



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
(SNCC)**

**PART 3 OF 14**

**BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 2-5**

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Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee  
(SNCC)

Section 2 of 19 sections

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>JACKSON</b>	Office of Origin <b>JACKSON</b>	Date <b>10/7/68</b>	Investigative Period <b>4/18 - 10/7/68</b>
Title of Case <b>BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE</b>		Report made by <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	Typed By <b>CCS</b>
		Character of Case <b>RM-SNCC</b>	

~~SECRET~~

## NON-PROSECUTIVE SUPPLEMENTAL SUMMARY

### REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice, dated 8/15/68.

- P -

### LEADS:

JACKSON

AT JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

**[REDACTED]**  
6

Approved <i>RKM</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below		
1 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - Secret Service, Jackson (RM) 2 - HIGp, Jackson (RM) 1 - USA, Jackson (RM)		100-439190-1975	REC-78	
1 - Jackson (157-9613) (1 - 100-186) (1 - 100-1072)		OCT 10 1968	EX 109	

AGENCY: ACSI, OS, OSI, SEC. SERV. (8/7/68, Bu let 8/15/68)

FOR: CRD, RAO, DIV, CRIM

EX: 22-68

100-439190

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**RACIAL INT. SEC.**

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- 1 - Memphis (157-100) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-47817) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-117333) (RM)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-11800) (RM)

\*\*\*\*\*

JW 157-9613

Identify all persons attending  
conf. on [redacted]

INTERAGENTS:

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	157-9613-11
[redacted]	Charter Committee of Political Action Committee (PAC)
[redacted]	District [redacted] MD

JN 157-9613

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-9613-33

[REDACTED]

157-9613-34

[REDACTED]

100-180-062

[REDACTED]

100-180-063

[REDACTED]

157-9613-35

[REDACTED]

157-9613-36

NEGATIVE IDENTIFIED :

Identity

Date

[REDACTED]

8/27/50  
8/28/50  
8/29/50  
8/31/50  
9/1/50

W 157-9613

The Detroit Office contacted established sources in the racial matter field regarding Black People Conference, 4/12-14/68, at Tougaloo, Mississippi, with negative results.

The Detroit Office also contacted local law enforcement agencies who also advised that they could furnish information concerning captioned matter.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified ~~confidential~~ because of information furnished by confidential informants ~~through~~ whose identity if revealed could compromise their future activities thereof.

Copies of this report are being furnished Atlanta, Cincinnati, Charlotte, Cleveland, Detroit, Jackson, Memphis, Newark, New York, and WFO Offices for information purposes in view of the fact these offices have received previous correspondence on captioned matter.

Copies of report being furnished USA, Jackson, Post Service, Jackson, and MIGp, Jackson, in view of the fact they have previously been furnished copies of communications.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

D\*  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
- 2 - HIGp, Jackson, Miss. (RM)
- 1 - USA, Jackson, Miss. (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]  
Date: 10/7/68

Office: JACKSON

Field Office File #: JN 157-9613

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI, APRIL 12-14, 1968, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: LOCAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Confidential informants advised Black Thought Conference held 4/12-14/68, Tougaloo College, Mississippi, was arranged by the Tougaloo Governing Association and Tougaloo Political Action Committee (TAPAC). Persons responsible for conference were HAROLD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENORA BREWER, members, Tougaloo College PAC, an affiliate of SNCC; the affair was held during Easter holidays when students were on Easter vacation. Confidential informants advise it is uncertain that Black Thought Conference sponsored by SNCC. Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised purpose of Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take an active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing committees adjacent to college campuses as well as persons on the campuses to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure". However, no specific plans were known to have been made at the time of the Defense Workshop to be undertaken in any general area or areas. [REDACTED] advised in August, 1968, that a number of Negro senior students at Lanier High School, Jackson, Miss., were invited to conference

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GROUP 1  
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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.

to stimulate interest in political affairs, however, the conference turned out to be more of a social event than a conference. Several confidential informants who are familiar with Black Nationalist activities in the United States were contacted in August and September, 1968, and all advised they could furnish no information concerning Black Thought Conference.

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DETAILS:

By letter dated August 7, 1968, Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, U. S. Department of Justice, requested the Director of the FBI to ascertain the names of individuals who planned, programmed, and instructed at the Defense Workshop of the Black Thought Conference which was held April 12-14, 1968, at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. The requested was to determine the purpose of the workshop, if workshop was sponsored by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and if this was an overall plan of possibly other black militant organizations to take over individual cities within the United States by force and violence by means of open warfare.

1. ARRANGEMENTS FOR BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE

On March 22, 1968, and April 8, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] respectively advised that notices were mailed to forty colleges advising that a conference of the Student Governing Association and the Political Action Committee (PAC) would be held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, on April 12-14, 1968.



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Sources advised persons responsible for this conference were HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENOPA BREWER.

On August 29, 1968, VARRIA JONES, [REDACTED] Pearl, Mississippi, advised that she is a member of the Political Action Committee (PAC) at Tougaloo College, Mississippi.

She stated that HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENOPA BREWER were instrumental in organizing the "Black Thought" Conference at Tougaloo in April, 1968.

On April 15, 1968, and September 25, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] respectively advised that the Tougaloo College Political Action Committee (PAC) is a student group committed to the struggle of psychological and physical liberation of black power. Sources advised that it is affiliated with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

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

On January 12, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC has no office or project in Mississippi. The SNCC contact in Mississippi is HOWARD SPENCER.

On September 27, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that concerning the Black Thought Session held at Tougaloo College on April 12 through April 14, 1968, was arranged by HOWARD SPENCER, LORETTA JOHNSON, and LENOPA BREWER. This affair was held during the Easter holidays so that students could attend this conference. However, the conference turned out to be primarily a social

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event and was a time of relaxation for Negro students similar to white students who migrate to Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Source stated HOWARD SPENCER graduated from Tougaloo College on May 26, 1968, and is no longer chairman of PAC.

On October 16, 1967, HOWARD SPENCER was interviewed in connection with a bombing matter investigation at which the following description was obtained:

Name	<u>HOWARD HERSCHELL SPENCER</u>
Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	May 25, 1945
Place of Birth	Eupora, Mississippi
Height	5'9"
Weight	145 pounds
Hair	Black (long) (wears mustache)
Eyes	Brown (wears sunglasses)
Marital Status	Single
Military Service	None
Selective Service Number	[REDACTED] (classified 1-A September 13, 1966, and states has appealed this classification)
Parents	Reverend and Mrs. W. B. SPENCER, [REDACTED] Atlanta, Georgia.

On August 21, 1968, LORETTA JOHNSON, [REDACTED], advised that she is [REDACTED]

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currently a student at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, and was a member of the Political Action Committee at Tougaloo College from 1966-1968.

The following is a physical description of LORETTA JOHNSON:

Name	<u>LORETTA (No Middle Name)</u> <u>X JOHNSON</u>
Race	Negro
Sex	Female
Date of Birth	<u>August 13, 1948</u>
Place of Birth	<u>Carroll County,</u> <u>Mississippi</u>
Height	<u>5'9½"</u>
Weight	137 pounds
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Scars and Marks	One inch scar under <u>Res. 119 OAK ST.</u> left eye <u>Greenwood, Miss.</u>
Arrest Record	Admitted to no arrest.

On September 5, 1968, LENORA BREWER, [REDACTED], advised that she is currently a member of PAC at Tougaloo College. The following is a physical description of LENORA BREWER obtained from observation and interview:

Name	<u>LENORA X BREWER</u>
Race	Negro
Sex	Female
Date of Birth	<u>April 23, 1948</u>
Place of Birth	<u>Leflore County,</u> <u>Mississippi</u>
Height	<u>5'2"</u>
Weight	93 pounds
Arrest Record	None admitted

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Education Presently a Junior at  
Tougaloo College,  
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Employment During summer of 1968  
was employed at the Addiction  
Services Agency, 325 Broadway,  
Room 425, New York City

Home Address [REDACTED]

Previous  
Addresses

While in New York City in  
summer of 1968, resided at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]; also resided  
at [REDACTED]

On September 26, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that during  
the Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, 1967-68  
school semester, PAC had 22 members.

On September 3, 1968, Confidential Informants  
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised that they do not recall  
officially that the Black Student Conference was  
called by the national headquarters of SNCC in Atlanta,  
Georgia, and in fact the calling of such a conference  
in a distant city would not be undertaken by the national  
headquarters of SNCC. Sources advised that the ordinary  
procedure for a conference of this type is for a group  
of students or interested individuals to meet a few  
days prior to the proposed conference in the area  
where the conference is to be held at which time they  
plan the agenda of the conference and subjects to be  
discussed in workshops.

[REDACTED] advised that he [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] believes that the conference was called  
by a group of students from either Jackson State College  
Tougaloo College, Jackson, Mississippi.

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In September, 1968, Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that although PHILIP HUTCHINGS, the National Chairman of SNCC, has made statements to the effect that SNCC would open chapters in various cities including Cleveland, Ohio, this plan has not been implemented to date.

Source stated that he has no information to indicate that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference held at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968.

On August 21 and August 23, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he doubted that SNCC sponsored the Black Thought Conference, Tougaloo, Mississippi, inasmuch as the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, a SNCC operated project, held its conference April 12-14, 1968, in New York City.

Source further advised that since GEORGE WARE attended the Black Thought Conference, he may have something to do with it since he was head of SNCC campus programs; however, WARE was suspended from SNCC because no one was aware of what he was doing.

II. INFORMATION CONCERNING DEFENSE WORKSHOP HELD AT BLACK THOUGHT CONFERENCE APRIL 12-14, 1968

On September 12, 1968, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised regarding the conference of Negro people, predominantly students, which took place at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, April 12-14, 1968. This conference had also been identified as "Black Thought." One of the workshops at this conference was a "Defense Workshop." The impression was gained that GEORGE WARE, a representative of the national organization of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) did more to set up, plan, program, as well as instruct, this workshop than anyone else. His title with SNCC at that time may have

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been Field Organizer. It was indicated that WARE had participated in activity sometime prior to this conference which had taken place at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. This activity had allegedly resulted in the closing of Tuskegee Institute.

Since WARE, a national representative of SNCC, spearheaded the Defense Workshop at Tougaloo College, it appears that it may be said that the national headquarters of SNCC directed and/or approved this workshop.

