On February 23, 1968, there was an affair sponsored by "Freedomways" in honor of the DuBois Centennial Year at Carnegie Hall, New York City. One of the speakers at this affair was JAMES BALDWIN who stated that the United States is the only criminal in Vietnam. He criticized U. S. policies for being involved in Vietnam and called for the removal of U. S. troops. He stated that the U. S. Government is not spending enough money to help the ghettos.

NY T-8 March 6, 1968

Subject's attendance at the above affair was corroborated by the following sources: NY T-9 on February 26, 1968; NY T-10 on February 28, 1968; NY T-11 on February 27, 1968; and NY T-12 on March 1, 1968.

An article concerning this affair appeared in "The Worker" of March 3, 1968, Weekend Edition, on page 3. This article reflected subject spoke at the above affair. This article is as follows, in part:

for a film based on the life of Malcolm X, devoted his remarks largely to tracing and explaining the development of the black liberation struggle from its non-violent stage to the ghetto uprisings and to a defense of Stokely Carmichael.

"Baldwin warned that the hysteria whipped up by the government and press against Carmichael and black militants would incite racist violence against them. 'The mob got the message,' he noted.

"He pointed out that the vast expenditures for. the war in Vietnam as compared with the meager spending for the ghettos was an incitement to uprisings.

"He said it was an 'insult to ask us to believe the government is unable' to do more than it is doing.

"It is not unable to do it. It is merely unwilling to do it."



"Freedomways" in its spring 1968 edition, page 112, contained an article entitled "Letter to Americans" by subject, which a footnote stated had been read by subject at the DuBois Centennial Celebration at Carnegie Hall.

CONTRACTAL

This was a five-page article in which subject charged that the U. S. Government was unwilling to do anything to make the life of the black man better and that because of this black people have become more militant and are determined to better their lives even if it means destroying this country.

Subject attended a rally for MAX STANFORD which was sponsored by Black Women Enraged and Friends of the African-American Committee which was held at the Renaissance Ballroom, 7th Avenue and 137th Street, New York City, on March 17, 1968.

The purpose of this rally, which was in the nature of a rally and dance, was to provide bail money for MAX STANFORD who had been arrested on June 21, 1967, at New York City. In subject's talk he stated that MALCOLM X had been murdered by U. S. police agents in Harlem and that the Afro-American community had begun an uprising against racist cops in Watts, Chicago and Detroit.

NY T-13 March 18, 1968

"Muhammad Speaks" of May 24, 1968, on page 26, contained an article entitled "James Baldwin Joins Top Dignatiries In Support of Oakland's Black Panthers." This article was datelined Oakland, California, and reflected that noted author, JAMES BALDWIN, had joined a growing movement of prominent individuals supporting the struggle of Oakland's Black Panthers Party (BPP) in the face of recent intensified "attacks" against this militant group.

"The Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication which has suspended publication.



stated in part:

During July 1968, NY T-14 characterized "Muhammad Speaks" as the official publication of the NOI.

Characterizations of BPP and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which appears in this characterization, are in the Appendix.

The May 18, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" (See Appendix under BPP) on page 2 contained an article reflecting that JAMES BALDWIN, among others, had spoken at St. Augustine's Church, Oakland, California, on May 16, 1968. He discussed his role in the Black Liberation Movement. This article

"---Baldwin eased out early in the evening when he said, 'For a long time I did not know what to say to people younger than I. I didn't want to send a generation into the streets to die, but on the other hand, I didn't have the right to ask this generation to stay in its houses and be slaughtered; and those were the alternatives.' His vague position was in sharp contrast to the others who were very much together on what to do and how to do it."

"---James Baldwin noted, 'We have been in the ghetto for all these hundreds of years, simply because the man (thepig, Charlie, etc.) wanted us there. It was not because they thought my child could not read or write or that my daughter could not become a beautiful woman, it is because they knew very well that my son could read and write and my daughter could become a beautiful woman that it was very important (for them) to destroy in every black child's mind that possibility. This is the real crime; a greater crime than all the lynchings, bombing and burnings.'"

