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TO : HQ

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PAGES : 51

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RICHARD THOMAS GIBSON

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SAC Chicago (100-41353)

Director, FBI (100-442715)

1/30/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

3 - Mr. Ryan

AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CH

ReCGlet 1/17/68 enclosing a copy of a letter dated
1/3/68 received at the Chicago Ad Hoc Committee (AHC) post office
box from Richard Gibson of London (S)

As Gibson appears to be serving the intelligence
interests of this operation, authority is granted for you to
forward to him an AHC response to his letter. It is suggested
this response be short but cordial. It is also suggested the
AHC letter briefly advise Gibson of the current discredited
status of M.I. Lasky in the domestic Marxist-Leninist movement (S)

Forward the Bureau a copy of the AHC letter sent
Gibson (S)

1 - Bufile 105-93072 (Gibson)

DR:scr
(7)

NOTE: AHC is intelligence operation projected as true
pro-Chicom organization. Gibson is a CIA source operating
in Europe in pro-Chicom circles. He has been in personal
contact with the AHC and believing it a legitimate organization
from time to time sends brief letters of a fraternal nature.
We are authorizing Chicago to respond to Gibson in the name of
the AHC to preserve the authenticity of the operation and because
some of the information furnished by Gibson serves the
intelligence interests of the operation. (S)

Classified by 1250
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 5, 6
Date of Declassification Indefinite
583/1378

~~SECRET~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE 3-7-78

DUPLICATE YELLOW

11375 Sp8 mac/SAT
Classified by
Declassify on OADR (JFK)

NOT RECORDED
78 FEB 5 1968

70 FEB 1 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-1490 (S)

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442715)

DATE: 1/17/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41353)

(S)
SECRET

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
- CH

(S)

Attached hereto is a Xerox copy of the letter received through the Ad Hoc Committee Post Office Box in Chicago from RICHARD GIBSON. It will be noted that GIBSON reports on the fact that M. I. LASKY was recently in London and provides for the Ad Hoc Committee the address of a new pro-Chinese organization in London. In this connection the "British Marxist-Leninist organization" will be added to the mailing list of Chicago. (S)

GIBSON's reference to NICO SCHREVEL emanates from the conversation that CG 6547-S had had with GIBSON during the fall of last year in Chicago. At that time the Chicago informant told GIBSON that the Ad Hoc Committee was not receiving copies of Viet Nam literature since LEO VAN ZWOL was no longer forwarding this material from Holland. At that time GIBSON advised the informant that he would look into the matter, hence his comment in this letter. (S)

If the Bureau desires that a letter be sent to GIBSON, the text of an answer will be prepared by Chicago and forwarded for approval. (S)

Review of file contents on 100-40-244 105-93072

Handwritten notes and signatures on right side of page.

1/3/95
Classified by SP8 MAC/GAT
Declassify on: OADR (JFK)

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RRG:MJD
(3)

ENCLOSURE

DEC 11

Classified by 259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
3/13/78

105-93072-
NOT RECORDED

78 FEB 26 1968

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE 3-14-78

SECRET

SECRET

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-1490 (S)

LIBERATOR

-- 244 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y., 10017 --
-- Telephone: YUkon 6-5939, -- area code, 212 --

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.
~~SECRET~~

Richard Gibson
EDITOR FOR AFRICA,
ASIA AND EUROPE

32, Hartswood Road
Stamford Brook
London, W.12

3 January 1968

The Ad Hoc Committee
P.O. Box 6193
Chicago, Ill. 60680

Dear Comrades,

The purpose of this belated note is to let you know that discussed the literature problem with our Dutch comrades. Nico Schrevel claimed not to know that the literature was not being sent to you, but promised to look into the matter and see that, in any case, the flow of literature was resumed. Nevertheless, sometime has passed since this conversation and I have no confirmation from them that everything is in fact all right.

Would you please let me know if you are receiving the parcels once again without difficulty?

You may have heard that M.I. Laski was moving recently around Europe. He visited London and spoke with members of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, and proposed the convening of an international conference of Marxist-Leninists. I personally did not see Laski, but note that the CDRCU is virtually dead as an active body, especially now that a British Marxist-Leninist Organization has been formed around Comrade Reg Birch, a veteran of the CPGB and a leading trade unionist who has left the revisionist party. the BMLO's address: 155 Fortress Road, London, N.W.5. I am certain they would like an exchange with the Ad Hoc Bulletin.