A second person, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from Tuskegee Institute, took a prominent part in the conduct of this workshop. He left the impression that he had participated in the prior activity that had closed Tuskegee Institute. His actual connection with Tuskegee Institute is unknown. Someone made a remark during the workshop to the effect that when the members of the Board of Regents at Tuskegee Institute were held hostage, the throat of them should have been cut before release of the hostages. It is believed this individual from Tuskegee Institute was the person who made this remark. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

A third party, Negro male, name unknown, who was indicated to be from a college in Tennessee, possibly Tennessee State College, also took a prominent part in the conduct of this Defense Workshop. It is believed this person may have stated or someone else stated of him that he had been in some sort of difficulty with his Selective Service Board regarding induction. He apparently was affiliated with SNCC.

Beyond the above three persons, it would be difficult to say who else, if any, were prominent

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in the conduct of the Defense Workshop. Others entered into the discussion from time to time.

Purpose of this Defense Workshop was to prepare those present to return to their respective areas where they could take an active part in a cooperative effort directed at organizing communities adjacent to college campuses, as well as persons on the campuses to work together for mutual defense against the "power structure." By this means, cooperating persons in a community adjacent to a college campus could create disturbance or disturbances which would divert law enforcement authorities away from already existing disturbance on the campus. This would tend to minimize effectiveness of the authorities in dealing with the campus disturbance. This pertained primarily to Negro or predominantly Negro colleges. A long-range objective is to get absolute black control in these colleges and remove them from state control of any kind.

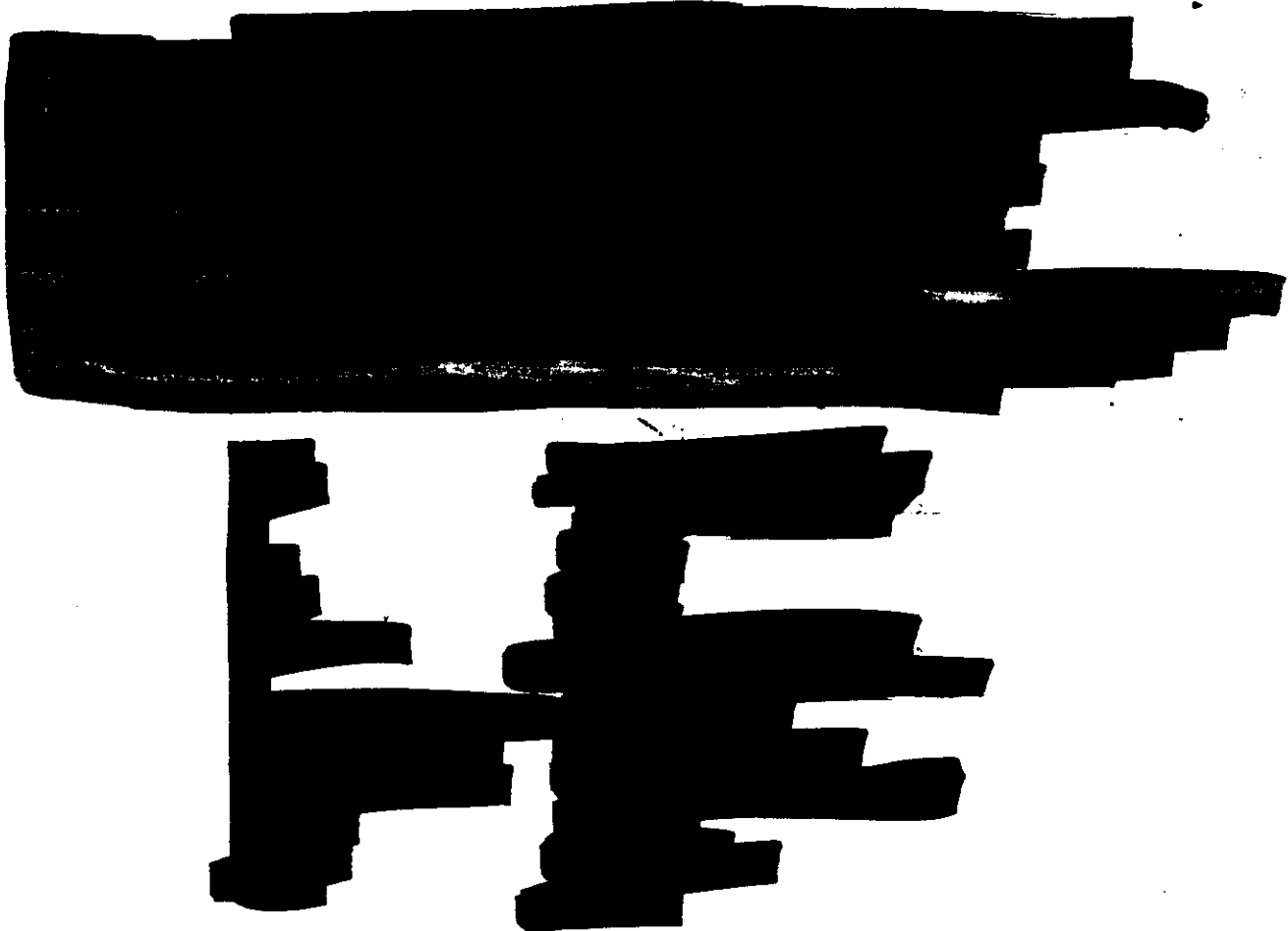
An overall objective is to work toward a breakdown of the power structure. All black students were urged to direct their efforts upon graduation toward promotion of black interests such as black control in black communities and against the power structure to include industry and political set-ups that support the U. S. war machine.

The number of people attending the Defense Workshop averaged about 15 to 20. The only black militant organization known to be represented was SNCC. It was a SNCC activity. A Negro male (first name unknown) BROWN of the national office of SNCC gave the keynote address to the general assembly of

JN 157-9613

persons attending the conference at the outset. He indicated he was speaking for JAMES FORDMAN, a national leader of SCLC. BROWN left the conference after this speech and was not observed to return thereafter.

Although it was clear at the Defense Workshop that it was desired these persons return to their respective areas and embark on the program discussed, no specific plans were known to be laid at the time of the Defense Workshop to be undertaken in any particular area or areas.





[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

III. AIMS, PURPOSE, AND PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE

On August 1, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he was invited to the Black Thought Session by [REDACTED] along with other senior students from Lanier High School, Jackson, Mississippi, and that this conference would be strictly a social affair.

He stated that students from Lanier High School, a predominately Negro school at Jackson, Mississippi, attended the Black Thought Session because it appeared to be the social event of the year.

On August 2, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that a group of students from Lanier High School, Jackson, Mississippi, had invited [REDACTED] to the Black Thought Session in order to obtain their interest in political activities. [REDACTED] Black Thought Conference stated that this was a social event rather than a conference.

[REDACTED] advised that a number of students from Lanier High School, Jackson, Mississippi, had been invited to the Black Thought Conference which was held at Jackson College, Mississippi, at the specific invitation of HAROLD SPENCER who advised the students that this would be an outstanding social event of the school year and that the students could expect to have a very good time.

OH 157- 410

[REDACTED] advised the following individuals  
who were either arrested or interviewed for the purpose of  
the investigation of the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

[REDACTED];

JN 157-7013

LEWIS, JOHN; ;

LEWIS, JOHN; ;

LEWIS, JOHN; ;

LEWIS, JOHN; ;

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Identical information is being furnished to all  
with direct or indirect activities in the United States  
were contacted on August 2 and 3, 1967, and all  
advised they could furnish no information concerning  
Black Thought Conference.

APPENDIX

1

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.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

2

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Jackson, Mississippi  
October 7, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE, TOUGALOO  
COLLEGE, TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI,  
APRIL 12-14, 1966, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and captioned as  
above.

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

Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee  
(SNCC)

Section 3 of 19 sections

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>BALTIMORE</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>2/23/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/29 - 2/21/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>jtk</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - SNCC</b>	

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68. <sup>100-439190-1688X</sup>  
 Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 1/23/68. ✓

- P\* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI CP, NISO and OSI, Baltimore, Maryland. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore Offices of SNCC.



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*100-439190-3-1612*

Case closed:  Yes  No; Pending prosecution over six months:  Yes  No

APPROVED: *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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12 FEB 27 1968

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Requested by	DEPT: ISD, CRD, <del>WFO</del> + <i>DDU</i>
Date	HOW FORW: <i>1/25</i>
How	DATE FORW: <i>2/23/68</i>
By	BY: <i>[Signature]</i>

Notations: *100-439190-3-1612*  
**RACIAL INT. SECT.**  
*0-7 to B.A. [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*



BA 100-23331

[REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of  
ROBERT B. MOORE

[REDACTED]

100-23331-192 and 195

[REDACTED]

100-23331-201

[REDACTED]

100-23331-216

BA 100-23331

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow the activity of SNCC.

C\*  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - NISO, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - OSI, Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: BALTIMORE  
Date: February 23, 1968

Field Office File #: BA 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY -  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- P\* -

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

[REDACTED]

*Robert Barber Moore*

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a Negro male who was born at Baltimore, Maryland, October 16, 1944.

[REDACTED] MOORE has been arrested several times in Maryland between 1963 and the present in connection with civil rights demonstrations. In 1965, [REDACTED] on a number of occasions identified MOORE as a staff member of the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). [REDACTED] in 1965 on a number of occasions furnished information reflecting that MOORE was active in the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

U-JOIN is the Baltimore community action arm of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Characterizations of SDS and the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam are appended hereto.

MOORE was arrested in Atlanta, Georgia on August 18, 1966 while participating in a demonstration at the United States Armed Forces Induction Center along with several other members of SNCC. [REDACTED] advised that in March, 1967, ROBERT MOORE was in training in the Research Department at SNCC headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia.

BA 100-23331

B. Officers

[REDACTED]

*Baltimore, Md*

WALTER LIVELY is a militant Negro civil rights leader who has been active in Baltimore for several years who was recently an unsuccessful candidate for the republican nomination to the Baltimore City Council and he has been identified publicly as Director and Organizer of U-JOIN.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

C. Objectives

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On January 6, 1968 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that SNCC intends to set up training schools in the Baltimore area similar to those that they have held in Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, D. C. These schools will, in all probability, concentrate on instruction concerning political matters, Negro history and self defense. The organization will also concentrate in putting forth a Negro candidate for political office and it is anticipated that WALTER LIVELY will probably be the principal candidate backed by SNCC. It is anticipated that SNCC's major political activities will be concentrated in the Second District of Baltimore City for the time being.

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968, carried a story under the by-line of STEPHEN J. LYNTON which stated that ROBERT B. MOORE, head of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, said that campaigns against crime in the streets of President JOHNSON and Mayor D'ALESANDRO of Baltimore mean "War on the black community." He charged that the Baltimore City Police Department is used to "Stifle the legitimate grievances" of the poor and stated "What's needed is community control of the police department by civilians. Black people should have a voice." He went on to characterize the police as the enemy of the black community and said if Mayor D'ALESANDRO is really concerned about crime they would create money that would filter down to the black community. He criticized the anti-poverty program and characterized the war on poverty as a "Token suggestion and a deception." He added, however, that it hasn't deceived many people and that the situation

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in the community is little different than it was four years ago.