"---James Baldwin, in speaking of the Panther's said,'...Bobby (Seale) talked about going in the ghetto and dealing with the cats in the ghetto who say "I can dig it!; that is already a revolution...(and it's) the reason that the structure of this country is so frightened.' Baldwin also confessed, 'I'm not sure I'm a good revolutionary; I'm a writer in a revolutionary situation. I do what I do. I know what I have.' John Eckles felt that action



"was indicated, 'We must organize (like the Panthers) with them or alongside them.'"

"---Baldwin runs down how it is. 'The way a black cat gets into trouble, is not by saying anything really, all he has to do is walk around as though he thought he had a right to be on earth. From that moment, that black cat is a marked man...' 'What began years ago as a non-violent civil rights movement has transformed itself into what it has become today... through a record of assassinations which would shame (as Frederick Douglass would have put it) a nation of savages - and no culprit has yet been found.;..what's happening in this country is that the record is in; the bill is in and no one can any longer lie about the total.
...The force which was first released by black people in the country began to release energy in white people too.

"'Sacramento would not merely be worried about Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, it is worried about all those other kids who don't want to grow up to be like Ronald Reagan or LBJ or Hubert Humphrey or Doris Day. No tyranny,' he continues, 'is blind to the hint of insurrection.' He concludes, 'When I go, that is, the black man, then everybody else goes too; your're next.'"

The "New York Daily News" of July 8, 1968, page 18, column 2, contained an article entitled "Catholic Council Tie Put in Future Tense." This article was datelined Uppsala, Sweden, July 7 (AP) and stated in part:

"--Author JAMES BALDWIN told the delegates
'the church still has the power ...to amend racial
injustices' in South Africa, Southeast Asia and elsewhere.'
BALDWIN defended Black Power advocate STOKELY CARMICHAEL
saying he is not nearly as dangerous as the white people
in South Africa or the United States. 'If we have a future
we should tremble for all children as I tremble for all'
white children facing a time when the third world may settle a long
and bloody bill;' BALDWIN said.

It is noted that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is publicly known as the former National Chairman of SNCC.

The "New York Daily News" is a daily newspaper published in New York City.

APPENDIX

AMBRICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), of New England, held Party, United States of America (CPUSA), of New England, held Party, United States of America (CPUSA), of New England, held Party, United States of America (CPUSA), of New England, held Party, United States of America (CPUSA), which was englanded to the Was in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was in Boston, Massa

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CPUSA, at the 18th National Convention of the CPUSA, held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City

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

A fourth source reported on August 29, 1966, that AIMS issues a "Newsletter" every other month. This source also made available the information that AIMS issues publication and holds symposiums concerning Marxism.

A fifth source advised on May 9, 1967, that as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west of 20 West 30th Street, New York, New York.

CONTREMIAL

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BBP)
Also Known As
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 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 guerilla 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; a characterization of which is in this appendix.

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.

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APPENDIX

1,

COMMITTEE TO FREE MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon Morton Sobell,' the Rosenbergs' co-defendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the name, "Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell", first appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In August, 1966, the name "Committee To Free Morton Sobell" first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, published by the New York Telephone Company on March 20, 1967; lists the above Committee's address as 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

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1.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.

of State, Albany, New York, show that the Certificate of Incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Inc., was filed on March 2, 1961.

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

On May 25, 1961, a second source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CP, USA by JAMES JACKSON.

The First Quarter, 1967, issue of Freedomways", self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City, lists the following as its editorial staff:

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE, Associate Editor ESTHER JACKSON, Managing Editor J. H. O'DELL, Associate Managing Editor JOHN L. DEVINE, Art Editor

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

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

On March 16, 1966, the second source advised that JAMES JACKSON, accompanied by his wife, ESTHER JACKSON, was scheduled to depart on March 25, 1966, from the United States en route to Moscow to attend the 23rd Congress of the CP of the

CONFIDENTIAL 16-

APPENDIX

2.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC. (CONTINUED)

Soviet Union. This source described JAMES JACKSON as a member of the National Committee, CP, USA.

