there and everywhere.

It is customary to speak of guerrilla wars as wars of attrition.** The phrase is not perfectly accurate. Guerrilla warfare is not so much abrasive as subversive. It is a growth that penetrates the crevices of a rotting structure and one day bursts it asunder.

Yet attrition does, after all, play a great part. In the political sphere, the government is subjected to a constant, wearing pressure that comes from the great expense and anxiety of the anti-guerrilla.

**Attrition: the gradual act of wearing something down by friction (as resources).
campaign and from the cri
cit of the
opposition, the banks, the business community: "When will it all end? What are you doing
about it?"

Economic attrition has already been dis-
cussed. Sabotage is one aspect of it. The
loss of credit and investment suffered by
a country engaged in civil war is the other,
far more important aspect. No small nation,
and few great ones, can stand the depriva-
tion indefinitely. Yet the astounding fact
is that the guerrillas, for their part, can
carry on indefinitely.

Having no vested interest, no political
opposition within their own ranks, no eco-
nomic problems other than those that can be
solved by extending the war and capturing
what they need, the insurgents have nothing
to lose and everything to gain by continuing
the struggle. And, on the other hand, they
have nothing to gain and everything to lose
by giving up. In fact, once the banner of
rebellion has been raised and blood has been
shed, it is no easy matter to give up. The
rebels begin to fight for whatever reason: they continue because they must.

They fight, then, in order to survive.
Given their inferiority of resources, they
can survive only by avoiding direct confron-
tation with a superior enemy; that is, battle
on the enemy's terms. Guerrilla strategy is
dictated from the start by this considera-
tion. The result - if the guerrillas are to
be successful and to avoid extermination - is
a protracted war. The conflict must con-
tinue until the movement has recruited and
trained enough men, and come into possession
of enough arms, to build a revolutionary army
capable of defeating the regular army in
open battle.

Failing this, it must continue until poli-
tical developments resulting from the cam-
paign have brought about the desired end: the
rising of the masses of the people and the
overthrow or abdication of the discredited
government.

In Cuba, the Batista regime collapsed be-
fore the military confrontation had fully
developed. The army, lacking leadership, its
general staff gone, found no reason to con-
tinue the struggle, and surrendered. A gen-
eral strike in Havana - in other words, a

rising of the people - was sufficient to ex-
plain it to the military that there would
no further purpose in fighting. Batista fled
and his designated heirs could not be
forced on the rebellious country. Nothing
but a revolutionary government would be ac-
cepted.

Cuba is a prototype. It is typical of
the-dependent, semi-colonial countries in
which revolution can be attained without the
bloody necessity of full-scale war. In such
countries, it will be sufficient, barring
intervention by the dominating colonial pow-
er to create by guerrilla warfare the condi-
tions in which a discredited government (dis-
credited because it can no longer keep order
and assure a profit to the country's capit-
als) fails from lack of support, and the
revolutionaries rush in to fill the politi-
cal vacuum.

Popular revolutionary forces can defeat
regular armies. This is the fundamental les-
son of China. Popular forces, to put the
matter more precisely, can BECOME armies,
making the transition from guerrilla activ-
ity to mobile warfare, that will be superior
on their own ground to regular troops equi-
pered with all of the heavy weapons produced
by modern industry.

How can a nation that is not industrial-
ized defeat - that is, The answer, which
applies to ...ANYWHERE, as against
the mechanized army, is guerrilla warfare.

Where the industrial nations stressed such
intangible military factors as arms, logistic,
and manpower, Mao looked to the INTangibles:
time, space, and will. Lacking the arms with
which to confront well-equipped armies in
the field, Mao avoided battle by surrenderin
territory. In so doing, he traded space for
time, and used the time to produce WILL: the
psychological capacity of the Chinese people
to resist defeat.

This is the essence of guerrillas warfare.
The basic premise of Mao's theory is that
political mobilization may be substituted
for industrial mobilization with a success-
ful military outcome. That is to say, his
fundamental belief is that only those who
will admit defeat can be defeated. So if the
57 mortality of a population can be made to re-
sist surrender, this resistance can be turn-
into a war of attrition will eventually and inevitably be victorious.

So Mao's real military problem was not that of getting the war over with, the question to which Western military thinkers have directed the greater part of their attention, but that of keeping it going.

Mao's problem, then: how to avoid a military decision. His answer: hit and run, fight and live to fight another day, give way before the determined advance of the enemy, and, like the sea, close in again as the enemy passes. The formula, "space" for "time", is well conceived. Mao makes it clear that nothing is gained unless the time is used to produce political results, by raising the revolutionary consciousness, the "will" of the masses:

"When the Red Army fights, it fights not merely for the sake of fighting, but to agitate the masses, to organize them, and to help them establish revolutionary political power; apart from such objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army the reason for its existence."

PLEASE NOTE:

Political mobilization - raising the level of political consciousness of the people and involving them actively in the revolutionary struggle -is the first task of the guerrillas; and it is the nature of this effort, which necessarily takes time, that accounts for the PROTRACTED CHARACTER OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Furthermore, time is required, not alone for political mobilization, but to allow the inherent weaknesses of the enemy to develop under the stress of war.

Mao makes this point more than once in his military writings, in several different contexts. In the Sino-Japanese War, for ex., Japan, an industrial power, had the great advantage of a superior war machine, capable of striking devastating blows at the poorly armed troops of semi-feudal, semi-colonial, unindustrial China. Yet such an advantage, unless immediately decisive, could not compensate for defects that would become apparent in prolonged conflict.

The II. Choice was that Japan, while powerful militarily, lacked the base in natural resources and manpower to sustain her war machine, far from home and in a vast, populous country over a long period of time. Indeed, the war had been started to compensate for the defect, but extended through conquest Japan's paucity of material resources. Insofar as this was true, war was an act of desperation, and a contradiction, putting the cart before the horse. For what would happen if the war was NOT quickly won, and the new wealth quickly absorbed and exploited?

Japan was seeking, of necessity, a war of quick decision. The correct military response was to deny it, by avoiding a military confrontation and fighting along the lines of guerrilla and mobile warfare, trading the space of China for the time necessary--

(1) To let the inherent weaknesses of Japan develop and show themselves under the stresses of a protracted war;
(2) To build Chinese resistance forces to the strength and degree of organization needed to confront the gradually weakened Japanese war machine.

As Mao analyzed the situation:

"...Japan's war is conducted on the basis of her great military, economic and political organizational power, but at the same time, it rests on an inadequate natural endowment. Japan's military, economic and Political organizational power is great but quantitatively inadequate. Japan is a comparatively small country, deficient in manpower and in military, financial and material resources, and she cannot stand a prolonged war. Japan's rulers are endeavoring to resolve this difficulty through war, but as they will get the very reverse of what they desire; that is to say, the war they have launched to resolve this difficulty will end in adding to it and even in exhausting Japan's original resources."

Other defects were apparent:

"...the internal and external contradictions of Japanese imperialism have driven not only to embark on an adventurist war unparalleled in scale, but also to approach final collapse. In terms of development, Japan is no longer a thriving country; they will not lead to the prosperity sought by
The contradiction implicit in this effort is that it converts increasingly large parts of the national territory into government "rear areas" where guerrilla operations are best. The repressive forces succeed in encircling areas of guerrilla activity - no other stops them - but in the process they themselves become encircled by guerrillas, and while the guerrillas can almost always slip out of any given encirclement, by dispersal and exfiltration, how can the army slip out? Where is the front? It does not exist. Movements of men and material become progressively greater and more expensive; the lines of supply and communication become ever longer, more attenuated, and more vulnerable to guerrilla attack. In effect, the army, in occupying broad expanses of rural territory, is the guerrillas by providing them with broader and easier targets and more accessible sources of arms and ammunition.

The guerrilla strategy remains constant during this period, although tactics vary with the situation. The strategy is to force the enemy to spread himself as thin as possible, by harassing him all along the line, wherever he is weak, and then to concentrate all available guerrilla strength to annihilate never merely to rout - inferior enemy units one at a time.

"Ours are guerrilla tactics," writes Ho.
"They consist mainly of the following points:

"Divide our forces to arouse the masses; concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.
"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."
a powerful enemy, employ(n) policy of
ruling around."

"Arouse the greatest numbers of the masses
in the shortest time by the best possible
methods."

"These tactics are just like casting a net;
any moment we should be able to cast it or
draw it in. We cast it wide to win over the
masses and draw it in to deal with the enemy."

In areas where little opposition is met,
the net is cast. The guerrillas disperse, to
work on the work of political indoctrina-
tion, to strengthen the internal economy of
the revolutionary movement, to establish rear
area bases, which, it should be noted,
can be expanded or contracted, or even aban-
donated, on short notice.

Where opposition is strong, the net is
more closely. Guerrillas are able to concen-
trate heavy forces - Mao recommends two, or
four, or even six times the enemy strength
against a single enemy weak point.

Battles are not prolonged. On the contrary,
Mao, who has invented the "five-minute
attack"; it consists of a sudden onslaught,
both in ferocity and furious interval of fighting,
and then the assault is broken off as sudden-
as it began and the guerrillas rapidly re-
sume their attacks with as many casualties and
then as many arms as possible during the
limited time but not lingering even a minute
more. Mao stresses the battle of quick
decision - the very opposite of Western mil-
itary strategy. Where the army backed by heavy
industry is able to make a long-drawn technolo-
gical contest of each battle, relying on
superiority of equipment and logistics to
win in the end, the guerrillas must rely on
superior position, and locally, superior
numbers, and must break off the engage-
ment before the superiority of heavy weapons
inflicts a toll.

As we have remarked before, the guerrilla
wage the war of the flea. The flea bites,
bites again, nimbly avoiding the
struck that would crush him. He does not seek
to kill his enemy at a blow, but to bleed him
dry, to plague and bedevil him,
keep him from resting and to destroy his
morale. All of this requires

(2) The Second Phase of the campaign, the
period of equilibrium, a stalemate sets in.
The government finds it cannot destroy the
guerrillas; for the moment it can only seek
to contain them, while preparing new offen-
sives for the future. The guerrillas cannot
destroy the army. They continue to harass it,
taking advantage of lulls in the conflict to
expand the revolutionary base areas, nibbling
away at the fringe of no-man's land, that sur-
rounds each liberated zone, improving the
internal economy of crops, workshops, arms
repair depots, and using the time to agitate
the people, to forward the war of propaganda,
and to sharpen the internal conflicts that
shake the enemy camp as the long, expensive
anti-guerrilla campaign bogs down and the end
appears hopelessly far away.

(3) The third Stage, that of the revolu-
tionary strategic offensive, or general offen-
sive, begins when the opposing forces of
the government and those of the guerrillas
have reached a balance, and the insurgents
seize the military initiative, now no longer
as pure guerrillas, but as mobile columns up
to divisional strength, capable of confront-
and destroying the army in open battle.

Where the insurgents formerly gave way at
the approach of the enemy, or depended on
hit-and-run ambushes, they will now give
battle, using small units, to pin down the
main forces of the government while their
regular troops are thrown always in superior
numbers, into concentrated attacks on the
most vulnerable objectives along the enemy's
attenuated lines of support or weakest points
of concentration.

When encircled, the rebels, instead of dis-
persing and exfiltrating under cover of dark-
ness, as before, will concentrate and make a
powerful breakthrough at a chosen point in
the enemy's lines - again, perhaps, using
secondary troops to pin down the army in
other areas.

Gradually, sometimes using guerrilla tact-
tics, at other times concentrating for power-
ful strategic blows, the rebels will succeed
in cutting the enemy's main lines of commu-
will progress from east to west or north to south, but from the outside in, from the mountains and the jungles to the cultivated rural areas, then to the villages within those areas, then to the towns, and along the national highways, and only in the final struggle to the diminishing pin-pricks of the cities.

The principles of the operation may be observed in the Communist war on Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist troops in the period immediately following World War II. Analyzing a campaign of 17 months duration in 1945-47, during which 640,000 Nationalist troops were killed or wounded and 1,050,000 were captured, Mao lists the following points of insurgent strategy:

(1) Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong forces later.

(2) Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

(3) Make wiping out the enemy’s effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy’s effective strength, and often a city or place will be held or deigned for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

(4) In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (2, 3, 4, and sometimes even 5 or 6 times the enemy’s strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly, and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing the enemy crushing blows, that is, concentrate all-out strength to make a frontal attack and an attack on one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or break even. In this way, although inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we shall be absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on we shall become
(5) Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

(6) Give full play to our style of fighting courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

(7) Strive to wipe out the enemy when he is on the move. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy-fortified points and cities.

(8) Replenish our strength with all the men and most of the personnel captured from our army’s main sources of manpower and material are at the front.

(9) Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train, and consolidate your troops. Periods of rest, training, and consolidation should not be very long, and the enemy should be kept in a state of constant motion.

VIETMINH VS. THE FRENCH

The Vietminh were organized on three levels:

(1) The so-called "Chu-luc" regulars - permanent guerrilla fighters who could be employed strategically wherever needed and who carried the main campaign, when insurgent forces were concentrated for a major strike;

(2) Regional Guerrillas - fought only in their zones, and could always return to their civilian character as peasants and workers if hard pressed;

(3) The Village Militia, the "du-kich", guerrillas by night and peasants by day, carrying out limited assignments - sabotaging a bridge here, ambushing a patrol there, mining the roads, carrying messages or funds - and fading back into their farms and villages at the first approach of military opposition.

"At the first shots of the imperialist invasion," (writes General Giap) "General Leclerc estimated that the reoccupation of Vietnam would be a military walk-over. When encountering resistance in the South, the French generals considered it weak and
"Why did the French colonialists make such an estimate? Because they considered that to meet their aggression, there must be an army. It was not possible for them to understand a fundamental and decisive fact: the Vietnamese Army, although weak materially, was a people's army. . . . In provoking hostilities, the colonialists had alienated a whole nation. And the whole Vietnamese nation, the entire Vietnamese people rose against them. Unable to grasp this profound truth, the French generals, who believed in an easy victory, went instead to certain defeat."

Allowing for rhetorical exaggeration, there is still much in what General Giap says. The French forces, concentrating on strong points and other objectives of conventional warfare strategy, found themselves "submerged in a sea of armed people." The arms, in the main, came from the French Expeditionary Corps, which became unwittingly the supplier of the Vietnam People's Army with French arms.

As for the organization of resistance, Giap notes that it was primarily political and only secondarily military:

"Our party advocated that, to launch the people's war, it was necessary to have 3 kinds of armed forces. It attached great importance to the building and development of self-defense units and guerrilla units. Militia was set up everywhere. Thanks to the founding of (the) people's administration everywhere in the countryside, and the existence of Party branches in every place, the militia spread far and wide and the people rose to fight. In the enemy's rear, guerrilla units, in coordination with the regular army, scattered and wore out the enemy, mailed them to their bases, so that our regular army could launch mobile fighting to annihilate them. They turned the enemy rear into our front line and built guerrilla bases as starting points for our regular army's offensive, right in the heart of the enemy. They protected the people and their property, fought the enemy and kept up production, and frustrated the enemy's schemes to use war to feed war and Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese. In the free zones, guerrilla units effectively administrated the local Party; at the same time, they were the shock force in production, transport, and supply. Through combat and work, the guerrilla units became an inexhaustible and precious source of replenishment for the regular army, supplying it with men and officers who were politically well educated and rich in fighting experience."

Both sides made serious mistakes in the early phase of the 8-year struggle. The French for their part, devoted a full 5 mos. of 1947 to the fruitless task of attempting to capture Ho Chi Minh and his staff, thinking in this way to cut short the war. The effort was wasted. Even if they had captured Ho, it probably would not have affected the outcome of a war, the outcome of which depended not on individual military genius but on a strategy that any Communist leader, aware of the lesson of China, would have applied.

Here it may be well to observe that, to a very great extent, guerrillas fight as they do because they must. Their situation determines their course of action. Lacking the heavy weapons and disciplined divisions with which to fight conventional military campaigns, they are confined to nibbling at the edges of the opposing army and fighting in the enemy's rear areas. Materially unable to face a military decision, they must use numerical superiority await a political decision. In a revolutionary situation, political decisions will tend to favor their side, since these will come in the course of a protracted war which the enemy is neither politically nor psychologically able to stand, whatever the condition of his military forces.

VIETNAM: ONE EXAMPLE OF THE FLEA

The silence that follows the fall of Dien Bien Phu is but a moment in the span of history, an all too brief breathing spell. Scarcely 5 years separate the First Indochina War from the start of the Second. Since then, events have made Viet Nam again the focal point of global concern, the storm center around which swirls a vast political conflict, a clash of ideologies and empir
little seems to have changed in the essential situation. To the South Vietnamese peasant looking up from his rice paddies, the warplanes that blare overhead on their way to distant targets in the North, the helicopters clattering toward some battle rendezvous, are indistinguishable from the planes and helicopters that carried French troops into battle against the Vietnamese a decade ago. To a Communist guerrilla in the brush or in the villages, today's battle is like that of yesterday and last year and the year before that; the war is all of a piece, and many young men cannot remember when there was no war.

American uniforms have replaced French uniforms in Saigon; directives come from Washington instead of Paris. The Vietminh are now called the Viet Cong; and the new invaders, for a long while given the courtesy title of "military advisers" but now finally acknowledged to be combatants, are called Americans.

It makes little difference: French or Americans, Vietminh or Viet Cong, the war goes on, both sides pursuing the same objectives as before, by the same familiar methods. It is the struggle of dog and flea; and the flea continues, slowly but inevitably, to multiply and to win.

A UPI news analysis of Mar. 24, 1965, disclosing in a few telling paragraphs the dilemma of the American forces in Vietnam, could almost have been written a decade earlier, with respect to the French situation of that time:

"The U.S. is now deep into the 4th year of an increasingly bloody battle for this land of mountains, jungles, rice paddies, and Communist guerrillas.

"Since May 1961, when the U.S. first committed itself to support the anti-Communist Saigon government, **it has poured in vast quantities of men and machines.

**But this is to overlook the fact that the U.S. was supplying the French with war material even before Dien Bien Phu, footing the cost of the Indochina war to the extent of $1.25 billion dollars.

United States forces are equipped with the most sophisticated weapons in its arsenal.

"It has given freely of its brains, its blood, and its lives. All has been to no avail. The world's mightiest nation has been unable to find the key to success in South East Asia.

"From the day it set foot in this land, United States' course in the fight against the Communists has been downhill."

Despite political statements about aid from "aggressors in the North," the simple fact is that probably 90% of Viet Cong arms consist of American weapons captured from the government troops.

Most Vietcong weapons are new U.S. military weapons, captured in ambushes on government units and attacks on outposts. Often a Viet Cong unit is organized initially with no weapons. The political organizer tells his men and women they must fight at first with homemade arms - spears, daggers, swords and rude shotguns. To get better weapons, the unit must capture them from the enemy.

. . . . .

The rebel casts himself in the role of David, and makes it his business to force the enemy into the role of Goliath in the public mind. His every act and announcement play on the sympathies and sense of justice of the global witnesses of the struggle, creating the picture of a courageous people fighting for independence against the monstrous forces of tyranny and oppression.

FAILURES IN THE WAR OF THE FLEA

Hanoi's analogy of the guerrilla, swimming like a fish in the sea of the population, contains an essential truth: It expresses the fundamental principle of guerrilla warfare. But what happens when the fish is removed or REMOVES ITSELF from the water?

The answer explains the reason for the failure of the few guerrilla movements that have been successfully suppressed.
All three show what happens when guerrillas cut off, or deliberately cut themselves off from popular contact and support. Each of these histories is too lengthy to go into in this handbook, but suffice it to say that in the case of the Huks one of their signal weaknesses seems to have been their failure to establish anything like a popular front during a period when urban support, the participation of students, industrial workers, and the poorer white collar class, was clearly acquired. The insurrection was a peasant movement and remained confined to the rural areas.

In postwar Malaya, the guerrillas allowed themselves to become isolated. What is more important in this case is the tremendous cost in lives and arms of putting down this rebellion.

Nine months of continuous effort by an entire battalion, backed by artillery and aircraft, with the expenditure of more artillery and mortar shells and aerial bombs than exist in the arsenals of some Latin American republics - to eliminate '35' guerrillas.

At such cost, the defeat of the Chinese Communists in Malaya can be nothing less than inspirational to potential guerrillas of other, less sternly guarded countries. How many of the shaky Latin American regimes could meet the expense, let alone the political risks, of such a campaign, if it involved not 35 but a thousand determined guerrillas? For how long?

We come to Greece - a case history of another sort. The 3-year Greek revolution, successfully put down by a Rightest government with the help of Britain and the U.S., offers instruction to those interested in knowing how NOT to conduct a guerrilla war.

In Greece (1946-49) virtually all of the lessons of experience were ignored, all of the rules laid down by the theoreticians of revolutionary warfare were broken.

It is not unfair to say that to a very great extent, it was destroyed (the revolution -

Revolution is by definition a mass phenomenon. Greece, Malaya, the Philippines all illustrate the axiom that without mass participation, or at least popular support, there can be no revolution. The Huks lost it, the Chinese in Malaya never had it, the Greek Communists throw it away.

BEWARE !!!!!!!

THE ART OF WAR

All warfare is based on deception. Therefore, when capable, feign incapacity; when active, inactivity.

When near, make it appear that you are far away; when far away, that you are near.

Offer the enemy a bait to lure him: feign disorder and strike him.

When he concentrates, prepare against him; where he is strong, avoid him.

Anger his general and confuse him. Pretend inferiority and encourage his arrogance. Keep him under a strain and wear him down.

When he is united, divide him.

Attack where he is unprepared: sally out when he does not expect you.

These are the strategists keys to victory.
The guerrilla is a political insurgent, the conscious agent of revolution; his military role, while vital, is only incidental to his political mission. His insurgency is dedicated to a single purpose: the overthrow of the government and the destruction of the existing political or social or, it may be, economic system.

Each battle will be a lesson, designed to demonstrate the impotence of the army and so the government that employs it. Each campaign will be a test, intended to raise the level of revolutionary awareness and anticipation of the popular majority whose attitude will determine the outcome of the struggle.

Guerrilla actions will have certain obvious military objectives: to obtain weapons, ammunition, and supplies, to inflict casualties, to force the enemy to overextend his lines so that his communications may be disrupted and small units picked off, one at a time, by locally superior rebel forces.

But psychological and political objectives will be paramount. Local military success will serve no purpose if the guerrilla campaign does not also weaken the morale of the government and its soldiers, strain the financial resources of the regime, and increase the political pressure on it by creating widespread apprehension and dissatisfaction with the war in which there is no end in sight.

In the potentially revolutionary situation, spontaneous insurrections may be expected: they are likely to arise out of almost any form of social conflict—a strike, a dispute over land or wages or prices or rents or schools or any one of a score of other social questions.
This need indicates the choice of an area with a dispersed rather than concentrated rural population. Such an area will usually afford the natural concealment and natural obstacles to army operations found in desolate areas, and will provide a further advantage: It will not be economic for the government garrison.

Large rural towns can be garrisoned; tiny hamlets cannot. Where there are many of the only a few soldiers can be assigned to each and to create such rural outposts is worse than useless, since each individual post is easily be overwhelmed, its soldiers captured or killed, their arms and ammunition seized and another propaganda victory thus scored by the insurgents.

Since there will be no great government stake in any given hamlet, form or village in economic or strategic terms, the nature decision of the army will be to withdraw to safer ground. Yet each such withdrawal will widen the area of guerrilla control and for the insurgency, providing it with more supplies, more recruits, more room in which to maneuver.

There is another consideration: The possession of populated areas will usually provide almost as much safety for the insurgents as would the remote areas in which they could be located or attacked. Political considerations, if not those of humanity, will usually offer some safeguard against bombing or artillery attacks, since the government can afford to kill civilians indiscriminately. (This does not always apply in later stage of insurgency, E.G. consider Vietnam)

The danger of being isolated far from populated areas has been demonstrated by the experience of guerrillas in Malaia and the Philippines. In both instances, the military succeeded in isolating the insurgents, cutting them off from the source of their strength, with results fatal to the insurgency. On the other hand, the possibility of fighting a successful guerrilla war on a small island with little room to maneuver and no real area of sanctuary has been proven by the success of the fighters of EOKA. When pressed, these guerrilla bands commanded by Grivas in
Within their heads without discovering them. Others sallied forth at night forays from hiding places under the floors of homes where they had lain all day, their presence unsuspected. They were, in the most literal case, "underground."

In well policed, large cities, a sympathetic population can protect active insurgents. No draconian methods used by the French in Algeria virtually stamped out the FLN underground there, but only because the Muslims of the Casbah were already separated, racially and physically from the French population. Soldiers, especially foreigner, can suppress urban rebellion by treating the entire metropolis as a city under wartime siege, controlling all movements, and ruthlessly killing the inhabitants of any quarter where resistance is offered. Gradually an urban population can be starved and terrorized into submission. But such methods scarcely apply to the civil war situation in which there is no sure way of knowing friend from foe.

Terrain and local conditions ultimately dictate the size and organization of the guerrilla band. Guerrillas will not give way until the terrain favors them. When fighting begins, it will be in ground of the enemy's choosing - preferably from commanding heights with dense cover and limited visibility, where a few determined men can hold up an army.

Ambushes will be prepared in such a manner that a small portion of the advancing military column - its vanguard will be separated from the rest when firing commences. The fire of the main body of the guerrillas will be concentrated on this vanguard. The object of the ambush must be the complete destruction of the advance group and seizure of its arms and ammunition, the latter task being accomplished while a small guerrilla rear guard covers the rest of the military column.

As Guerra writes: "When the force of the guerrillas band is all and it is desired above all to detain the columns during the advance of an invading column, small groups of snipers, from 2 to 10 in number could be distributed all around the column."

...will begin to withdraw just as the moment from the left flank - at another moment from the rear guard or the vanguard, and so forth."

"With a very small expenditure of ammunition it is possible to hold the enemy in check indefinitely."

While the column is delayed, the main body of the guerrilla force quickly gathers its military booty and moves on toward the next prepared position, or circles around and steps out in a new direction. The snipers withdraw and rejoin the main force before the troops have recovered sufficiently to launch a counter attack, all of this occurring within a matter of a few minutes.

The process is repeated again and again. When it has been determined that a military column is sufficiently isolated that the arrival of reinforcements can be delayed for some hours or days, the guerrillas may even attempt an encirclement, or may create the appearance of an encirclement by stationing squads of snipers on commanding ground in such a way as to bring the troops under fire in whichever direction they attempt to move. If the troops launch a determined assault, the guerrillas have only to give way, circle around, regroup, and again withdraw.

The superior mobility and small size of the guerrilla force are its main assets. The danger that they themselves may be encircled is usually more apparent than real.

Night, as Che has noted, is the best ally of the guerrilla fighter. Che's prescription: Take adequate measures to impede the advance of the enemy until nightfall and then exfiltrate - a relatively simple matter for a small group of men in country well known to them, where the cover is good.

In the first months of the insurgency, when the army is on the offensive, the tactics of ambush and evasion are standard and sufficient. The activities of the army itself are enough to advertise the rebel cause. However, military casualties cannot be kept secret. The high cost of the guerrilla campaign will be an embarrassment to the government, which will be hard put to explain what it is..."
The guerrilla soldier ought always to have in mind that his source of supply of arms is the enemy and that, except in special circumstances, he ought not to engage in a battle that will not lead to the capture of such equipment.

The enemy vanguard is made a special target of guerrilla fire for a sound psychological reason: to induce the fear, or at any rate excessive caution, that will paralyze the will and retard the free movement of the enemy. When the soldiers in the first rank invariably are killed, few will wish to be in the vanguard, and without a vanguard there is no movement. (Such reasoning may not always apply to professional troops. Professional officers are trained to accept casualties as the price of battle. Nevertheless it has been a constant complaint of American military advisers in South Vietnam that the Vietnamese field commanders commonly refuse to advance against strong guerrilla positions without artillery support and preparatory air strikes that give the Viet Cong guerrillas time to retire from the field.)

The insurgency continuing, the military may be expected sooner or later to give up the futile pursuit of the guerrilla force and leave it to its wilderness sanctuaries, if for no other reason than the political. As has been remarked before, few governments can long sustain the political embarrassment of an expensive and well-publicized campaign in which there is no progress to report. Within a matter of weeks or months, the government will be forced to announce a victory, having failed to produce one. The public outside of the war zone will be informed that the insurrection has been suppressed, the odors of a few civilian casualties may even be displayed by way of evidence, and the troops will be withdrawn to posts and garrisons in more settled territory, falling back on a strategy of containment of the insurrection.

If the insurgency is to succeed, the guerrillas must, of course, refuse to be contained. They will now assume the offensive, taking advantage of their new freedom to organize night raids on the small military posts.
the government will grow progressively more fearful and repressive.

In such circumstances, and considering that no army can occupy all of the national territory, the logical and natural course of the regime will be the gradual withdrawal of troops from the countryside to the larger centers of population. The rural areas thus will be slowly and reluctantly surrendered to the insurgents. With expanded resources of manpower and material, the insurgency will continue to grow. As it gains strength, guerrilla bands will become guerrilla armies. The larger villages will be captured. The railway bridges will be blown and the highways cut. One by one the towns and then the cities will be isolated, their vital supplies restricted, civilian transport reduced to a trickle. Military convoys may still come and go, but not without peril, and not with any important effect, in a country most of which will already be in the hands of the revolution.

Once the war of the fleas has reached settled rural regions, even these limited means become ineffective, because aircraft cannot attack guerrillas without killing the civilians whose support the government must win, and they all look alike from the air. Great faith was placed in helicopters; they were of service in the Sahara but have failed to come up to expectations in the jungles of Vietnam, where the Viet Cong has learned to set successful traps for them and crew casualties are heavy.

U.S. military handbooks on irregular warfare techniques discuss various biological and chemical weapons that can be employed against guerrillas. These are recommended especially for situations in which guerrillas have mingled with an innocent civilian population that cannot—or not ought—to be killed.

The object of the so-called biologicals is to induce temporarily incapacitating viral diseases that will reduce the ability of guerrillas to resist attack, so that infantry can rush into a target area and quickly kill or capture them without harming noncombatants—a device, so to speak, for separating the sheep from the goats.

Various nonlethal gases—carried like the biologicals, in artillery shells or aerial bombs, or sprayed by low-flying planes or helicopters—have been designed for the same purpose, to sicken all within a given target area and so reduce resistance to infantrymen on their arrival, without unnecessary bloodshed.

On the three occasions in which nonlethal gas (a mixture of vomiting gas and tear gas, of the type used to control rioters) was used in South Vietnam during early 1965, the practical results were nil. Twice, the gas simply blew away, without any effect. On the third occasion, it sickened a few residents of the target area, but the infantrymen who soon arrived found no guerrillas in the area.
In the military sense of the word (or term) what after all is a street? A street is a defile in a city. A defile is a narrow pass through which troops can only pass and move through which considerably narrows their front, and therefore make themselves a good target for the enemy. A defile is a difficult place for soldiers to maneuver in, especially if the flanks of the defile are held by the guerillas. A mountain pass is a defile the sides of which are constituted by the natural slopes of the mountain sides, as at the scalp. A bridge over a river is a defile, the sides of which are constituted by the river. A street is a defile, the sides of which are constituted by the houses in the street.

To traverse a mountain pass with any degree of safety the sides of the mountain must be cleared by flanking parties ahead of the main body; to pass over a bridge the banks of the river on each side must be raked with machine gun or rifle fire while the bridge is being rushed; to take a street properly barricaded and held on both sides by forces in the houses (guerillas), these houses must be taken by hand-to-hand fighting. A street barricade placed in a position where artillery cannot operate from a distance is impregnable to frontal attack. To bring artillery within a couple of hundred yards—the length of the average street—would mean the loss of the artillery if confronted by even imperfectly drilled troops armed with rifles.

The Moscow revolution, where only 80 rifles were in the possession of the insurgents, would have ended in the annihilation of the artillery had the number of insurgent rifles been 800.

The insurrection of Paris in June 1848 reveals how districts of towns, or villages, should be held. The streets were barricaded at tactical points, not on the main streets but commanding them. The houses were broken through so that passages were made inside the houses along the whole length of the streets. The side walls were loopholed, as were also front walls, the windows were blocked by sandbags, boxes filled with stones and dirt, bricks, chest, and other pieces of furniture with all sorts of odds and ends piled up against them.

Behind such defenses the insurgents poured their fire upon the troops through loopholes left for the purpose.

In the attack upon Paris by the allies fighting against Napoleon, a village held in this manner repulsed several assaults by the Prussian allies of England. When these Prussians were relieved by the English these latter did not dare attempt a frontal attack, but instead broke into an end house on one side of the village street, and commenced to take the houses one by
one. Thus all the fighting was inside the houses, and musket fire played but a small part. On one side of the street they captured all the houses, on the other they failed, and when a truce was declared the English were in possession of one side of the village, and their French enemies of the other.

The truce led to a peace. When peace was finally proclaimed the two sides of the village street were still held by opposing forces.

The defense of a building in a city, town, or village is governed by the same rules. Such a building left unconquered is a serious matter even if it supports are all defeated. If it had been flanked by barricades, and these barricades were destroyed, no troops could afford to push on and leave the building in the hands of the enemy. If they did so they would be running the danger of perhaps meeting a check further on, which check would be disastrous if they had left a hostile building manned by an unconquered force in their rear. Therefore, the fortifying of a strong building, as a pivot upon which the defense of a town or village should hinge, forms a principle object of the preparations of any defending force, whether regular army or insurrectionary.

In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the chateau, or castle, of Geissberg formed such a position in the French lines on August 4. The Germans drove in all the supports of the French party occupying this country houses, and stormed the outer courts, but were driven back by the fire from the windows and loopholed walls. Four batteries of artillery were brought up to within 900 yards of the house and battered away at its walls, and battalion after battalion was hurled against it. The advance of the whole German army was delayed until this one house was taken. To take it caused a loss of 23 officers and 329 men, yet it had only a garrison of 200.

In the same campaign the village of Bazielles offered a similar lesson of the tactical strength of a well defended line of houses. The German army drove the French off the field and entered without a struggle. But it took a whole army corps seven hours to fight its way through to the other end of the village.

A mountainous country has always been held to be difficult for military operations owing to its passes or glens. A city is a huge maze of passes or glens formed by streets and lanes. Every difficulty that exists for the operation of regular troops in mountains is multiplied by a hundredfold in a city. And the difficulty of the commissariat which is likely to be insuperable to an irregular or popular force taking to the mountains, is solved for them by the sympathies of the populace when they take to the streets.
The general principle to be deducted from a study of the example we have been dealing with is that the defense is of almost overwhelming importance in such warfare as a popular force like the People's Army might be called upon to participate in. Not a mere passive defense of a position whose location threatens the supremacy or existence of the enemy. The genius of the commander must find such a position, the skill of his subordinates must prepare and fortify it, the courage of all must defend it. Out of this combination of genius, skill and courage alone can grow the flower of military success.

**URBAN WARFARE**

Consider, on the one hand, the military importance of towns. All governments reside in towns, all vital industries are concentrated in towns. All military dumps and depots lie in towns. All good landing places around shores are, because they are good landing places, built over; the navy depends for its command of the oceans upon ports and naval bases, one and all of them cities. Overlooking these, remember this one fact, namely, that all road and rail communications pass through towns. Think for a moment of the system of supply to an army; all road and rail communications pass through towns.

Consider the advantages of the defence in towns. Notice how in the recent wars towns have held out long after the country around them has been overrun. Consider how the enemy official doctrine teaches that towns shall be by-passed and attacked later by troops specially detached for the purpose. They recognize that a town is a strong point, and they follow their doctrine of by-passing the strong point. But note that they also recognize the necessity of attacking the town. The reason is this: that both their armoured divisions and their infantry divisions depend for supplies upon wheeled vehicles; those vehicles run on roads and rails; and all road and railway communications pass through towns.

The primary task of any guerilla is not to try and defend a city; for more reasons than one; towns are vulnerable to air and artillery bombardment. Experience shows that there is a tremendous need for air superiority. If an overwhelming concentration of air and artillery force has to be collected each time a town is encountered, lightning advances will be a thing of the past.

Possession of a town maintains a grip upon the life line that can strangle an offensive. Towns are the ready-made answer to the BLITZKRIEG. Properly held they must slow an advance.
CONDITIONS DICTATE METHODS: The fittest survive, because they best understand and adapt themselves to the conditions in which they live. Street fighting is carried on in unique, unnatural conditions; only the fittest survive. It is above all necessary to analyse and understand the peculiar features of ground which go to make street fighting such a highly skilled form of warfare.

It is difficult in thinking of cities to discard the many familiar details and to focus upon the simple features which alone are of military significance.

(1) The ground upon which most towns are built upon are ordinary, slightly rolling land, intersected by rivers, streams and hedgerows, and patched with woods. The woods and hedges have for the most part been cut to make way for masses of human habitations, but every town retains small areas of park and woodland.

(2) Vast human effort has gone to the perfection of communications in urban areas. Today towns may, generally speaking, of communication to them, here and there cut by railroads, canals and other lines of communications.

(3) In the masses of homes that have been built, wealth has drawn distinctions.

The rich, though they may work in towns and cities, generally choose to live in the country. Where, owing to the size of a city, they cannot easily escape, they occupy a central position. They build their houses strong and big, either detached and standing in their own grounds, or in rows surrounding a railed square of lawns and gardens.

The houses of the poor are usually situated near a great factory or industrial center. Normally they consist of lines of small, two or three story houses, ill-built, on either side of wide, straight streets, backed by little yards and the rear of another row of houses. These yards are usually a conglomeration of fences, sheds, shelters, bins, and other forms of obstacles and cover from view.
From the early nineteenth century onwards, unprecedented growth of population and industry demanded masses of hastily built houses for the new middle and lower middle classes. The advent of town planning and the fact that whole areas were built over by one firm gave us the modern suburbs which have grown round the outside of nearly every town. They consist of rows of small "semi-detached" or detached, lightly built, two story houses, standing between front and back gardens, fitting in a large design of crisscrossing streets. An enormous number of hedges and fences have been built to enclose these properties, so that back gardens offer both good cover from view and, cumulatively, great obstacles to an advance.

Spaced throughout the cities are shopping and commercial centers, usually consisting of very tall, strongly built houses, flanking main arterial streets. In many cities building has followed the haphazard layout of old centers of commerce, and we find the same buildings facing each other across narrow, winding streets, flanked by alleyways and passages.

Whatever the class of house or area, three generalizations can be made which are of the most vital importance, giving rise as they do to the basic principles of street warfare. It is these three which must be understood and digested:

1. No other type of country is either so open or so close. In every street are coverless stretches, ideal fields of fire, death traps to the unwary attackers. Bordering every street are a hundred protected firing positions, a hundred hiding-places, a hundred ambush positions.

2. It is possible to climb 30, 50, perhaps 100 feet in as many seconds. Street fighting thus possesses a third dimension, not often present in field warfare.

3. Cities present exceptionally blind and disjointing conditions. In no other form of warfare are there such narrow horizons, or such ruthless divisions between units of the same force.

It is not intended to discuss the rules of good street fighting. One such may, however, be given pride of place, for upon its unvarying observance depends not merely the life of any particular soldier but the attainment of the object he is ordered to achieve.

It has been said above "No other country is either so open or so close." It is well nigh impossible to be more than five yards from cover.
In the first few paragraphs of the urban community the military features of built up areas were analyzed. In this and the following, conclusions are drawn from them, which form, so to speak, rules of conduct: and suggested methods of obedience to them are laid down. How many of these methods are put into practice must depend upon the precise nature of the attack and the time allowed for defence.

In this country two conditions of attack seem likely to present themselves. For the first, the regular land advance, the defender will probably have ample time to prepare a formidable reception.

The second type of attack allows no time for preparation. A company of enemy parachutists can land on a green space three hundred yards square and be ready to move or fight in under fifteen minutes. This will allow no time for elaborate booty traps, barricades of wiring.

In placing the members of any unit, the following points should be borne in mind:

A. The system of defence must pivot around the automatic weapon. In built up areas fields of fire tend to be very narrow. The high rate of fire of the automatic weapon makes it a weapon of inestimable value.

b. The 350° field around any house is normally split into several narrow fields of fire. Riflemen should be used to cover all of the most important approaches.

c. "Interior lines" abound in built up areas. The distance between the defence of the next is often the width of a house. Full advantage should be taken of this.

D. It is easier to fire to one's left than to one's right. For this reason Brothers should be instructed to use weapons left and right handed. When firing to the left, the rifle comes out of a window before the body; when firing to the right, the body must be exposed before the rifle can be brought to bear.

E. In every street there are hiding places in which men may lie low until the enemy has passed, and open fire from behind. If these men wish to fire to their left they must be on the side opposite to those prepared to fire on an approaching enemy. These two parties can therefore have the additional task of covering each other's doorways.

F. Two men are far more than twice as strong as one, both for psychological reasons and because there are four sides to a house and at least two lines of approach.

On the other hand, a whole section placed in one house will find themselves surrounded without having been able to fire, unless sections are very plentiful.

It can be taken as a guide, therefore, that a house should be held by never less than two men and rarely more than five.
G. The automatic machine gun should be sited in a house selected for its dominant field of fire, its strength of construction and its unobtrusive position. Normally the house which is selected is at the end of a street, looking down the street, satisfying the first condition at the expense of the third. From a corner house it is possible to fire in three directions. Although often desirable, such a selection does not avoid the obvious: the position must be made very strong, and alternative positions prepared. The enemy will look for these positions also. A house lying farther back from the road than its neighbors will often have the priceless advantage of being shielded by them from enemy covering fire. German street fighting tactics are based on an attack from the rear. It is essential, therefore, to have a well rounded defense.

PREPARATION FOR HOUSE DEFENSE:

Given time, there is practically no limit to the number of improvements which can be made to a defensive position in a house. Below is a long list of possible improvements. It is obvious that in every case or nearly every case time will not allow for all of them to be carried out. It should be equally obvious that it will be equally criminal on that account to ignore them.

FIRE POSITIONS SHOULD BE SELECTED:

(1) For their good field of fire.
(2) For Strength
(3) For unobtrusiveness

These three characteristics of a good defensive position should be exaggerated in every conceivable way.