On January 18, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] made available [REDACTED] report dated January 12, 1968 concerning a "Black power teach-in" which was held at Goucher College on that date. Among the speakers were ROBERT B. MOORE and JAN BAILEY. In his speech, MOORE stated that the United States does not love black people and now the black people are concerned with their own self-preservation. He said that the white people must analyse this country and find out what the problem is now. He concluded his talk by saying that trouble will erupt in Baltimore, Washington and New York.

JAN BAILEY followed Mr. MOORE as a speaker. BAILEY's first statement was "It is going to be a long hot summer." He then held up a match and stated "This is black power." He said that he will ask black soldiers to drop their rifles and return home from the war. He said that SNCC is teaching their young men to be strong, dedicated and disciplined, and in turn, to disrupt, dislocate and destroy the white man because he is our enemy. He said that if a white man touches you "Wipe him out." He said that Negroes should take care of the "honkies" wholly and completely. He said when the black men return from Vietnam we will start because we have no alternative but to use blood, horror and terror to gain our demands.

## II. ACTIVITIES

BA 100-23331

[REDACTED]

On January 18, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that he had received information that some person from Washington, D. C. has been visiting Baltimore and holding meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It appears that the purpose of these meetings is to organize teenagers in the area into a youth club. [REDACTED] made available literature which was distributed at these meetings. The literature was issued by SNCC and more fully described later in this report.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



BA 100-23331

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] concerning the Panther organization that this is apparently a recently organized group in the Baltimore area consisting of youths who are being advised by SELINA STEWART, a SNCC member who resides at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Activists, Inc. is a civil rights group formerly known as the Activists for Fair Housing. The members of this group are former members of Baltimore CORE who left CORE when the direction of that organization was taken over by staff members from the national office who formed the Baltimore Target City Project. INCITE is a small neighborhood organization from the predominantly Negro Cherry Hill section of Baltimore. Source had no information concerning the Afro-Asian Art School or LESTER VALLEY.

III. FINANCES

The Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper, on February 8, 1968 in the story concerning the interview with ROBERT B. MOORE, reflected that MOORE described the chief sources of SNCC funds in the Baltimore area as coming from contributions and sale of literature.

IV. PUBLICATIONS

On January 18, 1968, [REDACTED] made available literature which was distributed to teenagers who attend meetings at the Baltimore City Community Action Agency Neighborhood Center, 2013 Ashland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This literature is as follows:

1. A small blue pamphlet in English and Spanish captioned "Who are the real outlaws." It is a statement by H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC.

2. A pamphlet with a drawing of "Uncle Sam" captioned "Uncle Sam wants you Nigger." On the back of the pamphlet there is a statement which says "For help in avoiding the draft (legally) or for further information call Washington SNCC - 387-7445, 1234 U Street, N.W."

3. A mimeographed pamphlet with a drawing of H. RAP BROWN captioned "It's Beautiful to be Black - Black is Beautiful." This pamphlet is stamped at the bottom "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 107 Rhode Island, N.W., WDC 20001, 387-7445."

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The Evening Sun, a Baltimore daily newspaper on February 8, 1968 contained a story under the by-line of GEORGE ROGERS, date-lined Annapolis, which reflected that State Senator CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, III, a Negro, made an emotional speech on the floor of the State Senate, directed

BA 100-23331

against ROBERT B. MOORE of SNCC denouncing him for his published statement that the police are the enemy of the black community. The article reflects that Senator MITCHELL declared "I happen to be a part of that black community and I do not see efforts to curb crime as war on it." He said that MOORE is no spokesman for Baltimore Negroes and said "These voices of irresponsibility preach the same kind of hatred and bigotry that we have fought on the other side for so long." Senator MITCHELL further declared "There comes a time when people of responsibility should answer those of irresponsibility. To remain silent is to become party to what those people do."

The Evening Sun, on February 12, 1968, contained the story reflecting that Mrs. JUANITA JACKSON MITCHELL, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maryland, attacked SNCC members as "Merchants of hate and violence." She said that SNCC leaders are spouting "A red Chinese Communist line" with their calls for black power. The story reflected that at the NAACP Annual Brotherhood Conference, Mrs. MITCHELL warned the audience that SNCC is no longer a student group and no longer non-violent.

APPENDIX

BALTIMORE COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

On November 8, 1965, a source advised that the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam (BCEWV) was organized in Baltimore, Maryland, and that it is affiliated with the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam located in Madison, Wisconsin.

The source also advised, on the same date, that Herman M. Heyn, 5509 Bosworth Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, stated at that time that he was solely responsible for the organization, and that he, Heyn, had formed the BCEWV in order to protest the United States intervention in Vietnam.

On April 14, 1966, the same source advised that the BCEWV is under the domination and control of the "Spartacist Group" at Baltimore, Maryland. The same source also advised that A. Robert Kaufman is head of, and a member of, the Baltimore, Maryland Spartacist Group and has considerable influence in the committee.

There is no specific headquarters for the BCEWV. Business meetings are held in the homes of members. There is no formal membership.

The first source advised on November 1, 1967, and a second source on October 23, 1967, that the BCEWV has not held a meeting or sponsored an affair since November, 1966, and is defunct.

A source, on October 13, 1965, advised that he knew Herman Heyn to have been a Vice-President of the New Era Book Shop, Baltimore, Maryland, in 1964, and a subscriber to "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast communist newspaper.

APPENDIX

NEW ERA BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

On September 19, 1962, a source advised that the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, 101 West 22nd Street, Baltimore, Maryland, was organized by the Communist Party, Maryland - D. C. District, on July 30, 1962, with the sanction and financial backing of the Communist Party, USA. Its purpose is to sell communist literature and serve as a place where new Communist Party members might be recruited. The Book Shop is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, USA.

On May 22, 1967, a second source advised that since June, 1963, the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, has been located at 408 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It continues to be operated under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, USA. ROBERT LEE, Communist Party member, is managing the Book Shop.

APPENDIX

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL) Formerly

Known as the REVOLUTIONARY

COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A source advised on September 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 Hobbs, 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 (SL) at Chicago, Illinois, from September 3-5, 1966. On September 4, 1966, it was stated that the objective of the SL is 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" discloses it is published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Baltimore, Maryland

February 23, 1968

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Report of SA [REDACTED] at Baltimore dated February 23, 1968.

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 <b>BALTIMORE</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>5/24/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/9-24/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>cls</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>IS - SNCC</b>	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/23/68 at Baltimore.

-P\*-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI GP, NISO, OSI, Baltimore. A copy of the report is being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close cooperation between the Washington, D. C. and Baltimore offices of SNCC. The report also contains information concerning some of the individuals associated with SNCC in Washington, D. C.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED:

None A  
COVER PAGE

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

APPROVED  <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:		<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">21</div> <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">REC-40</div>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9 - Bureau (100-439190) (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>4 - 109th MI GP, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>1 - NISO, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>1 - OSI, Balt. (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>1 - WFO (Info) (100-41626) (REGIS. MAIL)</li> <li>1 - Baltimore (100-23331)</li> </ul>		<div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">MAY 28 1968</div>

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By

Notations

BA 100-23331

The information attributed to [REDACTED] was furnished confidentially and cannot be made public [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Instant report  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 100-23331-216,276,277,281  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 100-23331-276,277  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of SNCC.

B\*  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - NISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND  
Date: MAY 24, 1968  
Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190  
Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

Synopsis: The Baltimore office of SNCC is located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. ROBERT MOORE is director and BETTYJEAN MURPHY is treasurer. Information concerning individuals associated with SNCC set out. Activities of SNCC in connection with organizing of individuals and groups within the Negro community at Baltimore set forth. Informants report that in March 1968 the Baltimore office of SNCC was not receiving any subsistence from National SNCC. [REDACTED]

-P\*- OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is located at 432 East North Avenue.

[REDACTED] on May 21, 1968)

BA 100-23331  
FJW:cls/na

B. Officers and Staff

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

on May 20, [REDACTED]

A source advised that SHEILA LEWIS, LOIS WILLY, SELENE STEWART, and ANGEL MOSS do most of the work at the Baltimore Office of SNCC; and in the opinion of the informant, they should be considered staff members of SNCC in Baltimore. ANGEL MOSS appears to be regularly employed by SNCC.

[REDACTED] SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

on various dates  
between March 13 and  
May 21, 1968)

DORIS WILSON, who lives in Baltimore, is an SNCC field representative on the national level.

[REDACTED] SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

on March 29, 1968)

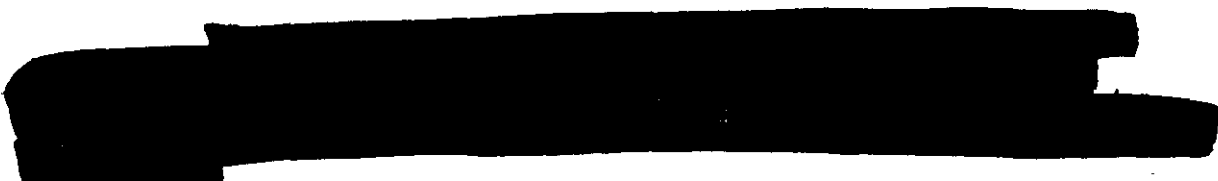
II. ACTIVITIES:

The Sun, a newspaper published daily at Baltimore, Maryland, on March 5, 1968, contained a story datelined March 4, 1968, at Cambridge, Maryland, which was captioned "Negro Militants Visit Cambridge." The article stated "For the last two Saturdays a group of Negro militants from Baltimore has come to Cambridge for strategy meetings on 'the coming spring offensive'--a proposed continuation of the civil disturbances which have plagued Cambridge since 1963." The story went on to say that Baltimore militants are from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), SNCC, the Civic Interest Group (CIG), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). It said that they met in Cambridge behind closed doors with the Cambridge Black Action Federation (CBAF). They declined to discuss what went on

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in the meetings which lasted for three or four hours each time, but they issued copies of a mimeographed "Free Black Press" calling for boycotts of white merchants and detailing what they feel are the injustices committed against the Negroes of Cambridge's second ward.