On July 26, 1966, a fourth source identified O'DELL as a member of the CP.

On January 30, 1961,

advised

that mentioned on December 17, 1960, that he was still in the CP and that the CP is his whole life.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described as a CP member.

A characterization of AIMS is set out separately.

COMPANIA

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MII)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 12, 1964, that publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that publicly announced the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, oriented by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporate under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM 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 MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Piverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.



APPENDIX

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 16, 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 8, 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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NY 100-1465

1

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 The scribed 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, the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization or "Temple" when 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 wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

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

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

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2

NATION OF ISLAM (CONTINUED)

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

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

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

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

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights", while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims 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.



2.

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 MMI and NOI are set out separately.

CONTRIBUTIAL

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APPENDIX

ı.

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 kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the captialist 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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-24

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.



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APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, Morth 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. RAPP 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, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people 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."

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ED STATES DEPARTMENT OF FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York 29 1958 York

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. NY 100-146553

Title

James Arthur Baldwin

Character

Security Matter - C

Reference

Report of SA 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.

> NY T-1 is another Government agency with investigative jurisdiction abroad.

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





July 29, 1968

NY 100-146553

Director United States Secret Service Department of the Treasury Washington, D. C. 20220

i dom	ngton, D. C. 2022
Dear	Sir: RE: James Arthur Baldwin
cover	The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be ed by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential prom, 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 inimical to U.S.
4.	U.S. citizens or residents who defect from the U.S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
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.
-	has been firmighed Depelored Die not available

Photography has been furnished enclosed is not may be available through. Very truly yours,

> John Edgar H Directo

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s(1) (RM) U. S. Secret Servicenew York, N.Y.

Enclosure(s)(1)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal for becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

COMPEDENTEAL

FD-122 (Rev. 2-21-68)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Director, FB (Bufile- 62-108763)

) DATE:

7/23/68

FROM

NEW YORK (100-146553)

SUBJECT:

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

SM - C

(CO: NEW YORK)

Corrected Security Index cards attagned. Substitute for cards in file and destroy old cards. Place photograph and description on reverse side of geographical cards

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SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-63822)

8/1/68 DATE:

FROM

Writer

SUBJECT:

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMIT (SNCC) ÌS - C

SOURCE

ACTIVITY

AGENT RECEIVED

6/27/68

LOCATION

Fund rais. affair for SNCC, fea.J. BALDWIN,6/27/68. (WR) 62-1670-1

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"Canoga Park June 27, 1968

"On the evening of May 29, 1968, the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC held a cocktail party at the home of

arrair was a fundraiser for L.A. SNCC.

"The black women of SNCC who acted as hostesses for this party wore long African style clothes.

"There were several young boys acting as guards who wore black sweatshirts bearing the letters SYC (SNCC Youth Corps).

"There were approximately 50 people who attended this Of these, only 12 were white. party.

"There was a live band conducted by FREDDIE HILL.

	• • • •					
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"JAMES BALDWIN, the guest speaker, didn't arrive until after 11 p.m.

"A Mr. CROOK, who is a staff worker at the L.A. SNCC office, told of some of the projects SNCC was working on. They were:

- "1. Liberation schools to 'unbrainwash' black people.
- "2. Establishing survival centers where food and aid can be obtained during a revolt. He said that during past 'revolts' aid was not immediately available to those involved in the action. They had to wait till Negro ministers and sympathetic groups collected what was needed and brought it to the area. This slowed down the revolt. These survival centers will be stocked ahead of time and will be prepared to give instant aid whenever the uprising or revolt happens.
- "3. Legal gun clubs are already underway. CROOK pointed out that if the police could teach housewifes and other white people how to shoot then the blacks had better be trained in the use of weapons to defend themselves.

"CROOK also brought out the fact the LASNCC has to raise \$250,000 bail money for 5 LA SNCC workers who were arrested in New Orleans. CROOK said these workers had gone there to attend the trial of H. RAPP BROWN.