Hoping to hear from you in the near future, I am

Fraternally yours,

Richard Gibson

Daniel H. Watts
editor-in-chief

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DATE 3-14-70 ALP/HC

113195 SP8MAC/GAT
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(JFK)

105-93072-1190

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442715)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41353)

DATE: January 3, 1968
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SUBJECT: [AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CH (S)]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) [S]
DATE 1-14-68 [S]

ReCG airtel dated 10/4/67, Bureau letter dated 10/20/67. U

Attached hereto is a xerox copy of a letter received through the AHC Post Office box from H. W. EDWARDS, 32 Hartwood Rd. Stamford Brook, London W.12 England (S)

It is noted that EDWARDS is currently residing with RICHARD GIBSON with whom CG 6547-S and CG 6548-S met in September, 1967. It would appear that EDWARDS is identical to the father of PAUL RICHARDS, reportedly a student at the University of Wisconsin (S) Wis

The Bureau is requested to advise if further communication is desired with EDWARDS in view of GIBSON's background. If so desired this letter will be furnished to and discussed with all AHC informants and a suggested text for answer to EDWARDS submitted for Bureau approval.

Records: Please copy of memory envelope in 100-99465 (Edwards) & (Gibson)

Let to 1/4 2-9-68 [S]

Classified by [S]
Exempt from GDS, Category [S]
Date of Declassification Indefinite

105-93072-
NOT RECORDED
169 JAN 25 1968

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco (100-54721) (Info.) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago
- RRG:mfs
(4)

1/13/95 SP8 MAC/GAT (JFK)
Classified by
Declassify on: OADR

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

[100-442715-1472] (S)

16 JAN 5 1968

XEROX
JAN 24 1968

NAT. DEF. REC. DIV.
DAVID RYAN

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.

SECRET

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-1472 (S)

32, Hartswood Rd.
Stamford Brook
London W.12, England
24 December, 1967

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 3/15/78 ADP/4

Ad Hoc Bulletin
P. O. Box 6193
Chicago, Ill. 60680
U. S. A.

SECRET

Dear Friends:

Through the courtesy of Richard Gibson, at whose home my daughter and I are now temporarily residing after almost six years in Ghana, I have been pleased to read your latest issue, November 1967, including the exchange of letters between you and another group on the U.S. West Coast. As to whether one should work inside or outside the smelly corpse of the CPUSA, I find it a matter of taste and expediency, not principle, because history has more or less taken care of that body's claim to being what its name says it is.

However, there was one point - only one - in your reply to the West Coast letter which I myself would want to see qualified before I could go along with it in any way. I have just spent more than 2 years doing what I flatter myself is a Marxist REstudy of European Social Democracy, in the course of which I had to deal with the imperialist-created (but nonetheless for that real) "color" division in the world and in the working class. I was working with criteria furnished by V. I. Lenin, mainly in his "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," (notably the "Preface to the German and French Editions" and Chapter VIII, "The Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism") but also in a volume of material gathered, paradoxically, by Moscow, "Against Revisionism." The material I was applying to those criteria came mainly, but not solely from the 1961, 1964 and 1966 U.S. Statistical Abstracts. With this background, let me now quote your words:

GAT (JFK)

"Strive to dispel the myth among the white masses that Black gains can only be realized at the expense of the White workers. This is at the core of capitalist spawned racism, and it must be destroyed."

11/3/95
Classified By SP8/ML
Declassify on: OADR

This was given as one of the main current tasks of white revolutionaries. What I feel you may have "understood" or "implied," but what you have most definitely not stated, is that what these White masses believe about gains by Blacks is ONLY a "myth" if you specify that it is so under a socialist order. But as long as imperialism is permitted to exist, this belief of the white masses is TRUE and I have the figures to prove it. We can learn from the masses, as you well know, and in this case, it would be better to listen to them because unless WE (revolutionaries) understand just HOW right their belief is while imperialism lasts, we'll never make a dent in the white masses. You will recall that Karl Marx, I believe it was in "Wage Labor and Capital," specified that "whatever is not profit in capital is wages." You will also recall that Lenin specified that when investment is made "in several overseas countries and colonies", what comes back is not just profits, but super-profits and that these are shared in part with "its own" working class. I know you know all this as well as I do, but I must put my context into working order. Figures show that the profits of the major imperialist monopolies continue to soar. Up till just

XEROX

JAN 24 1968 ENCLOSURE

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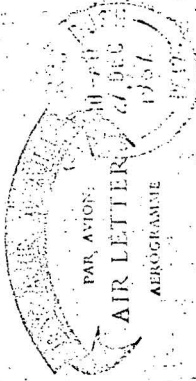
SECRET

Sender's name and address:

H. W. Edwards
32, Hartwood Rd.
Stamford Brook
London W.12
England

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY
ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED
OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

SECOND FOLD HERE



SECRET

Ad Hoc Bulletin
P.O. Box 6193
Chicago
Illinois 60660
U.S.A.