CORE and SCLC are nationally known civil rights organizations, both of which presently have offices in Baltimore. The CIG is a local Baltimore civil rights group which operates principally on the west side of Baltimore and has a limited membership. The CBAF is the local militant Negro organization in Cambridge, Maryland.



 on March 13, 1968)

On March 12, 1968, a meeting was held at the Baltimore Office of SNCC. More than twenty persons were present many of whom were students from Morgan State College (MSC), Baltimore, Maryland, a predominantly Negro institution. They were trying to get organized to conduct some sort of demonstrations. Several persons were elected as officers of the newly formed organization. They were as follows:

JACKIE GILES, President

FRED MASON, Vice President

JOHN CLARK, Treasurer

GLORIA WILDER, Secretary.

Other persons known to be present were individuals named MICHAEL GREEN, JAN BAILEY, BILLY WILLIAMS, DAVID MARTIN, and SAMUEL DAVIS. One student, who was called "BUTCH," argued about JACKIE GILES being elected president. He was described as a "very hot-headed young man." The meeting

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lasted from approximately 9:20 p.m. until 11:05 p.m. BOB MOORE left before the meeting started and SHEILA LEWIS also did not attend the meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting it was stated that they would meet on the following Tuesday.

[REDACTED] on March 13, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on March 14, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on March 14, 1968)

On March 14, 1968, a small group of women met at SNCC Headquarters, and some of the Morgan students again met at SNCC Headquarters.

[REDACTED] on March 18, 1968)

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The SAAS will meet in Holmes Hall at MSC at 8:30 p.m. on March 21, 1968.

[REDACTED] on March 20, 1968)

Beginning at about 1:00 p.m., March 20, 1968, DANIEL GANT, Director of the CORE Target City Project; WALTER LIVELY, Executive Director of the Urban Coalition and a former organizer for the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN); ROBERT MOORE of SNCC; and JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., used a room in the Student Union Building at MSC to speak to students. Their talks lasted until approximately 4:00 p.m. and dealt with events that had occurred on a college campus at Orangeburg, South Carolina, during a riot at that institution. The talks also dealt with the necessity for more courses at MSC dealing with Negro culture and history. After leaving the MSC campus the same group went to Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, and spoke for approximately an hour on the same topics. Coppin State College is also a predominantly Negro college.

[REDACTED] on March 21, 1968)

During the afternoon hours on March 21, 1968, approximately 200 students conducted a demonstration at MSC in support of Howard University students who were then on strike in Washington, D. C. The president of MSC met with the students and cancelled all classes for March 22, 1968.

[REDACTED] on March 21, 1968)

The demonstration at MSC was led by members of the newly formed SAAS.

[REDACTED] on March 21, 1968)

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On the evening of March 21, 1968, a meeting attended by approximately 400 MSC students was held in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, from approximately 8:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. This meeting was not sanctioned or approved by the school administration. No faculty or press were permitted to attend the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up demands to be made on the MSC administration.

[REDACTED] on March 21, 1968)

On March 22, 1968, Dr. MARTIN JENKINS, president of MSC, attended a scheduled meeting of faculty and students on the MSC campus during the afternoon hours. At this meeting a list of grievances was presented to the administration.

[REDACTED] on March 22,  
1968)

At the meeting at MSC on March 22, 1968, members of the SAAS barred the door of the meeting and would not permit news men to enter despite the fact that the president of MSC had invited news men to be present.

(Baltimore Evening Sun,  
March 22, 1968)

On March 28, 1968, a meeting of the Human Rights Club was held at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, between 7:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Approximately 52 persons attended this meeting which dealt with opposition to the Selective Service draft. JAN BAILEY of SNCC, Washington, D. C., was at this meeting. BAILEY is said to belong to a black anti-draft union, and he will organize six groups at various colleges in this general area of the country.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

W.A.S.P.

[REDACTED] on March 29, 1968)

Approximately 200 students met in Room 100, Holmes Hall, MSC, on the evening of March 28, 1968. Some of them were heard to speak of burning the school down because of inferior building and inadequate facilities. The hard core of the meeting consisted of about 20 students who are members of the newly organized SAAS. JAN BAILEY of Washington



BA 100-23331

SNCC also attended this meeting, and he suggested that students take over the Administration Building and telephone switchboard and shut down the school completely. The meeting did not end until sometime after midnight. BAILEY's suggestion was given to a committee of 12 to decide what action should be taken.

[REDACTED] on March 29, 1968)

On March 30, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Baltimore Director of SNCC, filled a speaking engagement at Delaware State College as a substitute for CLEVELAND SELLERS of SNCC, who was originally scheduled to speak. MOORE gave a talk on the meaning of SNCC and how SNCC activities should be organized. He is believed to have received \$150 for this speech. MLJ

OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] on April 2, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on April 6, 1968)

[REDACTED]

Sometime around 4:30 to 5:00 p.m. on April 6, 1968, civil disturbances broke out in Baltimore on the near east side. These disturbances continued through April 11, 1968, and resulted in the subsequent mobilization of the State Police, Maryland National Guard, and Federal troops).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on April 11, 1968)

SELENE STEWART has also organized and tutors a group of about 25 young boys called the Panthers. An informant has heard that JAN BAILEY and LESTER MC KINNIE, both of the Washington office of SNCC, had worked with this group called the Panthers about one time a week during the months of January and February 1968.

[REDACTED]

CS. SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] on April 11, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE, Director of Baltimore SNCC, and LORIS WILSON attended the First National Conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union held at the Diplomat Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York, New York, April 12-14, 1968. JAN BAILEY of Washington and BOB MOORE were designated as regional chairmen for Baltimore and other areas. STOKELY CARMICHAEL gave a fiery speech on April 12, 1968, in which among other things he said that "we" should destroy everything American.

[REDACTED] on April 16, 1968)

On May 14, 1968, a panel discussion was held at the Grace Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic of the discussion was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." Included as members of the panel were ROBERT MOORE and CLARENCE DAVIS. In his statement, MOORE said that America is built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor. He said that present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. America moves ever closer to committing genocide on black Americans. American society represents institutionalized racism. School systems are run by white people, Negro housing is substandard, and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in black neighborhoods, they do not stop crimes against black people.

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The remarks of CLARENCE DAVIS followed the same pattern as those of MOORE concerning genocide and institutionalized racism. DAVIS said that he belongs to several groups at MSC and most of his friends think as he does--that there are no good white folks except maybe in the graveyard. He closed his remarks by saying "You call yourselves liberals. It's all right for you to consider yourselves liberal about my freedom, but I'm a fanatic about it."

[REDACTED] on May 16, 1968)

### III. FINANCES

The SNCC organization in Baltimore is in such poor financial shape that they are selling SCLC informational posters for \$2 apiece to raise money.

[REDACTED] on March 27, 1968)

[REDACTED] on May 20, 1968)

### IV. PUBLICATIONS

Some pamphlets handed out at the Baltimore office of SNCC are as follows:

One is a mimeographed sheet captioned "A Letter From Prison From H. RAP BROWN." It is purportedly dated at the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 21, 1968, which urges black people to fight for liberation. One sentence states "May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country." The last paragraph

states in effect, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you...then here is my life."

The second pamphlet is one captioned "An Act Beyond Murder." This pamphlet tells that in South Africa on March 21, 1960, about 3,000 blacks who were demonstrating were fired on and 85 black people were killed. Hundreds of others were shot. The pamphlet then goes on to liken incidents which occurred at Orangeburg, South Carolina, and in Mississippi, Alabama, and Washington, D. C., to the incident which occurred in South Africa. The pamphlet urges people to attend the rally at Howard University on March 21, 1968, for a march and demonstration to the South African Embassy.

A third piece of literature was a petition to Governor SPIRO T. AGNEW, Annapolis, Maryland, which demands that the Governor take immediate steps to correct the mistake the state made in "hastily and unjustly bringing charges of inciting to riot and arson against H. RAP BROWN."

██████████ on March 21, 1968)

V. MISCELLANEOUS

LOUIS PRICE, who has been associated with SNCC in Baltimore, is charged by the Baltimore City Police for inciting to riot; and he is still in jail following the civil disorders that took place in Baltimore, April 6-11, 1968, after the death of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. There was some talk of SNCC organizing a demonstration during the trial of PRICE.

██████████ on April 25, 1968)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

May 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title                   STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING  
                          COMMITTEE

Character               INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT  
                          NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference               Baltimore report of SA [REDACTED]  
                          [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.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>BALTIMORE</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>8/28/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>8/21-28/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>jme</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS - SNCC</b>	

REFERENCES:

Baltimore report of SA [REDACTED], 5/24/68. *JM*

- P\* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 109th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore. Copy is also being furnished to WFO for information in view of the fact that there is close contact between the Baltimore and Washington, D. C., offices of SNCC.

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS		
						PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: <i>11</i>  SEE COVER PAGE B  2 - Baltimore (100-23331)	REC 37  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">                     22 SEP 3 1968                 </div>

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	

**61 SEP 11 1968**

**RACIAL INT. SECT.**  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967 O-273-877

BA 100-23331

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- 2 - Baltimore

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This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

INFORMANTS:

Informants

Location

[REDACTED]	Instant Report
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-23331, 394, and 395
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-23331-348, 374, and 389
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-23331-383-384
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

B  
COVER PAGE



BA 100-23331

100-23331-434 and 435

LEADS:

BALTIMORE DIVISION

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities  
of SNCC.

C\*  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: ① - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
4 - 109th MI Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - NISC, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: BALTIMORE  
Date: August 28, 1968  
Field Office File #: 100-23331 Bureau File #: 100-439190  
Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

Synopsis: ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore  
Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore,  
Maryland. Informants have furnished information reflecting  
that MOORE has had close association with the Soul School at  
Baltimore, Maryland, and has indicated an intention of opening  
up black book stores and liberation schools in the Baltimore  
area; however, these plans have not been put into effect.

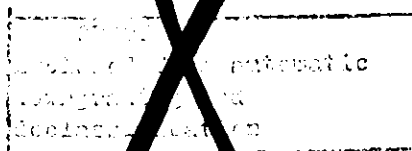
[REDACTED]  
Literature distributed by SNCC  
or under the SNCC name attached.

- P\* -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE



A. Headquarters

The Headquarters of SNCC in Baltimore, Maryland, is still located at 432 East North Avenue.

[REDACTED] on February 26, 1968)

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be the Director of SNCC in Baltimore.

[REDACTED] on February 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[REDACTED] on June 25, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on July 15, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on July 19, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

BA 100-23331

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC, appeared as a panelist on a panel discussion held at the Grace Methodist Church, Charles Street and Belvedere Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. The topic was "Tell It Like It Is In Baltimore." During this discussion MOORE stated that America was built on genocide of the Indian and black slave labor and has a history of mistreating black people. He said that the present day rebellions are the result of 400 years of oppression and racism in America. He said that American society represents "institutionalized racism". He said that the school systems are run by white people; Negro housing is sub-standard; and police departments employ people who brutally attack black people. He said that although there are more police in the black neighborhoods they do not try to stop crimes against black people.