"JAMES BALDWIN was then introduced. BALDWIN said he would not encourage his black brothers to go out & commit violence in the streets. Neither would he encourage them to stand by and let one of the brothers be hurt or killed. He warned his brothers not to be goaded into a fight on white man's soil and white men's terms. He said this could result in a whole generation of black activists being wiped out.

"He said the people of the U.S. must approve of what JOHNSON's doing or he wouldn't be able to do it. He said he

"wouldn't vote for anyone in the Republican or Democratic party.

"He knocked belief in God and Christianity. He called Christians hypocrits. He accused them of going to church by day and sinning by night. He said they were bigots and murderers. He said that blacks and whites were on a colision course.

"He said it was alright for PATRICK HENRY to say 'Give me liberty or Give me death' but it not alright for black people to say this now."

"He pointed out that American history books make big heroes out of those who fought the British to be free and indipendent. However, the black people are looked upon as evil when they fight for their rights and freedom.

"He mentioned that there probably was a CIA or FBI agent in the group attending this party but he didn't care. He said one can never be sure who one is associating with. Then he said that those attending this party couldn't even be sure of him.

"There were some questions from the floor after he finished speaking. One was asked by a lady from the Peace and Freedom Party who wanted to know what white people could do. He said they could work in their own white communities, but he went on to say that he thinks its too late that the Blacks & whites were on a colision course and he didn't think anything was really going to prevent it.

"CLARE REESE ALLEN then gave a pitch for money to help get the 5 SNCC workers out of jail. A basket was passed around to collect the money donated for this cause.

"The following were among those attending the meeting:

"BRUCE INGRAHM COLEEN and DON POOLE of Long Beach, SNCC. MARY SEIFERT, (also of Long Beach SNCC) and the Save Cabrillo Beach Committee HELEN CUNNINGHAM FERN CUNNINGHAM CAROL COLUMBO PAULINE SCHINDLER LENNIE REDMAN (phonetic) CINDY COHEN (with REDMAN) SAIDIA BOBBIE HODGES (female LA SNCC staff worker) JAMES BALDWIN FREDDIE HILL & his orchestra Mrs. SYLVANUS JONES (at whose home this fundraiser was held.) CLARE REESE ALLEN BROTHER CROOK and many other Negro men and women some with African names."

ACTION:

b7c-5570-2

Since JAMES BALDWIN maintains his regular residence in the New York City area a copy of this channelizing memorandum is being furnished to that division (NY file 100-146553; LA file 100-71381).

All other necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

SYLVANUS JONES
Mrs. SYLVANUS JONES
FREDDIE HILL
CLARE REESE ALLEN
COLEEN POOLE
DON POOLE
MARY SEIFERT
HELEN CUNNINGHAM
LENNIE REDMAN
CINDY COHEN

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

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."

APPENDIX

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1 - NY 100- (FREEDOM - PEACE PARTY) (42) 1 - NY 100-153751 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL) (43)

7/24/68

The financial situation of SNCC in NYC is in very bad shape, and the New York Office of SNCC is the wealthiest of all SNCC offices, including the National Headquarters in Atlanta. The SNCC account at the Amalgamated Bank, NYC, as of '/13/60, showed a balance of \$176.00. The financial situation is so critical that the resort trip by JAMES FORMAN and JOHN WILSON to California had to be paid out of funds they were able to borrow personally.

Funds in the past have been obtained by two fund raising mailings per year, which consisted of a letter soliciting funds in the name of a prominent Negro for SNCC. Some of the prominent Negroes who have loaned their signatures to such fund raising letters have been HARRY BELEFONTE, JAMES BALDWIN and HORACE MANN BOND. No fund raising ventures have been instituted for the year 1968, and none are planned for the immediate future.

As of 7/22/60, the bank account at the Amalgamated Bank, NYC, for the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union had a balance of \$27.00. The current shortage of donations is attributed to the fact all the liberal money, particularly anti-war money is being donated to the "MC CARTHY For President" campaign, and should he fail to get the nomination, it is felt it will again become available.