(1) GOOD FIELD OF FIRE:
(a) the best field of fire is obtained from the lowest possible firing position. Many houses have basements whose windows that just clear the surface of the ground: these should be used if possible. In other cases a ventilator may be used by enlarging a hole in the wall.
(b) the farther forward the belt-fed automatic weapon is placed the wider will be the field of fire: on the other hand, the more vulnerable will be to enemy fire. If it is necessary to have a wider field of fire, loopholes may be made in the side walls for riflemen.

(2) STRENGTH—every fire position can, given time, be made proof against the collapse of the house in which it is sited:
(a) remove breakables and inflamables, e.g. window glass, ornaments, curtains, rugs, etc.
(b) send a man around the neighborhood "liberating" extinguishers, water buckets, etc.
(c) Shore-up the fire position.
(d) Build an emplacement.

(1) These can be made of sandbags or rubble between boards, in chests of drawers, etc. The emplacement should be roofed over with timber: joists taken from another room are suitable.
(2) The emplacement must have a solid foundation. It will generally be necessary to remove part of the floor.
(3) A man fires over the following heights:
   Rifle or machine gun (automatic or belt-fed)
      standing..................4 ft. 6 in.
      kneeling or sitting.....30 in.
      lying..................................12 in.
      sitting................................24 in.
Inside dimensions:
   5 ft. long
   3 ft. 6 in. wide
   5 ft. high

LOophOLES: Build them with narrow exits, widening towards the inside to allow for traverse. Duplicate them freely as they are impossible.

(e) All entrances must be barricaded or, where it is impossible to hide a barricade, mined. This applies to all doors and windows. Booby traps should be laid in the hall and on the staircase.

(f) A line of withdrawal must be left. In the case of attached houses, go next door, find a cupboard on the pantry wall and knock a hole in the back into the defended house; then close the cupboard. With detached houses knock a hole into a lean-to-shed or bush: or lean a wheelbarrow, bin or other article against the hole. If necessary place a dummy booby trap over the hole.

(g) Knock loopholes in walls to cover every approach to the house: a loophole from the occupied room to cover the front hall is also useful.

(h) Use some fine wire-mesh and wire over all the windows to prevent grenades being thrown in. Cut a slit in the wire to allow the dropping out of grenades.

(i) Make a dummy position. A bolster hung on a wire at the back of a room three doors away can be connected by a wire run through the interflooring walls. A jerk will deceive, and will certainly distract enemy observers.

(j) Prepare an alternate position. The Germans used tracked guns to blow a house to pieces; no amount of strengthening will withstand a direct hit.

(k) Make a gas-proof room and stock it with candles (the electric light is bound to fail), torches, water, medical and food supplies, and ammunition.

UNOBTRUSIVENESS: When all improvements to the field of fire and strengthening of the house are complete, it is essential to remove any clues which may betray your position to the enemy.
There are two principal methods:

(a) CONCEALMENT

Be sure there is no external sign of a barricade. Remove the trail of sand and rubble which almost certainly leads up to the door.

Put muslin curtains over the windows. They are opaque from the outside and transparent from the inside—besides being the very symbol of respectability.

(b) DUPLICATION

Work which cannot be hidden must be duplicated. If yours is the only door in a damaged street which is tight shut (to conceal a barricade), shut others in the street. Clear of glass the windows in half a dozen houses, and wire them over. Make dummy loopholes in your own house and in the houses whose doors you have closed and windows you have cleared of glass. If the field of fire has had to be cleared so much as to become obvious, treat the other houses in the same way.

POSITIONS OTHER THAN HOUSES:

Having considered the defense of a house at such length, one is apt to forget that there are in built-up areas other excellent positions. Slit trenches offer better cover against air and artillery bombardment than any house: they are not, however, useful against a land attack, as the can be commanded from the upper floors of neighboring houses. In street fighting one expects the enemy to take refuge in houses. A thick hedge, the branches of a tree, a heap of refuse, a pile of rubble may all provide excellent surprised positions. It must be quite clear, however, that most of these positions depend upon concealment: Discovery will render one as vulnerable as if one were standing motionless in the middle of a street.

ANTI-TANK DEFENSES:

Tanks suffer from serious handicaps in built-up areas, for the following reasons:

(a) The guerrillas can erect road blocks which cannot be seen from a distance.

(b) The guerrillas can remain concealed until a tank is directly beneath his position.

(c) Tanks cannot fire more than, at an average, 30 degrees above the horizontal.

(d) Visual contact between tank units is lost, and direction is very hard to keep.

It is clear, however, that they suffer from these handicaps only as long as the enemy is prepared to take advantage of them. The most suitable positions for an ambush are:

(1) On the upper floors of a strongly built house:
(2) Above road blocks or a point where the enemy is likely to stop at
first sight of a road block.

The same weapons may be used against tanks in streets as in the fields. The
anti-tank gun or a bazooka is an excellent weapon for destroying tanks,
(also the molotov cocktail which is equally as effective, but one must be
within a 30 yard range for best effectiveness). The third dimension in
street fighting and the fixed nature of the defense are ideal for the use
of the heavier.

STREET OBSTACLES:

(1) Trenches, or barricades, of wagons, cars, furniture, etc. may be very
useful in holding up enemy troops or vehicles, especially if placed just
around a corner to effect surprise. They are not, however, effective as
fire positions because they can be commanded from tops of buildings.

(2) Wire is the best possible obstacle to advancing troops. A street
properly wired and covered by a tri-pod 50 caliber machine gun or its equiv-
alent (preferably an automatic weapon no less than a .30
is a death-trap to the attackers. It forces the attacker to commit
the great, and invariably the last, sin of street fighting—HANGING ABOUT IN
THE OPEN. Wire should be placed far enough away from the defended house to
prevent the enemy from throwing grenades and should not be so laid as to give
away the position of the house to the enemy. Tins with pebbles inside should
be hung on the wire to raise the alarm should the enemy try to remove it
under cover of darkness.

KNOW THE ENEMY——THE ATTACK BY THE ENEMY

(1) FORMS OF ATTACK:

Broady, attacks in built-up areas have one or both of two (2) main
objectives:

(a) To penetrate to a certain area.
(b) To clear a certain area of the "enemy."

It is impossible to say what precise forms attacks in cities or towns will
or should take. They will vary with the object, the ground, and other partic-
ular circumstances. The following is a general impression of the lines which
a modern attack may follow, and is intended more to stimulate thought rather
than to prophesyize events. The process may be one of neutralization and
infiltration.

(1) The town is subjected to heavy bombardment by aircraft of artillery,
or is sprayed with napalm, or other lethal gases. The main enemy body may
by-pass the town, leaving its capture to special troops detailed for the pur-
pose. The latter will probably attack the town as soon as the bombardment,
or shock forces cease, from a direction they deem to be favorable. Therefore, all existing entry routes should be scrutinized for invasion and plans should be developed to frustrate the imperialist aggression.

(2) As a result of reconnaissance and careful study of the town plan, certain few buildings or localities well inside the town may be selected as first objectives. At first small and then large parties of troops will force their way to these objectives to form a strong point or points from which the core of the town may be "eaten" out and any perimeter defenses attacked from the rear. The objectives will be selected so as to be co-operative, i.e., success in training objective "A" will aid those troops who are trying to gain objective "B".

(2) METHODS OF ATTACK:

The scheme of attack tabulated below has been laid down not in order to dictate hard-and-fast rules to an attacking force but in order that a clear idea may be obtained of the problems facing an attacker and of a reasonable solution to them. It will almost always be impossible to the attacker to keep completely to the ideal. The chaos attending street fighting, and the haste imposed upon all guerrillas will, in time of a racist attack from either the police or civilians, demand a compromise: If this compromise is to be successful, initiative and a high degree of training are required of all guerrillas. Failure to realize the inevitability of disorganization and chaos would be dangerous. It must be accepted that guerrillas will, at times lose contact with their "units," that members of the same "unit" will lose contact with each other at times.

UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES:

(1) A simple plan is essential. Each unit must be given a clear limited objective, and complicated manoeuvres such as a change of direction should generally be avoided. Isolated thrusts apart from the main attack are not usually successful and will not divert as many defenders from the main attack as might be achieved in field warfare, since the bulk of the defense will probably be on fixed system(s) giving all-around defense.

(2) Success or failure will largely depend upon the initiative of subordinate commanders. Lacking clear orders as to their next actions, section and platoon commanders must on no account merely send back each time to be told what to do, but must act swiftly and with enterprise in the spirit of their previous orders. Speed in attack must not be allowed to flag for an instant. The need for a clear limit of exploitation, however, referred to in sub-paragraph will now be ever more clearly seen.

(3) Accurate, early information is vital. A plan with insufficient information will fail; a plan made with incorrect information will fail. A sub-unit commander has not done his duty of his superior commander does not know everything about the enemy that he knows, and all that is required about his position, intention, casualties and state of exhaustion.
(4) Tremendous thrust is required. In this difficult terrain, the attackers are forced to move in the open against defenders (guerillas) who, given time to choose and perfect their fire positions, can make them (the attackers) feel like rabbits in a hunting field, continually surprised and shot at from unexpected directions. The attackers can upset the scales only by giving their opponents no time to prepare (if we choose to defend a position which at first will not be the primary task of any guerilla), no rest in retreat, no chance to re-organize or reassure themselves. Speed is of the essence, and speed can be produced only by intelligent anticipation, efficient orders, dashing execution, and energy, more energy, and even more energy.

Attacks must be laid out very carefully—the only way the enemy can rout us from our position (temporary holding positions) is that #he attack us before operations are put into effect (ambush).

THE ADVANCE OF THE ENEMY:

It is impossible absolutely to safeguard the main body against attack from guerillas. An active advance guard will, however, use some of the many good points of observations that abound in cities, cover with fire the more important junctions, and question inhabitants. Note: ATTACKS SHOULD BE MADE ON TWO POINTS PRINCIPALLY, FIRST, THE VAN GUARD (FRONTAL ASSAULT TROOPS), AND THE SECOND, THE MAIN BODY OR CENTER GUARD, WHICH IS USUALLY THE POSITION THE COMMANDERS AND PETTY OFFICERS WILL OCCUPY.

IN CASES OF AMBUSH:

The main body should be well deployed. It may often be best to keep all sections on one side of the road, for two reasons:

(1) they can keep to the shadows

(2) in the event of a sudden attack, they will all take cover on the same side of the street, and will not therefore, be divided from each other by coverless, bullet-swept areas.

PROTECTION (the enemy):

From the start to the end of operations there must be no moment during which the main body can be surprised undeployed. On arrival at the assembly positions, whether on foot or in armoured personnel carriers, and sentries will be posted covering every approach. Two A.A. sentries per company should be posted in opposite arcs of 180°. The main body should take immediate cover and be slightly dispersed. Note: The ELEMENT OF SURPRISE MUST BE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED AND EXPLOITED TO THE FULLEST TO STAY OR RETARD, OR FRUSTRATE THE ENEMY ADVANCE.

RECONNAISSANCE:

Walls of brick and mortar make reconnaissance difficult. The ideal of an airplane view being usually denied, second best is a view from a high building. Other useful aids to the attacking enemy are street maps, airplane photographs, and the accounts of troops on the spot, and local inhabitants.
Enemy officers commanding troops likely to be used in built-up areas may find it useful to obtain airplane photographs of their area for use instead of maps.

THE PLAN:

In forming his plan, the commander (in this case, the enemy) must bear in mind the following points:

A. A complicated plan depending for its success upon co-ordination between troops attacking up widely separated streets, or upon changes of direction, is liable to fail.

B. Streets provide easier and quicker lines of approach and attack. Back gardens may sometimes offer more cover; but it should be remembered that it will often be necessary climb over obstacles, and at these moments exposure is un-avoidable.

C. A single attack should be maintained. This does not mean that only one street or one house is to be attacked at a time. It does mean that if two or three or six streets are attacked at a time the effort should be co-operative, i.e., success in street 5 helps the troops attacking street 1.

HEADQUARTERS:

Headquarters should be chosen for the following features:

1. Well up: much closer to the forward troops than infield warfare.
2. Easy to find.
3. A strongly built house or shelter.
4. Entrance and exit defiled from enemy view and fire.

No concentration of troops or vehicles must be allowed near it, by day or night. During an attack it may frequently be necessary for the headquarters to be moved. Chalk and other marks may be drawn as a guide to the new headquarters. For safety, it can be arranged beforehand that, e.g., arrows face the opposite to the true direction.

CORDONS:

The object of cordonning is to prevent enemy lateral movements, whether of reinforcement, counter-attack or escape. When the object of attack is clear an area of enemy, the procedure;should be to cordon a sub-area, clear it, and keep it cordoned from the uncleared area.

When the object of an attack is to penetrate to an area, it may frequently
be advisable to co. in the line of advance.

Cordoning should be carried out by fire, not by men. The firing position should be selected so as to give the best field of fire, and will therefore normally be as low as possible.

COVERING FIRE:

It should be an absolute rule that no troops move across the open until three measures have been taken:

1. A rifle or machine gun must be sited-in to cover the street in which they are moving. In choosing the firing position, bear in mind:
   (a) that if the enemy sees you getting into position or if your position is the obvious one to choose, you will never fire from it;
   (b) that M-16 fire penetrates up to 13 inches and .55-inch anti-tank rifle fire up to 27 or more inches of brickwork, and that prolonged bursts will achieve greater penetration.
   (c) that the lower you are the longer will be the beaten zone of your weapon.
   (d) that if you are going to cover the advance of your own troops from the rear you must get high enough up to fire over their heads until the last possible moment (preferably rooftops).
   (e) that there are many good firing positions other than houses (in and outside of houses).
   (f) that fire from a position rather above a room occupied by the enemy will search the position best and is the most telling.

2. One machine gun per company should be sited-in on one of the highest buildings in the area to cover as far as possible all rooftops. It is very hard for troops in streets to deal with attackers above them. No street should be attacked without domination of the rooftops (all rooftops must be secured before any operations).

3. There is usually a house whose windows dominate a whole street. It may be placed at the end of the street, or on rising ground farther away. If there is such a house, make preparations before attacking the street to destroy or blind it if the enemy should open fire from it.

THE POINT SECTION:
The first troops to break cover are the point section. This consists of:

1. SCOUTS—The duty of the scouts is to find out where the enemy is. They move, one or two on each side of the street, by short bounds, stopping under the cover of doorways, buttresses, gateposts, alleyways, etc., to observe the opposite side of the street. When moving, they should keep as close to the side wall as possible, and must go at the highest possible speed. During their pauses for observations they must on no account keep their heads poking round a corner; if possible they should be equipped with periscopes. If fired on, the scouts should take cover and try to work into position to give covering fire to assault troops.
be spared, for there may be many streets, and men and weapons will be a premium.

ASSAULT:

1. FORMS OF ATTACK—When the enemy is encountered he must be dealt with. There are many forms of attack. He may be attacked with bombs from the air; though this form is not practical is close fighting, and is more useful against an area than against an individual target. He may be attacked with shells from a gun man-handled into position; with weapons capable of riddling his protective cover; with incendiary devices or weapons fired or thrown; with gas; with any effective weapon from a gun to a hosepipe. Often, however, it will not be possible to oust or destroy the enemy without an infantry assault, and it is the infantry assault, whether combined with other forms of attack or not, with which we are concerned.

2. LINES OF ASSAULT—In the same way, there are many lines of assault. An assault may be made up main streets; up side streets, through back gardens; over rooftops; through neighboring houses; through a house opposite and across a road; possibly even through sewers or contiguous cellars. Gliders were used by the Germans to land (in Belgium) on a wide, flat roof at Fort Emael. We may leave out of account these more exotic forms of attack while remembering that if they are possible to do, they will be a surprise, a new idea, and therefore successful. In deciding upon a line or lines of assault, the following points should be borne in mind:

(a) An enemy position is a strong point. Before it is attacked, it should be as nearly encircled as possible. Occupy the houses on either side or behind it.

(b) Gain the houses on one side of a street before you enter the street, example: A and F are occupied by our own troops. Enemy in B will find it hard to cover the B side of the street and will have to lean right, out of the windows, doors, etc., to do so, where they themselves will be exposed from A2, 3, and 4. Thus, the street can only be effectively covered by the enemy from C, and this narrows the opposition almost to a single house, which can be neutralized.

(c) Attack the enemy most threatened by your own position. Example (see diagram opposite): A and F are held by our troops. Which street should be made good first, X or Y?

ANALYSIS: One side of each street is held. One end and one side of each street is held by the enemy. Of the enemy houses holding X, D2 and D3 are covered by fire on four sides, and D1 is covered on two sides. Of the enemy houses holding Y, four sides of all the houses D3 and E1, 2, 3, and 4 are covered by fire. Moreover, the street joining X from the enemy side is not properly covered, whereas the entrances to Y are well covered. Conclusion: Street "—" should be attacked first. You figure it out, as your life may depend on it in the near future. (see page #25 for drawings and analysis of this equation).
Note: The enemy will try to locate, attack, and destroy the strong point(s) of the Guerillas first. Caution should be exercised when encountering the enemy so as not to give away strong points by over eagerness, or aggressiveness in attack whenever the Guerillas do not wish to make their strong points or strategy known.

(d) More than one line of attack will be found difficult to co-ordinate but will have an excellent psychological effect upon the enemy.

(e) If you can attack along a line which does not hinder your covering fire the latter will be more effective.

(f) Back gardens may offer good cover: advancing troops will, however, find it difficult to avoid exposing themselves when surmounting obstacles.

(g) It is hard to deal with attackers from above: rooftops are safe from below and being built as a rule in the shape of an inverted V, they usually have a side defiled from fire.

(h) In the case of an attack through houses, back doors a little distance from the enemy house are usually covered from view by high wooden fencing, sheds, etc., moreover, in ghetto houses it does not take more than a minute or two to knock a hole in the wall.

(i) The most suicidal occupation in war is to delay in the open. When fired on, in all circumstances; FALL TO THE GROUND (or the nearest cover, as low as possible).

(j) The enemy are unlikely to occupy a single house unsupported by any other position. Normally they may occupy houses on each side of the road and site their automatic weapons in a house whose windows dominate the whole street.

THE ASSAULT—Experience in Madrid, Spain showed that a very high proportion of the total casualties was incurred in assault, and of these, 75% were caused by delay in the open, or more specifically: by delay outside the barricaded house of the enemy. The whole assault must be carried through at the highest possible speed by the shortest exposed route, with the heaviest possible covering fire until the last possible moment.

The following points should be considered:

(a) The enemy will prefer firing to his left. Firing off the right shoulder, he has to expose his body less when firing to the left than when firing to the right. Incidentally, the greater the angle to his position, both lateral and vertical, at which he has to fire, the more he must expose his body.

(b) The enemy will undoubtedly have barricaded or mined all entrances to his house. Preparations must be made to force an entrance to the house with
the shortest possible delay outside. The best form or method is for a single man to run forward under covering fire, place an explosive against the house, and dodge under cover. He should avoid doors and windows in placing his explosive; possibly a point in the side wall is best. If explosives are not obtainable, second-best are a heavy axe and a crowbar. Their employment means delay in the open and should be avoided whenever possible. Then men who are using them should always be accompanied by a man watching for bombs and grenades thrown from windows or a roof, ready to seize and throw them over a wall or down the street, or if the opportunity affords itself, throwing them back into the enemy position.

If explosives are used to force an entrance, the remainder of the assault party must be under cover well up, ready to dash in before the enemy has recovered from the shock of the explosion. Whatever the method employed for forcing an entrance, the assault party must attempt all methods of getting in. They need not necessarily confine themselves to going in through the gap they have made; the enemy will be concentrating their attention on it, and a man going in over the roof of a lean-to shed, up a drainpipe or down the skylight may escape notice.

(c) CLEARING HOUSE—Having made an entrance, the assault party still has half its task before it. Before leaving cover to assault the house, officer in charge must allot tasks to each member of his party to ensure that there is no hanging about inside the house and that no room cellar or attic is unsearched.

THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND:

(1) The house should be searched systematically, floor by floor, remembering the cellars and roof. It is better if possible to search a house from the top downwards, as this makes an ally of gravity for grenades, etc. It does, however, involve entrance from the roof.

(2) The front hall and the staircase are the two most dangerous points. Try any method of getting up and down from floor to floor but the main staircase. If it is not barricaded, it will certainly be mined. The fire escape may help. If the staircase must be used, feel in front of you with a long pole or throw a grenade at it, to set off any booby traps.

(3) The officer must stay in the hall or passage to direct operations, but he must make use of any cover there may be, e.g. a thick sofa.

(4) If the enemy are known to be upstairs, a few bursts of automatic weapons fire (ex: B.A.R.) through the floor from underneath will be a prudent action.

(5) Smoke grenades inside a house are quite overwhelming. Incendiary bottles or bombs are very intimidating.
Prisoners can be used to clear the house by setting off or revealing booby traps.

Enter a room crouching as low as possible. The enemy will be prepared to fire about three or four feet above the floor.

It is essential that all attackers are familiar with methods of defense outlined in the chapters on defense and booby traps.

THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES:

1. General:

The use of high explosives can solve most of the problems that arise during street fighting with an ease that astounds those who have never seen this weapon in action. It is essential, however, that only those who are trained in the preparation and application of high explosives are permitted to handle it.

The training itself is a simple matter and requires only marginal intelligence and determination on the part of the student. Methodical habits combined with reasonable enthusiasm are preferable to headstrong and suicidal dash, as, both in preparation and handling, explosives call for care and a steady head less they become a source of danger to the user and his comrades. Arrangements are made for every man, woman, and child to learn the proper use of high explosives.

2. Defense:

As explained earlier, it is unlikely that enemy tank formations will venture into built-up areas: it is more probable that infantry will be called upon to capture a town.

All houses which are adapted for defense should be fitted with a booby trap system, operated electrically. The whole system can be controlled by a master switch which is situated so that the last defender can make the system live as he leaves. Booby traps will not be suspected in a house which has been used for defense, and the ensuing casualties will cause the attackers to reduce their speed of advance—even if it does not force them out into the open. Alternatively, each house can be mined either by buried charges or by explosives concealed in the basement or ground floor. These charges can be fired from the neighboring houses, and a single house blown up in this way will deter attackers from entering any other house near by with any feeling of confidence.

EXPLOSIVES IN ATTACK:

When clearing the enemy from occupied houses the advantages of explosives are very evident. The approach to an occupied house can be made on a blind side, i.e., the side where there are no downstairs windows. The house can be entered by a hole blown in this blind side, the charge required in most cases being surprisingly small.
EXPLOSIVES IN ATTACK:

If an entrance is made immediately after the explosion it will be found that the defenders in the immediate vicinity of the breach will be either casualties or in no condition to put up any resistance. Once inside the house, similar methods can be adopted to break into any room that offers resistance. Further, if a charge of 1 lb. of High Explosive on a 5-second or 7-second fuse be thrown into a room occupied by the enemy, the mopping-up operation becomes extremely simple and safe.

German troops were trained in the use of pole charges, i.e. charges of 10 lbs. or more of high explosive on the end of a long pole, fired by an ordinary time fuse. These pole charges were intended to be placed in the loopholes of pill-boxes and were carried forward under cover of smoke or darkness. An adaptation of these charges can be made with advantage, and men should be trained to apply such charges to street fighting when clearing points strongly held by the enemy. With an elementary knowledge of explosives it is a comparatively simple matter to clear buildings which can block a field of fire.

ANTI-TANK MEASURES

Though the unsuitability of tanks in built-up areas has been stressed, it must on no account be taken that tanks will not be used by the enemy. Tanks are only unsuitable as long as every precaution has been taken against them. Every preparation should be made for their reception, and in this, explosives play a very large part.

Charges should be buried across all approach roads at a depth of 9 inches or a foot. The quantity of this should 4 lbs. per foot of length. The charge must be fired electrically and provision can be made to fire this from the cover of a neighboring house. This charge will wreck lorries, but will only smash the track of a tank and bring it to a standstill. Though badly shaken, the crew will still be in a condition to fight and their guns will still be in action. To finish off the tank it is necessary to get a charge of explosive on the hull of the tank itself. "If operating from above, this can best be carried out by attaching a charge to a string and then to a pole and lowering it onto the tank from above.

This can be done under cover of smoke or the charge can be lowered from upper floors of houses near by also. Arrangements can be made if you suspect an invasion to have charges suspended above the road at suitable points or they may be lowered with the aid of long poles.

The charges should, if possible, be placed on the rear deck of the tank behind the turret: though the thickness of the armour plating in this position varies, a charge of 10 lbs. should smash a hole in the hull and disable or kill the crew. It is desirable to have some knowledge of the weakest parts of a tank ‘see demolition manual of the guerrillas’ for instructions into the weakest points of a tank plating, and this knowledge will enable us to place the charges in the most advantageous positions. As an alternative to the continuous road charge, separate charges of 4 lbs. can be laid in the same manner as anti-tank mines at close spacing, though they must be buried sufficiently deep to prevent their being damaged by traffic. The separate charges should be connected up by instantaneous fuse so that they can be fired simultaneously by a low-powered battery exploder.
In addition to these road-block charges, a number of 10-foot planks should be prepared with the appropriate quantity of explosive strapped to them. These portable road charges can be rushed to any threatened point and laid by the roadside suitably concealed. On the approach of tanks or armoured fighting vehicles these planks can be dragged across the road, and exploded under the vehicle as required.

DEMOLITION:

Small bridges can be destroyed with ease and certainty, and craters blown in the road to form tank barriers. These and many other simple demolitions can be carried out after a short but careful course of training. It must be repeated, however, that High Explosive must be handled only by trained men and that men should be trained without further delay in this important field. The possibilities of this weapon in trained hands are limited, but in the hands of untrained personnel its use is usually disastrous.

To sum up: generally, knowledge of the use of explosives placed in the hands of single individual the most powerful weapon in existence, a weapon which, handled with reasonable care and skill, is practically safe and adaptable to very high degree. In using explosives it is not necessary to hold large stocks and kinds and sizes of grenades, each grenade being suitable for only one job. A single store of high explosives can be held and by varying the quantity used, this item of store can be adapted to a variety of purposes. The final, and in fact ruling, point of handling of high explosives is that personnel be trained carefully and MUST AT ALL TIMES CONTINUE TO OBSERVE THE PRECAUTIONS TAUGHT IN THIS TRAINING. Accidents will only create a loss of confidence in the weapon, whereas the loss of confidence should be in the operator. Provided this is borne in mind, the unit commander will find a solution to the majority of street-fighting problems in the use of high explosives.
GENERAL:

The choice of arms and equipment should be governed by 1) certain features of warfare, (2) and the type the enemy use:

1. Street fighting imposes great physical strain upon all ranks.
2. Many obstacles are encountered in built-up areas.
3. Nearly all surfaces are hard and smooth; water drains off quickly.
4. Fighting usually takes place at close quarters.
5. There are usually many firing positions giving good cover from fire; most of these have overhead cover which can quickly be strengthened.

THE ABOVE POINTS SUGGEST DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS:

1. Arms and equipment should be kept as light as possible.
2. Weapons should correspond to one of the following types:

   I. GIVING A GREAT VOLUME OF FIRE IN PROPORTION TO WEIGHT AND SIZE
   .e.g. A SUB-MACHINE GUN.

   II. BEING ABLE EITHER TO GET ROUND OR TO PENETRATE COVER FROM AUTOMATIC
   WEAPONS FIRE, .e.g. A GRENADE OR RIFLE...

note: In all cases, weapons used should be that of the same caliber as that of the enemy, as that becomes our source of ammunition and weapons.

ARMS:

I. Rifle and Bayonet--The 360° field around an defensive position is likely to be split, in built-up areas, into several separate, narrow fields of fire. The bayonet is the principal close-quarter weapon for the ordinary rifle, and can be used with great effect in clearing houses, or in street battles.

II. Discharger---The present issue of one discharger per platoon is intended for the use of the use of the grenade.

III. M16, B.A.R., & M1---These two weapons will be dealt with together, as in street fighting the greater range and endurance of B.A.R. will rarely be utilized.
Both types are excellent in defence and can make a street impassable. The Automatic weapon is very suitable in attack to give covering fire, but both are too heavy and cumbersome for such close-range fighting, such as would be the case in gardens and houses. At a pinch an Automatic weapon can be fired from the hip, and may be useful where sub-machine guns are not obtainable.

THE SUB-MACHINE GUN—This is the ideal assult and close-range fighting weapon. It enables targets appearing from different directions and at short ranges to be engaged quickly, and has a high rate of fire combined with great stopping power. The sub-machine gun can be fired from the hip or shoulder with accuracy up to 50 yards. It has been found that the best method of firing from the shoulder is to align the foresight in the V formed by the cocking-handle rather than the backsight.

ANTI-TANK RIFLE—This has good penetrative qualities, and, although primarily for use against medium sized tanks, can usefully be used against enemy behind cover proof against automatic weapons fire. The hole blown by the bullet will not be large enough to provide entry to a house. The rifle is rather heavy and awkward to carry great distances.

TWO-INCH MORTAR—This weapon is difficult to use and rather ineffective in built-up areas for the following reasons:

A. Mortar bombs have little penetration.

B. The enemy will, in defence, be roofed over; and, in attack, will either be roofed over or better engaged by small-arms fire or automatic weapons fire.

There are, however, occasions when it is useful to attack an enemy in gardens, ruined houses, etc., while it may sometimes be possible to use smoke, in cases where a smoke bomb can be found.

PISTOL—In the hands of an untrained shot, the pistol will not prove an effective weapon. With constant practice, it will be found that the short barrel and the speed with which single rounds can be fired enable the firer to engage targets rapidly in different directions and render it a very useful weapon for close-quarter fighting.

GRENADES—When thrown is a most valuable weapon. It will normally be used in clearing a house and in surprise encounters with enemy at close quarter. It has a 4-second fuse and a 7-second fuse can be thrown up to 35 yards. The thrower must take cover before the explosion. (see handbook on improvised demolition)

Grenades are not suitable as explosives to blow a gap in barricades, doorways, walls, etc.

Smoke will almost certainly play a most important part. In defence it may be used to blind the enemy covering fire and mystify the attacking troops, incidentally making them good silhouette targets. In attack it may similarly be used to blind enemy fire, but better surprise is often achieved if a side is attacked different from that which has been blinded. In the assault,
smoke inside a house can be overwhelming.

EQUIPMENT:

SHOES--When obtainable, rubber-soled shoes are in every way preferable to Army boots, combining the advantages of silence and a good grip.

RESPIRATORS AND GAS-CAPES--Respirators may be needed against smoke and tear gas grenades, dust, etc., and should always be carried. If orders permit, gas-capes may be discarded in built-up areas, where there is so much cover from spray attack.

KNAPSACKS--There are, in street fighting, features which make the wearing of the knapsack by advancing or attacking troops not only unnecessary but undesirable. The contents of the pack are:

(a) Knife, fork, spoon, and mess-tin.
(b) Spare pair of socks.
(c) Groundsheet.
(d) Food.

Periscopes--periscopes are invaluable for commandant, and Lt's and for the point section of each attacking platoon. The present issue should be supplemented by home-made productions.

GENERAL:

Training should follow the sequence:

(1) lecture.
(2) Demonstration.
(3) Sand Table.
(4) Practice.
ANALYSIS: One side of each street is held. One end and one side of each street is held by the enemy. Of the enemy houses holding X, D2 and D3 are covered by fire on four sides, and D1 is covered on two sides. Of the enemy houses holding Y, four sides of all the houses D3 and B1, 2, 3, and 4 are covered by fire. Moreover, the street joining X from the enemy side is not properly covered, whereas the entrances to Y are well covered. CONCLUSION: Street 7 should be attacked first. You figure it out, as your life may depend on it in the near future.
Title: Student National Coordinating Committee

Character: Racial Matters

Reference: is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above at New York.

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

100-439196-34-199

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NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

Information copies have been designated for Atlanta and Cincinnati since they are the only other divisions with any apparent SNCC activities.

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-COVER PAGE-
NY 100-147963

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report SNCC activity in 90 days.

-C*

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFI DENTIAL

4 - 108th MT Group, NYC (RM)
1 - OSI, NYC (RM)
1 - FBI, NYC (RM)
1 - Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Copy to:

Office: New York, New York

Date: MAY 2, 1970

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies space in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 350 West 20th Street, NYC, which serves as national headquarters for SNCC. There are SNCC chapters currently functioning in Cincinnati, Ohio, Atlanta, Georgia, and NYC. Chairman H. Rap Brown is currently a fugitive from justice and is being sought on a federal warrant charging Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution. SNCC has announced various projects including a liberation school in Atlanta, the National Black Referendum Against the War in Vietnam, the Augusta Coffee House, the Newsletter and the Agrarian Reform Program, but none have come to fruition as a result of a lack of funds.

Various SNCC releases concerning structure, aims and purpose of organization set out within.

-P-

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) may be found in the Appendix section of this report.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic declassification and declassification

This document contains the recommendation and 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. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE

The SNCC headquarters will be returned to Atlanta, Georgia, effective on or about April 17, 1970. New York SNCC leader TERRY AUDREY is scheduled to move to that city to serve in the leadership of the organization with STANLEY WISE and WILLIE RICKS, both presently operating in the Atlanta, Georgia area.

April 18, 1970

The transfer of SNCC Functionary TERRY AUDREY to Atlanta, Georgia, is being held in abeyance as the organization is without funds to pay the cost of his transportation and the fact that they no longer have office space since the takeover of the SNCC Office by the National Black Economic Development Conference. SNCC is an organization in which JAMES FORMAN formerly served as spokesman.

April 16, 1970

The SNCC National Headquarters remain at 336 West 26th Street, New York City, as of May 21, 1970, although there has been some discussion in the press concerning the removal of National SNCC Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia.

May 21, 1970

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

SNCC has three chapters currently active throughout the United States. They are in New York City, Atlanta, Georgia, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

May 21, 1970
PHILIP LEROY HUTCHINGS, former National Program Secretary of SNCC, has ceased his activities with such organization and is now actively involved in recruiting for the Venceremos Brigade. Source described the Venceremos Brigade as a volunteer organization whose purpose is to travel to Cuba to aid in the harvest of sugar cane.

January 30, 1970

H. RAP BROWN is the National Chairman of SNCC. IRVING B. DAVIS remains as Director of the International Affairs Section and WILLIAM HUNT is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council of SNCC.

May 21, 1970

A federal warrant was issued May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, with Unlawful Interstate Flight to Avoid Prosecution, for Arson, Inciting to Riot and Failure to Appear (Title 18 United States Code, Section 1073).

The Cincinnati SNCC chapter is composed currently of eleven members. The office of SNCC in Cincinnati is located at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

May 21, 1970

The SNCC office in Atlanta, Georgia, is located at 360 Nelson Street South West. There are three individuals who are currently active in SNCC in Atlanta. There has been some attempt by JAMES FORMAN, a former SNCC officer, to gain control of the Atlanta SNCC office.
V. FOREIGN CONTACTS

SNCC sponsored a party February 18, 1970, honoring the Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations. The party was held at 7 East 14th Street and was arranged by IRVING DAVIS.

February 18, 1970
March 24, 1970

Three representatives of SNCC attended a social affair at the residence of the Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations in Mt. Vernon, New York, April 26, 1970.

April 29, 1970
VII. SNCC PROJECTS

1. National Black Referendum
   Against the War in Vietnam

   The so-called "Black Referendum on Vietnam" being organized by IRVING DAVIS is actually a front organisation of SNCC. The purpose of the referendum is to conduct a polling of the Black Community to show the dissent existing therein towards the involvement of the United States in Vietnam. This polling was to be accomplished through mailing and the establishment of booths within the Black Communities and churches in Atlanta, Georgia; Augusta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Boston, Massachusetts; Detroit, Michigan; Newark, New Jersey; New York, New York, and Washington, D.C. It was originally scheduled to take place between March 22, and March 27, 1970; however, it was rescheduled to commence on April 30, 1970, as a result of the postal strike, which interrupted mail service.

March 11, 1970
This project has been given the endorsement and support of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, 110 East 125th Street, New York City, a ministerial organization of black clergymen, who have granted DAVIS the use of their office space. DAVIS has contacted ALFRED KURD, official of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, a New York City based anti-war group, and secured some financial assistance from him for the project. The amount DAVIS received is unknown and he is the only individual who has access to the records.

DAVIS has stated that he is using the office space of the National Committee of Black Churchmen for the Referendum because he feels that if the Black Community realized it was a SNCC undertaking, it would receive little or no support.

March 11, 1970

The SNCC program entitled "National Black Referendum on Vietnam" scheduled to commence on April 30, 1970, has been completely dormant and no one from SNCC previously active in promoting this program has been observed at its office space, 110 East 125th Street, New York City, in the previous weeks.

April 14, 1970

The National Black Referendum against the War in Vietnam, initiated by IRVING DAVIS, appears to have accomplished nothing and is regarded by many as a complete flop. The program was afforded very little publicity and it is believed, at this point, to have been abandoned by DAVIS.

May 21, 1970
3. Coffee House

Various SNCC officials have been in the Augusta, Georgia area seeking to secure rental space, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" in Augusta, Georgia. Atlanta attorney, HOWARD MOORE, Jr., is acting as lawyer in behalf of SNCC in these negotiations.

March 2, 3, and 4, 1970

March 25, 1970

The "coffee house" being established by SNCC in Augusta, Georgia, has run into serious financial problems and its future is very questionable because of the lack of money needed to open and operate it. It was anticipated the coffee house would open May 29, 1970; however, it is unknown whether the opening can be effected on this date.

May 11, 1970
4. Agrarian Reform

SNCC's agrarian reform program, under the direction of WILLIAM HUNT, is currently dormant. The land involved was originally scheduled to be purchased during early January, 1970, and has not yet been secured as a result of a lack of funds.

May 21, 1970

5. Liberation School

IRVING DAVIS intends to reactivate the "Liberation School" that was formerly operated in Atlanta, Georgia, by SNCC official, ROBERT SMITH, who reportedly has left the country.

May 25, 1970

May 1, 1970
TERRY AUDREY, SNCC functionary is believed to have authorized a report outlining the present situation and conditions of the SNCC operated Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia. The report on the Liberation School is directed to the RPC, which is the Revolutionary Political Council of SNCC, a semi-secret policy making body within the organization composed of MOHAMMED HUNT, IRVING DAVIS, H. RAP BROWN and possibly RON JACKSON, all New York City based officials.

May 11, 1970

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

Subsequent to funeral services for RALPH FEATHERSTONE in Washington, D.C., who was killed along with another SNCC functionary when the car in which they were driving exploded outside Bel Air, Maryland, on March 9, 1970, as a result of a bomb explosion, JAMES FORMAN called a meeting of all former SNCC officials who were present at the funeral.
SNCC issued a press release concerning the whereabouts of H. RAP BROWN, National Director of the organization, on March 16, 1970.

SNCC issued a press release concerning the whereabouts of H. RAP BROWN, National Director of the organization, on March 16, 1970.

A copy of this release, as provided by

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on March 25, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report

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page 29.

The following statement was issued by SNCC concerning the disappearance of H. RAP BROWN following the explosion in Bel Air, Maryland, on March 9, 1970, which killed two of BROWN's associates:

The following statement was issued by SNCC concerning the disappearance of H. RAP BROWN following the explosion in Bel Air, Maryland, on March 9, 1970, which killed two of BROWN's associates:

"March 15, 1970

"March 15, 1970

"STATEMENT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

"STATEMENT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

"AMERICA IF IT TAKES MY DEATH TO ORGANIZE MY PEOPLE 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 HUMANITY TO

"AMERICA IF IT TAKES MY DEATH TO ORGANIZE MY PEOPLE 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 HUMANITY 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!

"Note to America"  
H. Rap Brown, Parrish Prison, La.  
February 21, 1968

"The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)  
calls for massive retribution and revenge for the vicious  
murders of Ralph Featherstone and Brother Che.

"In executing revenge and retribution we urge all  
Black people to keep in mind the very real possibility that  
the body of H. Rap Brown was removed from the scene of  
the murder by the racist white power structure in order to  
avoid massive reprisals in the United States. Black people  
must not forget that the body of Patrice Lumumba was not  
found until some time after his assassination so that the  
Congolese population wouldn't rise up in vengeance at the  
death of their leader.

"Ralph Featherstone and Brother Che have rendered  
herculean service to the Black liberation struggle and their  
murderers and assassins must be punished. Aggressive warfare  
against the U.S. must be further intensified. We know that  
the killing of these brothers is only a small part of the  
��mtry, systematic extermination of Black people that is the basis  
of the call for law and order. By planting a bomb in the  
brother’s car the racist white in the U.S. have escalated  
their tactics of violence against Black people. We must,  
therefore, begin to escalate our efforts and tactics  
in trying to destroy the racist, capitalist and imperialist  
government of the United States."
"We are firmly convinced that the murder of our brothers must be charged to the dirty, bloody hands of Richard M. Nixon and especially Spiro Agnew. All Black people must also understand that Ralph Featherstone was viciously hated by zionists and he became the symbol of SNCC’s opposition to Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

"It must be made crystal clear that H. Rap Brown IS NOT at home -- and that his wisdom and ideas must be spread throughout the Black community: 'No slave should die a natural death; there is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. 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 NOT BETRAY THE CONFIDENCE OF H. RAP BROWN, RALPH FEATHERSTONE AND BROTHER CHE!"

March 16, 1970

FRANCIS MEAL, National Staff member of SNCC, is presently distributing a pamphlet attacking the Federal Government and several of its agencies, attributing to the Federal Government much of the violence that has transpired in the country.

March 25, 1970

The above statement, as furnished by on March 20, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 39, 31, and 32.

WILLIAM HUNT has authored various outlines describing the current SNCC organization, its aims, structure and programs.

May 11, 1970
Copies of such report, as provided by [REDACTED] on May 11, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 33, 34, 35, and 36.

SMCO has mailed various functionaries within the organization a document captioned "Guidelines and Amendments".

May 11, 1970

A copy of the above document, as provided by [REDACTED] on May 11, 1970, may be found in the appendix section of this report pages 37, 38, 39, and 40.
APPENDIX

1. 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-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 sad 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, 1969, 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.
REPORT TO R.P.O. Terry

Have been here two weeks - in which time bulk of energy spent in cleaning office.

Met with John O'Neal of CESP last week. Three instructions:

1- change name of group
2- cut original proposal and submit for emergency funding for school
3- start school for another field appraisal.