[REDACTED] on May 16, 1968)

On May 19, 1968, between 5:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. about 150 persons visited the Soul School at 522 North Fremont Avenue for the purpose of observing an African style wedding ceremony and to participate in the festivities at the school. The groom in this particular ceremony was ROBERT MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, and the bride was SHEILA LEWIS, who has been frequently seen at the SNCC office.

[REDACTED] on May 22, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 3, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 16, 1968)

On June 7, 1968, a meeting was held in the auditorium of the Northwestern High School located at Park Heights Avenue and Fallstaff Road. This meeting was attended by approximately 100 to 150 students, and it was addressed by ROBERT MOORE, Chairman of the Baltimore Chapter of SNCC, YUSEF KARRIEM (JAMES ARCHIE BOWLING) of the CORE Target City Project, and LEO ROBERTS of CORE. The program also included the playing of a record of a speech of MALCOLM X which invoked black action against the white man including violence. After the morning session of this meeting and during the luncheon period Major WILLIAM HARRIS of the Community Relations Division of the Baltimore Police Department appeared at the auditorium and ordered all individuals who were not students to leave. After calling the police a few names, the above mentioned individuals left the school. The student group continued the meeting and discussed problems of Negro students in the Baltimore School System.

[REDACTED] on June 13, 1968)

BOB MOORE said that the SNCC in Baltimore was working closely with the Soul School which is located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

[REDACTED] on July 10, 1968)

A pamphlet called "The Black Liberator", put out by the Soul School under date of June 21, 1968, which was furnished by confidential informant [REDACTED] on July 19, 1968, states: "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education

and action. It is composed of a Board of Directors and several work shops or committees. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

[REDACTED] advised on July 10, 1968, that ALI (LESTER VALLEY), a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and overthrow the "system". He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

[REDACTED] the Baltimore Office of SNCC is planning to open a book store which will deal entirely with the dissemination of black literature. The purpose of the book store is twofold:

(1) It will make available to the black community in Baltimore black literature and information not available through the white mass media or through existing book stores in the area.

(2) The book store will provide needed revenue for SNCC staff members in the Baltimore area.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on July 15, 1968)

BOE MOORE, Director of SNCC in Baltimore, attempted to start a coalition of civil rights groups in the Baltimore area; but the coalition was unsuccessful because of personality conflicts between the leaders of the various civil rights

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groups. This was MOORE's attempt to start a front like the Black United Front. The Black United Front was an idea, name included, which originated with STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The purpose was to develop a black shield for all black people and their organizations. Initially CARMICHAEL wanted it to be a coordinating body. It appears, however, that the front became a moving arm of revolution instead, involving many persons who belonged to no other group but who are clearly militant.

[REDACTED] on July 17, 1968)

ROBERT MOORE has stated that he wants to set up what are known as "liberation schools". These schools would operate on the same principle as does the Soul School in Baltimore. These schools would teach revolutionary tactics and methods. It is MOORE's idea that the money to set up these schools would come from profits made from the proposed book stores which MOORE intends to set up. Because the book stores have not yet been set up no Baltimore liberation school has been set up by MOORE to the best of the informant's knowledge.

[REDACTED] on July 17, 1968)

III. FINANCES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on August 23, 1968)

[REDACTED]

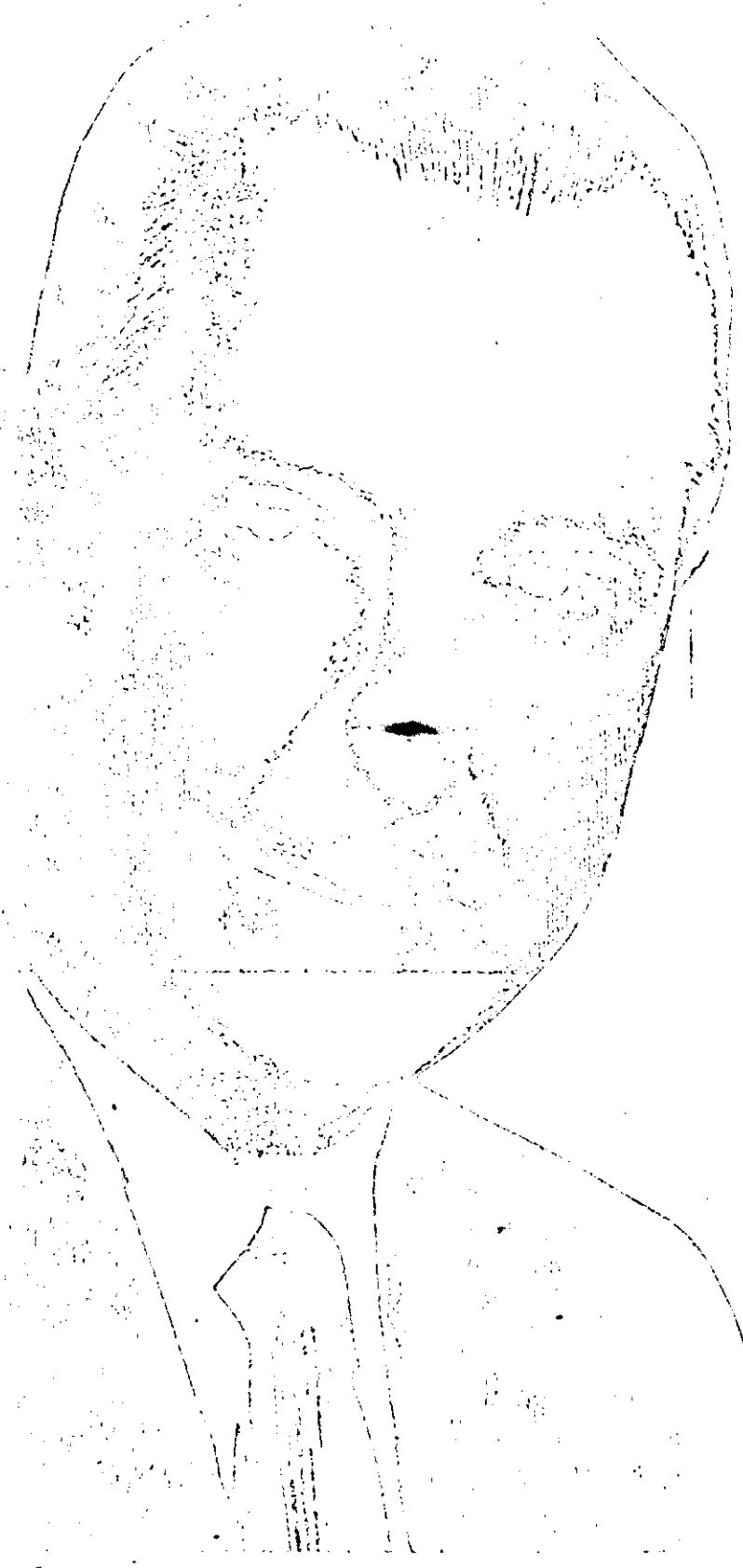
IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

On May 16, 1968, ROBERT MOORE passed out a leaflet captioned, "Our Fight is at Home", put out by NBAWADU.

[REDACTED] on May 17, 1968)

On August 16, 1968, confidential informant [REDACTED] furnished copies of three pieces of literature which he received [REDACTED] on August 12, 1968. Copies of this literature follow.





Agnew says,

"... KILL  
A LOOTER  
OVER A PAIR  
OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally exploited the civil rights struggle to further his own ambitions.

Agnew has openly appealed for the racist vote by insulting and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He framed Rep Brown to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin Kings assassination he was arresting 200 Bowie College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, "... kill a looter over a pair of shoes, "

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our hams and elect our own political leaders.

Organize people in your  
block so that you can defend  
yourself against the police!

GET A GUN !!!

BLACK PEOPLE AND THEIR ENEMY

In every black neighborhood in this city you will find mad-dog policeman ready to shoot and kill one of the members of your community at the drop of a hat. Whenever a condition like this exist it needs to be taken seriously. Who will be killed next? Your brother? Your Mother? Your sister? Whenever you have an enemy right in your neighborhood, everyone in that neighborhood is in danger of losing his or her life.

The best way to prevent this is for the people in that community to organize themselves and plan ways to attack that enemy. Its either one of your friends dead or a police dead. Take your pick. I am sure you would prefer seeing those honky police lying on the ground. You know what you have to do!

Its Justifiable Homicide!

# COPS AND RACIST ON THE RAMPAGE

WHO WILL PROTECT US IF WE DO NOT  
PROTECT OURSELVES?

OVER THE WEEKEND, RACIST COPS  
KILLED AN 18 YEAR OLD BROTHER AND  
WOUNDED A 14 YEAR OLD BROTHER.

ALSO OVER THE WEEKEND WHITE CIVIL  
RIDING THROUGH THE BLACK COMMUNITY  
AND WOUNDED A BROTHER AND A SISTER  
IT COULD HAVE BEEN YOUR SISTER, YOUR  
MOTHER, OR YOUR GIRLFRIEND.

WHO WILL PROTECT OUR WOMEN

ARM YOURSELF  
OR

HARM YOURSELF

BA 100-23331

Confidential informant [REDACTED] on August 20, 1968, advised that on August 17, 1968, the Scul School sponsored a Black Arts Festival which was held on the playground of the Harlem Park Junior High School. Throughout the day crowds ranging up to about 400 were entertained by various musical groups playing music for the most part associated with African culture. During the festival three pieces of literature having to do with SNCC were distributed. This literature consisted of a "Baltimore SNCC Newsletter" dated August 19, 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "It's Beautiful to be Black. Black is Beautiful", and "Racism and Revolution". Copies of this literature follows.

# ASINOC

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Price 5¢

"THE VOICE OF REVOLUTION!"  
Vol. 1, No. 1 SNOC Black Community Newspaper AUGUST 1968

# PIGS ON RAMPAGE

TSCHABA ZULU ARRESTED

In the time of the black struggle for freedom, justice, and equality, the oppression of the Established Order and his agents becomes fiercer by the day. All over the country, these destroyers of humanity are striking at the souls of black people. However, there are those among us who think things are getting better because a few reforms have been made. To dispel these illusions of our plight, the following are instances of clear cases of repression and harassment.

On Monday, August 5, 1968, a young brother boarded a No. 37 bus parked Cleary Hill without any change. The brother thought the bus driver would be human enough to allow him to ride since it was about 2 a.m. but the driver thought more about getting his boss's 25¢ than the welfare of another human.