DONALD STONE is currently in charge of the Liberation School program of SNCC, and he has established one such school in Atlanta, and IRVING DAVIS, who actually works under STONE has formed a school at LIU, Brooklyn, NY. A chapter of SNCC reportedly has been formed in Elizabeth, NJ, however, little of this is known. This is not unusual, as there are many so-called chapters throughout the country, whose identity is unknown to many of the SNCC leadership, and are volunteer worker type groups, having nothing to do with SNCC policy making.

7/24/68

Currently the following individuals are working in the New York Office of SNCC:

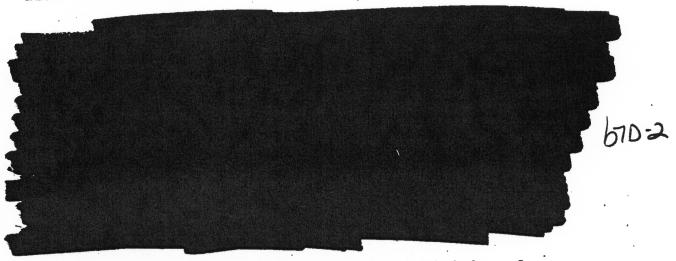
- JAMES FORMAN, Deputy Chairman and Director of International Affairs
- JOHN WILSON, Deputy Chairman and Director of National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)
- FRED MEELY, Protocal Officer
- JAMES LYTLE, Bookkeeper
- IRVING DAVIS, Organizer of Brooklyn, NY, SNCC
- WALTER REEVES, Assists WILSON in NBAWADU
- LAFAYETTE CHERNY, no assigned duties
- ADELE LNU, Clerical capacity
- FRAN BEALE, Part-time, Clerical
- MARY WAITE, Part-time, Clerical

H. RAP BROWN, although currently inactive in SNCC, does sit with the Central Committee by virtue of the fact he is a former National Chairman of SNCC He has expressed desire to become active again as an SNCC organizer in the Harlem area of NYC; however, he is curtailing any activity in this respect until the outcome of his appeal of his recent conviction in New Orleans is known.

SNCC leadership, both current and past has always been at odds with the Communist Party in the United States because it is regarded as not being revolutionary. SNCC has worked in the past with the Du Bois Clubs of America, in projects of general interest; such as the Madison Square Garden demonstrations in February and March, 1960. Neither Du Bois Clubs or the Communists have infiltrated SNCC, and no indications exist that they are attempting this.

7/24/68

Usually national officers of SNCC receive a subsistance-type salary and clerical workers receive token payments. The majority of the clerical help is done by female volunteers. Due to the acute shortage of operating capital of SNCC, such payments have not been made in the past few months. Presently, all liberal money is being donated to the MC CARTHY Presidential Campaign and it is anticipated that should MC CARTHY fail to win the nomination for President in August, 1968, a great deal of this money now being donated to him will go to SNCC. In the past, \$\epsilon\$ SNCC has raised funds from such liberal through circular type letters sent out over the signatures of such individuals as HARRY BELAFONTE, JAMES BALDWIN and HORACE MANN BOND. No such campaign has yet to be initiated for 1968, and SNCC presently has approximately 50,000 names on its mailing list.



The purpose of the International Division of SNCC, headed by JAMES FORMAN, is to build an alliance-type relationship between the Black Communities of Africa and United States, and build and promote African skills.

7/24/68

Reportedly, FORMAN maintains records pertaining to this and other SNCC operations at his home and does not leave them at the SNCC office, although when he brings them to the office, no effort is made to conceal them from other SNCC officials.

RAP BROWN is at odds with FORMAN because he feels FORMAN set him up for arrest when he talked BROWN into traveling to California in violation of his bond. STOKELY CARMICHAEL is critical of FORMAN because he feels FORMAN is too circumspect in dealing only with certain individuals of the Black Community and not exhibiting a concern for all Blacks. He is also critical because FORMAN has a white wife. He feels FORMAN should love all Blacks, not just certain ones.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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VIA AIR COURIER



To:

Director, FBI (157-8415 Sub 243)

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From:

Legat, Ottawa (157-27)

REFERT CHERA SAUMA OFFICERS

Subject:

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - CANADA

RM

Re Ottawa airtel 9-13-68.