The name of the group was catching flack here from someone. Original proposal also seemed as a smoke screen for something else. He (and Herb Callender) felt the school would fail if it was submitted with the other components of the program. In order for emergency funding, the field appraiser must see something tangible. This is in progress now, anticipating his visit.

Rewrite proposal - enclosed is copy of original and rewrite. Please send back copies of both for our files.

As for the school - Hawaii and I have been greatly hampered by lack of transportation until last week. We have been doing leg work attempting to raise money for bills. Checked with Summit Conference here - they instructed I should see Abbott Howard Danny Brown's Monastery. Also I am attempting to find a Father Austin Ford - a radical priest in the Episcopal Church who fought the Bishop and has enough influence to try to get the program through.

Received a history of why SESP is catching hell from the bishop. He was one of the liberals in Atlanta who was blackballed turned off in '66 and has resented it ever since.

Office in need of the following sum:

light $122  
water $15  
gas $138  

or trying to raise it through those above mentioned folks and others.

Things are slow - but we'll get it together.
Due to internal difficulties of administration and the group dynamics of the working staff of the organization formerly known as the AfroAmerican Society of Greater Atlanta, we find emerging a group of individuals comprising a working team, who intend to live up to the commitments to the Black people of Atlanta in the form of programs previously adopted by the presently defunct organization.

However, after many months of inactivity, we find that it is impossible to fulfill all of the obligations we have incurred, and have set policy to the effect that the programs (three of them) will be implemented when feasible to do so.

Our most important and most successful program shall be our primary concern. Until we are thoroughly convinced we shall be able to invest time and energy in other endeavors, our liberation school shall be our major program in and for the Black communities of the city of Atlanta.

This school, with the exception of the past two months, has been successfully operating for almost a year.

In the beginning of our liberation school program we set forth a purpose answerable to some of the problems facing the present public educational system, therefore outlining our alternative. We realize that the present educational system was grossly inadequate because Black children are fed specifically indoctrinatory and often irrelevant data, while being denied those exercises necessary to stimulate the thought process. The methods used to teach basic subjects vital to any form of education have not been successful, and where they have been, only in minimal forms, not reaching the broad base of Black children. This means a disabling of Black children's ability to read, write, reason, create (especially create), challenge and dispute. This system's effects are apparent in the average Black youth after completing the so-called "educational cycle" he has no knowledge of self; he has an acquired desire to break ties with the Black community, and can function in no capacity for he cannot relate to his own,
while the system which created this dilemma will not accept him on equal terms, even though he has been programmed to accept and partake in the values, rituals, mores, and trends of that society, right or wrong.

Realizing these inadequacies we designed our liberation school to reach the Black child at an early age (3-6) in order to offset the present situation, as well as to prepare him to enter wider environmental situations, i.e., making the transition from home and family to the broader society. Using our philosophy, "Black pre-school education is one that essentially prepares the child to withstand and cope with obstacles he will be faced with the first years of formal public school," for we realize it is during the first years of schooling that the Black child is molded and shaped for whatever future education they receive, as well as the foundation laid for "success or failure" in this system.

We see our liberation school program as:

a. improving the child's capacity and ability to think and rationalize, preparing him for the type of thinking processes he will encounter in a very short time under the system of education known to us today.

b. instilling an understanding of the meaning of relationship and responsibility to himself, his parents, people around him, and his own Black community.

c. showing the importance of questioning and seeking knowledge, which can be used and applied to his own situation, so that he may create uses for the knowledge that he acquires, whether in the sterile laboratories of a classroom, or in intercourse with society at large.

We feel that this can and will be accomplished by our curriculum, which is outlined below:

**READING**

In the first year children learned alphabet and letter writing. This is the prerequisite to reading. This year we have moved into phonetics, spelling and reading skills.
MATHMATICS

The first year we learned numbers (recognition, writing and numerical concepts), shapes and simple operations. This year we are trying to use a relatively new approach in purpose, if not in technique. With our emphasis placed upon building a new value system and a humanity, we are trying to instill new values, new concepts and new alternatives to existing systems, we find the student too young to comprehend any detail in mathematical principles, but are being taught the basic concepts of the numerical system, groups, and sets, through their (the members) relationship with each other and the relationship of numbers to things directly associated with the children.

SCIENCE

This shall entail a study of the human body (external and internal) on the level of hygiene for youngsters and other body functions. We are dealing primarily with less complicated systems and organs. We also study other aspects of nature, i.e., plant life and some forms of animal life. This course provides for puzzling exercises and experiments which allow the children to learn the analytical process, satisfy their basic inquisitive nature, and also allow them an understanding of themselves. (This is so because children are so much like animals.)

GEOGRAPHY

Geography is taught in conjunction with Black history. Geographic work shall be both theoretical (map study etc.) of foreign lands, as well as practical, in the form of exploration of his own community, and the city of Atlanta itself. Your children will be prepared to venture out from their immediate environment of the backyard (if fortunate to have some facilities) or their street, into the areas which affect them. This will help break the ice so to speak when the child is prepared to venture into the educational system of Atlanta. In addition, since we find that the intelligence quotient is based on a test which deals with the middle class environment and experience, we intend to prepare the child for such
BLACK HISTORY

This is a presentation of the African and AfroAmerican experience to young Black minds. It shall be told in story form, using animation and personification to maintain the interests of the students. This course shall concern itself with the visible and significant achievement and struggles of Black people, things that a young Black child can relate to his own experience.

SPEECH

This course is designed to give the children exercises in self-expression and vocabulary building. It will give the child the opportunity to develop speech habits and confidence in speech, two primary factors in communication. It will not be a grammar course, we will not discuss nouns and adjectives, and all of the other things that are done in the system's schools, but allow the student to relate, verbally, his own ideas and concepts of the other things taught. We find that in primary grades in public school systems, young Black children become afraid and lack confidence when speaking and learning to speak because they are afraid of being put down by the teacher. Given a little freedom and a little correction now and then, as well as encouragement without fear of a bad grade, etc., the child can (and invariably does) learn to speak and express his thoughts.

To augment all of this the children will have exercises in Observation and Concentration. They are exposed to music, creativity, arts and crafts and the other aspects of their environment which are conducive to a good educational experience. Learning situations of this type (we feel) enables a child to develop physically, socially, emotionally, politically as well as academically.
In the past the school has been able to provide free medical checkups for the students with the aid of a few Black physicians. This has been broadened so that free dental examinations shall also be given.

The child's education shall not stop once he leaves the confines of our physical plant. We are and have been in the process of designing and manufacturing our own textbooks and materials, as well as using whatever we deem appropriate. Many of these articles find their way into the parents' hands who are counselled as to use and application so that home is also a part of the child's educational process.

After the child has left us, and is entered into a public elementary school, we feel that either of two things will happen. Either he will be looked upon as an intelligent, well cared child, or as an "uptight nigger brat" which indicates that we have done our job well, according to the type of teacher the student receives. But in the long run we know that the child has and will have gained a lot from his experience.

The need has made itself apparent to expand our school. Since our program is a community based project working directly with local persons, we have been asked to expand our school to thirty children. That is what we intend to do.

Our school is housed in space rented (a whole building) at 360 Nelson St. SW, the former home office of our landlords, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization of many years ago. We have acquired this building for $200 a month. Presently we have paid two months' rent in advance, which was raised among those individuals working with the school (which presently is unnamed). Meals are provided for the students, free of charge. Food coming from various sources, but basically again coming out of the pockets of individuals. Our intention is to continue the program as long as there is a need, but for
These funds are desperately needed. We intend for this school to become community operated in the future, self sufficient as well as completely controlled by the community. This, however, we foresee in the next 16-24 months.

Until this time it is necessary for us to seek funding from various places. This is quite apparent when we find that we were able to raise for operations in the past two weeks only a little over $450, with $260 coming from one individual with the program.

We are asking for a refunding from your organization. Recently we see our budget for the school as pretty much the same, for the next 12 months.

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<tr>
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<th>Amount (per month)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director &amp; Head Teacher</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>4,800</td>
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<td>2 teachers</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>9,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utilities incl. Tele</td>
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<td>1,320</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper &amp; Supplies</td>
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<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>23,320.00</td>
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Presently, due to lack of funds, and in order to re-establish complete operation of the school, as well as expansion as planned, we seek an emergency grant, as advised by your field appraiser, Mr. O'Neill for a period of 3 months. This comes to a total of

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<th>Position</th>
<th>Amount (per month)</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supplies</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>5,630</td>
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</table>
Not all of the Afro American Society has been scrapped, for we have kept the board of directors intact because they are representative of all segments of the community in the city of Atlanta. These people and their respective functions are:

William Coleman  Chairman  121h Larridge Rd  SW
Connie Beadles  vice Chair  917 parson s  SW
Essie Thompson  recording secy  217 Buena Vista Ave
Mozelle Daniels  corr secy  217 Buena Vista Ave
Petty Foster  Committee  718 Parson st
Carrie Mathis  treasurer  980 Peoples St

Rey Julian Pond  132 Burlee St

Robert Hunter  Advisor  po box 2116
Howard Moore  cso.  atty & legal advisor  859 2 Hunter St

Robert Smith has been replaced as director by Terry Ardrey. His function is to carry out all of the responsibilities delegated him by the board, and to make sure the school is running at all cost. As director of the school, he is an ex-officio member of the board of directors. He is the only salaried person on this committee.

NOTES

- most of the text of this proposal has been plagiarized from the original. This is not due to lack of originality, but because we feel that this program is a worthwhile endeavor.

- The school shall be known as
Official Statement by the Student National Coordinating Committee
March 10th, 1970

We, the Student National Coordinating Committee, hereby denounce all reports that Chairman H. Rap Brown is at home. These stories are total speculation and rumor.

We further denounce the stories of the Amsterdam News claiming "H. Rap Brown is alive and well at home" as a deliberate attempt of the establishment to sow confusion in the Black community and movement.

These totally unfounded stories are dangerous to the morale of Brother Rap's family and friends.

Chairman H. Rap Brown's whereabouts are not known. It is a grave possibility that Rap's body was pulled from the wreckage, or that he was kidnapped.

With the given racial tension in Bel Air, Maryland, known as a habitat for the Minutemen and KKK, there is no doubt in our minds that the bomb that claimed the lives of Ralph Featherstone and William (Che) Payne was meant for Chairman Rap.

We call for a dismissal of the trial because the charges are unfounded and that no Black man can get a fair trial under this judicial system.

We request the cooperation of all above and underground media in not restating these fictitious reports of H. Rap Brown's whereabouts. Any statement made by any individual who is not a spokesman of, or affiliated with, SNCC should not be regarded as fact, unless authorized by the said organization.

Other press conferences and statements will occur in the near future.

Political Council
Student National Coordinating Committee
We charge the federal government with the crime of wantonly murdering our two brothers, Ralph Featherstone and apparently William the Paine. We suspect, although we may never be able to prove it, that agents of the federal government were directly involved, probably because they thought that Brother Rap Brown was in the car.

This is the way that the CIA has operated all over the Third World from the Congo to Laos, from Ghana to Vietnam. If they are in the way, people of color and their leaders are mysteriously blown to bits, with even less thought that if they were boulders blocking a road or trees blocking a view. But directly involved or not, the Federal Government is responsible for initiating the chain of events that has now resulted in this heinous crime against black people.

Just as the Mayor of Memphis, Tennessee created the political climate of violence and hysteria which led to the wanton murder of Dr. King in 1968, the Federal Government today with its repressive legislation against movement activists such as the Stokely Carmichael Anti-Riot act, and the Anti-Conspiracy Act and its bringing to trial of movement activists on the basis of this repressive legislation has now created the political climate of violence and hysteria which has led to the wanton murder of these two dedicated hard-working, unsung fighters of human freedom.

For many years it is the Federal Government itself which has been responsible for the growing chaos and disorder in and around the courts. By its deliberate effort to muddy up the fundamental distinction between political activity and crime, it has fostered disrespect for the judicial process, and cited to riot and murder, and unleashed the most reactionary forces in the nation.

By sending in agents-provocateurs to movement organizations, as in the notorious alleged plot by GAM to blow up the Statue of Liberty, it has deliberately instigated and sought to provoke freedom fighters to acts of terrorism which can only end in their imprisonment or death.
THE TIME HAS COME TO TAKE SOME SIGNIFICANT STEPS TO BRING A HALT TO THIS VIOLENCE AND ENDING INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE BY THE GOVERNMENT. To this end, we demand:

(1) That the Federal government itself take the initiative immediately to move for the dismissal of all charges against H. Rap Brown, as well as against all other political defendants, black and white, who have been charged under the Anti-Riot, Anti-Conspiracy Act and similar repressive legislation;

(2) That steps be taken immediately to repeal the Anti-Riot and Anti-Conspiracy Act;

(3) That the FBI, the CIA, and Police Departments across the country immediately destroy their dossiers on movement activists and that the permanent Subcommittee on Investigation of the Committee on Government Operation of the U.S. Senate (whose extensive extensive and public hearings have revealed only a small part of what is contained in these dossiers) be immediately disbanded;

(4) That wherever agents-provocateurs have been, or are disclosed to be involved in, acts of terrorism against movement activists, that the charges against the movement people be dismissed and charges be brought instead against those agents and the official agencies employing them for conspiring to violate the civil rights of citizens.

WE CALL UPON THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND ALL DECENT CITIZENS ACROSS THE NATION TO SUPPORT THESE DEMANDS WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO CLEAR UP THE CALCULATED CONFUSION BETWEEN POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND CRIME WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING TO DESTROY THE MOVEMENT.

At the same time we call upon black organizations to appoint their own investigative committee to determine the guilty parties to these murders and we demand that the Justice Department and all officials on every level cooperate with this committee giving it the right to subpoena persons and documents and granting it access to all files and information related to this and similar crimes. In particular, we urge movement people to reflect upon the need for new forms of organization which will minimize future opportunities for the enemy to waste our Brothers and Sisters.
ENDORSERS CAN SEND THEIR NAMES, ORGANIZATIONS, ETC. TO THE FOLLOWING:

P.O. BOX 3346
Jefferson Station
Detroit, Michigan 48214

SIGNED BY:

Dan Aldrich
James Boggs
Bob Lucas
William Strickland
Frances Beal
I. DEVELOPMENT OF POSITION PAPERS ON:

A. The Role of Black Women
B. Revolutionary Morality and Leadership
C. Revolutionary Nationalism: A New Direction

II. AMENDMENTS TO ORGANIZATIONAL GUIDELINES: (see attached)

III. CONCEPT OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZING: "Working within the framework of community programs and structures"

A. Participation - understand true nature of community in which we intend to organize. We must therefore participate in already established organizations and perform one or more of the following tasks:
   1. Gathering data on personal, finances, income, supporters' effectiveness of program, usefulness.

B. Influencing programs with SNCC ideology

C. Neutralizing programs that are dangerous or detrimental to the liberation of black people.

D. The following issues concern the black community and organizing should be carried out wherever possible around them:
   1. Education - community control, busing of pupils, etc.
   2. Nationalism
   3. The Welfare issue
   4. Indonesian Wars (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand!!!)

IV. BASIC STRUCTURE AND BASIC PROGRAMS: (see attached sheet)

V. ORGANIZATION PROJECTS:

A. Augusta Project - Coffee House - Hughes, Lytle
B. Skills Project - Davis, Douglas
C. Atlanta Project (organizers training school, pre-school, audio visual center) - Terry Audrey
   1. Library
   2. Student Organizing
   3. Draft Counseling
   4. Printing Operation

D. National Newspaper - R. Jackson
E. Agrarian Reform Project - Hunt
F. Genocide, Human Rights - Crooke, Sandy
G. Pittsburgh-Midwest Project (Factory workers base) Scrooge, Danny Brown
H. New Jersey auto workers - M. Head, Bruce A.
I. Black Women's Alliance - P. Beal
VI. REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM: (An in depth position paper is presently being prepared)

Our political ideology must be that of revolutionary nationalism which means that all our efforts must be channeled towards liberating our people home, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Our objective is the building of a strong political force which will eventually lead to a strong Revolutionary Nationalist scientific socialist state.

We must begin to instill in ourselves and in our people that we comprise a nation of African people and that therefore, we must strive to build a strong, viable nation based on the needs and aspirations of African people in the U.S. and around the world for self-determination and self-reliance.

VII. TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF PERSONNEL:

A program is presently being developed for recruitment, training, and assigning new SNCC personnel. Lesson plans will be forwarded to SNCC chapters and contacts.

VIII. FORMATION OF SNCC SECRETARIAT: Chairman - Frances Beal

Functions:

A. Is responsible for coordinating all programmatic aspects of SNCC.

B. Is responsible for keeping members informed of progress of projects, programs as well as a liaison with the RFC on matters concerning programs.

C. Is responsible for distributing funds to those programs under its administration and is responsible to the RFC for accounting of financial status of each project.

D. Is responsible for the recruitment and training of new members and appointing them to work on various committees and projects.

E. Is responsible for creating and developing internal political education curriculum for approval by the RFC.

NOTE: All programmatic aspects of the organization are to be coordinated with the Chairman of the Secretariat. All heads of chapters, projects, programs, etc. MUST submit a bi-monthly report to the Chairman at 346 West 20th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. A form will be prepared and distributed to facilitate this responsibility.

IX. DISCIPLINARY ACTION BY WORKERS AND RFC:

A. Discussion of disciplinary action to be taken against Irving Davis, present Director of International Affairs project for violation of code of behavior, gross political indiscretion.

B. See letter forwarded to Comrade Davis attached herewith. The final decision after extensive debate is to (1) Take disciplinary action based on violation of Guidelines adopted Nov. 10, 1969 (See #s 1, 2, 6, 10, 615. Also #142 under revolutionary morality.) (2) Write a letter to Davis detailing reasons for disciplinary action and (3) Mandate RFC to decide form of action to be taken. All communication to Com. Davis should discontinue except on the skills project and the black referendum on Vietnam.
I. SNCC STRUCTURE:

A. National Chairman

B. Revolutionary Political Council

C. Secretariat
   1. Newspaper
   2. Communications
   3. Training & Recruitment
   4. International Affairs
   5. Internal Political Education

II. BASIC PROGRAMS:

A. Ideological propagation - revolutionary nationalism

B. Organizing workers
   
   To begin to go into factories where our people are and organize them (both male and female) around their oppression, the power they hold as workers and producers, and the development of Political Consciousness and the necessity for struggle and sacrifice, etc. This area is crucial.

C. Southern Organizing

   Organizing our people in the South farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, students, industrial workers around self defense, survival, the oppression that is felt day to day, hunger, starvation, radical unions, developing skills in agriculture, the agricultural sciences, the SNCC concept or Agrarian Reform, marketing of goods that are produced in a communal effort.

D. Welfare Organizations - working in or assisting welfare groups to achieve a high level of sophistication in organizing and political consciousness.

E. Student Organizing - most student orgs. across the country at this point in our struggle have no concept of "where to go from here, or what to do". Due to the mistakes we have made in the past, some student orgs. are very mistrustful of SNCC. Whereas they are susceptible to our ideology they have conflicting interests when it comes to actual work or physical contact with us. We must proceed to dispel these mistaken ideas. We are all aware of the importance of students and must create a viable apparatus that allows the student an opportunity to interact with the community. One such method or project would be to have them organize a free school to train our people in the field of agriculture. (In south)
OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION

1. The destruction of (a) capitalism, (b) feudalism, (c) imperialism, (d) racism, (e) the present "western society and its vestiges".

2. The establishment of a democratically centralized, scientific socialist state based on the needs of an oppressed African people.

METHODS TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES INCLUDE:

1. Armed struggle
2. Organizing black workers
3. Organizing black students
4. Organizing welfare mothers
5. Organizing tenant farmers and sharecroppers
GUIDELINES & AMENDMENTS

I. Political

1. All persons, volunteers, and organizers engaging in SNCC activities or functions shall be subject to the rules and regulations established by the decision making body of the organization (Revolutionary Politica Council).

2. All persons willfully engaged in activities politically detrimental to the organization shall be expelled from the organization after review by staff members and the Revolutionary Political Council. Such activities shall be determined by the staff of SNCC and the RPC.

3. Those persons who are late for organizational appointments 4 times within a month shall be brought before the local staff for disciplin

4. Members who willfully disobey orders from people delegated responsibility by the RPC will be brought before the RPC for disciplinary action and dismissal from the organization.

5. All internal discussion and discussion shall be carried out by those parties involved and at no time shall arguments be tolerated in the presence of the public.

6. Members who participate in or contribute to misinformation and untruth concerning the organization in public or elsewhere shall be reprimanded on the first account and given political education on the position of the organization. Upon the second offense, they will be expelled.

7. No member involved in the organization shall sanction the use of his/her name by any indigenous groups, organization, etc. without the permis of the RPC.

8. No SNCC person, chapter, etc. shall make alliances with local, nation or international groups or individuals without informing and/or the approval of the RPC.

9. All SNCC personnel including office workers and full time staff shall spend at least 15 days per month in the community on one or more political projects.

10. Any member convicted of victimizing any other member of the organization or member of the community shall be expelled after the first warning.

11. Those persons assigned special tasks by office staff and who do not function properly shall be replaced if the RPC finds them working below his/her fullest capacity.

12. All officers heading any of the 7 or more networks shall be subordin to the RPC. Each member or head shall, after review, be placed on Council or committee according to his/her work record, dedication, political ability, etc.
13. All officers of the aforementioned networks shall present an outline of past activities and one for his proposed future activities to be reviewed by the RPC upon the request of the RPC.

14. National and international verbal and written contracts, documents, and contacts shall be approved by the decision of the RPC.

15. Any member of the organization found guilty one or more times of being discourteous, arrogant, or egotistical toward people in the community shall:

   (1) be given political education on the correct nature of dealing with people;

   (2) be reprimanded and/or transferred or expelled from the project and/or organization.

16. The Chairman of the RPC shall be elected by the said Council and the National Chairman. (In cases of emergency where the Council cannot all meet, the National Chairman and those members of the Council present shall elect a Chairman of the RPC.)

17. All SNCC Chapters are required to have (1) Work Study Classes; and (2) Cadre meetings at least once a month. (Last Sun. of each month)

ADDITIONAL AMENDMENTS (As of April 11, 1970)

17. No one other than the Chairman of the RPC or/and the Chairman of the Secretariat will authorize statements to the public.

18. All non-based programs requiring use of SNCC personnel and resources will require the authorization of the Chairman of the RPC.

19. Anyone making accusations against anyone or anything either within the organization or in public based on emotional outbursts, rumor and hearsay will be warned on the first account and dismissed from the organization on the second offense.

20. All negative attitudes toward women both within and without the organization must be done away with. Those individuals who continually exhibit degrading behavior toward women will be asked to:

   (1) change their attitude through furthering their political education by reading up to date materials on the woman question;

   (2) after reading the required data and their basic attitude and behavior has not changed, will be asked to resign from the organization upon review by the workers and political Council.

21. No one in SNCC assigned a project or program will dictate or make policy for or try to influence any other project. All projects will come up for review by the Secretariat and the RPC and suggestions and/or criticisms shall be directed to these bodies, for consideration.
22. Anyone who does or attempts to factionalize the organization in any manner will be dealt with in the most complete and effective manner.

23. All ideas, propositions, position papers, etc., must be presented before the general body and must be put up for criticism and discussion by the body.

II. ECONOMIC

1. Those persons actively engaged in full time work for the organization shall receive a subsistence allowance according to (a) need and (b) circumstance.

2. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all monies will be distributed equally to SNCC personnel. (When there is sufficient amount.) Need will be the determining factor in cases of conflict.

3. Those persons who participate willfully in embezzlement, hide or conceal information concerning financial matters of the organization will be upon conviction punished by:

   (a) Mandated to solicit a job within the system 2 weeks following conviction and mandated to contribute 2/3 of their net salary to the organization for a period of 3 months.

   (b) Mandated to organize a political function twice a month for a 4 month period with gross proceeds going to the organization.

   (c) Other punishment to be determined by the RPC including expulsion.

4. All cadres will be required to sell the National SNCC newspaper.

5. All economic matters, implementation of organization programs, etc. shall take precedent over all other matters. Monies shall be used to implement programs of the organization first, subsistence pay will have to take second place.

III. ECONOMIC AMENDMENTS (As of April 11, 1970)

6. No one should use the name of SNCC to acquire contacts for funds, personal assistance, etc. and keep these contacts the personal heresy or use of the individual. All funds received shall be turned over to the RPC who will decide their distribution.

III. REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

1. A high degree of respect between members of the organization & others must be maintained at all times.

2. Anyone who knowingly exploits either economic, military or political situations for personal gain will be brought before the RPC and following conviction shall be immediately expelled or otherwise punished. Oppurtun in any form shall be immediately dealt with by appropriate action of the RPC and/or staff/or committee head.
3. Meetings should be conducted with the utmost feelings of comradeship, deep feelings of love for each other, sophistication, calmness and especially honesty.

4. Morality and leadership qualities in all members must take the form of being that which allows all personnel to avoid all excesses in personal habits. This is the sacrifice that leadership entails. It is not a part-time responsibility; leadership requires the person who would exercise it to be available to serve at anytime, twenty-four hours a day. Leadership requires readiness to give up personal freedom, life, family and friends to promote the cause of the black liberation struggle. (Position Paper to be Developed)
Title: Student National Coordinating Committee

Character: Racial Matters

Reference: is made to report, dated and captioned as above, at New York, New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.
Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a report relating to the activities of the captioned group.

The SNCC organization continues to share space with other groups at 345 West 20th Street.

The organization held its last national staff meeting in June of 1970, and has not since such time held a subsequent national staff meeting, although it had tentatively scheduled such a meeting for December, 1970.
ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

As disclosed within, the SNCC organization is engaged in various projects at the present time; however, for the most part, these projects are in the planning stage and/or have actually ceased operation at the present time. The Third World Women's Alliance, which is the successor organization to the Black Women's Alliance, which was initially instituted as a SNCC project, now operates autonomously under the direction of FRAN BEAL, a NY area SNCC functionary. Since the referenced report, the organization has expelled a number of ranking SNCC functionaries as a result of internal conflict including TERRY ARDRY, JAMES LYTLE, and IRVING DAVIS.

As a practical matter, Atlanta and NY are the only cities where there is even a facade of SNCC activity.

During the period covered by this report, SNCC has not staged or participated in any demonstration or disruptive activity, and it is believed incapable of accomplishing same in view of the limited membership, lack of funds, and internal dissension.

SNCC has recently indicated that the national headquarters of the organization will be transferred to Atlanta, Georgia, within the next month or two. The organization previously maintained its national headquarters there and has indicated on various occasions during the past year that headquarters would be returned to Atlanta, Georgia.

Although the SNCC organization has indicated that it continues to publish a monthly known as the "National SNCC", copies are not known to have been distributed in the NY area since the summer of 1970. Information recently developed indicates that the newspaper may be published in the NYC area by a Chinese
ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

printer. It is believed that such printer may be FRANK CHAN, owner of the Sun Publishing Company, who has in the past done extensive business with political groups in the NYC area. NY will contact Sun Publishing Company to determine the possibility of the SNCC newspaper being published there.

The informants referred to within as having been contacted during February and March, 1971, concerning SNCC proposed guerilla training program are identified as follows:

The pretext referred to within, conducted by SA under the Womens Liberation subscription was a portentious call to St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

The interview of as set out within under the Third I, Lounge subscription, was conducted by SAS and on the date noted.

The interview of as set out within under the Third I, Lounge subscription was conducted by SAS and on the date noted.

- C -

COVER PAGE

CONFIDENTIAL
ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont'd)

SA conducted the review of as set out within on the dates noted.

The various confidential sources contacted as set out under the SNCC Chapters caption within are identified as follows:

The address set out within of 300 9th Ave., NY, NY, as being maintained on the mailing list of the "Daily World" is a former national headquarters office of SNCC.
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The enclosed report is classified "Confidential" since it contains information from NY T-1 through NY T-20 disclosure of whose identity might have an adverse effect upon the national security interests of the U.S.

NEW YORK

At New York, New York. Will follow and report on the activities of the SNCC organization in 90 days.
SNCC currently occupies office space at St. Peters Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th St., NY, NY, which serves as the National Headquarters for SNCC. SNCC has announced various projects including the SNCC newspaper, guerrilla training, Women's Liberation, organizing black workers, and the Third Eye Lounge all of which are in various stages of development and/or discontinuation.

Continuing factionalism within the SNCC organization has inhibited the development of some SNCC projects and continues to date. The organization has been generally unsuccessful in securing funds from church groups and private interests, however, they did secure funds for the operation of the Third Eye Lounge from the U.S. Servicemen's Fund. SNCC currently maintains quasi-active chapters in NY and Atlanta, Georgia. Various SNCC documents concern aspects of SNCC activity in the NYC area and on a national basis are set out within. The legal status of SNCC as an organization recognized by the State of NY has been cancelled and the matter has been referred to the Office of the Attorney General for the State of NY for appropriate action.
I. THE LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE
 OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING
 COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A characterization of
SNCC is attached to this
report.

The offices of National SNCC are located at
St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, New
York City.

March 26, 1971

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT is the director of the New
York State operation of SNCC and chairman of the RPC.

JIMMY LAZARE is a field member of SNCC and a
member of the RPC.

FRANCES BEAL is the national secretary of SNCC
and a member of the RPC.

JAMES FORMAN is the political analyst of SNCC and
coordinates international affairs for the organization.

RONALD JACKSON is editor of the SNCC newspaper
"National SNCC" and is a member of the RPC.

March 26, 1971
The organization is currently experiencing financial difficulties in connection with the Augusta Coffee House known as the Third Eye Lounge. An additional $13,000.00 is needed to pay for air-conditioning equipment which has been installed at the lounge.

June 26, 1970
SNCC presently has pending an application for a grant with the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO), 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

The IFCO is an organization created in 1966, by 10 Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish agencies to obtain financial support and strategies for community development and indigenous economic development efforts across the nation.

HUNT indicated that the National Office of SNCC would be returned to Atlanta, Georgia in the near future.

June 24, 1970
The following projects are currently being developed by SNCC:

Atlanta Freedom School
TERRY ARDREY

Augusta Coffee House
(Third Eye Lounge)
WILLIAM COLEMAN

Women's Liberation
FRANCES BEAL

SNCC Newspaper
RONALD JACKSON

Organizing a Political Party
WILLIAM HUNT

Agrarian Reform
WILLIAM HUNT

IRVING DAVIS resigned from the SNCC organization and is no longer Director of International Affairs. DAVIS is persona non grata with the organization. IRVIN HUNTING is being considered as a replacement for DAVIS but is unable at the present time to assume such a position since he is occupied at present with organizing for the Third Venceremos Brigade.

A characterization of the Venceremos Brigade is attached to this report.

BARBARA HUNT, the wife of WILLIAM HUNT, has been recruited for such brigade and will leave for Cuba August 1, 1970.

N.Y.

Ga.
The SNCC coffee house in Augusta, Georgia is scheduled to open July 4, 1970.

June 29, 1970

The National Office of SNCC recently mailed copies of the "Minutes of the National SNCC Workers Meeting, June, 1970," to various SNCC workers throughout the country.

August 24, 1970

A copy of the above-described minutes as furnished by NY T-1 on August 24, 1970, is attached to this report.

IV. Factionalism Within SNCC

The SNCC Office in Atlanta, Georgia has been unoccupied and unused for more than a month. During recent months, there has been considerable conflict between IRVING DAVIS and JAMES FORMAN, SNCC functionaries in the New York City area. DAVIS, FORMAN and WILLIAM HUNT of New York have each been attempting to gain control of the Atlanta Office. HUNT recently issued instructions that FORMAN was not to utilize the Atlanta Office. FORMAN had intended to use the premises in connection with a venture he has been trying to establish concerning a new black nationalist organization.
SNCC's efforts to establish itself in Atlanta, Georgia have been ineffective to date.

June 12, 1970

JAMES FORMAN and HOWARD MOORE, an Atlanta, Georgia attorney, who has represented SNCC officials in the past, have instituted action to obtain title and possession of the SNCC building located at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

August 18, 1970

Friction has recently developed between WILLIAM HUNT and JAMES FORMAN resulting from FORMAN's insistence that SNCC adopt the "Marxist-Leninist Ideology". SNCC is not receptive to FORMAN's ideology and desires to change its "cultural label" and get involved in organizing black workers.

March 26, 1971

V. FOREIGN TRAVEL

May 6, 1970
June 15, 1970

BARRA HUNT, wife of National SNCC leader WILLIAM HUNT, traveled to Cuba during the latter part of August, 1970, and is scheduled to remain there for approximately three months.

September 9, 1970

October 28, 1970
December 22, 1970

VI. SNCC PROJECTS

A. SNCC Newspaper

SNCC recently published Volume One, Issue One, of the SNCC newspaper known as "National SNCC." This issue, dated May-June, 1970, related to the affairs of the SNCC organization.

May 22, 1970

SNCC has issued the June-July edition of the monthly "National SNCC" Volume One, Number Two.

August 12, 1970

March 26, 1971
B. Guerrilla Training

May 1, 1970
May 28, 1970

A characterization of the BPP is attached to this report.

June 24, 1970

September 25, 1970
During January and February, 1971, and
all advised that they had no information concerning any activities
by SNCC in such areas concerning the purchase of land or,
in fact, any other activities.

October 10-11, 1970
February 15, 1971

There is no known activity by SNCC at present concerning any guerrilla training and/or recruiting of personnel for such a project.

March 8, 1971

During February and March, 1971, various confidential sources, familiar with black nationalist and/or Latin nationalist activities in the New York City area, were contacted but were unable to provide any information concerning SNCC's proposed guerrilla training program.

C. Women's Liberation

FRANCES BEAL, a SNCC functionary, heads the Black Women's Alliance (BWA), a SNCC project which has, as its long range objective, the formation of a national black woman's organization.

July 1, 1970

The BWA, which was formerly a SNCC project under the direction of FRANCES BEAL, is now known as the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA).

August 28, 1970

The address of the TWWA is 346 West 20th Street, In Care Of St. Peter's Church, New York City.

January 18, 1971
On March 12, 1971, through the use of a suitable pretext, it was confirmed that TWWA has access and utilizes the parish hall of St. Peter's Church, 346 West 20th Street, New York City. The SNCC organization also has access to the office space utilized by TWWA at the church.

February 23, 1971

D. Third Eye Lounge

An agreement between Mr. C. A. REID JR. of Richmond County, Virginia and Home in the South, Incorporated, has been drawn up for the leasing of property owned by REID in Augusta, Georgia. The property to be leased is currently known as the Paramount Benevolent Country Club with the lease running from May 1, 1970, to April 30, 1972, with a monthly rental of $500.00. The Home in the South intends to operate the club under such name as they see fit at the present site of the Paramount Country Club.

Home in the South, Incorporated was formed by SNCC functionaries in Fulton County, Georgia for the purpose of securing financing and obtaining property in Augusta, Georgia for the operation of a coffee house or night club.

April 29, 1970
SNCC representatives have been in Augusta, Georgia recently making arrangements to open a so-called "coffee house" in that city to be operated by SNCC as a business venture. SNCC hopes to develop this project into a money-making operation. The organization intends to remodel the proposed premises in Augusta, Georgia to the extent that food and entertainment would be available there.

May 6, 1970
May 16, 1970
May 21, 1970

The SNCC coffee house at the Paramount Country Club in August, Georgia, is scheduled to open July 4, 1970.

June 15, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge in Augusta, Georgia has opened but is attracting very few customers. It is in very bad financial condition. The lounge is in arrears with the landlord and with the air-conditioning firm which installed equipment at the lounge. Unless the Third Eye Lounge can secure $15,000.00 to $20,000.00 within the next two months, it will probably close.

August 20, 1970

On August 20, 1970, was interviewed by Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). During the interview, discussed his participation in an enterprise known as the Third Eye Lounge. The lounge was originally opened in Augusta, Georgia to provide a meeting place for black soldiers from Fort Gordon. However, it is experiencing financial difficulties, owing a total of approximately $27,000.00 to various creditors. Various banking institutes in the Augusta, Georgia area have declined requests for loans to rescue the operation of the lounge.
The SNCC sponsored coffee house in Augusta, Georgia, opened July 31, 1970, and has been a failure to date. The general public in the Augusta area, has exhibited very little interest in such operation.

August 11, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge has been closed since September 8, 1970, but will tentatively reopened September 30, 1970.

September 22, 1970

The Third Eye Lounge reopened October 9, 1970, and held a fairly successful show with attendance of approximately 300 persons. WILLIAM HUNT stated that the next entertainment at the club will be scheduled for October 23, 1970.

October 11, 1970
On December 8, 1970, CHARLES REID, owner of the premises wherein the Third Eye Lounge is situated, secured an eviction notice against the lounge charging rent delinquency of between $1,000.00 and $1,500.00. The premises will be closed if the management does not respond to such notice with payment of the balance owing on the rent.

December 10, 1970

On December 11, 1970, SAS of the FBI interviewed the operations of the Third Eye Lounge. The lounge is now encountering financial difficulties and he is unaware of what the future will be for the lounge. Stated he knew of no political or propagandist activities conducted in the past, or planned for the future at the lounge and stated he knew of no meetings at the lounge except those dealing with the business operations. Further stated that he knew of no affiliations between the lounge and SNCC.

Ohio

December 21 - 22, 1970

WILLIAM HUNT has retained an Augusta, Georgia attorney to take the necessary legal action for breach of contract against CHARLES REID who has instituted eviction proceedings against the management of the Third Eye Lounge.

December 22, 1970
NY 100-147963

The Third Eye Lounge and its employees have been evicted from the premises at 34 Gwinnett Street Extension, Augusta, Georgia, and the building is now in the control of the owner, CHARLES REID.


January 22, 1971

April 15, 1971

E. Organizing Black Industrial Workers

JAMES FORMAN is devoting full time to working on plans for a new group called the "Southern Workers Coalition".

January 8, 1971
January 22, 1971

SNCC is presently engaged in recruiting and organizing black industrial workers in the Atlanta, Georgia area in a project known as the "Southern Workers Coalition".

February 4, 1971
A black workers conference is scheduled for August 21-22, 1971, in Detroit, Michigan. The organizing efforts are to continue and culminate in a nation-wide work stoppage by black industrial employees in 1972, for the purpose of testing the strength of SNCC created workers coalitions and to make appropriate demands at that time.

February 15, 1971

JAMES FORMAN is formulating a new project called the "International Black Workers Congress" (IBWC).

February 16, 1971

On January 26, 1971, copies of an "International Black Workers Congress" newspaper in the car. The newspaper revealed it was from the Georgia Organizing Committee, Post Office Box 27116, Atlanta, Georgia, subscribed to by WILLIAM LA TRANE.

The IBWC is described as an organization of black workers and students who have joined together to further the revolutionary struggle in the United States and other parts of the world to consolidate the existing organizations and to build unity among the revolutionary third world forces. The IBWC is the creation of JAMES FORMAN and WILLIAM HUNT, WILLIAM LA TRANE and RICKY REED, both Atlanta SNCC functionaries recently underwent training in New York City, concerning this project.

March 8, 1971
The address of the IEWC is 179 Cortland Avenue, Island Park, Michigan. Such address is the headquarters of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW).

March 19, 1971

A characterization of the LRBW is attached to this report.

VII. SNCC FINANCES

A request for an emergency grant of $5,680.00 from the Episcopal Church by SNCC for the purpose of establishing a liberation school in Atlanta, Georgia, has been denied. An application requesting a grant of $23,000.00 has yet to be acted upon.

August 11, 1970

August 6, 1970
The USSF is a fund which claims to support anti-military projects such as GI coffee houses and anti-military GI newspapers throughout the country. Its function is supportive.

May 6, 1970
May 16, 1970
May 21, 1970

September 16, 1970
VIII. SNCC COMMUNICATIONS

The SNCC organization in New York, recently distributed three separate flyers relating to:

1. The publication of a SNCC newspaper.

2. The announced SNCC National Staff Meeting to be held in New York, during June, 1970.

3. A discussion of the disciplinary to be taken against IRVING DAVIS, a SNCC member, for violation of certain SNCC regulations and guidelines.

       June 4, 1970

Copies of the above three documents as furnished by on June 4, 1970, are attached to this report.

WILLIAM HUNT is the author of certain SNCC communications relative to action he took concerning two SNCC members, TERRY HADLEY and JAMES LYTLE.

FRANCES SEAL, New York Coordinator of the SNCC office, is the author of a communication to all SNCC workers concerning the lack of communications between SNCC Headquarters and the field offices.

       October 23, 1970

Copies of the above documents as furnished by on October 23, 1970, are attached to this report.

WILLIAM HUNT recently distributed a memorandum captioned "Evaluation of National Offices and Atlanta Project" by WILLIAM HUNT, Acting Head, Political Council, July 12, 1970.

       August 28, 1970
A copy of such document as furnished by [redacted] on August 28, 1970, is attached to this report.

August 27, 1970

Copies of the above documents as furnished by [redacted] on August 27, 1970, are attached to this report.

IX. SNCC CHAPTERS

The SNCC offices at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, have been inactive recently and SNCC functionary TERRY ARDREY has been unable to reorganize a functioning operation. For all intents and purposes, SNCC is now a defunct organization especially with regard to any activities in the Atlanta, Georgia area. The reason for SNCC inactivity is that old SNCC members no longer concerned themselves with the organization, but are "all taking their own thing".

August 20, 1970

No SNCC officials or associates are currently using the SNCC offices in Atlanta, in any capacity. There has been no SNCC activity in Atlanta, Georgia, since the early part of November, 1970.

January 16, 1971

SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis in Cincinnati, Ohio, since about June 1, 1969. Cincinnati's SNCC activities have been
limited at the present time to participation in national
SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local
SNCC leaders.

December 10 - 14, 1970

SNCC has ceased operations within the Augusta,
Georgia area, with the closing of the Third Eye Lounge there.

WILLIAM HUNT revealed that SNCC would make efforts
in the immediate future to re-establish a new SNCC chapter

March 23, 1971

The New York Chapter of SNCC functions out of the
national headquarters of SNCC at 346 West 20th Street,
New York, New York, and its members are synonymous with
the national SNCC leadership.

April 26, 1971

During 1970 and 1971, various confidential sources
in assorted cities across the United States, have been con-
tacted by representatives of the FBI in such areas and have
been unable to furnish any information concerning any possible
SNCC activities in their respective areas.