Therefore, upon making his decision, this stooge signalled the cops. The racist cops (pigs) boarded the bus at Washington Blvd. and Greene Streets. Three cops removed the scope from their guns. They decided that

These racist pigs poured upon the brother by squirting Mace in his face and dragging him bodily off the bus. However, this was not enough to satisfy the lust of these pigs.

As soon as they got the brother off the bus and simultaneously receiving thirteen reinforcements, the pigs really went in to their thing. They stamped the brother in the chest, choked him, shackled his legs and wrists, and like an animal carried him off to Danfel's Den (jail).

However, this incident is nothing peculiar for this same type of harassment occurs everyday in the black community:

On August 6, the pigs attacked brother Tschaba Zulu and Tabu, another brother, on Lafayette Street. Tschaba Zulu was sitting beside the door steps to his home waiting to go for target shooting. Tschaba Zulu came out of his house and sat down in a chair and set a closed gun case behind him up against the wall. The

The pigs tried to break in the house but Techka Zulu would not let them and gave the gun case to Tabu. Tabu climbed the gun case (with the gun inside it) into the house; the pigs followed. One pig grabbed Techka Zulu by the handkerchief which was strapped across Techka Zulu's chest. Techka Zulu showed him away and went to Tabu's assistance. Inside Techka Zulu's house, which these pigs entered without legal provocation or warrant, Techka Zulu and Tabu were arrested.

Techka Zulu and Tabu had a hearing the next day. The racist judge set a bail of \$15,000 for the brothers—\$5,000 a piece for possession of deadly weapons and \$25 hundred a piece for assault by shooting. It is very clear that these are trumped-up charges for racial persecution.

Agnew has already appeared for the first time by denouncing and harassing the leaders of the Black community.

Agnew was supposed to be "the lesser evil", but he turned out not only to be a racist but a two-faced opportunist. He caused Ray Brown to put himself in the national spotlight. On the eve of Martin King's assassination he was arresting 200 Bowdoin College students. This July he told a group of Greek youth, ". . . kill a looter over a pair of shoes."

We had better wake up and stop marching to the polls and voting for "the lesser evil". We better get off our heels and elect our own political leaders.

ARM YOURSELF  
OR  
MARCH YOURSELF

Agnew says,

" . . . KILL  
A LOOTER  
OVER A PAIR  
OF SHOES"

Agnew was elected governor by Black voters, but he has brutally opposed the civil rights struggle and his own ambitions.

#### Education - Community Schools

In a period of three or four months, there has been much discussion or controversy surrounding the concept of community schools. The discussion was stimulated by reactionaries and conservatives who had ulterior motives and interests which would come into danger with the success of a viable community school program. These reactionaries—city and school administrators—have implemented a pattern of obstructionism and subversion against the School-Community Relations program since the summer of 1967. They have refused to provide strong and continuous support for the community school program.

It would be beneficial for us to understand the reasons for the reaction to educational progress in a school system whose student population is 70% Black. Dr. Kenneth R. Child, the psychologist, says the American society is willing

Clark is a scathingly sparkling  
against the article—"What is good  
of the ghetto, is good for the  
under." That is, the needs of  
black students are very different from  
those of whites. And the school  
system must adjust to this need and  
quality.

We can isolate three of the  
main reasons for the public schools  
failure to meet the needs of black  
students.

- (1) The school is an alien  
institution in the lives  
of black students and  
parents of the black  
community and there is  
no true participation  
from the community.
- (2) Learning is based on the  
development of operational  
skills which do not  
rely on the experience  
and the interests of black  
students.
- (3) Discipline is based on  
rules that are not ap-  
plicable to the situation  
that exist within the  
black community.

The solution to assuring that  
black children get a decent education,  
is Black control of the school  
system. We must not allow white  
people to determine what kind of  
education our children will re-  
ceive. We must assume responsibility  
for the education of our children  
because we best understand what the  
needs of our children are. The  
reason the community schools program  
was constructed so much, was because  
the people who run the school system  
knew that they would lose some of  
their control. If the community  
schools program is set up properly,  
it would allow for more participation

of black parents, students and  
teachers in the public  
schools. This is what the white  
powers-to be fear.

The reaction in this country is  
constantly on the rampage, striking  
at the minds and hearts of our chil-  
dren. The reactionaries and con-  
servatives seek to remove the tools  
from the hands of blacks everytime  
they try to help themselves. Always  
trying to keep blacks dependent and  
begging.

The city administrators cut  
the budget drastically for the  
community school program from \$4  
million to about \$800 thousand.  
A figure which is lower per school  
than the previous year. They do  
this to a program which would  
eliminate a school system which is  
a "Disgrace to the community and  
a tragedy to the thousands of young  
men and women whom we compel to sit  
in the "schools."

Another aspect of the school  
system which must be negated is  
the bureaucracy. Dr. Clark accuses  
the "white control boards of educa-  
tion, the entrenched educational  
bureaucrats, principals and super-  
intendants" for hampering the pro-  
gress and improvement of the educa-  
tion of black students. The psychol-  
ogist calls for strengthening of  
schools in the black community  
through decentralization of boards of  
education. This idea is being and  
has been implemented and introduced  
within community schools all over  
the country.

The only hope for our children  
to be saved from an imperial and  
racist society--which seems willing  
to destroy us because it is un-  
willing to accept our massive  
organization. There is a group in  
Baltimore which is attempting to  
confront the racism and inequality  
of the school system. African National  
Congressional Black Education.

This group is comprised of teachers, students, parents, and civil rights activists. For further information concerning this group call 447-7344.

### THE BLACK GRASSES SPEAK

Frederick Douglass: "The whole history of the progress of human liberty, shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of honest struggle. . . . If there is no struggle, there is no progress, those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing, they want rain without clouds and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one - but it must be a struggle. Paper cannot do anything without blood, it never did and it never will. . . . Men may not get all they want for in this world, but they certainly must pay for all they get. If we are to get free from the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice and if need be, by our lives and the lives of others."

Malcolm X: "I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions- political, economic, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed, and designed to get results."

Rev. Martin Luther King: "Mr. Speaker, never in the history of the world, has an alien ruler granted self-rule to a people on a silver platter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I say that a people's readiness and willingness to assume the responsibilities of self rule is the single criterion of their preparedness to undertake those responsibilities."

Clayton Kopp: "We must meet the enemy on his own ground, though far out numbered, but we shall be brave, and for their blooded bones, deal one death blow! What? Though before us lies the open grave. Like you we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack, pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting."

Harriet Martineau: "Neither the slaves' whip nor the lynchers' rope nor the bayonet could kill our black belief."



BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL



SOCIETY of AMERICAN STUDENTS

TRAD BROWN

THE COMMA  
FROM A  
BLACK THING

## WHO ARE THE REAL OUTLAWS

Brothers and Sisters;

White people are saying that the uprising of our people in almost 100 American cities, "must be a conspiracy." Where is the real conspiracy? Black people across this country have known that the real conspiracy in this country is to run us out, keep us down, or kill us, if we don't act like the honky wants us to act.

We're fighting for our survival and for this, we are called criminals, outlaws and murderers. Who are the real criminals? Who stole us from Africa? Who has been stealing our labor these past 400 years to build this country? Who are the real murderers? Why don't they call the police who gun us down in the streets every day, all year round, ...why don't they call them murderers?

Why don't they call Lyndon Johnson a murderer and an outlaw? He fights an illegal war with our brothers and our sons. He sends them to fight against other colored people who are fighting for their freedom.

Who are the real outlaws in this country? They say I am an outlaw. I am charged with inciting black people to "riot". It is against the "law" to riot. But did you or I have any say in passing this law? Do we have much of a say in any of the laws passed in this country? I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were made by a group of white "lawmakers" who do not let my people be represented in making these laws.

That government which makes laws that you and I are supposed to obey, without letting us be a part of that government... is an illegal government. The men who pass those laws are outlaws the police who enforce those laws are outlaws and murderers.

It should be understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to keep us down and keep us in our place. Nor can we be expected to have confidence in the whiteman's court which interprets and enforces these laws. The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts, he accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

White America should not fool itself into believing that if it comes down harder on us... that will keep us from doing what we believe is right. History has shown that when a man's conscience is aroused, when a man really believes what he is doing, threats of jail and death do not turn that man back. The threat of jail or death will not turn me nor others like me from the path we have taken.

We stand on the eve of a black revolution. These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for real revolution. For the men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions, and nothing can turn men aside who have conviction and a strong sense of freedom.

More powerful than my fear of what could happen to me in prison is my hatred for what happens to my people in those outside prisons called black ghettos of this country. I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred, I am supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. There is nothing any court can do to me that will change that hatred in me; it can only be changed by the removal of the racism and inhumanity which exists in this country.

A society which can mount a huge military action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time pleads that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered each year because they seek to make democracy in America a reality...is a sick, criminal and insane society. They talk about violence in the country's streets! Where are the Troops?

Each time a black body is found in the swamps of Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence on our land! Where are those murderers!

Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy.

Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teen-ager, that is urban crime! Where is the national leader who will go on T.V. and condemn police crime.

Black people see America for what it is. It is clear now that white America cannot condemn itself...cannot see the reality of its crimes against mankind. We see America and we recognize our course

Racism  
and  
Revolution

H. Rap Brown

Interview between National Guardian staff writer,  
Robert Allen and H. Rap Brown; reprinted from  
The National Guardian, June 15, 1968

Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee  
190 Fifth Avenue, Box #883  
New York, New York 10011

no  
Donation  
50¢

... and that intent is to  
alliance is. America is operating on the principle that if you don't  
convert a man, you got to silence him. But she has failed in her  
attempt to both silence me and convert me. You know, in her attempt  
to silence me when she puts me in jail, she just creates another  
forum. I can talk to brothers in jail who are more political than  
people on the streets, brothers who know what has to be done. In  
her attempt to convert me, that's hopeless because I see America for  
what it is. It's another Germany. It's the Fourth Reich. America  
under Hitler's and Germany's records look good.

It is because of America's racism that black people and co-  
lored people around the world are oppressed. Throughout history  
black people who spoke out against America and her racism have been  
subjected to exile, assassination, murder, or imprisonment. So what  
happened to me is nothing new or different. Justice is a joke in  
this country for black people, and it stinks of its hypocrisy.  
Justice in this country means "just as white folks." Black people  
must understand that there is no redress of grievances in the courts  
but only in the streets, through armed guerrilla action.

The only reason that I'm willing to go before the racist  
courts is that it's an educational process for black people. Black  
people should learn from my experience. In other words, every  
black man shouldn't have to go before a judge to know what I'm ex-  
periencing. I was glad in Louisiana because the courtroom was filled  
with black people, young black brothers and sisters every day. And  
they leaped, man, because legally we beat the government on the  
first day. We made a motion to have racist Judge Mitchell dismissed  
from the case because of prejudicial statements he made against me  
during some of the bond hearings we had before. The motion was made  
to him, and he said, "Yeah, I'm prejudiced against him, but I'm not  
going to dismiss myself."