Enclosed are the original and two copies together with the original and two copies of the enclosure thereto. This confirms my re airtel.

b7c-3

5 - Bureau (Enc. 6)

1 cc - Liaison Direct
1 cc - New York
1 - OTT
W.I. the

MLI:jhc (6)

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VIA AIR COURIER

To:

Director, FBI (157-8415 sub 243)

From:

Legat, Ottawa (157-27)(P)

Subject:

BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - CANADA

RACIAL MATTERS

Remy airtel 8-19-68, and mylet 9-9-68.

On 9-12-68.

referred to as enclosures b10-2

retters of o-13-00, and 9-4-08, forwarded as enclosures to referenced communications. He said the Congress of Black Writers is to be held at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec, 10/11-13/68, and information to date indicates the following are to attend:

Eldridge Cleaver
James Baldwin
Stokely Carmichael
Rene Depestre, a Haitian from Cuba
C. L. R. James, aka., C. L. Williams,
from London, England
Robert Abraham Henry Hill, from Jamaica
Leroi Jones
Richard Moore
Dr. Elder Poussint

According to there will be a definite Haitian involvement as playing a leading role in organizing the meeting. It the subject of BUfile 1010-3

is 570-18

said that unfortunately their sources for coverage of the forthcoming meeting are not at all adequate in Montreal and he said would welcome any assistance the Bureau might be able to offer.

It is recommended that the information re the congress be brought to the attention of appropriate offices and consideration be given to endeavoring to insufficient of appropriate of the side of the

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or more sources in attendance.

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LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, continue to follow BALDWIN's activities while in the Los Angeles area.

LA 100-71381

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, continue to follow BALDWIN's activities while in the Los Angeles area.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. 100-146553

OCT 30 1968

CLASSFIED BY DECEASIFY ON: 25X

James Baldwin Matters-Miscellaneous ALL THE PERMITTING CONTACTOR BUTY OF ACTIONAL MODER

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC39(77 APC32)

On September 12, 1968, a confidential source abroad advised that the Congress of Black Writers is to be held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, on October 11, to October 13, 1968, and that James Baldwin was to attend this Congress.

on October 8, 1968, NY T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a brochure showing the program for this Congress which included a list of the speakers for each day. The name James Baldwin did not appear in this program.

During October, 1968, sources familiar with subject were contacted but had no information concerning his attendance at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal, Canada.

On October 14, 1968, NY T-2, with whom contact has been insufficient to determine his reliability, advised that he was present for two of the four days of this Congress, and James Baldwin was not present. Source was present on October 12, and October 13, 1968.

On October 21, 1968, by means of a pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it was ascertained that subject resides at 137 West 71st Street, New York City, but he is frequently out of New York on business.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (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.

11-Bureau (62-108763)

1-Los Angeles

1-New York

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166 GC DIRECTOR, FBI (62-108763) SAC. NEW YORK (100-1465 5. CMCTACK 193 Mad DEKA SOURS MORAL. JAMES BALDWIN OTTERNIO LOS HEY CN: 25X 025/2/99 ReBuairtel, dated 9/25/68, captioned "LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP". Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 and for LA one copy of a self-explanatorymLHM on the subject. The character of this case has been changed from SM-C to RM-Miscellaneous as the latter character appears a more accurate reflection of the subject's activities. 67C-10 PUD.3 The confidential source abroad is reported in Legat, Ottawa letter dated 9/13/68, captioned "BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT-CANADA, RM". 157c-6 NY T-2 is NY T-1 is who was interviewed by SA bic-17 The pretext on 10/21/68, was a telephone call to posed as a subject's sister wherein SA O college student. b2 -1 Negative informants are: (Prob.), (Prob.) 670-2 This LHM is classified "Confidential" information was so classified. An information copy of this LHM is designated for LA as subject has been spending some time in that Division during 1968, while working on a screenplay. 2-Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM) 1) (RM) 1-Los Angeles (100-71381) V-New York searched 352 airtel