X. SNCC LEGAL STATUS

Charities Registration Bureau,
State of New York, Albany, New York, advised in early March,
1971, that SNCC is not currently registered with such Bureau.
The organization, however, was formerly registered with such
agency until the registration was cancelled in 1967. At that
time, SNCC Headquarters were located at 100 Fifth Avenue,
Room 803, New York, New York.
NY 100-147953

The organization has not re-registered since 1967, although several inquiries have been made regarding such registration since 1967.

SNCC, prior to 1966, filed annual reports with the Charities Registration Bureau. In 1966, there was an apparent reorganization and the reports ceased.

According to [redacted], the legal status of the SNCC organization is cancelled and the matter has been referred to the office of the Attorney General for the State of New York for appropriate action.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

June 16, 1970

The name and address, SNCC, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City 10001, is maintained on the current mailing list of the "Daily World".

June 26 - 27, 1970

The "Daily World" is an east coast communist newspaper.

October 6, 1970
The BPP has recently made inquiries in the Atlanta, Georgia area, concerning the availability of SNCC offices there seeking to determine if they could be used by the BPP and if the printing processes situated in the SNCC building are still operative.

January 21, 1971
FROM: NATIONAL OFFICE——STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
360 NELSON ST. SW. ATLANTA, Ga. 30311

TO: ALL SNCC WORKERS AND PROGRAMS

RE: MINUTES OF NATIONAL SNCC WORKERS MEETING /June '70

The following are minutes of the SNCC workers meeting held in Croton, N.Y. the weekend of June 19, 1970. For security reasons, some of the àgendas that were discussed are deleted. Muhammad Hunt, presiding;

1. AGRARIAN REFORM

A. 200 acres of property in our hands.

B. Option open to take this property or to disband ideas of use.

C. Can get funds for program, however program in evaluation stage by organization and funding agency. Analysis and evaluation by funding along lines of production instead of political importance.

D. Suggestion made that any property we engage be in predominantly Black area.

(As opposed to hostile white area).

2. It is understood that the program will become self-sustaining.

3. Program is seen to be a stepping stone for recruiting organizers for SNCC.

2. ATLANTA PROGRAM / NATIONAL OFFICE

A. PRE-LIBERATION SCHOOL

1. Not for opening soon

2. Problems with bus major setback in program

3. Episcopal bishop shows aversion to SNCC and SNCC people and blocks funding

4. Program can & will function without funding if necessary

B. ATLANTA'S POLITICAL CLIMATE

Atlanta is somewhat of a problem area because of conflicts in political
views with so-called "Pan Africanists" or armoured followers and those who follow the king was of life. This hampers recruiting of new workers and full support from movement people of program.

C. NATIONAL OFFICE
As of this workers meeting every attempt shall be made to re-establish Atlanta as the National Headquarters for SNCC.

3. AUGUSTA PROJECT
A. Discussion of the history of the project
B. Discussion & clarification of project
1. GI coffee house/propaganda and fund raising
2. Two year lease on the bldg, with an additional 2 year option, and an opportunity to build a political base.
3. Entertainment provided twice monthly for fund raising as well as workshops for organizing of GI's.

4. BLACK WOMEN'S ALLIANCE
A. Discussion of the history of the organization
B. Discussion of objectives:
1. (Long range) establish a national organization of radical Black Women.
2. To use the EWA as a recruitment vehicle for SNCC
3. Work to end the oppression of Black Women
C. Discussed structure of organization (various committees)
1. Political Education & communications Committee to develop ideology around oppression of Black Women.
2. Women in the labor force: formed to organize Black in labor such as hospital workers, garment industry, etc.
3. Oppression as women committee: formed to relate to birth control, abortive oppression of women by men and others.
4. Health Committee: formed to relate to health needs of women and drug oppression of women.
5. Family defense fund: formed to raise bail and strike funds for women in need of such.
6. Welfare Committee: formed to deal with welfare rights of women. Note: no approach has been reached as to method of oppression of this committee. No basic ideological stance has been taken on the overall view of welfare as an institution in this country.
D. Chairman of committee discussed what they felt were the positive aspects of women's program:
1. Women dealing with their own oppression
2. Membership taking an anti-capitalist position
3. Membership on increase, and having regular meetings
4. As projected Black Men and Women should share a one to one relationship in the struggle against the oppression of capitalism, racism, and imperialism.

Note: An extensive discussion was held on the particular aspects of Black Women's oppression in general, and the role of women in SNCC and male supremacy within SNCC itself.

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3. THE NATIONAL SNCC NEWSPAPER
A. COMMUNICATIONS
Discussed was the necessity for some forms of communications to and activities with communities, as well as inter-organizational.
1. Implementation of SNCC newspaper as one means of doing so.
2. Paper to increase size to 24 pages in subsequent issues.
3. No pictures of workers in the organization are to be used and printed in the paper.
4. All workers in organization to submit articles of interest to paper from local programs, as well as other news and articles from their communities.
5. Our timetable calls for an independent method of composing newspaper in the next two months.
6. Rules and guidelines established for sale, distribution as well as printing of newspaper. Rules and guidelines to be forwarded by editor.
7. The need for other types of communications apparatus was discussed and extensive discussion ensued concerning sale and distribution of newspaper, as well as incentives, profits, etc.

B. PROPOSALS:
Certain concepts and ideas were proposed to be carried out in this endeavor:
1. It was voted upon by a majority that SNCC chapters receive five cents for the selling of each paper on the streets, but none for sales attributed to merchants and bookstores. This will go into effect immediately.
2. Communications should be more discreet by telephone. No discussion by telephone of ideological struggle or other relevant personal or political matters shall be discussed from chapter via the telephone.

6. INTER-NATIONAL AFFAIRS
A. The following was discussed and decided:
1. Irving Davis has resigned as head of International affairs. Conrad Davis' status as a worker in the organization shall be decided by the Revolutionary Political Council.
2. International concerns should not be the only task of the director.
3. Certain criteria and guidelines were called for by the workers in the organization.
4. Historical study shall become the prerequisite for the direction of international affairs.
5. The findings and records of the former director should be turned over to the incoming director and the organization.
6. An analysis of the workings of the United Nations be made and a list of progressive nations be made by the director. These nations should be sympathetic to our cause of liberation.
7. It was suggested that national affairs (domestic) not be made subordinate to international affairs as had been the practice previously.
8. The Revolutionary Political Council along with the director will decide those details which will dictate autocracy and action. The workers in SNCC will be kept abreast of these decisions.
9. Phil Hutchings was nominated director, pending his leave of absence from the organization at the end of the year. (to date, there has
been no confirmation)
10. Irving Davis, in his travels, has been asked to dis-associate himself with the name of SNCC.

7. PRINTING OPERATION
   A. The following was discussed and decided:
      1. The printing operation will be moved to another location in the near future because of new and numerous resources opening to us.
      2. Stock and supplies will have to be accumulated before the operation can become a free operation (for SNCC to do its printing).

8. REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL:
   Discussion around the purpose and functions of the R.P.C.
   It was decided and stated that:
   A. It would make political and ideological decisions
   2. carry out ideologically oriented activities and set policy
   3. It is to work closely with the Secretariat.

B. MEMBERSHIP
   1. The Chairman of the R.P.C. would be elected by the R.P.C.
   2. Certain members were to be added as the need arose.
   3. Membership would never exceed 1/5 of the membership of the organization as a whole.
   4. It was proposed that two members from each chapter be elected to the R.P.C.
   5. Ultimately it was decided that the R.P.C., as well as the organization workers make nominations to the R.P.C. The workers of the organization and the R.P.C. have the right of recall should an individual be deemed detrimental to the R.P.C.

9. RECRUITMENT OF NEW MEMBERS
   A. New Workers:
      1. requirements shall be developed for membership in the organization
      2. New members or candidates for membership should be in accord with SNCC ideology.
      3. It was decided that prospective recruits be required to undergo extensive political education.
      4. recruits are to be assigned to a local project (on the job training) as a second step
      5. Organization of cells be implemented in the development of recruits.
      6. Recruiting should not begin until 3 weeks after receiving this workers report.
   B. RELATIONSHIP TO PAST MEMBERS:
      1. A friendly relationship should be retained whenever and wherever possible.
      2. If they intend to return to the organization they must agree and abide by present SNCC policies and guidelines.
   C. ORGANIZING OF SNCC CADRES AND SNCC CHAPTERS:
      1. SNCC cadres shall meet with those groups interested in forming or joining SNCC chapters where there are none.
      2. They must judge the feasibility of a SNCC chapter in that area.
3. A SNCC member or cadre will report back to the organization, and stay in the area until the organization is off the ground.

10. FUND RAISING:
   A. Mailing List
      1. mailing of materials (posters, etc.)
      2. solicitations
   B. Funding agencies (secondary means)
   C. Speakers Bureau
   D. Distribution of SNCC materials and showing of SNCC and other related films.

11. DISTRIBUTION OF SNCC FUNDS TO LOCAL CHAPTERS:
   A. It was decided that 1/3 of all funds raised would be sent to the National Office, and 2/3 retained by the chapters.

12. FORMATION OF A BLACK POLITICAL PARTY:
   A. SNCC will organize a political party, which will function as:
      1. a mass base for the organization
      2. a buffer insuring SNCC's survival against repression.

13. A LENGTHY DISCUSSION INSIZED CONCERNING THE ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE ORGANIZATION
   1. Double Jeopardy, written by the chairman of the Black Women's Alliance was read and discussed.
   2. An extensive discussion was proposed around the oppression of Black women at the next national meeting.

14. ASSASINATION OF CHE AND FEATHERSTONE
   1. A pamphlet on Che & Feat herstone and their beliefs, and works be made up by the organization and distributed.
   2. Prospect of future projects named after them was discussed.
   3. The prospect of a book written about SNCC was proposed as well as adopted at this meeting.

15. A REPORT ON BRO. RAP
   A statement of policy concerning the whereabouts of Bro. Rap was read and is to be published in the newspaper.

16. SNCC'S RELATIONSHIP TO THIRD WORLD WORKERS:
   A. The head of the workers program promised to promote the participation of their wives in the Black Women's Alliance.
   B. It was suggested that workers only organize workers
   C. It was suggested that SNCC organize in Newark since there is a visible and viable attempt to organize on a revolutionary basis there.

17. SNCC RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:
   A. Relationship with other organizations was to be decided upon by the R.P.C.
   B. SNCC chapters have autonomy on a local level.

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18. GUIDELINES AND MORAL CODES OF SNCC:
   A. The R.P.C. will draw up the guidelines of moral conduct in the form of a revolutionary morality.

19. NEW PROGRAMS:
   A. The institution of a SNCC research Dept. was proposed and passed.
   B. Discussion was made concerning the organization of high school and college students. The conclusion arrived at was that it was more feasible to organize high school students through those already existing high school organizations.
   C. SNCC's objective is to develop a base in the south. Agrarian Reform, student organizing, work with industrial workers as well as other programs shall be oriented towards this end.

20. ELECTION OF OFFICERS:
   A. It was established that the present membership of the R.P.C. and the Secretariat would be retained, but that other members of the organization would be added to their roles.
   B. The chairman of the Secretariat was designated as Terry Ardrey, for the coming Year. This was voted upon by the members of the Secretariat.
   C. Two members were added to the role of the R.P.C.; Fran Beal, & Bruce Allison.
   D. Scrooge is directed to initiate a base and chapter in his native Houston, Texas.

AGENDA OF THE NATIONAL SNCC WORKERS MEETING COMPLETED AND ADJOURNED
May 25, 1970

Dear SNCC Worker,

We are very pleased to inform you of the establishment [by the SNCC Propaganda Network], of our National SNCC Newspaper, which will be published monthly out of New York. Included in this package is a copy of the newspaper. Improvements will be made with each edition. This edition we published 3,000 copies of an 8 pager; the next edition to be published in June-July will be a 12 pager, and 4,000 copies. Other improvements will be made including widening the field of reporting, having various individuals or organizations write a particular article consistent with our ideology, national news and issues etc. After the newspaper came out we held a critique of it with the workers in New York.

This is another step forward in our struggle to re-organize and re-juvenate ourselves for the inevitable seizing of state power. In conjunction with informing you of establishment of our official ideological news organ, we would also like to request the following: 1) If you have news you feel is relevant and beneficial to the masses of our People, please send it to R. Jackson, 346 W. 20th St. New York, N.Y. 10011. Articles should be in by the first of every month. 2) the number of National SNCC newspapers you feel you will be able to sell. Please return all monies to the Newspaper workers to facilitate putting out the next edition. Monies should be strictly accounted for in order to allow us to build an efficient apparatus, and the necessary revenue, so that in the future we can make certain concessions to you, in your area. 3) If you have any criticism concerning improvement of our Ideological-News Organ, please inform us. Only through constructive criticism can we destroy the old and improve the new.

We Will Move Forward Together!

Revolution!

Muhammad Hunt
Chairman R.P.C.

Ron Jackson
Editor - Propaganda Head
Dear Comrade,

To make sure our annual SNCC workers meeting is productive and streamlines, we are requesting that you submit to the New York office, a list of those items which you feel are most important and must be discussed in your area concerning any aspect of the organization.

The deadline set for June 1, 1970, is in order for us to prepare a forum for you in which to air your opinions, suggestions, etc. If your agenda is not in by this date, you may have little opportunity in which to present your papers, opinions, etc. at the SNCC workers meeting because there is a tremendous amount of work and discussion, decisions to be made, etc. and time and space are very limited.

The meeting will take place June 19 - 21, 1970 in the New York City area and you should start making arrangements to procure money for your trip. At this time we haven't money for this expense.

Please submit your suggestions and agendas to:

Mr. Hunt
346 West 20th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011
(212) WA 9-2390

Please submit for the agenda only those items which you feel are of UTMOST importance in order not to consume too much time. THANKS!

Yours in struggle,

Muhammad
Muhammad Hunt
Chairman, R.P.C.

P.S. Please let us know as soon as possible how many people will be attending the meeting from your area so we can arrange accommodations.
Dear Comrades:

On the date of April 26th and May 5th, 1978 of the National
EOC-SAC meeting, one of the very things discussed and decided upon
at this meeting was disciplinary action to be taken against Comrade
Diego Rivera for violation of amendments and guidelines approved at
the EOC-SAC meeting of November 10, 1977.

The following six charges were brought against Comrade Rivera:

1. **Violation of amendment #1 (Political)**
   - Failure to provide guidelines presently approved and established
     by the EOC and the SAC within the organization. E.g., getting the
     organization involved in the NAF without initial consultation and
     receiving the approval of the workers and the EOC until the program
     was initiated.

2. **Violation of amendments #2 (pol) and #3 (Rev. Morality)**
   - Attempting to take over the organization and disbanding its present
     structure during the week of March 9, 1978.

3. **Violation of amendments #5, #10, #2**
   - Refusing to follow that which originally planned in our conversation
     with Mr. Wichita, and pursuing your own ambitions in making accusations
     that not only damaged Bob Smith, Bob Clawfield, and Bill Carter, but also
     close ties with getting Bro. Monroe Head assassinated, not to mention
     the numerous threats as a result of your unproven accusations.

4. **Making accusations openly that Bro. Monroe Head is a political
   agent.**

5. **Violations of amendments #6 (political) and #1 (Rev. Morality)**
   - Making unproven accusations to the effect that Chairman Rap conspired
     with others to embezzle over $2000 of the organization's money in an
     open meeting.

6. **Violation of amendment #7 (Rev. Morality)**
   - Outright disrespect and contempt for certain members of the organization
     who disagree with your tactics, attitude, etc., including Francisco,
     Ron Jackson, Terry Hudson, Chairman Rap, Lyons Crown, Muhammad Hunt, etc.
After charges were brought up against Comrade Davis and witnesses presented substantial enough evidence necessary to bring charges against him, the committee then proceeded to inform him of the charges pending against him and to allow him the time to set up a meeting to decide whether (1) the evidence was substantial, (2) whether the evidence was factual, (3) whether witnesses were available to make testimony at the meeting, and (4) to decide whether disciplinary action will be taken if any.

At the hearing, Comrade Davis denied the charges and requested that charges be dropped, (1) because of insufficient evidence, and (2) that he was not guilty of the charges being brought against him.

It was voted at the hearing to temporarily suspend all charges pending against him until the usual SNCC workers meeting in June. Comrade Davis will continue to function as head of International Affairs and the Pittsburgh Project until the matter is resolved at the June worker's meeting.

Yours in struggle,

Muhammad Hunt
Chairman, RPO

Frederick Beal
Chairman, Secretary

May 8, 1970
TO: All SHCC Officers
FROM: Frances Heat
New York Coordinator

DATE: October 9, 1970

We realize that you all must be completely bogged down with your individual activities and working night and day to bring about a new world. This is the only conclusion that we are able to come to NOT HAVING HEARD THE WORD FROM MOST OF YOU IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS.

Be that as it may, we would like each of you to stop in the middle of whatever you are doing and take pen in hand and write a short summary of your activities and what is going on in your localities. This report should be sent to Muhammad Hunt in Atlanta immediately.

The New York office has been functioning as the communications headquarters for the organization and has been working toward establishing a network under the leadership of Ron Jackson. A record has been made of Rep's last public speech with Leon Thomas doing background music (It's said, too, Julius Lester is writing the cover notes and the record should be out next month. We have had lots of complaints on the newspaper from various quarters but the distribution apparatus is SHIT. The local chapters have been outraged lazy and slack about doing anything about contributing articles, suggestions, etc. or putting in the necessary time and energy to see that the paper is distributed in their communities. Those who did receive $$, found other uses for the money (rent, food or whatever). How is the newspaper to operate without getting back at least what we lay out to get the damned thing printed? You could recruit some young brothers and sisters who don't have any source of income to sell the paper. They can keep 10c for each copy they sell and send 15c to the New York office. If they sell 50 copies a day, they can make 25 dollars a week. (You see, we relate to the needs of the people - we create jobs!) Once you set up your corps of workers, all you have to do is keep track of how many papers they take, tally what they sell and voila it's done.

The Third World Women's Alliance is growing every day. We now have 150 active members who are engaged in all sorts of community activities as well as a weekly political education and/or conscious raising meeting. Both SHCC and The Third World Women's Allies are very busy organizing a mass march and rally in support of Third World liberation struggles and to show our resistance to the war of aggression that the U.S. is waging in Southeast Asia. This march and rally will take place in Harlem on November 1st and will include Asians-Americans, Afro-Americans and Latin-Americans. We have formed an ad hoc group for this purpose (Third World United Front) and we have been busy contacting churches, unions, students, women, community people, etc. for this action.

What's going on in your community? What have you been doing? The August project is beginning to really take shape and it looks like we have a winner on our hands for a chance. The Atlanta office is beginning to function and Hunter has recruited a cadre to carry out the programs discussed at the last woman's meeting. We need you to make the newspaper a success. We want each local chapter and/or individual to send in at least one news article a month. How about it. Are we for real, or are we still shaking and giving?
To date the Atlanta Office which is the National Headquarters, is A-Functional in terms of the projects that are earmarked for it. Prior to my visit no one had been in the office on a daily or weekly basis. The office was very basically in the same condition Bob Smith had left it in, which was shambles to say the least. Terry (Arndey) was unable to make contact with any of the people concerning the school until the week of my arrival (July 5th, '70). The bus (for the school) was in the hands of the "we are an African people" people (Stanly Wise, Wm. Porter, Cynthia Washington, and the like) until the week of my return to N.Y. Before we are funded we must attempt a hook-up with the Martin Luther King pre-liberation school. If this fails, a particular person will request emergency funding for us, but only after an attempt has been made to hook-up with the MLK pre school. The bus is now in our (SNCC) hands. Mail was stacked up to unbelievable proportions in the office until we finally and thoroughly examined it (approx. 13 bags). At the time of my visit Terry had not organized a workers cadre in the Nat. office. However, on the day of my departure he informed me he had hooked up with 4 people whom he was going to train to become workers in the office. Some work could have been completed and did not require help to a large degree. This could have been accomplished with some initiative on the part of Terry. (exam: cleaning of the office bldg.) It was reported by two people that Naomi Hudson would often go by the office and pick up contributions sent in by donees & cash them for her self. This has some validity because of her role in attempting to change the account of "home in the south" and
withdrawing funds for her self and others. She has had a history of being dishonest. She was also fired by Bob Smith for the same reasons.

SOMEONE HAS STOLEN THE FOLLOWING FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICE WITHIN THE LAST SIX WEEKS:

- 1 gestner mime machine ($500.00)
- 1 electric range (for the kitchen)
- 1 refrigerator
- 1 sink
- 1 verityper or justifier

and other material not accounted for.

Willie Hicks, and the people at the MLK institute are suspects.

I (M. Hunt) will take over implementing the organizers training school. A tremendous amount of resources already exist for the project in the Atlanta office. In summary, the potential for organizing in Atlanta (which will probably be our biggest "problem" in organizing in the South) is tremendous & largely depends on how Terry organizes.
TO: All SNCC Workers

FROM: Muhammad Hunt
Acting-Chairman
R.P.C.

August 12th, 1970

Brothers & Sisters in the Struggle,

In our efforts to further streamline the organization, it is imperative that we destroy ALL vestiges & remnants of certain bourgeois ideas, attitudes, & behavioral patterns of certain individuals within the organization.

Reactionary ideas & attitudes in the past has lead to a steady decline of the tremendous potential of people within the organization. It must be very clearly understood by those workers within the organization that we are in the process of rebuilding the organization, and any acts we interpret as being detrimental to the organization will be dealt with according to the severity of the crime against us. This also applies to old & ex-SNCC personal.

Our record over the past year speaks for itself. We will no longer tolerate any form of behavior that is anti-revolutionary.

....Henceforth, punishment for violation of our ideology, beliefs, & positions is criticism and self-criticism....

We will expel (or ask them to resign) only those "old" SNCC workers when we feel are beyond help after much work and criticism!

....SO, from time to time you will be informed of the disciplinary action taken against certain workers who are in violation of our ideology, those persons whom we ask to "resign", & other actions that will make for a more progressive, grass roots, and vanguard organization!

LOVE & REVOLUTION!

Muhammad Hunt
Acting - Chairman
Revolutionary Political Council

-47-
Because of extensive duties with the All African Peoples Union (AAPU) and a number of other commitments, Brother Dan Aldridge will devote his full-time and energies to these tasks. His resignation becomes effective as of August 5, 1970.

Judy Sullivan is no longer working with the organization.

Henceforth, all organizational communications, etc., should cease to the above. However, we request that a friendly, cooperative attitude be taken towards these former workers.

We are pleased to announce the addition to our workers' staff the following:

Brother Charles Broadnax - from California now working in New York

Brother Bill Coleman - a school teacher in Atlanta.

Cecil Carter - from New York now working in the national office in Atlanta.

Father Danny Brown - from Atlanta, now working in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Brother Serrooge has been transferred to Houston and has been mandated to set up a SNCC chapter there.

Jimmy Lytle has been removed from the Augusta Project and been instructed to return to Atlanta to set up an Audio-Visual Apparatus.

Mae Jackson has been appointed Finance Officer of the New York operation.
TO: SNCC workers engaged in any form of activity  
FROM: The Revolutionary Political Council  
Re: required reading list  
x = priority reading  

August 13, 1970  

Dear comrades:  

Inclined in the following package you will find the SNCC reading list. The books, pamphlets, position papers, etc. with an "x" before them indicates priority reading. This reading material is a requirement in order for us to move ahead on the same level. The list is by no means complete. What we urgently suggest is that you and your cadre devote at least one day per week to a work-study group where by you would read, discuss, analyze, and apply the relevant subject matter in this reading material.

If you have certain reading materials you feel should be placed on the required reading list, please do not hesitate to inform the R.PC.

For convience, please include a copy of the suggested reading material in your letter.

LOVE & REVOLUTION!

Muhammad Hunt  
Acting - Chairman  
Revolutionary Political Council
GUERILLA WARFARE & MARXISM
By Wm. J. Pomeroy

VIETNAM WILL WIN
by Wilfred Burchette

DIE NIGGER DIE
by H.Rap Brown

HIGH TIDE OF BLACK RESISTANCE
by James Forman

The TANG creed
by Julius Nyerere

The ARUSHA DECLARATION
by Julius Nyerere

SPEECHES, POSITION PAPERS, ETC.
Forman
Carmachal (pre-1967)
Phil Hutchings
H. Rap Brown
John Lewis
James Boggs
Malcolm X
M.L. King
Fran Beal

RACISM & CLASS STRUGGLE
by James Boggs

SOCIALISM AND MAN IN CUBA
by Ernesto Che Guevara

HO CHI MINH ON REVOLUTION
by Ho Chi Minh

REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION
by R. Debray

The LIBERATION OF GUINEA
by Basil Davudson

SELECTED POLITICAL & MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE TUNG
by Mao Tse Tung

RED STAR OVER CHINA
by Edgar Snow

The AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X
by Malcolm X

The MILITARY WRITINGS OF SUN TZU (or any other materials)
by Sun Tzu

WAR OF THE FLEA
by Robert Taber

GUERILLA WARFARE
by Che Guevara

Various books on the labor struggle in the early 19th. and 20th. centuries

MALCOLM X SPEAKS
published by Grove Press

BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER
by Lerone Bennet Jr.

OUR WORLD IN AFRICA
by W.E.B. Dubios

THE RICH AND THE SUPER RICH
(author unknown)

SEX AND RACE
by James Rodgers

The POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF BEN BARKA
by Ben Barka

VIET CONG
by Douglas Pike

HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME
by Fidel Castro

RIOT CONTROL & MATERIAL
by Applegate
APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A confidential 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 was National Chairman during the period of 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a 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 the black people in the United States. 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."

A second confidential source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its National Headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

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 that the organization was dropping the word "nonviolent" from its title and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 14, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting to riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).
APPENDIX

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (cont'd)

A third confidential source advised that as of May 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffee house" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an agrarian reform program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.
LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS
Also known as
Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM)

A source advised on April 22, 1970, that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) is a black extremist labor union, with headquarters at 179 Cortland, Highland Park, Michigan, in the greater Detroit metropolitan area. Source advised that the LRBW is attempting to oust the United Auto Workers (UAW) from their position as bargaining representative for black workers in the Detroit area automotive plants. Source advised that the LRBW has used threats of violence against both black and white supervisory personnel and UAW leaders in an attempt to intimidate them into an agreement with LRBW demands. The LRBW has referred to the automotive industry and the UAW as "racist".

A second source advised that membership in the LRBW is limited to Negroes only, by virtue of the LRBW constitution which states "membership is denied to all honkies due to the fact that said honkey has been the historic enemy, betrayer and exploiter of black people." Membership in the LRBW is less than 25 persons.

The second source also stated that the LRBW had suborganizations operating at Ford Motor Company which was known as the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) and Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant (ELRUM) as well as other assembling and supplying plants, but that at the present the LRBW is active only at the Dodge Main Assembly Plant in Hamtramck, Michigan. This suborganization is known as Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). The other suborganizations are now defunct.
The official publication of the LRBW is the "Inner City Voice".
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the 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 G. SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly 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 as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, GEORGE MURRAY. This article ended with the following:


The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

DAVID HILLIARD, in the "New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."
APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (cont'd)

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture EMMORY DOUGLAS as follows:

"The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is... by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces... are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgment against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the United States of America.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. HQFile 160-149006
NYPFile 160-14-7805

Title        Student National Coordinating Committee

Character Racial Matter

Reference is made to Report of Special
Agent [redacted] dated and executed as above
at New York.

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**
NEW YORK

**OFFICE OF ORIGIN**
NEW YORK

**DATE**
8/11/71

**INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD**
5/10/71 - 8/10/71

**STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE**

**CHARACTER OF CASE**
RM

**REFERENCE:**

**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**
Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a report relating to the activities of the captioned group.

The SNCC organization continues to maintain an office, which is shared with other groups, at 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York. Such office is located in the Parish Hall of St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

**ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED**

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**CASE HAS BEEN:**
Pending over one year

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**DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT**

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**NOTATIONS**

- A -

**SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE**

**REPORT MADE BY**

**TYPED**

1wt
NY 100-147963

COPIES CONTINUED:
1- Chicago (Info) (RM)
1- Oklahoma City (Info) (RM)
1- Louisville (Info) (RM)
1- Baltimore (Info) (RM)
1- WFO (Info) (RM)
1- Newark (Info) (RM)
1- Jacksonville (Info) (RM)

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D:

As disclosed within the SNCC organization, is involved in the planning of various activities. Previously reported plans of the SNCC organization to initiate guerrilla warfare training in the South have apparently been cancelled or postponed as a result of SNCC's poor financial position.

As a practical matter, the only cities which maintain even a semblance of organizational activity are Atlanta and New York. Plans, however, call for increasing SNCC activities in other cities in the United States and efforts to effect such plans will be fully reported.

SNCC again reiterated previous plans to move the National Headquarters of the organization from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia.

During June, 1971 Special Agents of the New York Office contacted...
NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D:

SNCC newsletter "National SNCC." advised he was not publishing such periodical.

Previously New York suggested that a photo surveillance of SNCC Headquarters at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, New York City, might be productive.

However, upon re-examination of such location the photo surveillance was deemed impractical and the estimation of anticipated results not commensurate with the efforts expended. The photo equipment would be approximately one block from the Headquarters due to parking regulations. Additionally, the surveillance would be of limited value and productivity since, according to the church secretary, (contacted under pretext) SNCC functionaries rarely visit the premises except for MUHAMMAD HUNT, who collects the accumulated SNCC mail at the church on an occasional basis. Furthermore, the difficulty of determining legitimate church visitors from SNCC visitors, through subsequent investigation, could result in disclosure of FBI observation of church premises with resultant problems. In view of the above, it would not appear that a photo surveillance of the premises is warranted at the present time and no efforts are being made in this direction.

Information copies have been designated for various offices insofar as the SNCC organization has alleged that it is organizing or attempting to organize SNCC chapters within such divisions.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

100-147963, 4542, 4543, 4567

100-147963, 4543, 4579

100-147963, 4522, 4547, 4544, 4558

-C-

COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS CONT'D:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located
100-147963, 4525, 4579
100-147963, 4553
100-147963, 4545

The informants referred to within as having been contacted relative to SNCC activity in the New York City area are identified as follows:

The enclosed report is classified confidential as it contains information from NY T-1 through NY T-8, disclosure of whose identity might have an adverse effect upon the national security interest of the United States.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. 1. Will follow and report on the activities of the SNCC organization in 90 days.

2. Will, through contact with New York informants and through appropriate investigation, attempt to verify the removal of SNCC National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta during August, 1971.

-D-

COVER PAGE
NEW YORK 100-147963

LEADS CONT’D:

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will, through appropriate investigation, verify the removal of SNCC National Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia from New York City.
Copy to: 1- Secret Service, New York City (RM)

Report of: 8/11/71
Date: Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies office space at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, New York City, which serves as the National Headquarters of SNCC. The SNCC organization has allegedly initiated organizing efforts in various cities with a view toward increasing the size of the SNCC organization.
I. LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT of New York SNCC, his wife BARBARA HUNT and their infant daughter are scheduled to depart New York and head the Atlanta, Georgia, SNCC Chapter with the purpose of reestablishing SNCC in that city. HUNT intended to depart New York "pretty soon," but no firm date has been decided upon.

June 2, 1971

July 22, 1971

MUHAMMAD HUNT was designated to be the coordinator of the National Office and was instructed to effect the move of the office from 346 West 20th Street, New York, New York, to Atlanta, Georgia, on or before September 1, 1971.
II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

Currently there are only two national officers of SNCC. They are MUHAMMAD HUNT, who is the National Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC), the top governing body of SNCC, and FRANCES BEAL, the National Political Education Officer.

The RPC continues to exist and presumably its members remain the same as in the past, although no official announcement was made to that effect at the National SNCC Meeting.

July 20-22, 1971
III. SNCC CHAPTERS

WILLIAM HUNT traveled to Chicago on May 16, 1971, with the intention of meeting with individuals from the Chicago area and discussing various aspects of the SNCC organization with such individuals.

May 18, 1971

A new SNCC Chapter in Chicago has been initiated by HUNT and will be devoted to political education and the sale of the "National SNCC" newspaper.
Efforts to establish additional SNCC Chapters are currently underway in Tulsa, Oklahoma; San Antonio, Texas; Trenton, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D. C.; and Gainsville, Florida.

May 24, 1971

SNCC currently has no active programs presently operating in the Atlanta, Georgia, area, and no attempt to move National Headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia, would be successful inasmuch as SNCC appears to have lost control of its old office in Atlanta at 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

May 21, 1971

June 3, 1971

HUNT recently stated that efforts were currently being made to establish new SNCC Chapters in Baltimore, Maryland; Oklahoma; Texas; Florida; Washington, D. C.; and Chicago, Illinois.

June 14, 1971

The Cincinnati SNCC Chapter received shipments of the "National SNCC," a newsletter published by SNCC in New York City in June and July, 1970, and January, 1971. Since such time no additional shipments of the paper have been received for sale in the Cincinnati area. Most of those papers previously delivered to Cincinnati were never sold.
The Cincinnati SNCC Cadre has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated an effective group since June 1, 1969. There is still some interest in the area but participation in SNCC activities has been limited to a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact with the National SNCC Organization.

June 14 and 16, 1971

SNCC currently has no Chapter in Detroit, Michigan, and no plans are known at present by the SNCC organization to initiate activity in such area.

June 18, 1971

C. P. MEMBER

July 20, 1971

IV. SNCC PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

A. SNCC NEWSPAPER

The
newspaper was initially published in June, 1970, following six months of intensive efforts working towards such publication. The two-fold purpose of the paper is namely: (1) Communications with other organizations and people to let them know what is happening around the country in terms of black people and (2) To articulate the mass line of the SNCC organization. The mass line is simply the political ideology and the policy of SNCC on a national level.

The paper is published once a month and consists of 16 pages and 4,000 copies per issue. Plans envision the newspaper expanding to 24 pages per issue within the next year and increasing production to between 10,000 and 12,000 copies per issue. The cost of the paper is approximately $365 for each 4,000 copies. The paper sells for $.25 a copy. He noted that National SNCC has encountered financial difficulty because many of the people who sell the papers are not sending the money in or else they send the money in late. Consequently in the future, papers must be paid for prior to their shipment to the various SNCC Chapters.

July 20-22, 1971

SNCC intends to maintain a reserve fund of $500 to insure and secure publication of the monthly "National SNCC." Bimonthly reports from each SNCC Chapter will be mandatory to insure the national scope of the newspaper. All SNCC newspapers sent to the Chapters are to be paid for in advance.

July 22, 1971
B. BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF)

July 20-22, 1971

C. REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION (RYO)

The RYO, as envisioned by SNCC, intends to organize high school drop-outs as well as students 22 years of age and under as the youth arm of the SNCC organization. Organizational efforts to initiate the RYO will be concentrated at the present time in New York, New York, and if successful, efforts thereafter will be made to establish similar RYO groups in other parts of the United States. GEORGELONE, also known as Eidel from New York City, has been designated to head the RYO Program.

July 20-22, 1971
E. STREET DEMONSTRATION

On May 1, 1971, SNCC co-sponsored in cooperation with various other New York City organizations a march in New York City and rally on West 127th Street between 7th and 8th Avenues. The rally was in honor of May Day and representatives of each of the ten participating organizations, including SNCC, spoke to those assembled. The entire affair lasted about five hours concluding at 5:00 PM, May 1, 1971.
VI. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)

She described the TWWA as an organization of black and third world women dedicated to eradicating sexism, male chauvinism and strengthening the role of the woman in the struggle.

July 22, 1971

B. UNITED BLACK WORKERS (UBW)

The UBW is a group of auto workers at the Ford Plant in a town in New Jersey. MONROE HEAD is organizing the UBW around SNCC philosophy. SNCC is cooperating with the UBW, according to HUNT, since the UBW has a tremendous number of valuable contacts and since UBW is willing to assist SNCC in any project relating to the black community. HUNT hopes to eventually generate the
formation of a political party as a result of this alliance.

July 22, 1971

C. INTERNATIONAL BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

May 24, 1971

WILLIAM JA TRAIN, a SNCC leader, met with DANNY BROWN in Gary, Indiana, in May, 1971. BROWN, who has also been associated with the SNCC leadership in New York City, is currently working as a full-time organizer for the IBWC in Gary.

VII. GUERRILLA TRAINING

June 8, 1971

May 24, 1971

VIII.

July 22, 1971
IX. SNCC FINANCES

The original contract for the eventual purchase of 200 acres of land by SNCC in vicinity of Kyles Ford, Tennessee, has fallen through. Such default appears to be the result of a lack of funds available to SNCC.

The New York City Cadre is currently handling details relative to the sale of a phonograph record containing speeches of former SNCC National Chairman H. RAP BROWN. Considerable difficulty is being met in securing revenue from the record company which produced such album.

May 24, 1971

SNCC has secured commitments to reproduce additional speeches of H. RAP BROWN for subsequent commercial sale. SNCC is currently attempting to reduce certain of BROWN's tapes and speeches to printed material and publish such in New York. The purpose of such efforts is to raise funds for SNCC and keep BROWN's name alive.

June 2, 1971

July 20, 1971
X. MISCELLANEOUS

Augusta, Georgia, attorney ISSAC JOLICE, who has filed a law suit on SNCC's behalf against the owner of the premises in which the defunct Third Eye Luncheon was formerly located in Augusta, Georgia, has requested a meeting with SNCC leaders to review details concerning such suit. JOLICE is seeking such a meeting in order to file for a court date regarding the matter.

June 14, 1971

July 22, 1971

A. INFORMANTS

During May, June, and July, 1971, various confidential sources of the New York Office familiar to some extent with black nationalist and/or black militant organizations were contacted but were unable to provide any additional information concerning the SNCC organization.
Dear Brother or Sister:

We are writing this letter to inform you that we feel there are still those individuals around the country who consider themselves a part of SNCC, but who have failed to take part in the re-organization and the new direction we have set. At this national cadre meeting, we must clarify our respective positions so that there is no confusion.

Please read the enclosed letter sent to the national cadres very carefully and let us know if you are willing to work on SNCC program and are willing to commit yourself to developing the organization and the programs that we set for ourselves.

The criteria for membership in SNCC must be based on work. Past involvement in the organization is no longer sufficient. If we did not take this position, then Stokely Carmichael, John Lewis and Theodore Bikel could claim membership because they once belonged to the organization, but are presently not involved.

Please let us know your decision as soon as possible.

I remain,

sincerely yours,

Muhammad Hunt

Chairman: Revolutionary Political Council
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
NEW YORK
OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK
DATE 11/18/71
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/12/71 - 11/12/71

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REFERENCE:
NY report of SA dated 8/11/71.
Cincinnati aircel and LWM to Bureau, 11/11/71.

ADMINISTRATIVE:
Information copies are being furnished to offices so indicated because of their past interest in this matter. Since no information has been developed concerning SNCC since referenced report only reports containing positive information will be submitted to aforementioned offices in the future.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONV. AUTO. FUG. FINES SAVINGS RECOVERIES

NO ONE

ACQUIT TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR

PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPY MILES

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190

16 NOV 22 1971

EXT. INT. SEC.

Agency
Request Recd. 6/22/71
Date Fwd. 6/23/71
How Fwd. 6/23/71

54 NOV 22 1971

COVER PAGE
NY 100-147963

COPIES CONTINUED:

1-Louisville (INFO)(RM)
1-Baltimore (INFO)(RM)
1-Newark (INFO)(RM)
1-Jacksonville (INFO)(RM)
1-San Antonio (INFO)(RM)
1-Washington Field (INFO)(RM)

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

Information concerning SNCC set forth in Cincinnati airtel and LHM, to Bureau dated 11/11/71 and classified "Secret" is not being included in this report in that it is vague, unsubstantiated.

New York feels that to report the alleged activities of these individuals as being representatives of the SNCC organization in New York would be a gross distortion of the facts and would in effect give the indication that an organization as such exists when there is no proof of that at NYC at this time. For example to report in one paragraph as stated by that...

"...the 'Black News' is described as a publication with 60,000 circulation", and then in the next paragraph have been published more than 1,500 copies in any month. It has been published would boggle the mind of the reader.

New York will attempt to substantiate other information set forth by concerning SNCC activities with New York sources so that apparently contradictory statements do not appear in subsequent reports.
INFORMANTS:

The "several confidential sources" mentioned in report are:

This report is not classified in any degree inasmuch as information furnished by sources mentioned therein does not in any way tend to reveal their identities.

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will report on future SNCC activities both local and national.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-US Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Report of: SA
Date: 11/15/71
Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis: SNCC occupies office space at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 West 20th Street, NYC, which serves as the National Headquarters of that organization. Several confidential sources who are familiar with some aspects of extremist activities in the NYC area advised they could furnish no information re SNCC. A representative of [redacted] advised there was no information available concerning SNCC activities in NYC.

DETAILS:

I. LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of Civil Rights activity in the South. The organization had advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

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 November 11, 1971 a confidential source who is in a position to furnish unique information advised that as of that date the National Headquarters of SNCC was located at 346 West 20th Street, New York City. This is space which has been denoted to SNCC by St. Peter's Episcopal Church free of charge as part of a community improvement project.

This source advised that the above mentioned space is rarely utilized by SNCC other than as a place to pick up mail.

II. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK CITY AND IN AREAS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK CITY

During the period of August 12, 1971 until November 12, 1971 several confidential sources who are familiar with some phases of extremist activities in the New York City area as well as areas outside of New York City advised that there were no known activities of SNCC during that time.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

On November 12, 1971 a representative of [redacted] advised that they could report no instances of any SNCC activities in New York City during the period of August through November, 1971.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
November 18, 1971

File No.
Bfile 100-439190
NYfile 100-147963

Title
Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Character
Extremist Matter

Reference
is made to New York report of 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.
REFERENCES


GENERAL

ADMINISTRATIVE

Information copies are being furnished to offices as indicated in view of the fact that information set out in attached report indicates that the SNCC organization is active or plans to be active in their division.

The following persons or organizations mentioned in attached report have been subjects of investigation by the NYO:

- Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
- Secret Service, NYC (RM)
- Atlanta (100-6488)(INFO)(RM)
- Cincinnati (157-5546)(INFO)(RM)
- Houston (INFO)(RM)
- Oklahoma (INFO)(RM)
- New York (100-147962)

Acquittal

Case has been:

Pending over one year [ ] Yes [ ] No
Pending prosecution over six months [ ] Yes [ ] No

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

ST. 117

REO-89

- A -

Cover Page
In reference to SNCC activities in the NYC area, it is to be noted that there has been no record of SNCC participating in any type of demonstrations within the NY area since last referenced report submitted.