I think what happens in terms of organization for confrontation to black people is based upon the masses of people. Masses of people are never ready for armed confrontation. You have to get that out of your mind. Masses of people are never organized; they're not even organized. That happens in that we repression has caused people to do things to survive. As the repression increases in this country, that's going to force black people together. Now we have done (when I say "we" I mean people who've been out there talking to the masses of people) this. We have raised white heads on the level of consciousness of black people as to the problem. That's as much as we can do. In other words, the man is going to have to come down on people before they really realize. They're going to have to have to wake up one morning and smell their own breath on their breath to know the man's feet is on their ass. That's what will have to happen. Before any revolutionary struggle the last phase of organizing - on a mass basis - is done by the repression, is done by the oppressor. There's nothing more we can do until that point is reached. Now we can organize small groups, but in terms of the masses of people, they must react to the repression. We have raised the consciousness so that they will be able to decide what to do.

MAKE THE MAN JUMP

HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG-BLACK PEOPLE TODAY?

Consciousness has to be distinguished from revolutionary attitude. The level of consciousness has been raised so that black people are in a state of rebellion. But rebellion is not to be confused with revolution. Black people around the country now recognize that they have a vehicle that can make this man jump. It's like a kid with a toy. In other words, we can make the motherfucker jump by putting the electrodes in his balls and we want to see how high we can make him jump. This is where black people are at. I don't think you can expect revolutionary action from the masses of people until repression becomes so great that it affects each individual.

BUT ISN'T THERE SOME POLITICAL CONTENT IN THE REPRESSIONS?

I view revolution as an evolutionary type of thing. Revolution comes in stages or steps. Rebellions are a legitimate part of the steps toward revolutionary struggle, but they are not revolutions. We cannot be content in rebelling. We must move from revolt to revolution. Actually, at this point now, it's dangerous for masses of black people to go in the streets. This plays into the man's hands. I don't think it's desirable or advisable for rebellions, where masses of people go into the streets, to occur anymore.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE WOULD YOU PROPOSE?

Gadgets of people who have political knowledge and technical skills must begin to execute revolutionary struggle in this country on behalf of the masses of people. People like myself - I'm too visible - I'm under surveillance every day.

One of the things you brought up in your article (in vol 1, May 25), which I've also spoken about, concerns the visibility of people. It's unfortunate, at this point, that everybody has microscopes, with less the person is or natural. I can do it because I'm already visible, but to the young brother just coming up it's not necessary. It's what's in your hand, not what's on your hand. And once a cat grows a natural, the man recognizes him as political whether he is or not.





With this kind of struggle in the opposition, we will become political ideas, develop ideologies.

It is, however, very real to discuss things that are denied black people as a result of oppression. Vanguard groups can talk about ideology, but I don't know what they say is correct. Because a real ideology a vanguard position doesn't mean that he has a monopoly on truth. Leaders can talk about ideology, and that may inspire them, but it doesn't insure struggle among the masses of people.

#### SLOGAN CO-OPTED

YOU MENTIONED THAT THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION IS ENOUGH AND I QUESTION THIS. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME PEOPLE DESIRE BLACK POWER AS BLACK PEOPLE CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BUT THEY DON'T SPELL OUT WHO IS TO CONTROL OR IN WHOSE INTEREST.

It is useful to talk about black people controlling their own communities unless they control the whole country. As long as the man controls the water or electricity coming into your community it does you no good to control that community. And to control the community in a capitalistic way, like the man, is not desirable. I think the real issue goes way beyond this idea of geographic control.

The slogan black power has been co-opted. You have white politicians talking about the virtues of black power and Kennedy was even running around giving people the black power handshake. We've beaten that.

#### WHERE HAVE WE MOVED TO?

People have to address themselves to struggle. I interpreted Dr. King's death as a rise of racism in the country - I contend he was executed.

What happens now is that you have two conceptions of power exposed towards each other. You have white folks on this hand and black folks on the other hand, and the stronger force wins. There's nothing in between. You see, Dr. King had a large moral following in the white communities, domestic and foreign. So when you eliminate Dr. King you set up a confrontation between these two groups and the police can then come down on the black community in the name of preventing a race war. The police can legitimize this repression by saying that they're dealing with the violent element, the element that's talking about anarchy.

I think this can be coupled with the riot commission report. This report gives two very distinct solutions to what is considered a problem in this country. They say you can either address the grievances of black people by legislation and pouring in money, or you can move toward a garrison state. Everybody looked at the first solution (but you don't see any legislation). I always examine the other position. There's an estimated 39 concentration camps in this country. I was in one in Petersburg, Va. - a federal prison camp. What are these camps being prepared for? They ain't bringing no Vietcong prisoners home. The Indians are on reservations. No and Gurnehead can't fill 39 camps.

This is a dangerous situation for black people. The man is scared true enough, but that's when he's most dangerous, because he knows black people can disrupt this country. So he must increase his repression.

I contend that the only reason they didn't shoot black people

...the police  
...legally.

“GIVE DROP OUT”

YOU SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES ARISING OUTSIDE  
THE GOVERNMENT

My position on that is this: We are prepared to fight, and if  
anybody else is, we will join them. If not, if we  
have to fight them, then we'll fight them. I'm not aware of revolu-  
tionary elements in the white community, but if revolutionary people  
like them they can be used in revolutionary struggle.

WHAT ABOUT WHITE STUDENTS AND WHITE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS, SOME OF THEM  
DO APPEAR TO BE BEING LOSING GREATER POLITICAL AWARENESS?

I think some white people are oppressed and may drop out, but  
they also drop back in. That's the whole thing with the hippie  
movement. Black people can't drop out. We've always been out, so  
there's nothing to talk about dropping in. White people have to  
decide whether they're for human rights or the political rights  
of a country.

I can give you an example of exploited becoming exploiter -  
any and every. When Jerry and Gary were dumped and out, they were  
poor people. But once they got into a position to exploit, they  
did so.

WHAT'S THE FEELING THERE BEING ABOUT SOME BLACK ACTIVITIES?

Yeah, and I'm going to be very specific - James Brown. I think  
a polling one of the biggest lock-making jobs in the country  
day. He's calling out black people. If James Brown keeps declaring  
his allegiance to the country and not to the black community then  
black people have to purge him and his music from the black com-  
munity. His latest record (America in My Heart) is an example of  
that I mean, and going down there fraternizing with (Mississippi  
highway, I mean he's going to have to change sides. If he supports  
highway then he does not support the black community whether he  
realizes it or not.

“FLOES OF WALNUTS”

WHAT IS ENGG'S POSITION ON THE PENDING RACIAL ELECTIONS?

I think it's irrelevant. I don't see but one candidate running  
and that's George Wallace, and a whole lot of other Wallaces by  
different names. It's a farce, and black people should disassociate  
themselves totally from it. There's no choice. We have to be pre-  
pared to fight anybody who gets in.

WHAT ABOUT INDEPENDANT CANDIDATES AND PARTIES?

The only way we can use the vote is to organize our people to  
vote themselves free from both parties. To create a third party in the  
first that you can participate in the non-racial politics of this  
country is a farce. The vote can be used only to organize black  
people to make sure that the system doesn't work and prepare this  
for the revolutionary struggle.

IS THERE ANY POINT IN WHITE INDEPENDANT MOVEMENTS SUCH AS THE "NEWGALS",  
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY" AND "BLACK PANTHER PARTY"?

~~X~~

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI OFFICIAL RECORDS

Materials distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 560-568 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, described itself as not being a religiously 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 affiliated 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 Executive and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the August 1st Day 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 concessions from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its program of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Materials distributed in February, 1968, identified SNCC as an organization in the revolution by vanguard. It advocated 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 show up for work, or you'll lose your damn job." Later in February, 1968, in a published note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes up arms to organize by 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 warlike to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then damn it by life."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

August 23, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Baltimore report dated and captioned as above.

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

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

RECORDING OFFICE BALTIMORE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 11/23/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/18-27/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY CSM
		CHARACTER OF CASE 18 - SISO	

REFERENCES:

Baltimore report of SA [REDACTED] dated 8/28/68.

-PX-

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report are being furnished locally to the 100th MI GP, NISO, and OSI, Baltimore.

This report is classified confidential since unauthorized disclosure of information furnished by [REDACTED] could result in the compromise of sources of continuing value and reduce their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
ACTS	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED: *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 2 - Bureau (100-433190) (REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - 100th MI GP, Balto. (REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - NISO, Balto. (REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - OSI, Baltimore (REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6400) (REGIS. MAIL)
- 1 - Baltimore (100-23331)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By	Notations
1	12/10/68	REG	[Signature]	
1	12/13/68	REG	[Signature]	

**EX-100**  
**RECORDS & COMM. SECT.**

SI 48413, 100-23331-977

COVER PAGE

BA 100-43857

INFORMANTS:

ISCA/EX

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Instant report

Instant report

100-25351-405

Instant report

[REDACTED]

Instant report

100-25351

100-25351-507

CLASS:

CONFIDENTIAL

BA 100-23331

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Will continue to follow and report the activities of  
SUCS.

0\*  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 - 109th MI GP, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - WISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - OSI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:

SA [REDACTED]  
NOVEMBER 29, 1968

Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Field Office File #:

100-23331

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

ROBERT MOORE continues as Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC located at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Informants advise that there has been practically no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore, although ROBERT MOORE has participated in some activities with other groups.

[REDACTED] informants advise that Baltimore Office of SNCC is in poor financial condition. [REDACTED] no new literature emanating from Baltimore SNCC received.

-P\*-

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is appended hereto.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. Headquarters

The SNCC maintains an office at 432 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] on November 18, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on November 26, 1968)

Administrative

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.



BA 100-23331

B. Staff

ROBERT BARBER MOORE continues to be Director of the SNCC in Baltimore.

[REDACTED] on November 13, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on November 26, 1968)

ROBERT BARBER MOORE is a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. The SNCC is currently made up of 50 staff members, which group is the actual membership of SNCC. From the 50 staff members, a 15 member Central Committee is elected and functions as the policy-making body of National SNCC.

[REDACTED] on June 25, 1968)

[REDACTED]

RUDOLF MARTIS, a student at Morgan State College, has been seen in the SNCC office from time to time.