CONFIDENTIAL

To: SACs, San Francisco (100-55520) (Enclosure)

New York (100
(100-146553-James Baldwin)

Newark (100
WFO (100-43503-Stokely Carmichael) (Enclosure)

Director, FBI (100-447251)

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EXEMPT FROM CDS. CONTROL INTERFINITE

communication, except New York, is one copy of Legat, Ottawa, airtel dated 9/13/68, entitled "Black Nationalist Movement - Canada, Racial Matters," concerning the Congress of Black Writers which is to be held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, from October 11 - 13, 1968. Two copies of this Ottawa airtel are enclosed for New York.

information concerning the reported travel and attendance at this Congress by Cleaver. Submit the results by letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination to Newark, New York and WFO should similarly handle this matter for 67D-6 the subjects residing in your respective territories.

1- Legat, Ottawa

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FBI NEW YORK

COMFIDENTIAL

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco 50.3
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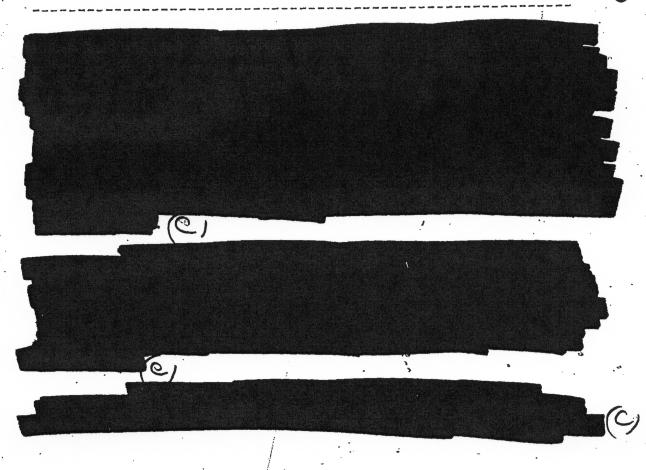
mentioned in Legat, Ottawa's, airtel, is believed to be possibly identical with a Reserve Index subject of your Office. This belief is based on his known employment as an author and lecturer an



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10 MAY 1932 EDITION GSA FPMR (AI CFR) 101-11.8 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PARREIN TO UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOW Lemorandum OTHERWISE 10/16/68 SAC/(105-73061) FIED BY AUC 39677-SAHIRC TO SIFY ON: 25X (#312) CA97-526 FROM POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE AND/OR COMMUNIST LINKS BETWEEN HARLEM AND AFRICA SUBJECT: IS - AFRICA Identity of Source Conceal by request) Contact with whom has been insufficient to determine Reliability reliability of information furnished 9/19, 21, 23/68 9/24/68 Dates of Activity. Date of Contact Description of Info (C) Agent Receiving Info (Orally) Original Location Classified by E -100--100--100: 1-25-1-105 -100-(PASOA) 1-105-56961 Ghana Activities in the US) -105-1-105-36204 1-105-31007 1-105-44247 Ghana Mission to the UN) SELECTED. (Mali Mission to the UN) SERIALIZED NUED PAGE 2 COPIES CONT FBI - NEW YORK PWH: kxb (20) 898 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

COPIES CONTINUED

1-157-892 (Racial Matters NY District) 1-105-40092 (African Activities in the US) 1-157-1966 (Foreign Influence in the Black. Nationalist Movement)



MAYA ANGELOU produced a series for TV that has been shown in California during this past summer. It is called "Black Blues Black". MAYA ANGELOU is about 6' tall and wears African dress. MAYA ANGELOU is presently married to a tribal chieftan named "NANA" NKITIAH 1 5. was assassinated, MAYA ANGELOU went about in Marlem picked up a 12 or 16 page booklet which was being distributed in Central Park at the memorial service for MARTIN LUTHER KING

which told American negroes how to prepare their families for revolution, what canned goods to store and how to protect

themselves at windows

900