Numerous attempts have been made by the NYO to contact WILLIAM HUNT at the SNCC Office since May, 1972. HUNT was never located nor was the SNCC Office ever found open.

The NYO has attempted to direct sources into SNCC but has been unable to do so due to the fact that the SNCC Office can never be found open.
NY 100-147963

**INFORMANTS**

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The following confidential sources of the Detroit Office, who advised that there are no SNCC activities in the Detroit, Michigan area are:

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-C-

COVER PAGE
INFORMANTS (cont'd)

Negative Informant Checks

Confidential sources of the Tampa Office contacted during June and July, 1972 and who could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the Tampa area are:

[Redacted]

Confidential sources of the NYO contacted during October and November, 1972 and who could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the NYC area are:

[Redacted]

Attached report is classified "Confidential" because of information submitted by NY T-2 through NY T-5, the unauthorized disclosure of this information could identify the sources and thereby prove prejudicial to the national defense interest of the US.

LEADS

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Through sources, will attempt to determine SNCC activities and report same.

2. Will follow and report on SNCC activities in six months.
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

EXTREMIST MATTER

SNCC National Office, NYC located in basement of 336 West 20th Street, NYC, NY, which property is owned by St. Peter's Episcopal Church with business office at 346 West 20th Street, NYC. WILLIAM HUNT, National SNCC leader currently in dispute with other SNCC leaders. SNCC meeting to be held latter part of December, 1972 attended by SNCC leaders throughout the US for the purpose of re-organizing SNCC and removing WILLIAM HUNT as National SNCC leader.

DETAILS

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE AND OTHER OFFICES OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The SNCC was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960, during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization has advocated the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States. SNCC National Headquarters is located in New York City.
NY 100-147963

On November 22, 1972, [redacted] advised that the SNCC office continues to be located in the basement of said church with entrance at 336 West 20th Street, New York City, New York. She stated that WILLIAM HUNT is in charge of the office. (Unclassified)(U).

[Redacted] stated that the SNCC Office does not have a telephone. She stated that she has not seen WILLIAM HUNT for a few months and all persons who call for HUNT are told that he is out-of-town and that the office is closed. [Redacted] stated that the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) Office uses the SNCC office for meetings. (U)

TWWA

[Redacted] said the TWWA was working out an alliance with SNCC and that the TWWA is actually an organization of black and third world women dedicated to eradicating sexism, male chauvinism and strengthening the role of women in the struggle.

July 22, 1971

SNCC continues to have an office in the basement of 336 West 20th Street, New York City and WILLIAM HUNT is in charge of the office.

The TWWA, under the leadership of FRANCES BEAL also uses this office for meetings every Saturday morning.

November 30, 1972
(U)
NY 100-7963

SNCC Members at New York City

FRANCES BEAL and BARBARA HUNT both members of SNCC in New York City have resigned from that organization because of disputes with WILLIAM HUNT. (Confidential) (X) U

October 3, 1972

CHARLES BROADNAX is a current member of SNCC at New York. (C) MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

November 10, 1972

RON JACKSON is a SNCC member at New York City. (X) U

November 20, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT apparently has made everyone in New York resign from SNCC except RON JACKSON and FIDEL (GEORGE LOVE). HUNT has made himself unavailable for any personal comments concerning his actions during the past six months. (X) U

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

October 11, 1972

SNCC Members Outside New York City Area

The following are known to be SNCC members as of November 10, 1972:

- JOHN PAYNE
  Tulsa, Oklahoma

- MARIA SALAS
  San Antonio, Texas

- GEORGE HUGHES
  Cincinnati, Ohio

- WILLIAM COLEMAN
  Atlanta, Georgia (X) U

November 16, 1972
The following persons are known to be SNCC members as of October 11, 1972:

- WANDA PRICE
  Tulsa, Oklahoma
- JOHN PAYNE
  Tulsa, Oklahoma
- RALPH GONLEY
  Tulsa, Oklahoma
- GEORGE HUGHES
  Cincinnati, Ohio
- JIMMY LAZARE
  Houston, Texas

October 11, 1972

SNCC Bookstore, New York City

On August 22, 1972, the SNCC Bookstore at the above address stated that CHERYL HILL no longer is living in the back room of the bookstore. He further stated that the bookstore appears to be in disarray and is not open for business. (U)
Affiliation with the Black Workers Council (BWC)

JOHN PAYNE, SNCC leader from Tulsa, Oklahoma has been in frequent contact with JAMES FORMAN of the BWC at Detroit, Michigan.

The BWC, organized in late 1969, was a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) front group until September, 1970, when the PLP lost interest in it, and it became controlled by Black moderates. WILLIAM EPTON, leader of the BWC, claimed during a recent visit to the People's Republic of China, that the BWC was attempting to form a Marxist-Leninist black labor union movement.

The PLP, founded in 1965 by former members of the Communist Party, USA, who assertedly followed a Chinese Communist line, is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to a dictatorship of the working class.
II. CINCINNATI DIVISION

On July 17, 1972 HUNT was residing at the residence of known SNCC members in Cincinnati for the purpose of general SNCC activities and the desire to get away from the New York City area. 

July 17, 1972

During WILLIAM HUNT's stay in Cincinnati, Ohio he spent most of his time relaxing and sightseeing with local SNCC members. 

July 25, 1972

III. DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Confidential sources of the Detroit, Michigan area were contacted in May and June, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information regarding any activity of SNCC within the Detroit, Michigan area. (U)

IV. HOUSTON, TEXAS

As of May 31, 1972 there was no known chapter of SNCC in Houston, Texas. (U)

May 31, 1972
V. LOS ANGELES DIVISION

SNCC has no active chapter within the Los Angeles area, as of September, 1971. (U)
VI. OKLAHOMA DIVISION

The only known persons affiliated with SNCC in the Oklahoma City area are JOHN FRANKLIN PAYNE, WANDA PRICE (his girl friend) and RALPH CONLEY.  

October 11, 1972

VII. SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

Many attempts to contact the SNCC Office at 2426 Nebraska Street, San Antonio, Texas were made during the past several weeks, but no one could be observed at the office. The telephone number to this SNCC Office is disconnected. (U)

July 12, 1972

The San Antonio Chapter of SNCC is in the process of moving from their present headquarters located on Houston Avenue, San Antonio. SNCC members are working out of MARIO SALAS' home and the office on the campus of San Houston College until such time as they can find suitable headquarters. (U)

July 27, 1972

July 20, 1972
The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

VIII. TAMPA DIVISION

Confidential sources of the Tampa Office, familiar with the Black Nationalist activities in the Tampa area were contacted in June and July, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information on SNCC activities in the Tampa, Florida area.
October 11, 1972

National SNCC leader WILLIAM HUNT, as of September 20, 1972, was in North Carolina, possibly at the residence of his mother.

September 20, 1972
X. MISCELLANEOUS

Confidential sources of the New York Office, familiar with Black Nationalist activities in the New York City area were contacted from October and November, 1972 and all advised they could furnish no information on activities of SNCC in New York.

The National Association of Black Students (NABS) in its constitution, states that its purpose is to exist as a service and information center which would provide a communications network for black students at American colleges and universities.

-12-
Title  Student National Coordinating Committee

Character Extremist Matter

Reference is made to New York 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.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
NEW YORK

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NEW YORK

DATE
DEC 11 1973

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
11/30/72 - 11/29/73

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY
[redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE
EM

REFERENCE:
New York report of SA 12/37/73.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two copies of an FD 376 are attached to this report for use by the Bureau.

One copy of this report is being furnished to Secret Service locally.

Copies are also being furnished to all offices having activity, members or associates in their area in the past year.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CONVICTION</th>
<th>FUG.</th>
<th>FINES</th>
<th>SAVINGS</th>
<th>RECOVERIES</th>
<th>ACQUITALS</th>
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CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR [ ] YES [ ] NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS [ ] YES [ ] NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency

Request Recd.

Date Fwd.

How Fwd.

D. P

54 JAN 14 1974
NY 100-147963

(ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED)

The investigative period of this report overlaps the date of last report. It is noted, however, that information was received by NY after re report was prepared.

The identities of SAS interviewing in Tulsa, Oklahoma, is not known to NY.

This report is classified "Confidential" to protect the identities of and INFORMANTS:

<table>
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NY 100-147963

(INFORMANTS CONTINUED)

The following are the sources contacted regarding subject organization with negative results during 1973:

OBSERVATIONS

In view of the fact that SNCC has no national office, no national officers, has engaged in no significant activities for several years, and that future prospects for much are exceedingly faint, NY is closing this case. It is felt that individuals should be reported on under individual captions and NY will continue to do so. It is noted that NY has files on the following mentioned herein:

THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)
AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)
VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

- C* -

COVER PAGE
Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

RE: Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual or organization believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning protective responsibilities, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. □ Threats or actions against persons protected by Secret Service.
2. □ Attempts or threats to redress grievances.
3. □ Threatening or abusive statement about U.S. or foreign official.
4. □ Participation in civil disturbances, anti-U.S. demonstrations or hostile incidents against foreign diplomatic establishments.
5. □ Illegal bombing, bomb-making or other terrorist activity.
6. □ Defector from U.S. or indicates desire to defect.
7. □ Potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U.S.

Photograph □ has been furnished □ enclosed □ is not available.

Very truly yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U.S. Secret Service, NYC (RM)

Enclosure(s) (1)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: Secret Service, NYC (RM)
DEC 11 1973

Report of: [Redacted]
Date: [Redacted]

Field Office File #: 100-147963
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Office: New York, New York

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: SNCC National Office, formerly located St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 W. 20th St., NYC, is non-existent. WILLIAM HUNT, National Chairman, resigned that position; no replacement yet named. SNCC national meetings held 12/23-24/72, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and 11/24/73, in Tulsa, Oklahoma. SNCC publication "National SNCC" not to be published. Name of SNCC to be dropped. Name "Revolutionary Democratic Party" tentatively adopted.

C

All information contained herein is classified "Confidential" unless otherwise indicated.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6/24 ON 6/13/77.

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. PREDICATION

This investigation is based on information which indicates that the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, United States Code (USC), Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), or 2385 (Advocating the Overthrow of the United States Government). (Unclassified) (U)

SNCC, formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement. In 1969 SNCC came under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and evolved into a black revolutionary organization. In 1969 H. RAP BROWN announced that he had been elected Chairman of SNCC. BROWN stated that the use of force was necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals and at that time removed Nonviolent from the organization's title. More recent leadership of SNCC has advocated guerrilla warfare to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States. SNCC has been headquartered in New York City since 1969. In early 1973 SNCC was beset with internal dissension which resulted in a purge of some members and its national leader WILLIAM HUNT. (U)

II. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE AND OTHER OFFICES OF THE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

On March 14, 1973, advised that SNCC continues to use an office at the church as its National Headquarters. (U)

SNCC no longer uses St. Peter's Episcopal Church for its National Headquarters because the church commenced charging a fee of $50 per month for rent.

April 30, 1973
NY 100-147963

On November 29, 1973, it was determined from [redacted] that SNCC has disbanded and no longer uses space in the church for its offices. [redacted] knew of no activity or other locations for SNCC and believed it to have been disbanded for approximately one (1) year. (U)

SAN ANTONIO DIVISION

The San Antonio SNCC Chapter rents Post Office Box 893, San Antonio, Texas, 78293.

November 2, 1973

CINCINNATI DIVISION

There is no SNCC Chapter in Cincinnati, Ohio.

November 7, 1973

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

There is no SNCC Chapter in the Mount Holly, North Carolina, area, according to [redacted] on July 5, 1973. (U)

CHICAGO DIVISION

[redacted], advised that there is no SNCC organization as activity in the Chicago area. (U)

ATLANTA DIVISION

The Atlanta Division reported on November 14, 1973, that there has been no SNCC activity within the past year. (U)
LOUISVILLE DIVISION

The Louisville, Kentucky Office reported on October 19, 1973, that there are no known active SNCC members in the area. (U)

OKLAHOMA CITY DIVISION

The Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Office reported on October 31, 1973, that there is no known SNCC organization in the Oklahoma City area. (U)

III. OFFICERS

WILLIAM HUNT, Chairman of SNCC, sent a letter to the New York SNCC Office resigning from the Eastern Zone of SNCC.

December 15, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT, at a National SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972, resigned as Head of the Eastern Zone of SNCC, as Chairman of SNCC, and as a member of the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC) of SNCC (the governing body). A new leader was not named.

December 27, 1972

IV. SNCC MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES

RONALD LEE JACKSON is an SNCC member in New York City.

December 27, 1972

RONALD JACKSON has not been active in SNCC for about a year. (U)

RONALD LEE JACKSON
September 17, 1973
RONALD JACKSON did not attend a national SNCC conference, November 24, 1973, at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

November 27, 1973

CHARLES BROADNAX of New York City attended the SNCC conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

CHARLES BROADNAX is not known to be active in SNCC any more.

February 22, 1973

CHARLES BROADNAX did not attend the national SNCC meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 24, 1973.


GEORGE (FIDEL) LOVE of New York attended the SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

LOVE is not known to be active in SNCC lately.

February 22, 1973

LOVE did not attend the SNCC meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 24, 1973.

November 27, 1973
WILLIAM HUNT of New York resigned from the Eastern Zone of SNCC.

December 27, 1972

WILLIAM HUNT has moved to Stanley, North Carolina.

April 17, 1973

HUNT is back in New York.

November 27, 1973

MARIO SALAS of San Antonio, Texas, is Coordinator of SNCC in that city. He heads a chapter estimated to total about seven persons.

November 2, 1973


December 27, 1972
November 27, 1973

JOHN L. PAYNE of Tulsa, Oklahoma, attended the national SNCC conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 23-24, 1972.

December 27, 1972

JOHN PAYNE is not a member of SNCC. (U)

JOHN L. PAYNE
August 8, 1973
NY 100-147963

JOHN L. PAYNE did not attend the national SNCC conference in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 24, 1973.

November 27, 1973

WILLIAM COLEMAN of Atlanta, Georgia, is an SNCC associate.

November 27, 1973

ROGER BILLINGSLEY of Atlanta, Georgia, is an SNCC associate.

May 17, 1973

JAMES ALEXANDER of San Antonio, Texas, is an SNCC member.

November 30, 1972.

JAMES ALEXANDER died of sickle cell anemia on April 16, 1973.

April 23, 1973

V. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

A. SNCC Newspaper - "National SNCC"

At the national SNCC meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 23-24, 1972, a discussion was held to switch "National SNCC" from New York City to San Antonio, Texas.

December 27, 1972

March 30, 1973

SALAS stated that "National SNCC" would not be published due to a lack of writing talent.

November 27, 1973

B. Television Program

MARIO SALAS stated that Cox Cable Communications, Incorporated, and American Television and Communication, Incorporated, in San Antonio, Texas, are or were shortly to provide free time on cable television in the San Antonio area. SALAS was attempting to gain some of this time for SNCC.

July 25, 1973

SALAS stated without explanation, that the efforts to participate in free television time are now dead issue.

November 27, 1973

C. Demonstrations

On July 20, 1973, SNCC sponsored a demonstration in front of the Federal Building, San Antonio, Texas. The demonstration which lasted from approximately 5:30 PM until about 6:15 PM was attended by nine persons. The demonstration was to protest the "Byrd Amendment" which allows the United States to purchase chrome from Rhodesia and to protest Gulf Oil's financial arrangement with Portugal.

July 24, 1973
VI. AFFILIATION WITH THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ALLIANCE (TWWA)

The TWWA, which is affiliated with the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was organized by a Black women's caucus within SNCC and is headquartered in New York City. Its announced objective is the elimination of what it considers to be the triple oppression of women in America, imperialism, racism, and sexism and the solution to this triple oppression as being Socialism through armed struggle. (U)

SNCC sent a letter to TWWA members who were formerly associated with SNCC. The letter, dated January 9, 1973, and captioned, "A New Level of Struggle", in part states that all ties between the two organizations are considered severed; all political, economic and/or security matters previously agreed to by the parties are nonoperative; and that there can be no future alliances between SNCC and TWWA.

February 1, 1973

VII. ASSOCIATION WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)

The ALSC was founded in July, 1972, to support the African liberation movement on the continent of Africa and to fight the "pattern of exploitation plaguing African people all over the world." Its national headquarters is in Greensboro, North Carolina. Speaking to a university audience in Washington, D.C., in September, 1972, the National Chairman of the ALSC indicated that black people of the whole world must destroy capitalism, not by mere rhetoric alone but by any means necessary including such action as that taken by the Arab terrorists against the Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany, in September, 1972. (U)
MARIO SALAS stated that the Texas SNCC now has a good working relationship with the national leadership of the ALSC, a national office of which is located at Post Office Box 14093, Houston, Texas.

July 25, 1973

MARIO SALAS and JOHN PAYNE both surmised that if SNCC is unable to meet independently, SNCC should perhaps meet in conjunction with ALSC.

October 1, 1973

The Texas SNCC is working closely with the ALSC, according to SALAS.

November 27, 1973

VIII. ASSOCIATIONS WITH VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

The VB was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of "New Left" organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel has been to assist the Castro regime in the harvesting of sugar cane, and other agricultural products, and more recently to engage in construction projects, and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country. (U)

SALAS claims to have a good working relationship with the VB. No plans have been made for anyone to go to Cuba, however.

November 27, 1973
IX. INTERVIEWS OF SNCC MEMBERS/ASSOCIATES
After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the inquiry, a male, who identified himself as RONALD JACKSON, refused to open the door to Apartment 13-H, 865 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, New York.

He denied any knowledge of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), H. RAP BROWN, CHARLES BROADNAX, GEORGE HUGHES or FRANCES BEAL.

He was repeatedly requested to allow the Agents to enter the apartment so that neighbors would not be subjected to the discussion, but refused to do so.

After approximately three minutes of discourse in the above-described manner, the interview was terminated and JACKSON was requested to telephonically contact the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
The Black Liberation Army is a loose-knit, unstructured quasi-military group created to bring about change in the American system of government by terrorist acts including murder and other urban guerrilla tactics.
X. MISCELLANEOUS

An article appearing on page one of the Late City Edition of the August 29, 1973, issue of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York City, New York. This article was entitled, "Civil Rights Unity Gone in Redirected Movement", stated in part "... the organization (SNCC) became one of personalities rather than programs under Rap (H. RAP BROWN) and Stokely Carmichael. Today many of the leaders of the defunct student organization still consider themselves activists, but chiefly from inside the system that they fought so hard to change." (U)

At the national meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, it was decided to phase out the name "SNCC". The new name "Revolutionary Democratic Party" was tentatively adopted.

November 27, 1973

Additional sources familiar with extremist activity in the New York City area were contacted regarding SNCC during 1973 with negative results.
Title  Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Character  Extremist Matter

Reference is made to New York report of Special ..., 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.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 15 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORT NO OFFICE OFFICE OF ORIGIN DATE INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND PORTLAND 11/29/63 10/18/63 - 11/27/63

TITLE OF CASE

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Portland, dated 10/14/63.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The information is marked "Confidential" since it contains material that could reasonably result in notification of confidential informants of continuing value and may also reduce their future effectiveness thereon.

LOCATION

100-439190-40-X1

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-441130-2

DEC 6 1963

EX-1103

57 JAN 1964

EX-1104
Copy to: 1 - G-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Report of: Portland, Oregon
Date: 11/29/63

File Office File#: 157-169
Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (FSNCC) was formed during August, 1963, by church and youth representatives to support national civil rights legislation and integration in Portland. Organized trip to Washington, D. C., to participate in 8/28/63 demonstration and local demonstrations in protest of Birmingham, Alabama, bombings. Local CP members active in promoting and participating in sponsored activities. Investigation concerned only with extent of CP infiltration.

DETAILS: AT PORTLAND, OREGON

7/18/63

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification.
DONALD LEE HAMERQUIST, during 1962 - 1963, has been an active prominent member of the CP and a member of the state board of the CP in Oregon.

An article in the "Oregonian," a local daily publication, September 16, 1963, stated that JASON SMITH, spokesman for the Portland chapter of FSMCC, announced that the group would hold a demonstration to protest recent bombings in Birmingham, Alabama.

ADDRESS OF FSMCC
Highland Congregational Church,
4635 N. E. Ninth Avenue,
Portland, Oregon

-2-
CHARACTER OF FSNCC

According to an article in the July 3, 1963, issue of the "Oregonian," a daily Portland, Oregon, publication, four young Portland youths, including Reverend RALPH MOORE, pastor of Highland Congregational Church, Portland, recently returned after having attended the United Church Youth Forum in Atlanta, Georgia. They will form an anti-segregation committee to support national civil rights legislation and integration in Portland. They will attempt to aid the southern integration move by forming a Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Portland "Oregonian," under date of August 7, 1963, carried the following article:

"About 40 Portland high schoolers have organized into a civil rights group to expedite a correction for racial imbalance in Portland schools. The Portland committee will attempt to determine if Negro children are deprived of equal educational opportunity in Portland, and if so what corrective steps should be taken. It will study means of improving achievement of students in culturally deprived areas, and what the school system can do through educational processes to eliminate racial prejudices in the minds of children."

The "Portland Reporter," a Portland daily publication, under date of September 16, 1963, carried the following article:

"The Negro is determined to have freedom now regardless of aid from whites, according to the Rev. Othal Lakey of Allen Temple, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, while speaking to a group of 60 persons attending a Portland Friends of SNCC meeting there Monday night. The Rev. Ralph Moore, pastor of the Highland Congregational Church and organizer of Friends of SNCC, announced at the meeting that the group hoped to sponsor a bus of freedom riders to Washington, D.C., for the Aug. 28 demonstrations for jobs and freedom."
MEMBERSHIP

On October 3, 1963, it was ascertained that
FOGH, Portland, Oregon, is an unorganized group, has no
official headquarters and no official membership, but does
have a mailing list of about 200. Reverend MORE
considers himself to be the leader of the group
which conducts no regular meetings and is more or less de-
pendent on local college and high school students to
spearhead activities.

OFFICERS

Reverend PAL MORE, 1-year
HILTON MORE, 2-year
UNOFFICIAL 1-year

The following were appointed as members of an
executive committee of this group on the occasion of the
first meeting held on August 3, 1963:

FRED HAYN,
5224 N. Westshore
Portland, Oregon
Senior at Wilson High School

CHARLIE HARR, Senior,
Cleveland High School

BILL THOMAS,
7520 SE 33rd Avenue
Student, Cleveland High School

DONALD OVERHOLTZ,
Portland, Oregon
THE CP PROGRAM TO INfiltrate

8/12/63

4/21/63

At a meeting of the Pacific Club of the CP held August 21, 1963, at 800 S. W. Washington St., Portland, O. R., a Pacific Club member of the CP, the Freedom Riders from New Orleans, Miss., Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963, could not have been possible. The Party members collected sufficient money to send four or five Party members from Portland to attend this demonstration.

9/2/63

9/23/63
LARRY OTTEN, during 1962 – 1963, has been a member of the CF Youth Club, Portland.

SHEILA VAN AMING is the wife of JOHN VAN AMING, a current member of the Youth Club of the CF, Portland.

ALLEN SILVERSTONE, during 1961 – 1963, was a member of the Youth Club, CF, Portland.

Birmingham, Alabama, Church Bombing Swastika

The above were all known to be active members of the Portland area.
Title  
COMMUNIST INfiltrATION OF
FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
PORTLAND, OREGON

Character  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference  
Report of SS
captioned and dated as above,
at Portland, Oregon.

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 | OFFICE OF ORIGIN | DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
PORTLAND | PORTLAND | 2/7/64 | 1/2/64 - 2/5/64

TITLE OF CASE
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS-C


ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is marked confidential since it contains data from which could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

SA observed the 1/11/64 demonstration.

maintains close personal contact with Rev. RALPH MOORE and other leaders of this group.

INFORMANTS

100 - 4/39, 48 - 48 - 45

5 - Bureau (100-441130) (RM)
1 - G-2, INTG, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
3 - Portland (157-169)

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

NOTATIONS

ALD. DISSEMINATION различные
PD 157-169

Identity of Informant
LEADS

Location
FORTLAND

AT FORTLAND, OREGON. Will bring the activities of this organization up to date at the expiration of six months.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
1 - C-2, INTC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1 - O51, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1 - ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
Office: Portland, Oregon

Date: 2/7/64

Field Office File #: 157-169
Bureau File #: 100-441130

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: IS - C

Synopsis: Friends of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (FSNCC), Portland, elected officers at a meeting held 1/19/64. Sponsored demonstration 1/12/64, protesting the segregation policies of Governor GEORGE WALLACE, who was a visitor in Portland on that date. Communist Party (CP) youth group interested and active in the affairs of FSNCC.

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of FSNCC.

CONFIDENTIAL

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 THE FSNCC

The headquarters of this group continue to be the Highland Congregational Church, 4635 N. E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

1/22/64

CHARACTER OF FSNCC

An article in the "Oregon Journal", a local daily publication, dated December 18, 1963, stated that BRUCE GORDON, full time Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, Georgia, while visiting Portland, remarked that SNCC is an agency organized to stimulate and foster the growth of local Negro protest movements. Its headquarters are in Atlanta, Georgia. The major drives in 1964 would be in the fields of voter registrations, employment and massive demonstrations.

Local newspaper accounts in December, 1963, and January, 1964, reported that BRUCE GORDON made several public appearances while in Oregon, December 15 through 19, 1963 and in January, 1964. His appearances were under the sponsorship of the Portland Committee SNCC. While in Portland, he was a guest at the home of Reverend RALPH MOORE, local coordinator. He appeared before a group of students at Portland State College on January 21, 1964, and before a group of students at University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, on the evening of January 21, 1964.

An article in the January 16, 1964 issue of the "Oregon Daily Emerald Journal", a daily student publication, University of Oregon, Eugene, quoted Reverend RALPH MOORE, race relations chairman for the Greater Portland Council of Churches and coordinator of the Portland FSNCC, in a speech before a large group of University of Oregon students as saying "members of group supporting non-violent equality movements had to take great care in the conduct of their members. When a group gets togethers and sets a policy, no one deviates from this. Members should be told to get out if they can't follow orders."
MEMBERSHIP

The membership of this group as of February 3, 1964, was 110. All persons who have attended at least one meeting and who have paid the registration fee of $1 are considered members and are entitled to voting rights. Regular meetings are not held and members are advised of each meeting by mail. Plans are under way to hold one meeting per month. The majority of the meetings held to date have been at the Highland Congregational Church, 4635 N. E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

2/4/64

OFFICERS

Reverend RALPH MOORE, Pastor, Highland Congregational Church, Chairman;
ALVIN BATISTE, board member;
ROBERT MANDEL, board member;
MERCY WRIGHT, board member;
SKIP BRACKIN, board member;
ERIEKA BRAUN, board member;
LUTHER STRONG, board member;
WILLIAM THOMAS, board member;
RAYMOND HOLLOWAY, board member.

2/4/64
WILLIAM THOMAS is currently a member of the Youth Club of the CF, Portland.

1/20/64

THE CF PROGRAM TO INFILTRATE

12/12/63

On December 11, 1963, [redacted] advised that on that date SUSAN HAMERQUEST, 1130 E. Burnside Street, Portland, had made application for use of a meeting room at the Knott Street Community Center for a meeting to be held on December 12, 1963, under the sponsorship of the Portland AMEO.

SUSAN HAMERQUEST is a member of the Youth Club of the CF, Portland, Oregon.

12/20/63

1/22/64
JASON SMITH is a current member of the Youth Club of the CP.

12/21/63

CP AFFILIATIONS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

WILLIAM THOMAS, a high school student, is the only elected official of the Portland Committee of FSNCC known to be identified with the CP.

2/4/64

The following persons have been identified as active within FSNCC and CP members: WILLIAM THOMAS, SUSAN HAMERQUIST; DONALD HAMERQUIST; JASON SMITH; ALLEN SILVERSTONE; JOHN TALBOT; JOHN VAN HYNING; SHELLIAH VAN HYNING.

2/4/64

ACTIVITY AND CP PARTICIPATION

On January 13, 1964, advised that on the previous evening, FSNCC staged a peaceful demonstration at the Hilton hotel, Portland, during the hours 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., while Governor GEORGE WALLACE, Alabama, was a guest. Purpose of the demonstration was to protest the segregation policies of Governor WALLACE. Approximately 250 persons participated in the demonstration.

A Special Agent of the FBI observed the above WALLACE demonstration and among those recognized were DONALD HAMERQUIST, SUSAN HAMERQUIST, DENISE JACOBSON, and JASON SMITH.
THE MONENQISTS, JACOBSON and SMITH are current IF members at Portland, Oregon.

2/4/64
Portland, Oregon
February 7, 1964

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
PORTLAND, OREGON

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of Special Agent
at Portland, 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.
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/17/64

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is marked confidential since data from [REDACTED] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

IDENTITY OF INFORMANT

LOCATION

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

5-Bureau (100-441130) (AM)(RM)
1-Q-2, IMIC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1-OSS, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
21, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
3-Portland (157-169)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

Field Office File #: 157-169

Title:

Character:

Synopsis: Efforts of Communist Party (CP) to gain control of Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (FSNVC) have apparently been frustrated and now being afforded a low priority. CP has announced a ban on street demonstration and are concentrating on raising funds, clothing and books.

SPONSORED APPEARANCE OF CAROLE MERRILL AND DICK GREGORY and Anti-Vietnam rallies in connection with Mississippi Summer Project.

--- P---

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATION
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNVC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains further recommendations and 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.
LEADS

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will bring the activities of this organization up-to-date at the expiration of six months.
ADDRESS OF FSNCC

The headquarters of this group continues to be at Second Congregational Church, 4635 N.E. 9th Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

CHARACTER OF FSNCC

FSNCC has modified their aims and purposes in recent months and have now banned all public protest demonstrations. They will devote efforts to the raising of funds, clothing and books to be used by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) projects in the South.

MEMBERSHIP

There has been no apparent change in membership which continues to remain at approximately 110. No regular meetings are held and no established meeting places. Members are advised of scheduled activities and meetings through the use of mimeographed announcements sent through the mail.

6/24/64

8/30/64
OFFICERS

Reverend RALPH MOORE, pastor, Highland Congregational Church continues as chairman and is assisted by a board of directors as set out in the previous report of February 17, 1964.

8/30/64

1/18/64

2/18/64
WILLIAM THOMAS, a recent Portland high school graduate, is the only official of this group known to be a member of the NAACP.
THE C.P. is the only Communist group active in this area known to be a C.P. group.

ACTIVITY AND C.P. PARTICIPATION

A meeting of ESKOS held at St. Michael's
Congregational Church, Portland, on February 9, 1964, Rev.
Robert Hume, chairman, stated that the executive board had
met twice since the last regular meeting. At these
meetings, a chairman had been named, including
R.onde HAMERQUIST
was named to be in charge of voter registration. This committee
was authorized to have 21 volunteers to assist HAMERQUIST.
He announced that HAMERQUIST's goal was to register as
many people to vote as possible starting in the Williams
district of Portland. At a subsequent meeting held
March 13, 1964, HAMERQUIST stated that his voter
registration project was being held up by legal involvement
and that he was seeking authorization from the county to perform
voter registration.

MANNER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

The Portland Committee of the C.P. sponsored a
demonstration on March 3, 1964, at the Sheraton Motor Inn,
Lewiston, Portland, which was reportedly in support of
the Industrial committee's efforts to gain equal
employment opportunities. Approximately 20 individuals
participated in this demonstration including JOSEPH KRIS,
PAUL JONES, JAMES JALOUI, JAMES BERLAND, STEVE THOMAS and JAIME

3/3/64

The individuals named above as participating in this
demonstration as of that date were members of the youth club of the CP, Portland, Oregon.

According to an article which appeared in the "Portland Reporter", a Portland, Oregon daily publication, under date of April 23, 1964, a Miss CAROL NURRIT, age 23, a recent graduate of Vassar College, appeared in Portland under the sponsorship of the SNCC on the previous evening. Miss NURRIT, who has been working in the civil rights movement in Mississippi since 1963, presented in Portland was to raise funds to assist the voter registration project in the State of Mississippi.

Comedian DICK GREGORY appeared in Portland according to an article in the May 17, 1964 issue of the "Portland Reporter" under the sponsorship of the local SNCC. He announced that he had been on a month long tour of her performances on behalf of the SNCC.

On the evening of June 15, 1964, Portland Friends of SNCC sponsored a meeting at the Bethel AME Church, 5828 N.E. 8th Avenue, Portland. This meeting was advertised as a "Rally for Mississippi Summer Project." There was a large turnout for this meeting including a number of local youths who were en route to Mississippi to assist in the summer project. Rev. RALPH MOORE spoke on the great importance of this summer project and stated that the Portland Council of Churches was behind this worthwhile project 100 per cent.

On July 8, 1964, a rally sponsored by the Portland FBC was held at the Mount Olivet Baptist Church, N.E. 1st and Schuyler, and the parents of several of the youths who were then working in Mississippi provided a report on the activities of their offspring.
A meeting presumably sponsored by the Portland Committee of CCCU was held at Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1624 N. Hancock Street on July 29, 1965. Reverend ROBERT BONHAM, pastor of the church where the meeting was held, was the principal speaker. Rev. BONHAM discussed his recent few days stay in the State of Mississippi and discussed the Negro situation and their battle for equal rights.
Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, Portland, Oregon

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

Report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above at Portland, Oregon

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

PORTLAND  PORTLAND  3/23/65  3/16/65

REPORTING OFFICE  OFFICE OF ORIGIN  DATE  INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

REPORT MADE BY

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [redacted] dated 9/10/64
at Portland.

P*

ADMINISTRATIVE

Special Agent [redacted] in telephonic contact
with Mrs. RALPH MOORE on 3/12/65.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant

[redacted]

Location

157-169-189

Bureau (100-441130) (AM) (RM)

1 - G-2, INTC, Region III,
Portland, Oregon (RM)

1 - OSI, District 20, USAF,
Tacoma, Washington (RM)

1 - ONI, 13th Naval District,
Seattle, Washington (RM)

3 - Portland (157-169)

DISCLOSURE RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY: ACSI (ONI, OSIA, SEC, FER.;

DATE: 16 MAR 65

HOW FORW: [redacted]

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1968-01-14-1
**Security Informants Contacted**

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<th>Informant</th>
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**LEADS**

**PORTLAND**

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will continue to follow the activities and submit report at the expiration of six months. If no significant activity developed, will recommend case be placed in a closed status.
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

No significant activity developed since September, 1964. Efforts of local group devoted principally to raising funds. Local CP has withdrawn interest and support.

DETAILS:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE
Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon in August, 1963 to serve a two-fold purpose; one, to support the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South, providing financial and material assistance for Civil Rights movements on a national scale, and two, to actively work in Portland, Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment, housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members dated 2/23/64.

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.
The Youth Club of the CF, Portland, Oregon, after the formation of FSNCC actively organized, planned and directed all public demonstrations and meetings sponsored by this group from the date of its formation to about January, 1964.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

There has been no change in the aims and purposes of this group since at least September, 1964, and its activities have been confined principally to the raising of funds.

MEMBERSHIP

There has been no apparent change in membership, which was last reported as being approximately 110. No membership meetings, as such, have been held since at least September, 1964.

ADDRESS

Literature distributed by this group in recent months has shown the headquarters of this group as now being 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue of Portland, Oregon. 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland, is the residence address of R. D. PERRY and wife, JERATHA.

OFFICERS

Literature distributed by this group in recent months has disclosed that Mrs. JERATHA PERRY (JERE) as
chairman and Mrs. GERALD L. SWEENEY (CAROLE), 6811 N.E. Hancock, as vice-chairman.

GENERAL ACTIVITY

12/6/64

The February 8, 1965 edition of the "Oregon Journal," a local daily publication, reported that JOHN LEWIS, Atlanta, Georgia, a chairman of the SNCC, was a weekend Portland visitor.

On February 6, 1965, JOHN LEWIS spoke at the Vancouver First Baptist Church, 3138 North Vancouver Avenue, Portland.

This group, sometime prior to January 26, 1965, mailed out letters requesting financial assistance to help carry on the struggle in Mississippi. The letter was signed "JERE PERRY, Chairman, CAROLE SWEENEY, Vice-Chairman, Portland Friends of SNCC, 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland."

1/25/65

On or about February 23, 1965, the Portland FSNCC mailed out material stating that they were sponsoring the appearance of EARL ROBINSON, folk singer, at Portland State College on the evening of March 6, 1965, proceeds to be used for the Mississippi Freedom Project.

2/25/65
Reverend RALPH MOORE, a leader of this organization, together with several other ministers, on March 11, 1965 publicly announced that the Portland Friends of SNCC were planning a mass sympathy demonstration for March 14, 1965 in a protest to the activities then going on at Selma, Alabama. At another demonstration conducted March 12, 1965 at Portland, it was announced that Reverend RALPH MOORE had cancelled the planned March 14, 1965 demonstration.

3/12/65

A telephone call to Mrs. RALPH MOORE by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 12, 1965 disclosed that the Portland Friends of SNCC had withdrawn its support from the planned March 14, 1965 demonstration after it had become apparent that a group of local college students planned to take over the demonstration.

SUPPORT FROM LOCAL CP

During March, 1965, confidential informants of the Portland Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, who are acquainted with some CP members and some CP activities in Portland advised that the CP in Oregon in recent months had made no reference to the Portland Friends of SNCC and had shown no interest in this organization.
Portland, Oregon
March 23, 1965

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of Special Agent
dated
and captioned as above
at Portland, Oregon

All sources 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

PORTLAND
PORTLAND
9/20/65
9/1/65 - 9/17/65

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

INVESTIGATIV

REFEHCE:

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified "Confidential" inasmuch as the information provided by could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

Identity of Informant

Location

5. Special Agent in Charge

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

[Redacted and illegible details]
LEADS

ATLANTA

A copy of this report is being designated for the Atlanta Office for information purposes in view of their interest in this organization.

PORTLAND

AT PORTLAND, OREGON. Will continue to follow the activities and submit a report at the expiration of six months.
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: This group during past six months has sponsored several outside speakers, including JAMES FOREMAN, PETE SEEGER, and FANNY LOU HAMER. Efforts devoted to raising funds. No indication of CP influence or interest.

DETAILS:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of this group.
ORIGIN AND SCOPE

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon in August, 1963 to serve a two-fold purpose: one, to support the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South, providing financial and material assistance for Civil Rights movements on a national scale, and, two, to actively work in Portland, Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment, housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members dated 2/23/64.

The Youth Club of the CP, Portland, Oregon, after the formation of FSNCC, actively organized, planned and directed all public demonstrations and meetings sponsored by this group from the date of its formation to about January, 1964.

Aims and Purposes

A news letter prepared and distributed by the Portland Friends of SNCC under date of April 16, 1965 stated the aims and purposes of this organization to be: "Our purpose is to aid the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in its direct action by operating as a fund-raising community. This we do by letters of appeal, rallies, concerts, jam sessions and dinners. We are open to suggestions for other means of raising money. We also act as a telephone chain to get letters and telegrams sent to the proper people when needed to protest an action or to support pertinent legislation.

"Our aim is to involve as many citizens in this area as possible in the need for protesting the injustices being heaped upon the colored people in the North, East and West, as well as the South."
"Our policy is to devote ourselves as Portland Friends of SNCC exclusively to the Civil Rights effort and to operate in that field only as an organization."

MEMBERSHIP

Nothing has been received indicating any change in membership, which was originally reported as being approximately 110. This figure represents those names appearing on the mailing list. No general membership meetings have been held since March of 1965. The officers reportedly occasionally meet and arrange for any and all activity.

HEADQUARTERS

This group has no official headquarters; however, all mail advising of planned events bears the return address of 6207 N.E. 15th Avenue, Portland, Oregon. This is the residence of JEREA THA PERRY, Chairman.

OFFICERS

A newsletter disseminated by this group under date of April 16, 1965 listed the following officers:

Mrs. JEREA THA PERRY, Chairman

Mrs. CAROL SWEENEY, Vice-Chairman

Miss MERCY ANN WRIGHT, Secretary

MISTOLD GELLATLY, Treasurer
GENERAL ACTIVITY

The April 23, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" local daily publication, carried an article which reported that JAMES FOREMAN, Executive Secretary of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee told a Portland audience on the preceding evening that the press is fostering a split between Negro Civil Rights groups. This article mentioned that FOREMAN spoke to about ninety persons in the Vancouver Avenue Baptist Church after arriving on a direct flight from Atlanta, Georgia. FOREMAN thanked the Portland friends of SNCC for sponsoring his trip and giving support. In answers to questions during his Portland appearance, FOREMAN said that the Communist influence in the Civil Rights movement would vary but that which falls in line with the movement's set objectives. He said he knew of no card-carrying communist in SNCC. He stated that the Civil Rights movement has progressed in direct proportion to the amount of Southern White resistance. Difficulties in organizing the Southern Negro stem from fear and the apathy common throughout the nation in protecting the people's rights. FOREMAN estimated only 10 to 15 per cent of the Negro population in the South participates directly in the movement. FOREMAN stated that SNCC and other Civil Rights groups in that it takes a political approach to reach the objectives. It advocates changes in political structures, where other groups deal only with the upgrading social conditions of Negroes.

The April 25, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" carried an article reporting that DENNIS SWEENEY, a 21-year-old Stanford graduate from Portland who had been working in the Civil Rights movement in Mississippi appeared at a meeting at Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1624 N.E. Mississippi Street, Portland on the previous Sunday. This meeting was under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC. SWEENEY, according to the article, reported on his work in the South and his efforts to raise money on speaking trips through the north.

On the evening of July 10, 1965, PETE SEEGER, folk singer at the Portland auditorium under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC. Approximately 1,200 persons were present for this concert.

7/11/65
On July 12, 1965, [redacted], advised that he attended the SELMA concert, and that there were no speeches made during the concert and that the concert was purely a matter of entertainment.

Under date of July 26, 1965, the Portland friends of SNCC distributed a letter to people on their mailing list advising that on August 1, 1965, a get-together of SNCC members would be held at the home of Mrs. IRMA GENE REED, 4065 N.E. Rodney, Portland, Oregon; and also advising that on the following week Mrs. FANNY LOU HAMER, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Voters, would appear in Portland under the sponsorship of SNCC.