[REDACTED] on November 26, 1968)

II. ACTIVITIES

A. Local

Between 3:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. on September 12, 1968, a group of about 700 persons attended a citizens rally at the Dunbar High School, Baltimore, Maryland. The principal reason for the rally was to bring to the attention of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners and to city officials the need for a new Dunbar High School, which was described as a black school in a basically black community. Among the persons recognized at this meeting was ROBERT MOORE, Director of the Baltimore Office of SNCC. There was no information indicating that MOORE took an active part in this meeting.

[REDACTED] on September 13, 1968)

BA 100-23331

A source received information that a black militant faction in Baltimore, including participants from the Soul School, the Black Panther Party (BPP), the SNCC, and the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), intend to coordinate their efforts to protest the firing of JOHN O. HOPKINS, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, who is a Negro.

[REDACTED] on September 23, 1968)

Characterizations of the Soul School and the BPP are appended hereto.

On the evening of September 25, 1968, and continuing until 1:35 a.m. on September 26, 1968, the Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore, Maryland, conducted a public hearing in the auditorium of Douglass High School concerning the proposed dismissal of Assistant Superintendent of Schools JOHN O. HOPKINS. There were approximately 1100 spectators present. The majority of those at the hearing was in the press, many black militants in the audience shouted their disapproval of the charges against HOPKINS, which were being read by City Solicitor GEORGE HUBBARD. Among the black militants noted at this hearing was ROBERT MOORE, head of the Teachers Office of SNCC.

[REDACTED] on September 30, 1968)

SNCC in Baltimore has organized no organized activities of a public nature during the past three months although ROBERT MOORE has been present at many activities related to school board meetings.

[REDACTED] on October 10, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on October 20, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on October 27, 1968)

Meeting of SNCC Central Committee, Baltimore, Maryland, October 20-30, 1968.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on October 23, 1968)

On October 29, 1968, information was received from confidential informant [REDACTED] that certain individuals believed to be connected with the Central Committee of SNCC were seen in the vicinity of 433 West 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland. During a spot surveillance by a Special Agent of the FBI it was noted that about 13 males and 1 female were seen to either enter or leave the basement entrance of this building at various times between approximately 12:00 noon and 5:00 p.m.

A meeting of some of the top leaders of SNCC was apparently held at 433 West 25th Street, Baltimore, Maryland, on October 29, 1968. The meeting was of a very secret nature.

[REDACTED] on October 30, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on November 5, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on November 6, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on November 13, 1968)

III. FINANCIALS

The financial situation of the SFCC office in Baltimore is very poor.

[REDACTED] on November 14, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on November 20, 1968;  
[REDACTED] on November 27, 1968)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (on November 27, 1960)

[REDACTED]

IV. PUBLICATIONS AND LITERATURE

Informants and sources have furnished no literature material from the SMO's Office at Baltimore which has not previously been reported.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, FBI - (NY) (NY 100-100000)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) was founded by H. R. HARRIS, known as HARRIS, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Oakland, California, in 1966, as a national Black nationalist political organization to combat "political apathy," to unite militant Black youth, to organize the "consciousness of Black" and to educate Black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of the late Dr. Martin Luther King and Black militant writers.

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther - Black Community Party Review" indicates the leadership of the BPP advocates the use of violence and guerrilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the dividing of Black men to fight in Vietnam.

A source advised that in early 1967, SWAN, HARRIS, and their general "advised" activities and militant political activities in the streets of Oakland and elsewhere in the "Black Panther Party."

The Oakland Police Department advised that on October 2, 1967, a group of Black men invaded the Golden Gate Park, San Francisco Assembly in San Francisco while in uniform, wearing leather gear to protect their faces on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on June 13, 1967, indicted H. R. HARRIS on charges of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 27, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The source advised that the headquarters office of the BPP in 1967 was located at 2600 Grand Avenue, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The San Francisco Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro newspaper, advised that a group of Black men, known as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) and the Communist Party (CP) through the efforts of officers H. R. HARRIS and their efforts to the organization support to the defense of H. R. HARRIS.

# APPENDIX

## SOUL SCHOOL

Also Known As the Society of United  
Liberators, Incorporated

On July 19, 1968, a source advised that the Soul School located at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is not connected with any other institution in Baltimore City. All Soul School members have Arabic or African names and are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope, or eat pork.

The source advised that the aim of the members is to teach the Negro about himself and build a nation for black men in America separate from the white race. Obtaining all land below the 40 degree parallel line of the United States for a black nation is the goal of the members, at any cost. The school is militant and it preaches militancy to black people. The uniting of all black people is the top theme. The members include both sexes, and courses in African culture are a major requirement of the school.

On July 19, 1968, the source furnished a pamphlet called "The Black Liberator," published by the Soul School, Baltimore, Maryland, and dated June 21, 1968. The pamphlet states, "The Soul School is a non-profit educational institution set up by black people. Its purpose is to enlighten black people through education and action. Students are urged to come to the school regularly and participate on any committee or work shop in which they have an interest. The black community both here in Baltimore and in the far-reaching corners of the black world is a thing in which we involve ourselves and study."

On July 10, 1968, a second source advised that LESTER VALLEY, a leader of the Soul School, stated that the real purpose of the Soul School is to be a front and carry on underground activities and over-throw the "system." He also stated that the Soul School has guns in small quantities, but they are attempting to get more to be used in any type of revolutionary activities which might come about in the future.

On September 12, 1968, the first source advised that the Soul School continues to function at 522 North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

APPENDIX

X

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.

X





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

November 21, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title	STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Reference	Baltimore report of SA [REDACTED] dated and experienced 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 MEMPHIS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN MEMPHIS	DATE 11/29/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/68 - 2/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT MOVEMENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY [REDACTED]
		CHARACTER OF CASE [REDACTED]	

REFERENCE: Baltimore report of SA [REDACTED] dated 11/29/68.

A copy of this report is being furnished locally to the Baltimore Agency for information purposes.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC. AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 1 - [REDACTED] (RM) 1 - [REDACTED] (RM) 1 - [REDACTED] (RM) 1 - [REDACTED] (RM) 1 - [REDACTED] (RM) 1 - [REDACTED] (RM)		-3-38	REC 37

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			Notations [Signature] SECRET SEC.
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, MEM, OSI, SEC. SERV.		
Request Recd.	BY: ISD, CRD, RAO, [Signature]		
Date Fwd.	HOW FORW	1/5	
How Fwd.	DATE FORW	5/16/69	
By	BY:	[Signature]	

55 MAY 12 1969

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NY 100-8331

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

This report is being classified "~~confidential~~" because disclosure of the information contained herein could result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the effectiveness thereof.

In view of the fact that CMSS in Baltimore has engaged in no organized activity of a public nature since the summer of 1948, and informants state since January, 1949, CMSS has been dissolved in Baltimore, this case is being placed in a closed file.

INFORMANTS:

<u>Number of Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	Informant Report [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	Informant Report
[REDACTED]	NY 100-8331-516, 517
[REDACTED]	Informant Report

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 4 - 1104 Military Group, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - WISO, Baltimore (Registered Mail)  
1 - SOI, Baltimore (Registered Mail)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND  
Date: 10/21/50

Field Office File #: 100-20801 Bureau File #: 100-439163

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - CIVIL RIGHTS - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office, which was located at 431 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, is now closed. Informants advise there has been no public activity on the part of SNCC in Baltimore since the summer of 1949, and as of January, 1950, SNCC has been largely inactive in Baltimore.

DETAILS:

1. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

a. Headquarters

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), national office, was located at 431 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. This office is no longer open.

[REDACTED] on April 20, 1950;  
[REDACTED] on April 21, 1950

Discontinuation of SNCC in Baltimore.

SNCC office located at 431 East North Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

[REDACTED] on April 20, 1950;  
[REDACTED] on April 21, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

... of the ... of the Central ... of fifty ... of the Central Committee ...

[REDACTED] on June 22, 1950

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 27, 1950

...

... on June 27, 1950, 412 North ... Maryland, on ... 17, 1950, ... of Business ... of the ... associated ... showing up at ...

[REDACTED] on June 27, 1950

... of the ... in ...

... of January, 1950, ... functioning ...

[REDACTED] on January 1, 1950

... in ... of a ... in ...

[REDACTED] on ... ; ... ;  
[REDACTED] on ... ; ... ;

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Also Known As the Society of United  
Liberators, Incorporated

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535  
April 20, 1954

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-20342

Title            COMMUNIST PARTY - UNITED STATES  
                  COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character        INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST  
                  COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference        Page 1 of 11 [REDACTED]  
                  [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] 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 4 of 19 sections

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>BOSTON</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>12/8/67</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>12/1-8/67</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS - SNCC</b>

REFERENCE

Bureau letter dated 10/20/67.

- P\* -

LEAD

BOSTON: AT BOSTON, MASS.

Will follow and report any Communist infiltration of SNCC.

*100-439190-3-15*

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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*ca. 100 pages 1XC report 8064*

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	AGENCY: ACTI, SAC, OSI, SEC. SERP.	
Request Recd.	Request Recd. [unclear]	
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD. 12/24/67	
How Fwd.	BY: [unclear]	

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INFORMANTS

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	100-37622-26, page 2
[REDACTED]	
[REDACTED]	
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-35267-1A7
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-35267-1A6
[REDACTED]	100-35267-139
[REDACTED]	
[REDACTED]	100-35267-135
[REDACTED]	Instant report, page 12

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified "Confidential" because of information furnished by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] which, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the compromise of informants of continuing value, jeopardize their future effectiveness, and adversely affect the national defense effort of the United States.

[REDACTED]

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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - OSI, Westover Air Force Base, Mass. (RM)  
 1 - 108th MI Group, Boston (RM)  
 1 - NISO, Boston (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED] Office: Boston, Massachusetts  
 Date: December 8, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-35267 Bureau File #: 100-439190

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

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: SNCC is located at 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass. CARVER "CHICO" NEBLETT is the leader of SNCC in the Boston area. NEBLETT was arrested during 6/67, for his participation in a sit-in demonstration at the Welfare Office at 515 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., which precipitated a riot. WILLIAM LEE, JR., has been identified as a Field Secretary for SNCC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Activity of SNCC has consisted of activity against the war in Vietnam and advancing the status of Negro people.

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Group I  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

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DETAILS:

BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party infiltration of SNCC or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

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

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Headquarters

[REDACTED] advised on August 9, 1967, that 177 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., is used as the headquarters for SNCC. This address is the residence for CARVER "CHICO" WHELFORD and ROBERT and JOANNE EUBANKS.

ROBERT EUBANKS

[REDACTED] on June 1, 1966, identified ROBERT EUBANKS as having been the acting chairman of a meeting of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, which was held in the Christian Center, 288 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass., on May 25, 1966.

Characterization of SNCC

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

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

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

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

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

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

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they