The August 12, 1965 edition of "The Oregonian" carried an article reporting that FANNY LOU HAMER reportedly appeared in Portland under the sponsorship of the Portland Friends of SNCC, and that she was seeking financial support for a silent vigil to be held in Washington, D.C., on August 21, 1965. The article stated that Mrs. HAMER first gained national attention with a sensational testimony before the 1964 Democratic Platform Committee.

SUPPORT FROM LOCAL CP AND FRONT GROUPS

3/9/65

Characterizations of the OPA and MFSAn are attached hereto.
During September, 1965, confidential informants of the Portland Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, who are acquainted with some CP members and some activities in Portland, advised the CP in Oregon in recent months has made no particular reference to the Portland Friends of SHCC, and as a matter of fact, had shown no interest in this program.
PORTLAND CHAPTER,
METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION
aka Oregon Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social Action,
Oregon Federation for Social Action

Sources familiar with this organization have advised
that the Portland Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social
Action, also known as the Oregon Chapter and the Oregon Federation
for Social Action has been in existence from Sept. 19, 1950, to May, 1965, and has consistently reflected a pro-Russian,
pro-communist line and that its present leadership, including its
executive board, is composed of some former Communist Party
members and others who are definitely sympathetic to the Communist
Party.

The national headquarters of the Methodist Federation
for Social Action is located at Ardsley, New York, and a source
close to the Portland Chapter has indicated that the Portland
Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the
most active chapter of this organization.
METHODOIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in its Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91, stated as follows:

"With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action . . . ."
Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of Special Agent
dated and
captioned as above at
Portland, Oregon

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

ADMINISTRATIVE

use of a pretext contacted Mrs. Perry through the

INFORMANTS

The below listed informants were contacted during the course of this investigation:

100-434190-40-8X1

5-Bureau (100-441130) (AN) (RM)
2-C-2. INTIC, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1-OSI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1-ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)
1-Atlanta (INFO) (RM)
3-Portland (157-169)

D. MAR 23, 1966

PROPERTY OF FBI. This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

5 C APR 26, 1966
LEADS

ATLANTA

A copy of this report is being designated for the Atlanta Office for information purposes in view of their interest in this organization.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:
2-7-2, INTF, Region III, Portland, Oregon (RM)
1-ONI, District 20, USAF, Tacoma, Washington (RM)
1-ONI, 13th Naval District, Seattle, Washington (RM)

Date:
March 18, 1966

Office: Portland, Oregon

Field Office File #: 157-169

Title:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:
No activity during past six months. Organization
allegedly disbanded prior to 1/1/66.

DETAILS:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON (FSNCC)

It is noted that this investigation is directed solely
toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP)
infiltration of this group.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE

Friends of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee,
Portland, Oregon, was formed in Portland, Oregon, in August, 1963
to serve a two-fold purpose. One, to support the Student Non-
Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the South providing
financial and material assistance for civil rights movement on
a national scale, and two, to actively work in Portland,
Oregon to promote equal opportunities in the areas of employment,
housing and education.

FSNCC letter to members
dated 2/23/64

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

On September 21, 1965, FSNCC mailed a letter to all members advising that the headquarters of this organization was about to be moved to 3728 North Commercial, Portland, Oregon.

OFFICERS

On March 1, 1966, Mrs. J.L.F. PERRY, of Portland, Oregon, last known chairman of FSNC, advised a Special Agent of the FBI in a pretext telephone call that FSNC discontinued all activity just prior to January 1 and moved out of their headquarters located at 3728 North Commercial. She advised that those people who were most active in the organization during its formation, had departed Portland and were actively working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the South and that the local people had lost all interest in the movement.

Advised on March 14, 1966, that he has, through sources close to FSNC, followed this group since its formation in 1961 and that information had come to his attention that the group ceased activity because of lack of interest sometime prior to January 1, 1966. He did indicate, however, that a limited amount of activity was being carried out in some of the local colleges under the direction of SNCC.

During March, 1966, confidential informants who are acquainted with some CP members and some CP activities in the Portland area, were contacted and advised that no information had come to their attention which would indicate any CP interest in this group.
Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FRIENDS OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, PORTLAND, OREGON

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

Report of Special Agent dated March 18, 1966, at Portland, Oregon, and captioned as above

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 16 of 19 Sections
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

IS - C


ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as information furnished through could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
115th MI Grp (RM)
MISO - 12MD (RM)
OSI - 19D (RM)
San Francisco (100-50885)
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COVEP PAGE
LEADS

SAND FRANCISCO

AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA:

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow and report activities of SIAC.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:
2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)
1 - NISO - 12ND (RM)
1 - OSI - 19D (RM)

Report of: 
Date: 10/31/67

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 100-50885

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:
San Francisco office of SNCC and "The Movement" is located at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, which is the Greek Evangelic Church. Investigation has determined that there are no SNCC organizations in Oakland, Santa Rosa, San Rafael, Palo Alto, and San Mateo, California areas. "The Movement", which is affiliated with SNCC, lists its editorial group as TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIOPKA, BROOKS PENNY, PENNY TAFT, GAYLE MARKOW, JULIE MILLER, JOE BLUM, KRIS DYMOND, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN KOCIAN, LINCOLN BERGMAN, and MARK YUKIMURA. On 9/7/67, San Francisco Chronicle stated that headquarters of "The National Stop the Draft Committee" is located at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco. TERENCE CANNON appeared at two rallies held 10/17 and 19/67, in connection with "Stop the Draft Week" at Berkeley, California.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

"Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee" (SNCC)
is listed in the current San Francisco telephone directory with address of 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, telephone number 662-4577.

A Special Agent of the FBI observed that as of October 26, 1967, 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco is a church building identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church. On the front of this building is a sign reading "SNCC" and "The Movement".

On August 28, 1967, [redacted] advised that there is no SNCC organization at Oakland, California.

On September 15, 1967, [redacted] and [redacted] advised there are no active SNCC organizations in the Santa Rosa, California area.

On September 26, 1967, [redacted] advised there is no SNCC organization in Marin County, California.

On September 1, 1967, [redacted] advised there is no SNCC organization in the San Mateo, California area.

On September 12, 1967, [redacted] advised there is no SNCC organization in the Palo Alto, California area.

II. AFFILIATES OF SNCC

The masthead of "The Movement", a newspaper published monthly at San Francisco, California, states that this newspaper is "affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee". Masthead of the October, 1967 issue states that the editorial staff of "The Movement" consists of: TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIORKA, BROOKS PENNY, PENNY TAFT, GAYLE MARKON, JULIE MILLER, JOE BLUM, KRIS DYMOND, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN KOOMAN, LINCOLN BERGMAN, and MARK KUTZMAN.
TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco "Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967, and advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the steering committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco-Oakland, California Bay areas.

advised on October 22, 1967, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) "W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1967.

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the Appendix.
advised on October 27, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON attended and spoke at a meeting on the SFSC campus sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs.

BOBBI CIECIOFKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIOFKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963, [redacted] advised that BOB LINDSAY and FRANCIS FINK were active members of the CP.

BROOKS PENNY

On October 24, 1966, [redacted] advised that BROOKS-PENNY, 175 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, appeared on a mailing list for the United Committee Against the War (UCAW).

A characterization of the UCAW is contained in the Appendix.

PENNY TAFT

In volume one of "Onan", self-described internal journal of campus Students for a
Democratic Society (SDS), Berkeley, California, PENNY TAFT was named as one of the persons to whom articles for "Onan" could be turned in to.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

JOE BLUM

JOSEPH AARON BLUM was arrested by the San Francisco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers. Charges and dispositions are set forth on another page.

JOSEPH AARON BLUM, 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California, who was born June 23, 1941, in New York was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged
a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave, approximately 780 were arrested on the morning of December 3, 1964.

The "Daily Californian", UCB student newspaper, in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the steering committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCB.

A characterization of PROC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 2, 1966, BLUM advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 9, 1966, BLUM advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966, BLUM was a member of VDC.
As of October 29, 1966, BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed on the UCB campus.

On October 20, 1966, BLUM attended a general membership meeting of SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM, born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM, is deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM, lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.

Kris Dymond

INGRID KRISTI DYMOND was born August 10, 1948, at Grindavik, Iceland. She graduated from Berkeley, California High School in August, 1965, and was admitted to UCB in January, 1966.

On November 2, 1966, DYMOND is the current treasurer of the UCB Chapter of SDS.

The October 28, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes", the weekly publication of SDS, contained a list of SDS Chapter contacts. The contact for the Berkeley SDS was listed as KRIS DYMOND.

Buddy Stein

In April 1967, BUDDY STEIN and his wife, SUSAN
COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs at the UCB, California from 1965 to April, 1967.

KAREN KOOAN

On June 13, 1965, [redacted] advised that KAREN JO KOOAN, a white female, born August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club of the Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles, California.

LINCOLN BERNMAN

[redacted], advised on December 14, 1955, LINCOLN BERNMAN was among the children at the Saturday afternoon program of the California Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the weekend of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco, California. BERNMAN was approximately ten years old at this time.

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

[redacted] advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERNMAN attended a May Day rally on April 28, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time the then current chairman of the CP, USA was the main speaker.
MARK KLEIMAN

MARK ALLEN KLEIMAN, a white male, was born January 2, 1950, in Chicago, Illinois, and resides at 1701 San Pablo Avenue, Albany, California.

On June 12, 1967 [redacted] advised that KLEIMAN continues to be employed as Field Secretary by the National Office of SDS.

A characterization of the Los Angeles Branch YSA is contained in the Appendix.
GAIL BROWN

GAIL MARLEN BROWN, a white female, was born July 4, 1938, at Brooklyn, New York, and resides at 2124 Derby Street, Berkeley.

On November 21, 1966, advised that GAIL BROWN is employed as a secretary by SNCC at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco.

On June 25, 1964, advised that GAIL BROWN was observed in attendance at the Founding Convention of the 'E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America, June 11-21, 1964, in San Francisco.

On February 7, 1964, advised that GAIL BROWN was observed in attendance at the 26th Anniversary celebration which was a benefit for the "People's World" (PW) at the Jack Tar Hotel, San Francisco, California, February 1, 1964.

The PW is a west coast communist newspaper published in San Francisco.

On July 1, 1964, advised that GAIL BROWN attended the Fifth Annual Hawaiian Luau for the PW annual fund drive June 27, 1964, San Francisco.

MICHAEL J. MILLER

MICHAEL JAMES MILLER, a white male, born January 24, 1937, resides with his wife, CAROLYN, at 2445 Park Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

On January 9, 1967, advised that MICHAEL JAMES MILLER, who previously was the San Francisco Bay area representative of SNCC is now working in Kansas City.
on October 3, 1966, October 5, 1966, and September 27, 1967, all reported that MICHAEL JAMES MILLER of San Francisco, California, attended the CP, USA National Youth Educational Encampment held at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York, August 29 to September 11, 1-66.

MICHAEL SHARON

MICHAEL JOSEPH SHARON, a white male, was born December 29, 1944, at Midland, Texas.

in July, 1967, reported that SHARON attended the national SDS convention at the University of Michigan campus, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25-30, 1967.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY WITHIN SNCC ORGANIZATION

On August 14, 1967 advised that a meeting regarding the "National Stop the Draft Week" was held at the UCB campus on August 10, 1967. This meeting was called by SDS Anti-Draft Union and the purpose of this meeting was to organize committees which could work together in opposing the draft and closing the Oakland, California induction center during the week of October 16-21, 1967.

In the September 8, 1967, issue of the San Francisco "Chronicle", a local newspaper published in San Francisco, an article entitled, "Oakland Anti-"war Protest Set" was published. According to this article anti-war demonstrators announced plans on September 7, 1967, for a four-day seige of the Oakland,
California induction center with the intent of blocking all draft activities by massing people in nearby streets and by sit-ins. The announcement was made by spokesman that the "National Stop the Draft Week" committee has the endorsement of fourteen organizations. The article stated that the committee's headquarters are at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, and that one of the spokesman was identified as TERENCE CANNON of "The Movement".

At a Noon rally in connection with "Stop the Draft Week" held at the UCB campus on October 17, 1967, it was observed by Special Agents of the FBI that TERENCE CANNON was one of the main speakers.

At a monitors meeting on the evening of October 19, 1967, at Provo Park, Berkeley, California, which was also observed by Special Agents of the FBI, it was announced that the meeting was called to plan strategy for the "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations to be held on October 20, 1967.

TERENCE CANNON was present and KAREN JO KOONAN was identified as a monitor captain.
A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DASON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

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

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMENO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMENO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES BRANCH - YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

On May 6, 1964, a source advised that in January, 1959, an unnamed organization was formed in Los Angeles by youth members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to support the newspaper "Young Socialist" (YS). This organization was formed as a result of the National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters held in Detroit, Michigan, in December, 1958, where a loose national organization was created around the YS with headquarters in New York City.

The organization remained unnamed, although commonly referred to as the Los Angeles Committee of Young Socialist Supporters (LACYSS) until February, 1960, when they adopted the name Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

A second National Conference of YS Supporters was held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which the national organization YSA was created. The YSA at Los Angeles is an integral part of the National organization and receives its directives from YSA Headquarters in New York City.

The YSA in Los Angeles is actually the youth organization of the SWP and follows the SWP aims and purposes to the letter.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations, and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 846 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.
PEACE/RIGHTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

"The Daily Californian", a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/65 captioned, "New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled." The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1965, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "neevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/65 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 8/28/65 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/65 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/64 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/64 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club of America (WEBDA) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sproul Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 8/25/65 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERRY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/3/65 issue, stated JERRY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

APPENDIX
A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/65 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

BETTINA APTEKER
MARVIN GARBON
DENIS MOSGOFIAN
JERRY RUBIN
MIKE SMITH
JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSGOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (MNM) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the VEBDCA on 3/7/65 that he had joined the VEBDCA.

An eighth source advised on 4/18/65 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/65 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1965.

On 8/13/65 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/65 at UCB.

APPENDIX

22
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, New York, to organize the PLM into a 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" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party 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 "ILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and "JILLIA" EPSON of New York, and HORST SCHRÖER 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 "IR. ROSEN and "IR. SCHRÖER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for allegedly followin" the Chinese Communist line."


The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, 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."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 308, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, "est, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.
1. SAM FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, aka
San Francisco School of Social Science,
San Francisco Marxist Study Group,
San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism,
San Francisco School of Marxism

A source advised on February 6, 1962, that the first
class of the San Francisco Marxist Study Group (SFMSG) was held on
February 5, 1962, at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California,
and that the instructor of this class stated that the main purpose
of the SFMSG was to train young people for leadership of the
people in the event the U. S. wakes up to the advantages of
communism.

A second source advised on April 23, 1964, that the San
Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS), has been known as the
"San Francisco School of Social Science," "San Francisco Marxist
Study Group," "San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism," and "San
Francisco School of Marxism."

A third source furnished the Spring, 1964, Bulletin of
the SFSSS on October 14, 1964, which reflected that TERENCE
HALLIMAN and J. P. MORRAY were Co-Directors of the SFSSS.

A fourth source advised on April 9, 1965, that in April, 1965, TERENCE
HALLIMAN advised that he was not a
member of the Communist Party (CP),
but considered himself a communist
and intended to join the CP as soon
as he passed his bar exams.

A fifth source advised March 1, 1963,
that HERBIE APTHEKER, a member of the
CP, USA, National Committee, advised in
February, 1963, that he was to be the
East Coast Chairman and JOSEPH P. MORRAY
the West Coast Director of a new organi-
zation being promoted by the CP, USA, to
teach and propagate Marxist theories.

The third source further advised on January 26, 1965,
that due to the failure of the SFSSS during its Spring, 1965,
terr to raise support sufficient to continue all of its scheduled
classes, no classes were organized for a Fall, 1965, term. The
SFSSS no longer exists.

APPENDIX
1.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (SCTC), PERMANENT STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (PSCTC), AD HOC STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA (AHSCCTC)

"The Columbia Owl", a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York, New York, dated December 12, 1962, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays". This article stated in part that the AHSCCTC was formed October 14, 1962.

A source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the Summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba, that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PLM members.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABOT LUCE, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee, advised the SCTC was formerly known as the PSCTC and the AHSCCTC. He stated he was a leader of the 1963 trip to Cuba, an organizer of the 1964 trip, and that both trips were sponsored by the SCTC. As of the Spring of 1964, the members of the SCTC Executive Committee were considered members of the PLM. No SCTC sponsored trip was made in 1965.

On February 3, 1967, a second source advised that the SCTC was defunct.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which contains information concerning the PLM, is characterized separately.

APPENDIX

25
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 19, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1603 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

26
UNITED COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR
aka United Committee,
United Committee to End the War
in Vietnam

The December 1, 1966 issue of the "Activist," self-described as newsletter of the United Committee Against the War (UCAW), advised in an article that UCAW was formed on August 11, 1966, at Berkeley, California. The article further advised that "the aim of the United Committee is to bring together activist independent committees (anti-Vietnam) while at the same time coordinating with all groups for major anti-war projects."

In October and November, 1965, three sources identified UCAW as an organization in the San Francisco Bay Area whose activities were directed toward protesting United States' policy in Vietnam and which is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

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

In May 1967, the same three sources advised that UCAW's last activity was the sponsoring of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in the San Francisco Bay Area on November 5-8, 1966. The sources stated that UCAW gradually became defunct in early 1967.

APPENDIX

27
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 hasten 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 TAPPELL, 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 DAVID L. NELSON, 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 GUS FELL, CPUSA General Secretary, that 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.

APPENDIX
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

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

APPENDIX
1. 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. 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 recognizes 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
1. **"YOUNG SOCIALIST"**

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.
Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference
Report of SA dated and captioned as above at San Francisco, California.

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 | OFFICE OF ORIGIN
SAN FRANCISCO | ATLANTA

DATE | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
12/10/67 | 10/27/ - 12/5/67

REPORT MADE BY | TYPED BY
[Redacted] | [Redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)


ADMINISTRATIVE

Anti-draft demonstration at Federal Building, San Francisco, California, 12/4/67, was observed by SA [Redacted] and SA [Redacted] observed the premises at 449-14th Street, San Francisco, California, on December 5, 1967.

[Handwritten notes]

100-439196-47-24X3

APPROVED

[Redacted]

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

[Handwritten notes]

Dec 20 1967

Notations

66 JAV 16 1968
Pretexted phone call to 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, on December 5, 1967, was by SD.

San Francisco indices contain no identifying information concerning JERRY BENSCH, BILL MANDEL, or GAYLE MARKOV.

This report is classified Confidential because information furnished by [redacted] through [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Referenced Bureau airtel instructed that the administrative pages of this report should list the identity of cases opened on individual SNCC members and the current status of these cases. Investigation within the San Francisco Division indicates that SNCC is not a membership organization and that SNCC is not active in the San Francisco Division at this time.

Editorial Group As Listed in "The Movement" For October 1967

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<td>THERRENCE MARTIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gail Marlen Brown</td>
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<td>Michael J. Miller</td>
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<td>Michael Joseph Sharon</td>
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The editorial group listed in "The Movement" for November 1967, included the following in addition to those previously listed in the October 1967 edition:

BILL MANDEL
JEFF SEGAL
JERRY DENSCH

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This report.
LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report activities of SNCC within San Francisco Division.
Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C. 20220

December 18, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

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. XX Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization mimical 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 retain.

5. XX 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) XX Expressions of strong or violent anti-U.S. sentiment;
   (c) XX 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 [X] has been furnished [ ] enclosed [ ] is not available

May be available through

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1
U.S. Secret Service, San Francisco (RM) CONFIDENTIAL

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmitted form becomes UNCLASSIFIED)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - 115th Military Intelligence Group (RM)
1 - NISO - 16 ND (RM)
1 - SI - 19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date: 12/18/67

Field Office File #: 100-50885

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:
San Francisco office of SNCC and "The Movement" continues
to be at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California.
There is no SNCC organization or activity in San Jose,
California area. A staff member of "The Movement" stated
that SNCC has no official staff members in San Francisco
area, SNCC is not active in the San Francisco area, and
449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, is really the office of
"The Movement," which is affiliated with SNCC. He also
stated SNCC has not been involved in any anti-draft or anti-
war activity since October 21, 1967. "The Movement," self-
described as an affiliate of SNCC and Students for a Democratic
Society, in the November 1967 edition, listed editorial
group as JOE BLUM, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIOREKKA, KAREN
KOONAN, BROOKS PENNEY, BILL MANDEL, BUDDY STEIN, PENNY TAFT,
LINCOLN BERGMAN, JEFF SECAL, GAYLE MARKOW, JERRY DENIO.

DETAILS:

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains further recommendations or 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 OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A Special Agent of the FBI observed on December 5, 1967, that 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, continues to be identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church, headquarters of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and offices of "The Movement."

There is no SNCC organization in the San Jose, California area nor has there been any activity sponsored by SNCC in this area.

II. AFFILIATES OF SNCC

On December 5, 1967, a pretext telephone call to the office of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which is listed in the current San Francisco Telephone Directory under that name at 449 - 14th Street, telephone number 626-4577, was made. The person who answered this call identified himself as JERRY DENSCH, a staff member of "The Movement." He stated, under questioning, that SNCC has no official staff members in the San Francisco Bay Area and the office at 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California, is really the office of "The Movement," an affiliate of SNCC. He said SNCC is not active in the San Francisco area at this time. He added that SNCC does not have members; but when the organization is active, it utilizes volunteer workers from the immediate area with possibly one SNCC staff member in supervision. He said any policy statements concerning SNCC would have to come from SNCC headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. He added
that TERENCE CANNON at one time was an official field secretary for SNCC in the San Francisco area, but at this time CANNON does not hold this title. He said CANNON is on the editorial staff of "The Movement" at San Francisco. However, he added that CANNON is the nearest thing to a SNCC official in the San Francisco area.

Mr. DENSOCH said that "The Movement" and SNCC did take an active part in Stop The Draft Week activities of October 16 - 21, 1967, but have been involved in no such activities since October 21, 1967. He said "The Movement" and SNCC were not involved in the anti-draft demonstration at the Federal Building in San Francisco on December 4, 1967, and plan no such activity in the foreseeable future in the San Francisco area. Mr. DENSOCH added that TERENCE CANNON can usually be contacted through "The Movement" office in San Francisco.

The masthead of the November 1967 edition of "The Movement", self-described as affiliated with SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and published monthly by the Movement Press, 449 - 14th Street, San Francisco, California states that the editorial staff of that newspaper consists of the following:

TERENCE CANNON
BOBBI CIORCORKA
BROOKS PENNEY
PENNY TAFT
JOE BLUI
BUDDY STEIN
KAREN KONAH
LINCOLN BERGMAN
JEFF SEGAL
GAYLE MARKOW
JEFFREY DENSOCH
BILL HANDEL

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix.
TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967, and advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the steering committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco - Oakland, California Bay areas.

advised on October 22, 1967, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1965.

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the appendix.
advised on October 27, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON attended and spoke at a meeting on the SFSC campus sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs.

BOBBI CIECIORKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIORKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963, advised that BOB LINDSAY and FRANCIS FINK were active members of the CP.

BROOKS PENNY

On October 24, 1966, advised that BROOKS PENNY, 175 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, appeared on a mailing list for the United Committee Against the War (UCAW).

A characterization of the UCAW is contained in the appendix.

PENNY TAFT

In volume one of "Onan", self-described internal journal of campus Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Berkeley, California,
PENNY TAFT was named as one of the persons to whom articles for "Onan" could be turned in to.

JOE BLUM

JOSEPH AARON BLUM was arrested by the San Francisco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers.

JOSEPH AARON BLUM, 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California, who was born June 23, 1941, in New York, was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social-political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave approximately 780 were arrested, on the morning of December 3, 1964.
The "Daily Californian", UCB student newspaper, in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the steering committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCE.

A characterization of PROC is contained in the Appendix.

On February 2, 1966, [REDACTED] advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the appendix.

On February 9, 1966, [REDACTED], advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966, [REDACTED], advised BLUM was a member of VDC.

As of October 29, 1966, [REDACTED], advised BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed on the UCB campus.
On October 20, 1966, [redacted] advised
BLUM attended a general membership meeting of
SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB
disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM,
born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is
residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley,
California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He
formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland,
California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM is
deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM
lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.

BUDDY STEIN

In April, 1967, [redacted] advised that
BERNARD L. (BUDDY) STEIN and his wife, SUSAN
COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs
at the UCB, California from 1965 to April,
1967.

KAREN KOOMAN

On June 13, 1966, [redacted] advised that
KAREN JO KOOMAN, a white female, born
August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was
in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club
of the Southern California District of
the CP, Los Angeles, California.

LINCOLN BERGMAN

[redacted] advised on December 14, 1955,
LINCOLN BERGMAN was among the children at the
Saturday afternoon program of the California
Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the
weekend of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco,
California. BERGMAN was approximately ten years
old at this time.

The CLS has been designated by the
Attorney General of the United
States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERGMAN attended a May Day rally on April 29, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time the then current chairman of the CP, USA was the main speaker.

JEFFREY BARRY SEGAL

on 4/16/63

A characterization of the CCBDK is included in the appendix.

on 3/29/63

on 11/7/65

- 9 -
III. FINANCES OF SNCC

on 10/27/67

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY
WITHIN SNCC ORGANIZATION

On December 4, 1967, an anti-draft demonstration at the Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate, San Francisco, California, was observed by Special Agents of the FBI. There was no indication that any persons affiliated with SNCC were present or that SNCC had any part in organizing the demonstration.
CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE, formerly known as the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), Berkeley

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAYSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

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

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing, demonstrations, and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

APPENDIX
'The Daily Californian', a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/65 captioned, 'New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled.' The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1965, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "peevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/65 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 3/28/65 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/62 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/34 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the U.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (U.E.B.C.A.) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sprout Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 3/25/65 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERMY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/9/65 issue, stated JERMY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

**APPENDIX**
A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/65 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

- BETTINA APTHEKER
- MARVIN GARSON
- DENIS MOSCOFIAN
- JERRY RUBIN
- MIKE SMITH
- JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSCOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the WEBDA on 3/7/66 that he had joined the WEBDA.

An eighth source advised on 4/19/66 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/66 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1966.

On 8/13/66 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/66 at UCB.
1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15 - 16, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a 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" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party 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 "ILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and "WILLIAM EFTON of New York, and "HORST SIEPER 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. SIEPER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".


The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, 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."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 2009, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 517, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

15
SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, aka
San Francisco School of Social Science,
San Francisco Marxist Study Group,
San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism,
San Francisco School of Marxism

A source advised on February 6, 1962, that the first class of the San Francisco Marxist Study Group (SFMSG) was held on February 5, 1962, at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California, and that the instructor of this class stated that the main purpose of the SFMSG was to train young people for leadership of the people in the event the U. S. wakes up to the advantages of communism.

A second source advised on April 23, 1964, that the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS), has been known as the "San Francisco School of Social Science," "San Francisco Marxist Study Group," "San Francisco School of Marxism-Leninism," and "San Francisco School of Marxism."

A third source furnished the Spring, 1964, Bulletin of the SFSSS on October 14, 1964, which reflected that TERENCE HALLIMAN and J. P. MORRAY were Co-Directors of the SFSSS.

A fourth source advised on April 9, 1965, that in April, 1965, TERENCE HALLIMAN advised that he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), but considered himself a communist and intended to join the CP as soon as he passed his bar exams.

A fifth source advised March 1, 1963, that HERBERT AUSHEKED, a member of the CP, USA, National Committee, advised in February, 1963, that he was to be the West Coast Chairman and JOSEPH P. MORRAY the West Coast Director of a new organization being promoted by the CP, USA, to teach and propagate Marxist theories.

The third source further advised on January 26, 1966, that due to the failure of the SFSSS during its Spring, 1965, term to raise support sufficient to continue all of its scheduled classes, no classes were organized for a Fall, 1965, term. The SFSSS no longer exists.

APPENDIX
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

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

APPENDIX
"The Columbia Owl", a weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York, New York, dated December 12, 1962, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays". This article stated in part that the AHSCCTC was formed October 14, 1962.

A source advised on September 13, 1963, that during the Summer of 1963, fifty-nine individuals traveled to Cuba, that the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and that the trip was planned and organized by PLM members.

On March 12, 1965, PHILLIP ABBOT LUCOS, a self-admitted member of the SCTC Executive Committee and the PLM National Coordinating Committee, advised the SCTC was formerly known as the PSCTC and the AHSCCTC. He stated he was a leader of the 1953 trip to Cuba, an organizer of the 1964 trip, and that both trips were sponsored by the SCIC. As of the Spring of 1964, the members of the SCTC Executive Committee were considered members of the PLM. No SCTC sponsored trip was made in 1965.

On February 3, 1967, a second source advised that the SCTC was defunct.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which contains information concerning the PLM, is characterized separately.
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1606 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX
UNITED COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR
aka United Committee,
United Committee to End the War
in Vietnam

The December 1, 1966 issue of the "Activist," self-described as newsletter of the United Committee Against the War (UCAW), advised in an article that UCAW was formed on August 11, 1966, at Berkeley, California. The article further advised that "the aim of the United Committee is to bring together activist independent committees (anti-Vietnam) while at the same time coordinating with all groups for major anti-war projects...."

In October and November, 1966, three sources identified UCAW as an organization in the San Francisco Bay Area whose activities were directed toward protesting United States' policy in Vietnam and which is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

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

In May 1967, the same three sources advised that UCAW's last activity was the sponsoring of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in the San Francisco Bay Area on November 5-8, 1966. The sources stated that UCAW gradually became defunct in early 1967.

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 GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, that 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.

APPENDIX
W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source has advised that as of April, 1966, the records of the DCA reflect that the following Du Bois Clubs and/or Chapters in Northern California are affiliated with the parent organization, the DCA:

1. Berkeley Du Bois Club (BDBC), (Chartered)
2. Fillmore Du Bois Club (FDJC), (Chartered)
3. San Francisco Du Bois Club (SFDJC), (Chartered)
4. San Francisco State College Du Bois Club (SFSCDDBC), (Chartered)
5. San Jose Du Bois Club (SJDBC), (Chartered)
6. San Jose State College Du Bois Club (SJSCDDBC), (Non-chartered)
7. Stanford University Du Bois Club (SUDBC), (Non-chartered)

A second source has advised in April, 1967, that for all intent and purpose, the DCA is defunct in the general San Francisco Bay Area, although certain elements in the Northern California District Communist Party are attempting to revive interest in the DCA.
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYS).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BWSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

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

APPENDIX
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. 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 recognizes 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 1967, by youth of various leftist 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 532-538, 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

25
The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA

CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: 1/11/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/22 - 4/9/68

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: tjm

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS-SNCC


- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

TERENCE M. CANNON was contacted by SA by telephone 1/22/68 on pretext [redacted]. The benefit meeting held by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) on 2/17/68 was observed by SAs [redacted] and [redacted].

Case has been: Pending over one year [redacted]. Pending prosecution over six months [redacted].

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

REC-75

10 - Bureau (100-439190)(RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488)(RM)
2 - 115th MJG (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
2 - San Francisco (100-50885)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: FBI, NIC, OSI, SEC, SERV.

RACIAL REL. SEC.

Notations: [redacted]

04 JUN 6, 1968

62 JUN 6, 1968

CONFIDENTIAL
The premises at 449-14th Street, San Francisco, were observed by SA \underline{\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ }}}\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{ 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This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by informants could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

100-45437 - 18
100-45437 - 32
100-50861 - 3
This report.
AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow and report activity of "The Movement" and SNCC within the San Francisco Division.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

2 - 115th MIG (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)
1 - Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:
4/11/68

Office:
SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #:
100-50885

Bureau File #:
100-439190

Title:
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:
San Francisco Office of SNCC and "The Movement" continues to be at 449-14th St., San Francisco, California. "The Movement", which is self-described as a monthly newspaper affiliated with SNCC and SDS, lists its editorial group as LINCOLN BERGMAN, JOE BLUM, MARILYN BUCK, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIOIRKA, JERRY DENSCH, KAREN JO KOONAN, GAYLE MARKOW, JEFF SEGAL, MORGAN SPECTOR, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN WALD, ARLENE E. BERGMAN and JEFFREY BLANKFORT. On 2/17/68 BPPSD held a benefit program in Oakland, California, to raise money for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, BPPSD member charged with murder. Master of Ceremonies LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER of BPPSD announced the merger of BPPSD and SNCC. SNCC officials, including JAMES FORMAN, H. RAP BROWN and STOKELEY CARMICHAEL, verified the merger of SNCC and BPPSD and advocated violence.

- P -

DETAILS:
I. ADDRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

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 April 9, 1968, a Special Agent of the FBI observed that the premises at 449-14th Street, San Francisco, continues to be identified as the Free Greek Evangelic Church, "SNCC" and "The Movement".

II. AFFILIATES OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The masthead of the April, 1968, edition of "The Movement", self-described as a monthly newspaper published by "The Movement Press" 449-14th Street, San Francisco, California, and affiliated with SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), states that the Editorial Staff of the newspaper consist of the following:

LINCOLN BERGMAN, JOE BLUM, MARILYN BUCK, TERENCE CANNON, BOBBI CIECIOVKA, JERRY DENSCH, KAREN JO KCONAN, GAYLE MARKOW, JEFF SEGAL, MORGAN SPECTOR, BUDDY STEIN, KAREN WALD, ARLENE E. BERGMAN and JEFFREY BLANKFORT.

LINCOLN BERGMAN

advised on December 14, 1955, LINCOLN BERGMAN was among the children at the Saturday afternoon program of the California Labor School (CLS) Christmas market held on the weekend of December 10, 1955, in San Francisco, California. BERGMAN was approximately ten years old at this time.

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

advised on May 4, 1965, that LINCOLN BERGMAN attended a May Day rally on April 29, 1961, at San Francisco, at which time USA was the main speaker.
JOE BLM

JOSEPH AARON BLM was arrested by the San Francisco, California, Police Department on April 11, and April 17, 1964, in connection with demonstrations purportedly aimed at racial discrimination in hiring practices of automobile dealers.

BLUM was arrested at a sit-in demonstration by the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), California.

advised on April 27, 1965, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was a student organization started on campus in the early part of the fall semester of 1964 in which students protested administration regulation of social-political activities on the part of the students. This group sponsored several rallies the largest of which was on December 2, 1964, when approximately 1,000 students staged a sit-in demonstration at the Administration Building. After students refused to leave approximately 780 were arrested, on the morning of December 3, 1964.

The "Daily Californian", UCB, student newspaper in its issue of March 10, 1966, identified BLUM as an ex-member of the Steering Committee of the Peace Rights Organizing Committee (PROC) and said BLUM was negotiating to procure use of UCB facilities for a PROC meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to plan anti-Vietnam activity in connection with the appearance of Ambassador ARTHUR GOLDBERG at Charter Day ceremonies at UCB.
A characterization of PROC is contained in the appendix.

On February 2, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) at 145 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, to plan a student strike.

A characterization of the VDC is contained in the appendix.

On February 9, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM supported and attended a VDC demonstration on the UCB campus.

As of June 28, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM was a member of VDC.

On October 6, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM attended a meeting of SDS at 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley. He was then a member of the SDS Steering Committee on the UCB campus. He was active in organizing this meeting and is a graduate student in criminology at UCB.

As of October 29, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM was among the SDS leaders who prepared a paper on the SDS position which paper was being distributed in the UCB campus.

On October 20, 1966, [Redacted] advised BLUM attended a general membership meeting of SDS at Oakland, California.

On December 12, 1966, records of UCB disclosed the following: JOSEPH AARON BLUM, born June 23, 1941, at New York, New York, is residing at 3225 Ellis Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, RENEE BLUM. He formerly lived at 411 Hudson Street, Oakland, California. His father, DAVID L. BLUM, is deceased and his mother, BEATRICE GOULD BLUM lives at 333 E. 79 Street, New York, New York.
MARILYN BUCK

MARILYN JEAN BUCK is a white female born December 13, 1947 at Temple, Texas.

on June 26, 1967, reported that MARILYN BUCK, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, was a delegate to the SDS National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, held on June 23 - 30, 1967.

"New Left Notes" official publication of SDS in issue of July 24, 1967, reported that MARILYN BUCK had been appointed to a position on the National Administrative Committee of SDS.

"New Left Notes" of November 6, 1967, contained an article captioned "Resistance-On The Right Side: To Resistance", by MARILYN BUCK.

In this article BUCK described the demonstration in Washington on October 21, 1967, and stated that excessive force was used against the demonstrators. She concluded her article with the following statement:

"The peace movement as such was beaten, nearly to the death. But in that defeat the resistance arose as a political force. The government seemed to be afraid, evidenced by its violation of the rules and boundaries which it had issued for their own benefit, not the Mobilization's. The resistance movement can and will feed itself on the fear and the consequent repression of its people. The people of the U.S. and the world will gain freedom only through struggle. The Cubans knew that and they are now free. The Vietnamese know that and they are defeating our Imperialist government. The Blacks in the U.S. know that and now we, the whites of America, are quickly acknowledging this fact. Imperialism can not be defeated by cardboard signs and flowers."

on February 2, 1968, reported that MARILYN BUCK, 3368-16th Street, San Francisco,
California, attended a SDS National Council meeting at Stanford University on February 24, 1968. During the meeting she stated "We have not as yet reached a communist state." The context in which this was stated indicated she would be happy when this utopian state was reached.

TERENCE CANNON

TERENCE MARTIN CANNON, a white male, was born January 10, 1940, at St. Louis, Missouri. The Congressional record of March 16, 1961, lists TERENCE MARTIN CANNON of Cornell University as an undergraduate signer of a petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

Advised on October 22, 1965, that TERENCE CANNON spoke at a meeting of the San Francisco State College (SFSC) W.E.B. Du Bois Club on October 19, 1965.

A characterization of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America - San Francisco Division is contained in the appendix.

On May 22, 1967, CANNON telephoned the San Francisco Division of the FBI and identified himself as Field Secretary of SNCC.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily San Francisco newspaper, on May 26, 1967, reported that CANNON, identified as the editor of "The Movement", an "SNCC oriented newspaper", was wearing a .38 "automatic" on his belt at a television press conference held at SNCC offices in San Francisco on May 26, 1967. CANNON reportedly stated to interviewers in this press conference that on the night of May 21, 1967, the office of "The Movement" was burglarized and subscription lists were stolen. CANNON indicated that he would use the pistol to prevent further burglaries.

On October 18, 1967, and advised that TERRY CANNON is a member of the Steering Committee of the Anti-Draft Movement which is
involved in the "Stop the Draft Week" (October 16-21, 1967), in the San Francisco - Oakland, California Bay areas.

The February 17, 1968, edition of the Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, reports that seven persons were indicted for conspiracy which included distribution of leaflets and maps describing the organization and conduct of demonstrations to be held at the Oakland Induction Center in October, 1967, and other active participation in the anti-draft demonstrations. TERENCE CANNON is listed as one of the seven persons indicted, however, as of February 17, 1968, he was out of town and had not yet been located.

BOBBI CIECIORKA

Mrs. FRANK (BARBARA) CIECIORKA and her husband reside at 613 Clayton Street, San Francisco.

In March, 1963 [redacted] advised that BOB LINDSAY stated that FRANK CIECIORKA was organizing a W.E.B. Du Bois Club in San Jose, California.

"Insurgent", self-described as a bi-monthly publication of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA). In November, 1965 through June, 1966, issues contained a serialized article entitled "Negroes in American History; A Freedom Primer." The text is attributed to BOBBI and FRANK CIECIORKA.
KAREN KOUNAI

On June 13, 1966, advised that KAPEN JO KOUNAI, a white female, born August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia, was in June, 1966, a member of the UCLA Youth Club of the Southern California District of the CP, Los Angeles, California.

JEFFREY BARRY SEGAL

4/16/63

A characterization of the OCCBR is contained in the appendix.

3/29/63

11/7/65
MORGAN SPECTOR

MORGAN CHARLES SPECTOR is a white male, born November 15, 1947, at Los Angeles, California. His mother is ELIZABETH SPECTOR and his stepfather is FRANK SPECTOR of Los Angeles, California.

MORGAN SPECTOR was suspended from the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) for his activities during Stop the Draft Week in Oakland, California, in October, 1967.

On April 25, 1967, reported that MORGAN SPECTOR 1137 East Ninth Street, Albany, California, is a subscriber to "People's World", a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

BUDDY STEIN

In April, 1967, advised that BERNARD L. (BUDDY) STEIN and his wife, SUSAN COLE STEIN have been active in SDS affairs at the UCB, California, from 1965 to April, 1967.

KAREN WALD

KAREN LEE WALD LEIBERMANN is a white female, born December 7, 1943, at New York, New York.

On July 5, 1966, an open Socialist Workers Party - Young Socialist Alliance (SWP) (YSA) sponsored class on Socialism was held at Dwineelle
Fall, U.C.S. KAREN LIEBERMAN was present for this program. The purpose of the class was to introduce acquaintances of SWP and YSA members to the principals of the Trotskyite Movement.

7/15/66

KAREN LIEBERMAN attended and participated in the SWP - YSA sponsored West Coast Vacation School at Laurel Glen Camp from August 27 - September 5, 1966. LIEBERMAN was active as a member of a panel discussing "Perspectives for the Anti-War Movement" on the evening of August 28, 1966.

9/6/66
9/7/66

A characterization of the SWP and the YSA is contained in the appendix.

An educational meeting was held August 12, 1966, at a private residence, 2106-b McGee Street, Berkeley, California. KAREN LIEBERMAN was among approximately twenty persons present when an educational talk was delivered by BETTINA APTEKER, a publicly self-admitted member of the CP.

8/16/66

The San Francisco Chronicle, a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, on March 15, 1968, reported that "Six young Castro sympathizers" from the San Francisco Bay area were prevented from traveling to Cuba from Mexico and were ejected from Mexico into the United States. One of these individuals was identified as KAREN WALD, a student at UCB.

ARLENE S. BERGMAN
Records of the Alameda County Marriage License Bureau, Oakland, California, reflect that LINCOLN BERGMAN and ARLENE VILMA EISEN, a white female born November 4, 1942 in New York City, a student at UCB, were married July 7, 1967.

The February, 1968, issue of "The Movement", self-described as affiliated with SNCC and SDS contains an article captioned A Proposal for Self Defense by ARLENE EISEN BERGMAN. This article deals with the ability of demonstrators to protect themselves from the authorities.

JEFFREY BLANKFORT

JEFFREY ALLEN BLANKFORT is a white male born June 4, 1934, at New York, New York.
III. ACTIVITY OF PERSONS AFFILIATED WITH 'THE MOVEMENT' AND SNCC

On December 12, 1967, reported that he had occasion to meet an individual at the Berkeley Free Church, Berkeley, California, in September, 1967. This individual identified himself as TERRY CANNON, an official of SNCC. CANNON stated he is in charge of compiling a mailing list of military personnel overseas since SNCC sends literature urging these individuals not to fight.

On January 22, 1968, TEPENCE CANNON was contacted by a Special Agent of the FBI using a suitable pretext and CANNON was questioned about the emergence of SDS as an affiliate of 'The Movement'.

CANNON stated that the extent of affiliation by 'The Movement' with SNCC and SDS was just that 'The Movement' cooperated with both organizations and accepted material from both organizations. He said the black nationalist movement is changing from an all black movement for blacks only to a movement consisting of both blacks and whites both working for the black nationalist movement.

He added that there are no plans for a merger of SNCC and SDS--just cooperation.

When questioned about what appears to be an increase in articles pertaining to the Chicago area, CANNON said it is true that more and more material comes from Chicago. He said 'The Movement' has a large editorial staff in Chicago. He stated that 'The Movement' is published only at San Francisco, however, there is nationwide circulation. When questioned about the circulation, he said circulation is mainly in the San Francisco bay area, Chicago area, and the Atlanta area. He added that efforts are being made to establish an editorial staff and circulation in the New York City area.
advised that MIKE JAMES was a principal speaker at Tougaloo College on February 8, 1968, and that TERRY CANNON also spoke briefly during which time he indicated he was involved in the draft resistance movement and is the editor of "The Movement" a SNCC newspaper printed in San Francisco.

JOE BLUM, who accompanied the above individuals, was identified as a "peace activist and also an editor of "The Movement".

The February, 1968, issue of "The Movement" states that JOE BLUM, TERRY CANNON, the founder of the paper, and MIKE JAMES of Chicago are traveling around the country talking to people about "The Movement". It was indicated that the purpose of the trip was to build contacts and to get commitments to write and to distribute the paper.

The Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, on February 16, 1968, stated that TERENCE CANNON is one of seven individuals indicted for overt acts of conspiracy involving their active participation in anti-draft demonstrations held at the Oakland Induction Center in October 1967. As of February 16, 1968, CANNON was out of town and unavailable to the authorities.

On February 17, 1968, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) held a benefit program in the Oakland, California Municipal Auditorium to raise money for the defense of HUEY P. NEWTON, a Black Panther member who is presently charged with the murder of a policeman in Oakland. This meeting was observed by Special Agents of the FBI.

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAR, Minister of Information, of BPPSD was master of ceremonies and he announced that a merger of BPPSD and SNCC had taken place.
JAMES FORMAN of SNCC was introduced as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of BPSPD and he urged reprisals for assassinations of any black leaders in the form of destruction of utilities and police stations and the death of police officers.

H. RAP BROWN was introduced as a surprise guest and the title of Minister of Justice of the BPSPD was conferred on him.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman of BPSPD, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at this meeting and all urged militant action against authorities.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was acclaimed by CLEAVER and all present as the Prime Minister of Afro-America to all Africans throughout the world.

ETHEL MINOR from the Atlanta Office of SNCC was also introduced but did not speak.

The program was attended by approximately 4500 individuals, two thirds of whom were Negroes. All speakers were greeted by wild enthusiastic applause and standing ovations.

IV.
Howard Quinn Printing Company, 298 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California, advised his company has printed 'The Movement' for some time. In January, 1968, the printing was 10,000 copies. In February, 1968, the printing was 15,000 copies. The April printing was 10,000 copies. He pointed out that a March edition was not published. He said this was explained to him as an effort to put the paper on the newsstands earlier than the published month, a practice which is universal in the publishing business.

A characterization of the BPPSD is contained in the Appendix pages.

A characterization of SDS is contained in the appendix.
APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR) maintains headquarters in Suite 424, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

A second source advised on October 31, 1960, that a new organization known as the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights was formally launched in Chicago at a meeting on October 26, 1960. The stated primary purpose of the new organization was to seek the abolition of the HCUA, and RICHARD CRILEY was named as its Executive Secretary, after having been the guiding force in arranging the October 26, 1960, meeting.

A third source advised on May 3, 1962, that the CCDBR continues to adhere to the same aims and purposes and operates under the same leadership.
CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE,
(formerly known as the
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)
Berkeley)

A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAWSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

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

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX

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"The Daily Californian", a daily campus newspaper published at the University of California at Berkeley, California (UCB), carried an article on 3/7/65 captioned, "New Student Movement Charter Day Protest Scheduled." The article related in part that Peace/Rights Organizing committee (PROC) was formed after meetings were held on March 5 and 6, 1965, by various UCB liberals in order to:

1. Combat "peevishness" of the UCB Administration with regard to alleged crackdown on campus political activities and

2. To organize a March 25 Charter Day protest with a purpose of protesting the presence of ARTHUR GOLDBERG, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the slated principal speaker.

Charter Day exercises are held during the latter part of March, celebrating the day UCB received its charter.

A source advised on 3/17/66 that BETTINA APTHEKER, MARVIN GARSON, and JACK WEINBERG were among the nine individuals on PROC's Executive Committee.

The "San Francisco, California, Sunday Examiner-Chronicle" newspaper, Sunday, 8/28/66 issue, stated BETTINA APTHEKER was on the Communist Party (CP) National Committee.

A second source advised on 1/5/62 that MARVIN GARSON attended a national Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois, and was elected a minority alternate to the YSA National Committee.

A third source advised on 10/11/54 that JACK WEINBERG attended a general membership meeting of the U.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (WEBDA) at Berkeley, California. WEINBERG was arrested at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in connection with a sit-in at Sproul Hall on 12/3/64. He was charged with trespassing and resisting arrest, convicted, and on 7/30/65 was sentenced to serve 120 days in jail.

A fourth source advised on 3/25/66 that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the YSA, and such individuals as BETTINA APTHEKER, JERRY RUBIN, and JACK WEINBERG, were instrumental in forming PROC.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, 8/9/66 issue, stated JERRY RUBIN traveled to Cuba in defiance of a U.S. Department of State travel ban in the summer of 1964. The trip was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC).

APPENDIX

15

A fifth source advised on 2/19/65 that JERRY RUBIN enrolled in the fall 1964 semester of the San Francisco School of Social Sciences (SFSSS).

A sixth source advised on 4/22/65 that the following individuals are among the 13 members of PROC's Steering Committee:

BETTINA APTHEKER
MARVIN GARSON
DENIS MOSGOFIAN
JERRY RUBIN
MIKE SMITH
JACK WEINBERG

On 7/13/65 a seventh source advised DENIS MOSGOFIAN was president of the campus chapter of the May 2nd Movement (M2M) at UCB during the spring of 1965.

MIKE SMITH publicly announced during a conference held by the WEDDOA on 3/7/66 that he had joined the WEDDOA.

An eighth source advised on 4/10/66 that PROC was failing.

On 6/2/66 the sixth source advised PROC is no longer active, and that there are no present indications it will resume activity during the fall of 1966.

On 6/13/66 a ninth source advised that PROC was a one-shot deal aimed at disrupting Charter Day ceremonies 3/25/65 at UCB.

APPENDIX

15d
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States 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, 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 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
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 GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had 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.

APPENDIX
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

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

APPENDIX
1. **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. 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 recognizes 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**

19
The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 21 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 12 of 19 Sections
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE: SEATTLE
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 2/29/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 1/18 - 2/28/68

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT-COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEATTLE CHAPTER

REPORT MADE BY: [redacted]
CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - SNCC

TYPE: [redacted]

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel, 1/31/68.

LEADS:
SEATTLE DIVISION
At Seattle, Washington

Will report activities of this organization each 90 days.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

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SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE: [redacted]

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-30-14

3 MAR 1 1968

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

9 - Bureau (100-439190) (REG)
1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (REG)
1 - NISO, Seattle (REG)
1 - OSI, McChord AFB (REG)
1 - Region III, 115th MIG (REG)
3 - Seattle, (100-26956)

COPIES MADE:
286

Nov 2, 1970
Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: [redacted]
Request Recd: [redacted]
Date Recd: [redacted]
How Recd: [redacted]
By: [redacted]

Notations: RACIAL ANT. SECT.
ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential since disclosure of confidential informants could minimize their future effectiveness to the detriment of the national security.

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally to interested agencies who have current interest in possible racial unrest.

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100-26956-475

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COVER PAGE
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

DETAILS:

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.
I. BASIS

This investigation is undertaken to ascertain if the activities of this organization are directed toward violation of laws of the United States. No investigation has been conducted into the legitimate activities of this organization. Information appearing in this report pertains to activity of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Seattle Chapter, since January 1, 1967.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The SNCC, Seattle Chapter, currently maintains head- quarters at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This office was opened on September 20, 1967, and a lease was obtained from owners of the building at this address for a period of one year.

III. AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SNCC, SEATTLE CHAPTER

During the early part of 1967 the following pamphlet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington:
SNCC's goal is to completely wipe out discrimination. SNCC feels that the best weapon Black America has to combat discrimination is mass action. A thousand Afro-Americans acting as one can shake the white man out of bigotry the same way that the white man has physically, economically, politically, and morally intimidated the black man for 350 years.

SNCC's policy is clear. As long as black men are denied the right to enjoy the American way of life, then we are determined that white men will not enjoy it either.

EDUCATION

In almost any city the administration has provided fewer books and other facilities to school's of predominantly black enrollment. SNCC says that Black power can influence city and school administrators to equalize this distribution.

School systems have been one of the leading factors in maintaining the "white superiority" image. SNCC wants the school system to turn out enlightened Black youths who are proud to be black and who are aware of what they can contribute towards the welfare of themselves, their families, and their community.

LABOR

Discrimination in labor has long been used to keep the Black man down. Employing the Black man in only the most menial, low-paying jobs has kept him so busy surviving that he has no time to worry about equality. SNCC says that in the Black man can SNCC an hour of his time per month, we will get him better paying jobs.

HAIR HAIR

Black Americans are fighting and dying in Viet Nam to strengthen a way of life that continues to hold him to ridicule and many forms of intimidation. SNCC will offer support to any Black man who will refuse induction until racism becomes non-existent.

HOUSING

It is no secret that the white man will not rent or sell houses and apartments to black men for no other reason than because they are black. SNCC says that the Afro-American should be able to decide for himself where he wants to live and not be influenced by the effects of white racism.

White men are taking advantage of black men by charging rents that are too high for the quality of the dwelling. SNCC says that Black Power can make white men share lower rents or improve the quality of the dwelling.

FREEDOM NOW!

SEATTLE STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
1127 34th Ave.
IV. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

During the early part of 1968 there was no information available reflecting that SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was a bonafide membership organization. No information was available reflecting that an official membership list was maintained or that there was any special procedure in becoming a member of SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

During the early part of 1968 the twice weekly meetings attracted approximately a dozen young teenage Negroes, many of whom attended only one meeting and were thereafter not observed in attendance at subsequent meetings.

Meetings in early 1968 were under the direction of CARL MILLER who is the self-admitted Chairman of SNCC, Seattle Chapter. Membership in SNCC, Seattle Chapter, is believed to be on an informal basis and attendance at meetings and participation in activities sponsored by the group are believed to be evidence of membership in the organization.

(2/13/68)

(12/19/67)

(7/3/67)
The August 7, 1967, issue of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" newspaper carried an article on page 1, column 4 under the heading "Negro Unit Skips Races". This article identified members of the SNCC, Seattle Chapter, as Chairman CARL MILLER, MADELYNE SCOTT, and JOHN EICHELBERGER.

During May, 1967, a leaflet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, announcing a forum to be held on May 20, 1967, at 5257 University Way Northeast. This forum announced a discussion of "civil rights and Vietnam" and listed as one of the speakers LESTER McINTOSH, Educational Director, Seattle SNCC.

V. FINANCES

During the early part of 1968, it was reported that SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was having financial problems and that the group was supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

VI. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

During December, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle announcing the "Central
Area Peace-Pipe Conference". This conference was scheduled for January 12 and 13, 1968, and was advertised as a civil rights conference jointly sponsored by the NVL, SNCC, Seattle Chapter, and other civil rights groups.

(12/1/67)

During December, 1967, a leaflet was distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, announcing a fund-raising party in support of EARNEST DUDLEY, a Seattle area resident who was then awaiting trial in U.S. District Court on a charge of resisting Selective Service laws. Sponsors of this fund raising affair included SNCC, Seattle Chapter, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), the Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SCEWV), Young Political Explorers League (YPEL), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), among others.

(12/28/67)

The FSP, SCEWV, YPEL, YSA, and SWP are characterized in the appendix section of this report.

During December, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle announcing a civil rights rally to be held on December 5, 1967, at 42nd and 15th Avenue Northeast in Seattle, Washington. The purpose of this rally was to "inform people about the racist practice of San Francisco State College". Speaker at this rally was identified as CARL MILLER "Chairman of Seattle SNCC".

(12/8/67)

On December 9, 1967, the annual Christmas fund-raising bazaar sponsored by the Northwest District Communist Party (NWDCP) was held at Washington Hall in Seattle, Washington. This bazaar was sponsored by the CP as a fund-raising activity and one of the organizations represented by a booth was SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

(12/19/67)

On November 4, 1967, a fund-raising dinner was sponsored by the NVL at the Cherry Hill Baptist Church, 22nd and East Cherry Street, Seattle, Washington. This fund raising program was held for the purpose of raising funds to be used in civil rights activity by the NVL, SNCC, Seattle Chapter, and other civil rights organizations. One of the
principal speakers at this affair was CARL MILLER representing SNCC, Seattle Chapter.

(11/9/67)

During November, 1967, leaflets were distributed throughout the Central Area of Seattle, Washington, advertising a benefit party to be held at 3815 - 5th Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, on November 18, 1967. The purpose of this fund-raising party was to raise funds "to help send young militants to the Western Regional Black Youth Conference, to be convened November 23 in Los Angeles, California". This flyer further announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, both national officers of SNCC, would be the principal speakers. SNCC, Seattle Chapter, was listed as one of the co-sponsors for this benefit party.

(11/13/67)

On October 21, 1967, a protest demonstration and rally was held in the vicinity of the Federal Building, Seattle, Washington, to coincide with a nation-wide protest demonstration in protest of United States involvement in South Vietnam. Over 100 people participated in this rally and demonstration including CARL MILLER from SNCC, Seattle Chapter, who was one of the principal speakers.

(10/25/67)

(10/15, 23/67)

During October, 1967, cards containing the following were distributed on the campus of the Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington:

"WHY SHOULD WE HONOR A COUNTRY THAT DENIES BLACK MEN THE RIGHT TO LIVE LIKE HUMANBEINGS ................. WE WON'T SALUTE A RAD, OR PLEDGE OURSELVES TO A LIE

"WALK OUT WITH US!!!

"FREEDOM NOW
SEATTLE SNCC"

- 7 -

(10/17/67)
On October 8, 1967, a civil rights demonstration was sponsored by the NVL in the form of a march from 22nd Avenue and East Union to the steps of St. James Cathedral in downtown Seattle, Washington. During the course of this demonstration, CARL MILLER, representing SNCC, Seattle Chapter, distributed SNCC leaflets and was one of the principal speakers. MILLER told the audience that if Seattle didn't better its race relations picture, Seattle can expect to be another Newark, New Jersey, or Detroit, Michigan.

(10/11/67)

On September 31, 1967, a group of Negro civil rights protesters staged a march in Seattle, Washington in support of Father GROPPPI's open housing march in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. During the course of this march, CARL MILLER attending as the local Chairman of SNCC, was the principal speaker, and cautioned spectators that "Seattleites should start some open housing action before this city is torn with riots like many other major cities throughout the nation".


From August 31 to September 4, 1967, the National Conference on New Politics (NCNP) was held in Chicago, Illinois. This conference was held for the purpose of establishing interest in a third political party to protest U.S. policies in Southeast Asia. During this conference a number of Negro civil rights advocates held a "Black Caucus" and this "Black Caucus" was attended by several hundred Negroes, including CARL MILLER, representing SNCC from Seattle, Washington.

(9/12/67)

(8/20/67)
During September, 1967, the following press release was distributed to newspapers, radio and television networks in the Seattle area:

"WAYMON WARE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

"1115 14th Avenue
Seattle, Wash. 98122
EA 5-9616

3815 5th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98105
WE 2-7449

"FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION

"Supporters of Waymon Ware, Black Freedom candidate for city council position five, are planning a campaign rally for Sunday at Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Avenue N.E. The event is scheduled to begin at 4 p.m.

"Featured speakers at the rally are the candidate, Ware, and Carl Miller of Seattle SNCC (Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee). Miller, a participant in the black caucus at the recent New Politics convention in Chicago, will give a first-hand report on developments at the conference.

"Other speakers include central area supporters of Ware's campaign and representatives of organizations which have endorsed Ware: We, the Grass Roots, The Central Area Committee for Peace and Improvement (CAPI), The Seattle Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Draft Resistance group of Seattle.

"Following the program a buffet dinner will be served at 6 p.m. Admission to the rally is free."

(9/19/67)

On June 10, 1967, an art exhibit was sponsored by SNCC, Seattle Chapter, at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Seattle, Washington. A majority of the exhibits displayed at the exhibition consisted of photographs pertaining to civil rights and anti-Vietnam activities taken throughout the United States.

(6/14/67)

The June 7, 1967, issue of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" newspaper carried an article under the
heading "More Negro Staff Asked for Garfield". The article indicated that the Seattle Chapter of SNCC had made a written request to Seattle School Superintendent FORBES BOTTOMLY for "more black teachers, a black principal and more black counselors at Garfield High School next year". The article further disclosed that the SNCC request included "discontinuance of the voluntary transfer program of Garfield students to white schools and more emphasis on Afro-American history in the schools curriculum".

On April 19, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National Chairman of SNCC, was the principal speaker at a program sponsored by Seattle Chapter SNCC and held at the Garfield High School auditorium. CARMICHAEL's appearance had been previously arranged through the efforts of Mrs. MATTIE BUNTY who during March, 1967, was identified as the Chairman of SNCC, 3238½ Eastlake East, Seattle, Washington. CARMICHAEL spoke to an overflow crowd of approximately 3,700 people at which he condemned American participation in the war in Vietnam and urged Negroes to resist the Selective Service laws.

Following CARMICHAEL's Seattle speech, he traveled in a privately owned automobile to Ellensburg, Washington, where he gave a second speech at Central Washington State College on April 21, 1967.

Both appearances by CARMICHAEL in the Seattle area were arranged by Mrs. MATTIE BUNTY representing SNCC Seattle. During the preliminary arrangements made prior to these speeches there had been no information indicating that a chapter of SNCC actually existed in the Seattle area. It was believed that the Seattle Chapter came into being for the express purpose of arranging for CARMICHAEL's April, 1967, appearances.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS

Following the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the Central Washington State College, Ellensburg, Washington, on April 21, 1967, CARMICHAEL reportedly told an associate that he didn't want to have anything more to do with the Seattle Chapter of SNCC. One of the reasons CARMICHAEL was disenchanted with the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, was the number of interracial romances and marriages involving Seattle SNCC members.

(4/22/67)

(6/14/67)
Title  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)  
SEATTLE CHAPTER

Character  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

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: SEATTLE
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: SEATTLE
DATE: 9/30/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 8/9 - 76/68

TITLE OF CASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COordinating COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEATTLE CHAPTER

REFERENCE: Seattle report of SA
Sequall, letter to Bureau, 6/24/68.

This report is classified confidential since
disclosure of confidential informants' names through
could minimize their future effectiveness to the
 detriment of the national security.

Copies of this report are being disseminated locally
to interested agencies who have current interest in possible
racial unrest.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

APPROVED:

RECOMMENDED

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Dissipation Record of Attached Report

Agency
Request Send
Date End
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Notes
INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

157-366-37

This report

COVER PAGE
During latter part of April, 1968, the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, and the Black Panther Party (BPP) held a joint meeting in Seattle, Washington. This meeting was attended by approximately 300 people who heard speeches critical of the Seattle Police Department, and urging acts of violence. CAMI MILLER, former Chairman of Seattle Chapter, SNCC, sentenced to six months in King County Jail on 7/1/68. Seattle Chapter, SNCC, reportedly merged with BPP in early Summer of 1968, with remaining group known as the BPP.
At Seattle, Washington

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is characterized in the appendix section of this report.

On April 29, 1968, a joint meeting of the Seattle Chapter of SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP) was held at 2800 East Madison, Seattle, Washington. Approximately 300 people attended this open meeting at which a number of speakers were highly critical of the Seattle Police Department. During this meeting a number of those present discussed ways and means to combat the Seattle Police Department and those present were urged to commit actions of violence and were given instructions as to how to commit these acts without being apprehended by the Seattle Police Department. During the course of this meeting, some of those present discussed the different methods of making firebombs and the females present were urged to take lessons in nursing so that they could assist others who might be injured during "riotous situations".

(5/13/68)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is characterized in the appendix section of this report.

On July 1, 1968, an article appearing in the "Night Final" edition of the "Seattle Times" newspaper, Seattle, Washington, disclosed that CARL MILLER, Chairman of the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, was sentenced by Justice Court JAMES D. DORE to six months in the County Jail. MILLER was described as one of three young men who had previously been convicted for unlawful assembly in connection with a demonstration at Franklin High School in Seattle, Washington, early in the Summer of 1968. MILLER and the two other individuals were released on appeal bonds of $500.00 each.

During the early part of June, 1968, it was reported that the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, and the Black Panther Party would merge with the BPP being the sole remaining group.

(5/21/68)

It was reported early in the Summer of 1968 that the Seattle Chapter, SNCC, went out of existence and that its membership and office equipment were all turned over to the Black Panther Party which established an office at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This same address had formerly been utilized as headquarters of the Seattle Chapter, SNCC.
The Black Panther Party currently maintains headquarters at 1127½ - 34th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. This group is believed to attract approximately 25 to 30 individuals as members and for the most part is composed of young teenagers who were formerly associated with the Seattle Chapter, SNCC. The Seattle Chapter, SNCC, formerly maintained headquarters at the same address but went out of existence sometime during the early Summer of 1968.

(9/20/68)
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 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, EIDRIDGE 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 BROOKS, 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.
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 NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SEATTLE CHAPTER

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC


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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 18 of 19 Sections
# Federal Bureau of Investigation

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<tr>
<th>Reporting Office</th>
<th>Office of Origin</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Investigative Period</th>
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<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>3/5/69</td>
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<tr>
<th>Title of Case</th>
<th>Report Made By</th>
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<tr>
<td>Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>RM - SNCC</td>
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## References:

- Bureau airmail to Albany 1/31/68.
- Springfield letter to Bureau 3/5/68.

## Enclosures:

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and one copy of an FD-376.

## Leads:

**SPRINGFIELD DIVISION**

Springfield will follow activities of SNCC Midwest Director CHARLES E. KOEN within this division to be alert for.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Accomplishments Claimed</th>
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## Approval:

Approved by SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

## DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

**100439100 32 22**

**MRE MAR 10 1969**

**REC-23**

**EX-112**

- **Agency**: ACB, OSI, SEC. SERV. (FD-77)
- **Request, Rcd.**
- **Date Fwd.**
- **How Fwd.**

**Cover Page**
possible establishment of SNCC Chapter.

**ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:**

This report is being classified confidential to protect sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of whom would be detrimental to the national security.

Sources mentioned in this report are as follows:

- B*
- COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - USA, East St. Louis
1 - USA, Springfield
1 - OSI, Chanute Air Force Base
1 - NISO, Chicago
1 - 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois
1 - 113th MI Group, St. Louis Field Office
1 - Secret Service, Springfield

Copy to:

Report of: SA Office SPRINGFIELD
Date: March 5, 1969

Field Office File #: SI 105-1752
Bureau File #: 100-439190
Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis:

CHARLES KOEN, Midwest Director, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has held two conferences recently in the Springfield Division, January 28, 1969, at Springfield, and March 1-2, 1969, at East St. Louis, Illinois. These conferences were attended by representatives of other militant Negro organizations from Springfield, Illinois; East St. Louis, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois; and representatives of SNCC from Cincinnati. Among the purposes of these conferences is the furthering of black nationalism and also the possible unifying of the various militant groups under one coordinating board. APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY TELLING SLIP (S) OF DATE

DECLASSIFIED BY 3632 ON 8/17/72

On January 27, 1969, advised he had learned January 26, 1969, that CHARLES KOEN, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Midwest Director and leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSTON, January 25, 1969, and requested no more than two leadership representatives in Springfield, Illinois, on January 28, 1969, at twelve noon, purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.

Further information concerning SNCC is attached hereon.

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 this year agency.
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

March 5, 1969

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 pro-
tection, 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 member or
   participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member
   of other group or organization iminical 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. ☐ 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) ☐ 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
☐ may be available through ____________________________

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmission
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)
Subsequently, on January 27, 1969, [redacted] advised he additionally learned that [redacted] EDWARD CRAWFORD from Chicago, Illinois, a member of the Deacons For Defense and Justice, which [redacted] described as a highly militant Black Nationalist organization which originated in Louisiana, and also is president of a believed new organization called the National Negro Rifle Association, would also attend the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

Also on January 27, 1969 [redacted] through [redacted] advised they could furnish no information regarding the possibility of a Black Power conference in the near future in the Springfield area.

On January 28, 1969 [redacted] advised that all incoming flights into Springfield, Illinois, including those from the Chicago area had been cancelled indefinitely due to poor weather conditions.

Also on January 28, 1969 [redacted] advised that he observed two individuals, both Negro males, approximately 5'10" tall, one described as stocky build with Afro-type hair, the other individual slender build wearing a dark beret, both carrying attache cases, arrive at the Greyhound Bus Station, Springfield, Illinois, on a Crown Transit Bus, at 11:15 a.m. This bus arrived from Cincinnati via Terre Haute, Indiana.

[redacted] further advised these two Negro males ate lunch in the cafeteria at the bus station and subsequently left through the west entrance after making a telephone call. [redacted] advised they went south to Washington Street and walked east on Washington towards 11th Street.

Upon leaving the Greyhound Bus Station, the above mentioned individuals were observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enter a Terminal Cab Company taxicab, number 6, bearing Illinois license 025-192, at the intersection of East Washington and North 11th Streets, Springfield, Illinois. Later, on January 28, 1969, a 1968 yellow Pontiac, two-door, hardtop, bearing 1969 Missouri license ME2-207 was observed in the southeast section of Springfield with four to six Negro occupants.

A check at the Illinois State Police, District 9 Headquarters, Springfield, Illinois, revealed the above automobile is registered to Metropolitan Corporation, 10066 Natural Bridge, St. Louis, Missouri.
On the evening of January 28, 1969, it further advised that the two Negro males mentioned above departed from the Springfield Greyhound Bus Depot at 7:15 p.m., for Cincinnati, Ohio, via Chicago, Illinois. It also advised that at approximately 7:00 p.m., January 28, 1969, ten to twelve Negro males wearing blue berets arrived at the Greyhound Bus Station. Most of these individuals shook hands with the above mentioned Negro males as they were boarding the bus.

On the evening of January 28, 1969, it advised that the wearing of blue berets is a characteristic of the Springfield Chapter of the Black Egyptians, a militant Negro youth organization.

On January 29, 1969, it identified from photographs LEROY COSTON, SNCC Educational Advisor from Cincinnati, Ohio, as being one of the two individuals who arrived and eight hours later departed the Greyhound Bus Station at Springfield, Illinois.

On January 29, 1969, it advised that at approximately 11:30 to 12:00 noon, January 28, 1969, two Negro males were taken in a Terminal Cab Company Taxicab number 6, from 11th and Washington Streets, Springfield, Illinois, to the 1200 block of South 15th Street near the intersection of 15th and Stuart Streets, in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

On January 30, 1969, AERO RENT-A-CAR (a division of Metropolitan Corporation), 10066 Natural Bridge, St. Louis, Missouri, advised that a yellow Pontiac Tempest, Missouri license ME2-207 was rented January 21, 1969, and returned January 29, 1969. It was rented by EDWARD C. CHALKER, 3506 2nd Street, SE, Washington, D.C., using an American Express Card and District of Columbia driver's license 2518578 (expires 1969) with description, age 38, 5'10½"", 150 pounds, black hair, hazel eyes. He is white. He gave as local address 650 N. 10th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, telephone 271-4023. An additional driver for this car was indicated as HENLEY (possibly HENLEY) POSTER. He is Negro. This car was driven 530 miles with charges of $80.46.

CHALKER, with same identification as above, also rented a car with Missouri license KE9-383 with additional driver being JOHN E. CAMPBELL, Negro, 1527 Tudor Drive, East St. Louis, Missouri, telephone 514-4254. This car was rented January 21, and returned January 29. It was driven 462 miles with charges of $70.07.
A third car, Missouri license SG 4762, a two-door Rambler, was also rented by CHALKER, the name on the contract being "NED CHALKER II" with same identifying data as above. It is said that CHALKER is the same in all instances and he may have printed the name, erroneously printing "NED").

The other driver for this car was indicated as FRANK E. BENDER, age 59, Negro, 1633 A St. Louis, East St. Louis, Missouri.

The race of these individuals as given above is from recollection.

On January 30, 1969, [redacted] stated he had learned that LEROY COSTON, previously mentioned, and Cincinnati SMCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, were the two representatives who attended the previously described 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.

[redacted] stated the meeting started at about 3:00 p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about 28 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.

[redacted] stated some of the invitees were late in arriving, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to KOEN, such as DAN ARLIDGE from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of 28 in attendance is approximate.

KOEN also stated he had received a telephone call from EDWARD CRAWFORD, who told KOEN that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for CRAWFORD to attend the meeting.
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.

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, Ill.

(3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.

(8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(4) "Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois.

stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".
stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four of 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 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 "SWED"/JEFFREYS, a leader of the "WarLords" 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, 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 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. BAP BROWN, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party is attached hereto.

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.

On February 7, 1969, three automobiles were rented in the ordinary course of business in conjunction with the Westinghouse Learning Corporation, East St. Louis, Illinois. KOEN further advised that HENLEY FOSTER, JOHN E. CAMPBELL, and FRANK E. BENDER, employed by the Westinghouse Corporation, rented automobiles in the name of M. D. CHALKER in his capacity with Westinghouse, due to the fact that their credit would not permit them to rent the cars in their own names.

further advised that he had no information concerning where these automobiles were driven and neither could he furnish
any information concerning any recent activity on the part of area militants in Springfield, Illinois.

On February 23, 1969, [redacted] that the first SNCC National Political Conference previously scheduled for March 1, 1969, in Atlanta, Georgia, had been changed to East St. Louis, Illinois, on March 1-2, 1969, under the leadership of CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director.

[redacted] the following information on March 1-2, 1969:

A SNCC sponsored conference of Black militant youth organizations was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, on March 1-2, 1969. The conference was headed by CHARLES KOEN, former Prime Minister of the militant Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri. KOEN is currently acting as Midwest Director for SNCC, a nationwide militant Negro civil rights organization. Local militant Negro youth groups were represented at the conference by the following:

- CHARLES JEFFRIES - Warlords, East St. Louis;
- BENNIE PRICE - Black Culture, Inc., East St. Louis;
- CARL HARRIS - Black Egyptians, East St. Louis;
- FRANK WASHINGTON - a General in Black Liberators, St. Louis, Missouri.

[redacted] that three workshops were planned for the conference as follows:

1. To obtain the different viewpoints of different individuals representing the different organizations;

2. To determine the divide and conquer methods which normally used to cause internal strife between organizations and individuals within the movement;

3. To determine resources in the community for survival and local control of Black communities.

According to [redacted] persons addressing the conference concerning the possibilities of the Black community owning low income housing, were Mrs. YVETTE YOUNG, an East St. Louis Negro Civic leader, and Mrs. IDA B. CURTIS, Deputy Director, North Central Regional Housing Office of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing.
A panel discussion concerning use of the news media was held by the following newspapermen:

EUGENE REDMOND and CLYDE JORDAN of the East St. Louis, Illinois, "Monitor";
ROY WILLIAMS, Editor of "Plain Truth"; Champaign, Illinois;
JOHN HOLMES, "Black Unity" newspaper, Carbondale, Illinois.

Furnished the following information on March 1-2, 1969:

CHARLES KOEN of SNCC organized and acted as Chairman of the conference of Black militant organizations held on March 1-2, 1969, at 455 North 9th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois. The building at that address has formerly been occupied by the Summers College of Commerce and this building has been donated to the Lutheran Church which sponsors the Warlords of East St. Louis.

The nonmilitant Negroes who addressed the conference concerning housing and the news media were informed that the purpose of the meeting was to seek means of avoiding violence and lessening racial tension in the East St. Louis area. However, the tenor of the meeting indicated that it was for the purpose of stirring up Black Nationalism. There was some discussion concerning a trend toward calculating genocide against the Black people and elimination of Black leaders by white people. Approximately 60 persons attended the conference on March 1, 1969. Those in attendance included representatives of all three of the Black militant groups of East St. Louis, Illinois. Those known to included the following:

From Black Culture, Inc., were EUGENE REDMOND, PERCY SMITH, DWIGHT SMITH, RAYMOND SHARP and BENNIE PRICE;

From the Black Egyptians were CARL SELL, KALEY PAYTON and FRANK SMITH;

The Warlords were represented by their leader CHARLES "SWEDE" JEFFRIES.
furnished the following information on March 2, 1969:

Approximately 45 persons attended the conference on March 2, 1969. The conference was led by CHARLES KOEN. Also in attendance was KATHERINE DUNHAM, listed Negro Choreographer, who is currently employed as artist-in-residence at Southern Illinois University, East St. Louis, Illinois. The general discussion at the conference was for the purpose of settling the differences of the various groups represented at the meeting so that they could unite in the revolutionary struggle for freedom of the Black people. There was also discussion concerning means of acquiring firearms, including burglary of hardware and gun stores. There was discussion concerning ridding the Black movement of "Uncle Toms". Also discussed was the problem of members being arrested and the Black support they are getting. It was indicated that the group intended to publish a newsletter in the near future. No plans were made. A closed session of about 20 persons began about 4:30 p.m.

furnished the following information on March 2, 1969:

With the exception of KALEY PAYTON of the Black Egyptians, who is friendly with CHARLES KOEN, the militants of East St. Louis, Illinois, are opposed to CHARLES KOEN. They regard KOEN as an outsider who is attempting to intrude upon their territory. The March 1-2, 1969 conference in East St. Louis, organized by KOEN, was foiled upon the militants of East St. Louis under the pretext that KOEN could bring in some other cities leaders who could advise as to what action should be taken by the local militants, legal or otherwise, concerning the following incident:

CHARLES "SWEDE" JEFFRIES, leader of the Warlords, spent about three weeks in jail in January and February, 1969, after being identified as one of a group of young Negroes claiming to be Warlords, who in East St. Louis fired on a group of young out-of-town Negro magazine salesmen, killing four and wounding three. JEFFRIES was released from jail on that charge after passing a lie detector test. JEFFRIES has since then been considering legal action against the East St. Louis Police Department, St. Clair County States Attorney, and the victims who identified him as their assailant because.
of the above arrest. CHARLES KOEN recently lost favor with the group of Black Liberators in St. Louis, Missouri, which had been formed by KOEN. KOEN is now, in effect, a militant without a group. Although KOEN has the title of Midwest Director of SNCC, SNCC has never had any following in the St. Louis area. KOEN is currently using SNCC as a vehicle in an attempt to obtain a power base for himself in East St. Louis. It appears this attempt will be doomed because of resentment against KOEN in the East St. Louis area.

According to [REDACTED] YVETTER YOUNGE, mentioned previously, is a Negro native of East St. Louis, about 49 years of age, who is an attorney, and is the wife of East St. Louis Negro attorney RICHARD YOUNGE, who represented CHARLES KOEN concerning KOEN's arrest in East St. Louis in the spring of 1968. YVETTER YOUNGE has shown no indication of militancy.

According to [REDACTED] CLYDE JORDAN, mentioned previously, is editor and publisher of the East St. Louis, Illinois, "Monitor", a weekly Negro newspaper in which JORDAN prints both the conservative and militant Negro points of view. CLYDE JORDAN is also an Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of East St. Louis, is a member of the East St. Louis School Board, and is also a member of the Illinois State Housing Board.
APPENDIX

SI 105-1752

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 GERIOD 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

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:


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.
Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT 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.
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 19 of 19 Sections
REFERENCES: Reports of SA [redacted] at Atlanta, 3/20/64 and 9/28/64.

Informants contacted in November, 1964, who had no information concerning JAMIS and LEMORE MONSONIS were:

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<td>[redacted]</td>
<td>11/3/64</td>
<td>SA [redacted]</td>
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<td>[redacted]</td>
<td>11/5/64</td>
<td>SA [redacted]</td>
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WFO indices contain no pertinent additional information concerning JAMES MONSONIS or LENORE MONSONIS.

WFO files indicate COURTLAND COX, age 22, was one of three Howard University students who staged a sit-in demonstration in the Attorney General's office in March, 1963, protesting jailing of several integrationists in Louisiana.

An article in "The Washington Post" newspaper 9/15/63, indicates JOEL DRESSLER, age 21, of 1108 Kingswood Drive, Falls Church, Virginia, was one of a group of eight white and Negro picketers arrested 9/14/63, when they refused to leave the Levitt and Sons sales office at Belair, Maryland, where they were protesting the developer's refusal to sell to Negroes. The article indicates five of the picketers including DRESSLER were arrested under identical circumstances the previous week.

WFO files contain an undated list of foreign students enrolled at Howard University, received 4/21/61, which indicates MICHELE TIELWELL, of Jamaica, was a freshman in the Liberal Arts College.

**INFORMANTS**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>File Where Located</th>
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Used to document JOSEPH FORER and LUKE WILSON
The conducted physical surveillance of [redacted] on [redacted], were [redacted] and [redacted]. The log maintained in [redacted].

Report is classified "Confidential" because it contains information that, if released through unauthorized disclosure, could reasonably be expected to impair the future effectiveness of intelligence of continuing value and impair their future effectiveness.

NEC has no substantive characterization concerning [redacted]; Neighbors, Incorporated; or Committee of Federated Organizations.

- C-2 -
COVER PAGE
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation CONFIDENTIAL

COPY TO:
1 MDW-Intelligence, Washington, D.C.
1 ONI, Washington, D.C.
1 OSI, Washington, D.C.

Report of:
SA [Redacted]

Date:
12/31/64

Office: Washington, D.C.

Field Office File No.: 100-41626

Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title:
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

On October 8, 1964, JAMES MONSONIS was interviewed at the new Washington, D.C., office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., (formerly located at 3418 11th Street, N.W.) by Special Agent MONSONIS advised SA [Redacted] the SNCC in

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.
Washington, D.C. has no officers; however, his official title is Director and his wife, LENORE MONSONIS, is Associate Director. MONSONIS stated other officers may be added in the future but he does not know when this will take place.

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 Communist Party front.

Characterizations of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Young Socialist" appear in the appendix of this report.

"The Evening Star", Washington, D.C. daily newspaper, edition of October 10, 1963, page B-1, carried an article which indicated JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, would speak at a civil rights discussion that evening at the American University, Washington, D.C. Other speakers listed were AUBREY WILLIAMS, President Emeritus of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Secretary of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC).
According to this article, plans to charge admission with the proceeds going to the Washington Area Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUCANUAC) were vetoed by the University President.

Characterizations of the HUCANUAC, AECANUAC and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCRF) are contained in the appendix section of this report.

JOHN BUTLER of Dallas, Texas, in testimony before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 18, 1954, as a former CP member, testified he was introduced to AUBREY WILLIAMS in 1932 as "Comrade Jim" that he participated with WIIILLLIAMS in a conference of communist affairs about one month later, and he had heard WILLIAMS mentioned often as a communist. W. I. CHURCH, identified at the same hearing as a former CP organizer, testified he was introduced to WILLIAMS by BENJAMIN SHUBIN, whom he identified as a charter member of the CP, as one of the "Chief National Leaders." CHURCH further testified that he would not have made statements to WILLIAMS unless "I had been informed that he was a member thereof." WILLIAM COBB, a self-confessed co-conspirator, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUCA) on August 9, 1944, stated he did not know AUBREY WILLIAMS but he had heard communists mention WILLIAMS as a friend of the CP. At a hearing before the United States Internal Security Subcommittee on March 18, 1954, WILLIAMS denied ever having been a member of the CP.

Audit both HUCANUAC, of Los Angeles, California, in public testimony before the House on December 7, 1954, identified RICHARD KLEINBERG as having been a member of the CP sometime during the period August, 1951, to January, 1952.

On September 17, 1952, RICHARD KLEINBERG was a member of the Los Angeles County CP as of September, 1952.
On November 8, 1962, [redacted] identified FRANK WILKINSON as Executive Director of the NCAHUAC.

The Washington, D.C. office of the SNCC, 3418 11th Street, N.W., purchased a one year subscription to the "Peoples World" in February, 1963.

2/13/64.

The "Peoples World" is a West Coast communist newspaper, published weekly in San Francisco.

2/16/64.

A characterization of the CJCS appears in the appendix section of this report.


The May, 1964, issue of "Shalom", monthly publication of the CJCS, self-identified as such, contained an article which stated MIKE THELWELL, representing the SNCC, discussed the purpose and program of his organization at the March 22 Seniors meeting. The article quotes THELWELL as stating the present project is to get the voter registration moving, and solicited support for his organization.

3/26/64.

The Senior Group students of the CJCS are active in the SNCC.

3/7/64.
On March 4, 1964, the CJCS made a contribution of $25 to the SNCC to be used for "Mississippi Relief".

3/24/64.

A meeting was held at the residence of JOSEPH and FLORENCE FORER, 711 Horton Drive, Kemp Mill Estate, Silver Spring, Maryland, on February 28, 1964, for the purpose of hearing two leaders of the striking coal miners in Eastern Kentucky. About 65 persons including 18 Seniors of the CJCS, attended the meeting. A collection of $175 was taken to be given to the miners. JOEL DRESSLER of the SNCC got up and said everyone should help. He said he would be at the SNCC to receive letters, foodstuffs, and money for the striking miners.

11/5/64.

2/29/64.

About 40 to 45 persons attended a meeting at the residence of JOSEPH FORER, 711 Horton Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland, on February 28, 1964, which featured BERLUE GIBSON, who represented the striking coal miners in Eastern Kentucky.

JOEL DRESSLER, who is affiliated with the SNCC in Washington, D.C., attended this meeting and stated he would be a committee of one to conduct legislative research on bills in Congress relating to miners' conditions.

2/29/64.
"The Washington Post", daily Washington, D.C. newspaper, on April 27, 1964, on the first page of the Appendix section, contained an article entitled "Gregory Predicts Social Revolution". The article stated that comedian DICK GREGORY spoke at a pre-show cocktail party on Saturday, April 25, 1964, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. LUKE W. WILSON on the grounds of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, (9100 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Maryland). The article stated that the WILSONS, who donated the NIH site to the Government, asked friends — many of whom were members of the Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or the Women Strike for Peace, both of which Mrs. WILSON is associated with — to meet GREGORY and the Freedom Singers and to help raise money for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). GREGORY and the Freedom Singers were in Washington, D.C., to appear in a show Saturday, April 25, 1964, to benefit the SNCC's Mississippi summer project.

On December 13, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed GEORGE MEYERS enter the Washington, D.C. office of SNCC at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., at 3:25 p.m. and depart at 3:55 p.m.
On June 15, 1964, [redacted] identified GEORGE MEYERS as a member of the CP, USA National Executive Committee and Chairman of the CP District which includes Maryland, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and North Carolina.

12/18/64.

Confidential informants who are familiar with certain phases of CP and related activities in the Washington, D.C. area were contacted in November, 1964, and could furnish no information concerning JAMES and LENORE MONSONIS or COURTLAND COX, of Howard University, who has been identified as a member of the Executive Committee of the SNCC.

Criminal and subversive files of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., were checked on November 3, 1964, by [redacted] and contained no record of JAMES and LENORE MONSONIS or COURTLAND COX; at all times an indefinite number of unidentified records are out of file and not available for review.
APPENDIX

COOPERATIVE JEWISH CHILDREN'S
SCHOOL OF GREATER WASHINGTON
Also known as
WASHINGTON JEWISH CHILDREN'S SCHOOL, SHULE

The 1962-1963 Yearbook of the Cooperative Jewish Children's School of Greater Washington (CJCS) self-described as such, stated that the school was organized in 1947, that it is cooperative because the parents are the management, and secular since it does not single out any particular principles of the Jewish religion for instruction. This Yearbook lists the address of the school as 4402 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., and that the school year extends from October through May. Classes for the children are held on Sunday only.

District of Columbia Government records, as of May 7, 1964, reflect that the premises at 4402 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., are occupied by the Jewish Culture Society (JCS).

Sources, on May 7, 1964, identified the 1964-1965 CJCS officers. Other sources have identified four of the officers as Communist Party members in the past.

In June, 1963, a source identified the current editor of "Shalom," self-identified as the monthly publication of the CJCS, as a then member of the Communist Party.

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

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, United States 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 1279 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.
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, 1946.

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 communists.
WASHINGTON AREA COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF
THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

A second source, on September 12, 1962, advised the
WACAHUAC is affiliated with the National Committee to Abolish
the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). On
April 14, 1964, the first source advised the WACAHUAC is still
in existence and continues to be affiliated with the NCAHUAC.

A third source has identified Selma Rein, Selma
Samols and Ethel Weisser as Communist Party (CP) members
during the period 1953 - 1954.

The NCAHUAC is characterized separately
in the Appendix.
APPENDIX

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. 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 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 6, 1964, 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 6, 1964, 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) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication self-described in the April-May, 1964, issue of this newspaper as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YS maintains the mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003.

The Young Socialist Alliance is described elsewhere in the Appendix.
In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
December 31, 1964

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA dated and captioned as above at Washington, D.C.

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 leased to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON FIELD

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
3/25/66 - 3/14/66

INVESTIGATIVE CASE
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - C


ADMINISTRATIVE

Review of pertinent information regarding the Washington, D.C., district office of SNCC does not disclose a basis for continuing investigation of CONIFILSNCC as stipulated in the Manual of Instructions. WFO will continue to evaluate information concerning this organization and furnish same to the Atlanta Office.

A copy of this report has been furnished to the Baltimore office, since activity in behalf of Washington SNCC has been reported in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., in the past.

PROOFED: [Signature]
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

[Classification]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

The Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACS

DATE FORWARDED: 3/25/66

CONFIDENTIAL

COVER PAGE
This report is classified "Confidential" inasmuch as data reported therein from and could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

advised in January, 1966, that

CHARLES GIFT is a current member of the
Communist Party of the Washington, D. C.
area.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist
newspaper.
LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. will continue to evaluate information pertaining to COHINFL SNCC, and submit appropriate communications to the Bureau and Atlanta.
"Political Affairs" is self described as a theoretical organ of the CPUSA.

advised in June, 1965, that GEORGE MYERS is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and organizer of the southern region of the CPUSA.

HENRY WINSTON was convicted in U. S. District Court, New York, on October 14, 1949 for violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

A memorial meeting was held November 7, 1965 for Dr. MARCUS I. GOLDMAN, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C. DAVID REIN was Master of Ceremonies, and speakers were GEORGE MURPHY and JOE FORER. A request was made for those attending to contribute to SNCC if they so desired.

On August 23, 1955, HERBERT FUCHS, a self-admitted former member of the CP, advised
DAVID REIN was a member of a secret government CP group at the Labor Relations Board during 1937 to 1942.

advised in June, 1964, that Dr. MARCUS GOLDMAN had referred to his wife and himself as Communists. GOLDMAN died October 2, 1965.

"The Evening Star," a Washington daily newspaper, in an article November 13, 1956, stated that GEORGE MURPHY, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on November 12, 1956, admitted being a sponsor of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. (ACPFB)

The ACPFB has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The Worker," in an article dated October 21, 1962, described JOSTER as "Washington attorney... has been one of the main attorneys in the CP's defense against the McCarran Act, and is attorney for the ACPFB."
DAVID and SELMA REIN
Mr. and Mrs. LEO ORBACH

12/15/65

DC

advised SELMA REIN was a member
of the CP from 1945 to 1947.

DC

stated that in 1948-49, LEO
ORBACH was openly critical of the United
States, and at the same time praised the
Soviet Union.

1/10/66

DC
Title  
COMMUNIST INfiltrATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference  
Report of Special Agent dated and captioned as above at Washington, D.C.

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

[redacted] with whom insufficient contact has been had on which to evaluate them.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON FIELD

OFFICE OF ORIGIN
ATLANTA

DATE
MAR 24 1967

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
10/25/66 - 3/17/67

TITLE OF CASE
COMMUNIST INFRINGEMENT OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE - WASHINGTON, D.C.

REPORT MADE BY
SA

CHARACTER OF CASE
IS - C


ADMINISTRATIVE

A copy of this report is being furnished to the
Baltimore Office for information since SNCC activity in
the Washington, D.C., area included SNCC interest in the
Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., in the past.

This report is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from current
confidential informants whose identities if revealed to

100-439190-53-8

Approved: Pending over one year __ Yes __ No; Pending prosecution over six months __ Yes __ No

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPY MADE:
1 - Bureau (100-439190)
1 - Atlanta (100-6468) (Info) (RM)
2 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
1 - WFO (100-41626)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY: ACSI ONI QSL SEC SER

DATE FORW: MAR 24 1967

DATE RECEIVED: MAR 27 1967

COVER PAGE
WFO 100-41626

Unauthorized persons might hamper the investigation of subversive activities and endanger the national defense of the United States.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[Redacted]

Location of Information

[Redacted]

Used to Characterize CHARLES GIFT

LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Will evaluate information pertaining to COMINFIL SNCC and submit appropriate communications to the Bureau and Atlanta.
REPORT

MAR 24 1967

MOLLY O'KEEFE

100-41626

COMMUNIST INfiltrATION
OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

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 the SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

The investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

DECE 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 3832

Exempt from CDS, Category

State of Secretary's involvement

8/9/67

Copies destroyed

286 NOV 2 19/0

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.
ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Washington, D.C., headquarters of SNCC are located at 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

9/26/66)

INDIVIDUALS WITH CP BACKGROUND
ASSOCIATED WITH OR REPRESENTING SNCC

9/26/66)

CHARLES GIFT was a member of the CP of the Washington, D.C., area in January, 1966.

January, 1966)

PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
BY STOKELY CARMICHAEL

STOKELY CARMICHAEL represented SNCC at a meeting concerning "Black Power" at Crampton Auditorium, Howard University, Washington, D.C., on the evening of October 26, 1966. STOKELY CARMICHAEL mentioned Lowndes County, Alabama, as being eighty per cent Negro, and that it was important for Negroes in Washington, D.C., to lend support to Lowndes County Negroes attaining power in their county government. He said that they were going to have a rally in Washington, D.C., to lend support to Lowndes County. CARMICHAEL was critical of the city of Atlanta, Georgia, for having constructed a new stadium in an area which forced the Negro children to attend school in three shifts.

10/27/66)
The "Washington Post and Times Herald", a Washington, D.C., daily newspaper, issue of October 27, 1966, contained an article captioned "Revival of Blackness is Applauded at Howard". This article stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, one of the two proponents of "Black Power" clearly carried the audience with them in presenting their side of the debate on the question "Can Any Good Come Out of Black Power?"

The article quoted CARMICHAEL as saying "White America cannot condemn herself. So we have done it. We condemn her...You are black brothers and sisters and you better come home...If you don't come on home, the gate is going to be closed".

CARMICHAEL was quoted as asking whether it was not "hypocritical for a country that's bombing the hell out of Vietnam to talk about non-violence". In reference to the Reserve Officers Training Corps program at Howard University, CARMICHAEL stated, "they teach you to be hired killers each Thursday and you don't protest".

The January 16, 1967, issue of the 'Washington Post and Times Herald' contained an article on Page A-4 captioned, "CARMICHAEL to Quit as SNCC Chairman". This article reported that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke on January 15, 1967, at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C. CARMICHAEL stated that he would step down as Chairman of the militant SNCC in May and return to field organizing in the South. CARMICHAEL was reported as saying he would remain active in the policy making role in SNCC and speculated SNCC would remain a militant organization. CARMICHAEL was quoted as saying: "If you think I'm rough, you're mistaken. I'm the most moderate one in SNCC". CARMICHAEL pledged himself and SNCC to 'Black Power' and called for its application in Washington. "We must take over our own community" and suggested that Washington's police
"be controlled by the people". He also said "I say let's have the people in the 13th Precinct pick their own (police) captain, sergeants and lieutenants". CARMICHAEL continued, "Let's pick our own officers and make them live in the community; that will really eliminate police brutality".
Washington, D.C. 20535
March 24, 1967

Title
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.

This report has been classified "Confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants through [redacted] and [redacted] the unauthorized disclosure of which could adversely affect the security of the United States.

SAs [redacted] observed that SNCC Headquarters in Washington, D.C., had moved on 3/28/67.

Case has been: Pending over one year [redacted]Pending prosecution over six months [redacted]
SA observed that Headquarters on 9/21/67.

On 7/13/67, SAs and observed first SAM ABBOTT, and then STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the SNCC office in Washington, D.C.

SA heard H. RAP BROWN's comments about the District of Columbia on 6/22/67.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Location

100-41626-530 A

100-41626 Sub C-16, 22, 24

100-41626-517

100-41626-502

100-41626-506-511

100-41626-606
Characterization of National Conference for New Politics

Characterization of SAM ABOIT

Characterization of Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

100-41626-612

100-41626 Sub C-20

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. WILL continue to follow the activity of SNCC.

Information copies of this report have been furnished Baltimore and Richmond because of the proximity of the territory of those offices to Washington, D.C.

- C* -

COVER PAGE
WFO 100-41626

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.
I. LOCATION

On March 28, 1967, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed that the Washington, D.C., Headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had moved from 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., to 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC)

SNCC moved from 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., because the landlord refused to make necessary repairs.

On September 21, 1967, a Special Agent of the FBI observed that the SNCC office is still located at 1234 U Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

II. OFFICERS

On May 6, 1967, LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, WDC, was identified as the only officer of the organization in WDC.

MC KINNIE is a rather dedicated, sincere civil rights worker who has personally been involved with the civil rights struggle so long that he needs a rest. He needs to get away from it for a while, to re-evaluate his personal motives and program.

III. PROGRAM

In a report to the National Headquarters of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, on May 6, 1967, LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, WDC, stated his organization had:
1. Established an anti-draft program that entailed:
   a. Meeting every Saturday with twenty to twenty-five young people;
   b. Working with students to persuade them not to register or volunteer for military service, and
   c. Preparation of a four page pamphlet relating the Vietnam war to conditions in WDC.

2. Initiated a campaign against police brutality by holding rallies, getting petitions signed, and distributing complaint forms and buttons reading "Beware of Cops."

3. Considered the establishment of a school, and were looking for a location.

4. Planned to launch a campaign in May, 1967 to obtain the right to vote in WDC.

SNCC, WDC, published a leaflet announcing that anyone who wanted to learn about their right to stay out of military service, could appear at SNCC Headquarters, WDC, on March 18, 1967.

By letter dated, "April, 1967," under the letterhead of SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia and New York, New York, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Chairman of SNCC, made an appeal for contributions. In this letter, CARMICHAEL stated, "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."
An article appearing in the May 2, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, quoted CARMICHAEL as saying that the national staff of SNCC would discuss the possibility of an intensive "black power" drive in WDC, and the possibility of making Washington its "target city" during the Summer of 1967.

An article appearing in the May 17, 1967, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper, WDC, reported on a speech made by CARMICHAEL at a public meeting in WDC on the night of May 16, 1967. According to this article, CARMICHAEL confirmed earlier reports he would work in WDC during the Summer of 1967, with the local office of SNCC. He also stated that SNCC would start teaching Negro high school students in WDC to oppose the draft.

One of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's undertakings during the Summer of 1967, would be to organize in WDC a party similar to the Black Panther Party of Lowndes County, Alabama.

On the same date, this informant also indicated that recent newspaper publicity reporting that CARMICHAEL would spend the Summer of 1967 in WDC, was in the nature of a psychological or propaganda move by SNCC to force an
awareness of the lack of opportunities for Negroes in Washington, and to force community action through fear to correct these delinquencies.

This informant also reported on June 7, 1967, that SNCC, WDC, did not actually have a program for the Summer of 1967, and, in fact, is quite disorganized.

IV. CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP) AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. PUBLICATIONS

SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, appeared on the current mailing list of the Weekend Edition of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper.

4/18/67)

SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, appeared on the current mailing list of the Midweek Edition of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper.

4/22/67)

SNCC, WDC, is receiving bulk mailings of "New Politics News," the official publication of the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), Chicago, Illinois.

7/21/67)

"The Worker," an east coast Communist Party (CP) newspaper, issue of May 24, 1966, contained an article reflecting "The newly-organized National Conference for New Politics called last week for support in its efforts to project the peace and civil rights issues nationwide into the forefront of the coming election campaigns."
According to this article the NCNP was created to assist in aiding "local alliances of issues-oriented liberals, student activists, peace and civil rights workers, and grass-roots movements of the poor."

B. INDIVIDUALS

On July 13, 1967, Special Agents of the FBI, observed CARMICHAEL enter the office of SNCC, 1234 U Street, N.W., WDC, at 2:44 p.m., and to depart from that office at 2:49 p.m., the same date.

Earlier on that same date, July 13, 1967, Special Agents of the FBI observed SAM ABBOTT at the office of SNCC, WDC. ABBOTT entered the office at 2:25 p.m., and remained less than five minutes. He then lingered on the sidewalk in front of the office a few more minutes before departing from the area.
The July 19, 1940 edition of the "Buffalo Courier Express" newspaper disclosed that SAM ABBOTT was a candidate for Congress on the CP ticket in the 1940 elections for the 40th Congressional District of New York.

C. ORGANIZATIONS

The Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, formerly known as the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

The Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (WMC), is the WDC branch of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which was formerly known as the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC).

The SMC is described in the publication entitled, "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)", a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, dated March 31, 1967. Under "Conclusions", page 53, the
the report states in part, "Communists are playing dominant roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee."

According to an article in the May 17, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the former National Chairman of SNCC, was one of the featured speakers at a public meeting sponsored by the SMC on the evening of May 16, 1967.

The above meeting was held at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, WDC.

During his speech, CARMICHAEL called for a massive resistance movement by the nation's young people to end the war in Vietnam. He advocated going to jail for five years rather than going into military service and fighting in Vietnam. CARMICHAEL stated sixteen people in SNCC had said, "Hell, No!", and ended his speech with, "Hell, No, We Won't Go."
The WMC, in conjunction with SNCC, sponsored a rally in Lafayette Park, WDC, on the afternoon of August 6, 1967. About two hundred and fifty people were present with only about twenty people representing SNCC. The several speakers spoke against United States participation in the war in Vietnam.

\[8/6/67]\]

**D. MISCELLANEOUS**

An article appearing in the August 12, 1967 issue of the "Washington Afro-American" newspaper, WDC, identified LESTER MC KINNIE as Director, SNCC, WDC, and quoted him as denying any alliance between Communist Cuba and SNCC. In this article MC KINNIE defended the right of STOKELY CARMICHAEL to visit Cuba, and stated he knew of no communists in SNCC.

**V. MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITY BY SNCC, WDC**

SNCC leaders have been around to different sections of WDC attempting to line up neighborhood leaders who would be willing to become agitators to stir up local residents if a riot or disturbance did occur.

\[5/26/67\]

\[6/12/67\]
A "Soul Session" for the benefit of SNCC was held in the basement of St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC, on the evening of June 21, 1967. Comedian DICK GREGORY was the only attraction. A total of twenty-nine people attended.

The "Washington Afro-American" newspaper, WDC, in its issue of June 24, 1967, reported on a press conference held by H. RAP BROWN, the current National Chairman of SNCC at SNCC Headquarters in WDC on June 22, 1967. BROWN was quoted as accusing the Metropolitan Police Department, WDC, of "brutality against black people," and charging that racism is the only reason that Congress does not grant home rule to Washington.

BROWN attacked the police shooting of "six black people in the past three months," and referred to the MPD as "Chief LAYTON's gestapo police." This article quoted BROWN as saying that SNCC should be organizing an anti-draft movement among high school students, because young black students in the ghetto are very vulnerable to the draft.

BROWN also stated that SNCC could not organize political parties in the black community because the District of Columbia is voteless, but he did say that "freedom organizations" would be developed.

The June 23, 1967 issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, WDC, in reporting on the same press conference quoted BROWN as saying that Negroes will get home rule in Washington, "and if it must be gotten by going into the streets, that will be dictated by LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON." He asserted repeatedly that if violence erupts, it will be the fault of the white community, and said "The white man won't get off our back, so we're going to knock him off." He said that, "If America chooses to play Nazi, black people don't choose to play Jews. Destruction and violence are not determined by the victims, but by the oppressors."
According to this article BROWN did not say how his organization would seek to achieve home rule for WDC, except to say it would form "freedom organizations" to apply pressure on Congress.

When asked if he would encourage Negroes to resort to arms BROWN said, "If it comes to the point that black people must have guns, we will have means and ways to obtain those arms." According to the article each reference to force by BROWN, was couched in terms of a defense needed against the "escalating genocide" of Negroes by the "white power" structure of the Nation.

During this same public press conference, a Special Agent of the FBI, heard BROWN, while speaking of WDC state, "If D.C. don't come round, the black man will burn it down." He described WDC as a "project area" in which SNCC staff members are working, but he said that any type of violence is up to the black man in WDC. BROWN was also heard to say, "Violence is as American as cherry pie."

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- 12 -
H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC, spoke at a "Black Power Rally" at St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC, on the night of July 27, 1967. During his speech, BROWN noted that black people are in the majority in WDC, and stated that if the "hunkies" don't come around you should burn the city down. He also told those present they should get guns and be ready, because no one knows when the "hunkies" will attack.

H. RAP BROWN was one of several speakers on the night of July 27, 1967 at St. Stephens and the Incarnation Church, WDC. The speakers represented several organizations, but the organization sponsoring the meeting, was not announced.

During his speech, BROWN stated that the black man must control everything in the black community, and several times stated that if America and/or WDC "don't come around, the black man will burn it down." BROWN advocated more shooting than looting, adding, "If you loot, loot a gun store." He described President JOHNSON as the most violent man in the world. BROWN also said he did not consider himself obligated to follow the laws of the United States because he did not participate in making them.

Following this meeting one unknown Negro male tried to organize a march, but only about six people appeared interested.

On the evening of July 30, 1967, SNCC, WDC, sponsored a fund raising party at the Burning Brush, 2612 Georgia Avenue, N.W., WDC. A $1.00 donation was solicited at the door, but only about ten people were present.
"The Evening Star" newspaper, WDC, in its issue of September 13, 1967, following the arrest of H. RAP BROWN in Alexandria, Virginia on that date, reported that LESTER MC KINNIE, SNCC, WDC, announced that a rally would be held on the night of September 13, 1967, in WDC, to raise funds and to protest the arrest.

The SNCC rally on September 13, 1967, was held at the Church of the Redeemer, 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., WDC, and was attended by about one hundred ten people, five of whom were white. LESTER MC KINNIE acted as the moderator, and the several speakers criticized BROWN's arrest. A collection was taken to assist BROWN, but the amount collected was not announced.

VI. LITERATURE

The following have been distributed by SNCC, WDC:

A leaflet captioned, "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger," states that free individual help in dealing with a draft board, and films about Vietnam and the draft would be available at SNCC, 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., WDC, from 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., Saturday, March 18, 1967.

Referring to "Uncle Sam" this leaflet states, "He wants you to become a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army...to support White Power -- travel to Vietnam (you might get a medal)...receive valuable training in the skills of killing off other oppressed peoples!" It also states, "Find Out How To Avoid The Draft (Legally)", and "Learn About Your Right To Stay Out Of The Army!"

An undated appeal for contributions by LESTER G. MC KINNIE, Director, SNCC, Washington, D.C. MC KINNIE
pointed out that SNCC has a special scholarship program to help SNCC personnel return to school. He also pointed out that SNCC workers have some vital needs such as cars, two-way radios for protection, bail funds, paper, and other supplies.

A leaflet captioned, "BLACK AMERICA: IN DANGER." This leaflet states, "It seems that White America is doing everything in its power to destroy Black America:

"1. Police Brutality (10 Black People shot down in the streets in the last year)

"2. Vietnam (Black soldiers go to the front in time of war)

"3. Poor Housing No right to vote

"4. Ghetto Slums No power over our lives and conditions."

An eight page booklet captioned on the front page, "UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU NIGGER", and "HELL NO! AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND." This booklet contains photographs of bombed churches in Mississippi, burned homes in Vietnam, and children injured and burned in both these areas.

It also states, "You Do Not Have To Be Drafted. There Are Many Legal Ways To Avoid Being Sent To Vietnam. Free Advice On How To Deal With Your Draft Board Is Available From SNCC."
Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference: Report of __________ 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] with whom insufficient contact has been 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: WASHINGTON FIELD
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA
DATE: 11/18/68
INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 7/11-11/12/68

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY: SA
CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC

REFERENCE: Report of SA dated 7/16/68 at Washington, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE:
This report has been classified "Confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants through the unauthorized disclosure of which could adversely affect the security of the United States.

Information attributed:

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CASE HAS BEEN:
- PENDING OVER ONE YEAR □ YES □ NO
- PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS □ YES □ NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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22 NOV 20 1968

EX 110

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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59 NOV 27 1968
WFO 100-41626

INFORMANTS:

IDENTITY OF SOURCE:

FILE LOCATION:

LEADS:

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will continue to follow the activities of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Information copies of this report have been furnished Baltimore and Richmond because of the proximity of the territory of these offices to Washington, D. C.

B*

COVER PAGE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D.C. CONFIDENTIAL
1 - NISO, Washington, D.C.
1 - OSI, Washington, D.C.

Copy to:

Report of:
Date: November 18, 1968
Office: WASHINGTON, D.C.
Field Office File #: 100-41626
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: Washington, D.C. (WDC), Office of SNCC, formerly located at 2208 14th Street, N.W., WDC, with LESTER MC KINNIE as Director was closed as of 9/13/68 after exchange of gun fire between factions of MC KINNIE and those supporting STOKELY CARMICHAEL. CARMICHAEL reported "fired" from SNCC as of 8/21/68. Financial condition of SNCC, WDC, continues to be poor. SNCC literature handed out critical of police and inflammatory in nature.

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

On September 13, 1968, the Washington, D.C. Office of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which was located at 2208 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., was closed and padlocked due to the internal differences between several factions within the Washington, D.C. (WDC), group, one loyal to LESTER MC KINNIE, Head of WDC, SNCC and the other loyal to STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

Excluded from automatic (9/13/68) CONFIDENTIAL

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; if and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
A characterization of SNCC is included in the appendix section of this report.

B. Washington SNCC Director and Staff

On March 6, 1968, LESTER G. MC KINNIE was identified as Director, SNCC, WDC.

Because of the internal problems in the WDC office of SNCC, LESTER MC KINNIE, Director of Washington, D. C., SNCC group became frightened and left the city.

Due to the fact the SNCC office is now closed there is no longer any volunteer office staff. It is difficult to determine if there are any active sympathizers of SNCC in WDC, inasmuch as there is no SNCC office and no program of activity by SNCC in the area.

An article appearing in "The Evening Star", a Washington, D. C., daily newspaper, stated on page B-3 in the edition dated September 9, 1968, that HASSAN JERU-AHMED BEY, leader of the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation (BVAL), advised newsmen at a press conference that the BVAL had been requested to defend the local SNCC headquarters from attacks.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.
SNCC Unit \#5 Here to Split With National

The Washington chapter of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will soon announce its independence from the national organization, it was learned yesterday.

A newly painted sign on the local office at 2208 14th St. NW is the giveaway. It now reads, "Washington Independent SNCC."

Lester McKinnie, local SNCC director, declined to discuss the matter at a press conference yesterday which he called to announce that the office had been fired upon three times during the past three days by SNCC opponents.

McKinnie said an announcement about the new status of his organization would be made soon.

The Washington chapter reportedly feels that the national group is not relevant to the needs of Washington's black community, and will therefore declare its autonomy.

At yesterday's press conference, Hassan Jari-Ahmed-Bey, leader of the local Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberations who has publicly differed with SNCC's policies in the past, said the attacks reported by SNCC put him in a "perplexing situation. He said this was because "many people know "I never supported Stokely Carmichael or SNCC, but the plans that came out of SNCC."

But Hassan said he felt that the Washington SNCC chapter, at least, has changed its policies, and that he joined in the defense of the local headquarters from the attacks, "because violence would give the Black Panthers a tremendous strength in the ghettos."
"The Washington Post" mentioned previously, contained an article on page A-1, dated September 9, 1968, regarding an exchange of shots between members of the BVAL and individuals alleged to be affiliated with the Black Panther Party.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is included in the Appendix section of this report.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.
Volley of Gunfire
Hits SNCC Office

By Robert F. Levey
Washington Post Staff Writer

A volley of shots was exchanged across the alley behind the Washington office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee yesterday morning in the third outbreak of violence there in as many days.

The violence is an apparent culmination of a dispute over the leadership of local SNCC, involving president John Lewis, McKinney and former allies who want him ousted.

Yesterday morning at least six shots were fired at the office, and an equal number of shots returned by "guards" inside the building.

Early Friday and late Saturday, other shots were fired at the SNCC office at 2206 14th St. NW. On Saturday three firebombs apparently were thrown. There were no injuries and minimal damage in the three incidents.

Police yesterday began a special, one-man patrol of the 2200 block of 14th Street to provide added round-the-clock protection until officials feel the situation has cooled off.

According to McKinney, the trouble began Wednesday when three men-who he identified as members of the California-based Black Panther Party-entered the SNCC office and demanded that McKinney turn it over to them.

McKinney said he refused, and left the office. He said he returned an hour later to find the front door padlocked.

"I went in through a back entrance and asked the men to leave," McKinney told a press conference yesterday. "They said we (the SNCC staff) had to leave or my life wasn't worth a dime."

On Wednesday night, McKinney said, he enlisted the support of two local Negro leaders, Marion Barry of Pride, Inc., and former chairman of local SNCC, and Col. Hassan Jurut-Ahmed Bey of the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation. Accord-

See SHOOT, A6, Col. 1
SHOOT, From A1

Ining to the three men, they and about 15 of their men have stood guard inside SNCC's office and on nearby rooftops since that night to guard against a Black Panther attack.

Contacted in Oakland, Calif., Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver said there were no Black Panthers in Washington and denied that the Panthers are trying to "take over" SNCC.

He said an alliance between SNCC and the Panthers—originally arranged by former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael without consent of SNCC's board of directors—has been broken, and that the Black Panthers are not interested in all in SNCC.

National SNCC sources said the resistance against the Kinnie is being led by former local SNCC staff members who think McKinnie is an ineffective leader.

Bey charged that the take-over attempt is being led by William M. (Rickey) Lassiter, whom Bey identified as a Black Panther. Lassiter could not be reached for comment yesterday.

But national SNCC sources said Lassiter is a former aide of McKinnie's in Washington SNCC and is not associated with the Panthers. The sources said Lassiter has recently been critical of McKinnie.

Carmichael, who is in Dakar, Senegal, was aware of the Washington situation when he left the country Wednesday, his personal secretary said yesterday. He did not back either the McKinnie of the Lassiter factions, she said, "but he asked them not to have black people fighting black people."

Bey said at the press conference yesterday that "we have been attacked three times and have attacked no one." He said hostile fire was returned only yesterday morning by men inside SNCC.

Mrs. Daniel Lewis, a resident of the apartment house from which the shots were allegedly fired at the SNCC office, told police she was awakened by the gun fire returned by Bey's men. She said she was asleep on the sofa when a bullet came through her window, missing her by not more than a few feet. She, her husband and their 14-year-old son crawled out of the apartment on their knees, she said.

Lt. John Sady of the Thirteenth Police Precinct said Bey and two of his men had voluntarily turned over three guns to police after yesterday's shooting.

Lt. Sady said the trajectory of the shots that stuck the SNCC office indicated that they came from a five-story apartment building at 1407 W St. nw, which is about 50 feet from the rear door of SNCC across an alley.

He said "between eight and ten" spent cartridges were found in a vacant fifth-floor apartment in the building, and that six shots had struck the SNCC office. All were .22 caliber, Lt. Sady said.

Lt. Sady said the three guns turned over by Liberation Army members were a .22 caliber pistol, a .380 caliber automatic pistol and a 20-gauge shotgun.

He said the weapons belonged to Col. Bey, Capt. Wall Sool Hamah El and Lt. Jabil Ameen El, all listed at 1642 Newton St. nw. Lt. Sady said all three would appear at a hearing at 10 a.m. today in the Corporation Counsel's office.

Bey said that guards would remain on duty in and around SNCC headquarters. Asked if they would be armed, he replied that he was "running an army, and an army had better be prepared."

Bey said it was "tragically that black people are fighting each other," but warned that the SNCC "guards" were not "playing games."

"We are in a spot," Barry said, "if we do anything we get our guns taken. If we don't, we get killed."

Asked to analyze the motives of the Black Panthers if they really are the aggressors, Bey said the Panthers were engaged in a nationwide power struggle with SNCC.

He said that if the SNCC "guards" allowed the Panthers to take over, "they would gain tremendous strength in the ghettos of this country."

This account was assembled by Washington Post Staff Writer Robert F. Levey from reports by staff writers George Davis and Leon Dash.
By LeRoy Woodson Jr.—The Washington Post

Lt. Jubil Ameen El, left, and Lt. Rajan Muhammad El, members of the Black Man's Army of Liberation, guard the local SNCC headquarters after attack.

Colonel Bey, Barry and McKinnie, from left, charge that SNCC headquarters was attacked by Black Panthers.
WFO 100-41626

"The Washington Post" mentioned previously, contained an article on page P-4, dated September 11, 1968, stating that prosecution had been dropped in the shooting incident at SNCC headquarters involving the BVAL.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.
Prosecution Dropped in SNCC Case

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Federal prosecutor warned the Black Man's Volunteer Army of Liberation yesterday that the city "just will not tolerate" any attempt by private groups to usurp the protective duties of the police.

Joel D. Blackwell, chief assistant U.S. attorney, told officers of the Volunteer Army that he would not prosecute them for opening fire on Sunday during a reported attack on the Washington office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

But Blackwell said he would keep the three guns turned over to police investigating the incident by the Army's leader, Col. Hassan Jurii Ahmed Hay, and two of his assistants.

The three began shooting Sunday morning when violence broke out near the SNCC office for the third time in three days. Bullets and fire bombs struck the building.

"Nobody questions that it was self-defense," Blackwell said after a hearing on the incident. "Since you were there you had a right to defend yourself. But I question your right to be there."

He said it was the job of the police to give protection in such cases.

Hassan and his men acknowledged shooting "with serious intent" during the incident Sunday, firing from the SNCC office at 2208 14th St. nw into an apartment house at 1407 W St. nw.

They were there, Hassan said, to protect SNCC—a task he took reluctantly because "I saw a lone man being intimidated by a new kind of organization."

The "lone man" was local SNCC leader Lester McKinnie, who said earlier that he was called in Hassan for protection because members of a militant group known as the Black Panthers had demanded that he turn the office over to them. McKinnie was not at the hearing.

The Panthers, who are based in Oakland, Calif., have denied that they are active in Washington.

Some SNCC sources report that the attacks are part of an internal dispute over McKinnie's leadership.

Hassan was accompanied to the hearing by his attorney, Raymond Brownlow, and by five other members of his Army, clad in their uniform of black trousers, dark green tunics with tricolor patches on the shoulders, and black berets.

Hassan told Blackwell that McKinnie has "left town" and that the SNCC office has been abandoned because it cannot be defended. He said his men would heed Blackwell's warning against taking the law into their own hands.
II. [Redacted]

III. PROGRAM

Due to the fact the SNCC Office is now closed there is no SNCC program in WDC at the present time.

(10/25/68)

IV. INTERNAL DISSENTION

LESTER MC KINNIE, head of WDC SNCC, complained at the National SNCC Staff meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 11-14, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was conducting himself in a way which was detrimental to the SNCC organization in the District of Columbia. He stated that CARMICHAEL was exercising a disruptive influence in the affairs of the office and seemed almost intent on destroying SNCC in WDC.

MC KINNIE also said that newspaper accounts of CARMICHAEL and his wife buying a $70,000 house in WDC had resulted in many phone calls to the SNCC office from people who stated they would send no further contributions to SNCC since it was obvious SNCC did not need the money.
On August 21, 1968, the New York Office of SNCC announced that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had been "fired" from SNCC. Three reasons were cited for this action:

(1) Failure of CARMICHAEL to report to SNCC on the details of his personal life.

(2) Failure of CARMICHAEL to report on the details of activities in connection with SNCC, WDC.

(3) CARMICHAEL's threat to the SNCC leadership in WDC.

"The Washington Post", in an article on page B-1 of the September 20, 1968, issue carried a story entitled "SNCC Falters Without Carmichael", which set out information concerning an alliance and the subsequent split between SNCC and the Black Panther Party.

A copy of this article is attached herewith.
SNCC Falters Without Carmichael

By Robert Maynard
Washington Post Staff Writer

Stokely Carmichael’s departure from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has left the organization badly split nationally and almost nonexistent in Washington.

Carmichael, currently traveling in Africa, is now a high-ranking official (they call him Prime Minister) of the Oakland-based Black Panther Party.

SNCC is dead and Carmichael is alive and well in the Panthers,” one former colleague said recently in New York.

Coalitions and new allies they tried to avoid atances in the Black movement cannot be avoided anymore. The many games of ideological jockeying among the organizations are over; the ton you take carries ideological implications.

The Black United Front, the civil rights coalition Carmichael put together here in January on his return from a world tour, is also faltering, according to several members, one of whom explained it this way: “Black United Front is close to falling apart. The ide
THE WASHINGTON POST
SEPTEMBER 20, 1968
Page B-1

Michael, the Panthers and the Front emerged after interviews with a score of persons in Washington and across the country. However, the overwhelming majority of those interviewed requested that their identities remain undisclosed. Some felt that the black radical and nationalist movements are in the throes of a basic realignment and they did not wish to confuse the issues.

Others were frankly frightened. "When you get into stuff involving the Panthers, I think discretion is the better part of valor," a West Coast activist said. Well-armed and dressed in forbidding black leather jackets, the Panthers have cut out a place for themselves in several black communities as protectors and defenders of blacks.

They sprang from the abrasive situation between the Oakland Police Department and the black community, a situation that threatened trouble for years, a threat that was finally realized with the shooting last year of a policeman by one of the founders of the Panthers, Huey P. Newton.

Because of their urban genesis, the Panthers are a very different breed of activist from the Southern rural SNCC workers. A relatively young organization, the Black Panthers have developed a mighty reputation among radicals in the past three years. A major portion of that reput

See SNCC, B4, Col. 1
SNCC Falters as Stokely Quits

SNCC, From B1

At the July meeting, in an argument over whether SNCC would support a Panther program, the heated discussion resulted in Panthers drawing guns on Forman.

Julius Lester, a SNCC worker and author of "Look Out Whiskey, Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama," said in an article in the National Guardian:

"The shoot-out was averted, fortunately, but there was no doubt in the minds of any members of either organization that whatever merger or alliance may have existed was finished."

Carmichael had already cast his lot with the Panthers and moved completely into their organization after the July incident.

The actual announcement of his firing was a formality when it finally came late in August.

More recently, Washington SNCC was allegedly under sniper fire and again the talk turned to the Panthers as the culprits.

"From now on," said a friend of Carmichael, "whenever you see a black cat with a gun he's gonna be a Panther. This is ridiculous, black folks been shooting at each other since the Chinese discovered gunpowder, but all of a sudden nobody shoots but Panthers."

Whether from real or fancied danger, Lester McKinnie, who has been ordered to leave the SNCC office by friends of Carmichael, decided it would be wise to leave town for a short time.

Knowledgeable informants disagree on the question of Panther organization in Washington. Friends of McKinnie, the ousted Washington director, say Panthers are becoming active here, and Carmichael's closest associates say they are not.

A neutral observer, a minister, doubts there is any Panther organizing here and gives this reason, referring to Carmichael:

"He'd have been foolish to try to develop a Panther organization in Washington. First of all, there's no sentiment for it here, and secondly, it's too close to the Fed. They'd be busted in a minute."

Those claiming there are Panthers simply point to the fact that Carmichael's new organizational affiliation is the Black Panther Party. Some of his former SNCC followers, these sources reason, will go into whatever organization Carmichael goes into.

"For them," one former SNCC worker said. "The principal ideology is Stokely Carmichael."
V. PUBLICATIONS

Some literature handed out at the Washington Office of SNCC is as follows:

A mimeographed sheet captioned "Gestapo Police Strike Again," which contains inflammatory statements concerning the manner in which a Negro was shot and killed by a white policeman. The leaflet stated in the last paragraph that "continued Gestapo tactics of this nature will not be tolerated."

(7/18/63)

Another piece of literature which was distributed publicly by SNCC on July 23, 1968, was captioned "I'm Coming From A Black Thing" and announced a SNCC party planned for July 27, 1968.

(7/26/68)

Another piece of literature distributed by SNCC was captioned "Liberation School" which stated in effect that the staff of SNCC planned a summer school for the young children of Washington.

(7/26/68)
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 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.
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 BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

Headquarters of BPP is located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.
Title

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference

Report of SAS dated and captioned as above at Washington, D.C.

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

Review of pertinent information regarding the Washington, D.C., district office of SNCC does not disclose a basis for continuing investigation of COMINFIL SNCC as stipulated in the Manual of Instructions. WFO will continue to evaluate information concerning this organization and furnish same to the Atlanta Office.

A copy of this report has been furnished to the Baltimore Office for information since activity in behalf of the agency is reported.

Case has been: Pending over one year [ ], Pending prosecution over six months [ ], Pending [ ]

APPROVED: [Signature]

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE:

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency: [Redacted]

Date: 11/28/66

For: [Redacted]

Confidentiality: [Redacted]

NOTES:

[Redacted]
of Washington SNCC has been reported in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., in the past and also because of visits of GEORGE MEYERS to the Washington office of SNCC. MEYERS is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA and a Baltimore subject.

This report is classified "Secret" to protect In the absence of above, this report should be classified "Confidential" since information from could reasonably result in the identification of informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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Identification of GEORGE MEYERS
LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

will continue to evaluate information pertaining to COMINFIL 2NCC, and submit appropriate communications to the bureau and Atlanta.
DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH CPUSA

In March, 1966, the following name and address appeared on the current mailing list of the weekend edition of "The Worker":

SNCC
107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20010

3/14/66

31/32

33

a 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.
"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

The current Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area Telephone Directory lists the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) address as 107 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

"The Washington Post" and Times Herald, dated August 27, 1966, on page D16, reported under caption "DuBois Clubs Plan 2 Days of Rallies," an interview with HUGH FOWLER, identified in the article as Executive Secretary of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA). He said 1,000 members of the organization would attend rallies in Washington, D.C., and would camp out in Maryland's Patapsco State Park, using camping gear supplied by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

The DCA is described in the appendix.

Advised in June, 1965, that GEORGE REYLER is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and organizer of the southern region of the CPUSA.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
BY STICKLEY CARMICHSEL

published an article by KENNETH IKENBERRY, Star staff writer, captioned "Carmichael Hits Police, D.C. Power Structure." This article quoted STOKELY CARMICHAEL as commenting on Washington's voteless status as follows:

"I don't think black people ought to wait to get the vote, because you're waiting for the white man to give it to you and he's not about to do that.

"You ought to get together and tell the man that if you don't get the vote you're gonna burn down this city. Tell him, 'If we don't get the vote you're not gonna have a Washington, D.C.'"

The article reported that CARMICHAEL, national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, made above statements at a rally at 10th and U Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., on August 21, 1966.

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 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 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 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.
Title

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

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.