FIRST FOLD HERE

recently, the overall "mode of life" of the American working class also continued to soar, less in proportion, but plenty vis-a-vis the world hinterland. In fact, my application of U.S. Gov't figures to Lenin's criteria prove beyond a doubt that, sometime in the late 1950's, the labor aristocracy became a majority of the American working class. OK. The relative conditions of the colonial working classes was worsening. But when an African leader did succeed in bettering his people's conditions (as for example, when Ghana's per capita annual average income rose to £75 a year in contrast to Nigeria's £30), you can bet that the capitalists did not stand the loss. Their reaction to the regime that did this showed what they fear most; but they passed the resulting loss on to "their own" workers in one form or another: When Belgian rulers thought they were going to lose the Congo, they passed an Aust-erity Law to pass the loss on where it "belonged" in their eyes and brought the whole Belgian working class out onto the streets - whereat Uncle promptly intervened in the Congo and Lumumba died. What is at the CORE of "capitalist spawned racism" is NOT any myth believed by the "white masses" but super-exploitation by giant imperialist monopolies international in scope. I would therefore suggest that you modify No. 3) to include the FACT that until they attain socialism all gains by black workers CAN ONLY BE at the expense of white ones (in the sense that the majority of metropolitan workers happen historically to be white). I feel it has been Marxist failure to continually link the \$\$\$ tie of racism to HOW socialism does away with it that has enabled the white masses to have only what you call that "myth" on which to assess their own situation. They are right as far as they go, but that should be where WE (M-L) come in. Will discuss further if you wish. Cordially - H. W. Edwards

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *[Handwritten initials]*

DATE: 10/18/67

FROM : S. J. Papich *[Handwritten initials]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: **SUGAR** *[Handwritten initials]*

G. C. Moore

On 10/16/67, Richard Ober, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), made reference to the many memoranda which CIA has furnished to us in recent weeks containing information emanating from the captioned CIA source. Ober stated that he would appreciate receiving any comments or observations from the Bureau concerning the value of the data coming from Sugar. He particularly would be interested in any observations which might shed light on the source's reliability. *(S)*

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Racial Intelligence Section. Our comments and observations can be passed to CIA via Liaison. *(S)*

- 1 - G. C. Moore
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(4) *rab*

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date of Declassification *Definite*

11/21/96
Classified by SP8MAC/SAT
Declassify on: OADR (JFK)

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11/14/67 - Subvised Richard Ober, CIA that Sugar had furnished some info of value; that it was impossible to verify some of his statements; that he has drawn conclusions based on personal assessment not necessarily based on fact; that we had nothing new to add regarding his reliability, but we continue to have misgivings.

REC 7

105-93072-166
(S)

NOV 15 1967

SECRET

62 NOV 16 1967

TOP SECRET

FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY

Red Loran Jr RSC
10-27-67
LMM

FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY

ROBERT WILLIAMS INFORMED OF EXTREMELY GRAVE SITUATION

57

FR: London: Richard^a

17 Oct 67

TO: Peiching: 1 Tai Chi Chang, Mr. Robert

DIS/547/67

~~WILLIAMS~~^b

USA

CHINA

Returned safely without undue incidence, but the situation there is extremely grave with much confusion. No word yet from TONE^c about the invitations. Letter following.

a. Probably Richard GIBSON, US citizen, who was an organizer for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

b. Negro militant who fled the US in 1961 claiming to have been erroneously charged with kidnapping.

c. On 10 Sep 67, Richard, London, confirmed receipt of press instructions from WILLIAMS and transmitted them to fore^d HOKANSSON (Swedish anthropologist and lecturer).

SWEDEN

EX-115

FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY

Thompson

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(JFK)

62 NOV 14 1967

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REC-32

105-93072-165

NOT RECORDED

6 NOV 6 1967

Waters

TOP SECRET

FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

REC 7

5 OCT 1967

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: SUGAR
Activities of Russell Stetler and John Gerassi, US Citizens

Team
Stetler (he Stetler)
John Gerassi
John Krebs
Russell Stetler
John Gerassi

1. The information below was acquired by SUGAR from a former employee of the London-based Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF) who talked with Allan Krebs, an American leftist who is Director of the Free University in New York City and who is close to Russell Stetler and John Gerassi.

2. Stetler spends most of his time travelling between the US and London to consult with Ralph Schoenman, Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF) regarding the Foundation's activities. There are now only three officials in the BRPF. Stetler is undecided about his political future and is considering the possibility of returning to graduate school. Schoenman does not have inexhaustible BRPF funds at his disposal and sometimes there are great financial crises. At times Stetler is very bitter about Schoenman's methods of operation and often feels that the latter "sells down the river those who work for him".

3. Gerassi, a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal's first investigating team to North Vietnam in December 1966 and January 1967, was in Cuba the week of 3 July 1967. He is no longer on friendly terms with Ralph Schoenman, and apparently went to Cuba for a different reason than that of Schoenman, who was there in late June 1967.¹

4. Gerassi told Krebs that he will publicly support the Tribunal, but that he is physically unable to work with Schoenman. It is due to the "fight" between the two individuals that Gerassi did not attend the First Session of the Tribunal in Stockholm which was held in early May 1967.²

5. It is requested that no action be taken on the basis of this information without prior coordination with this agency.

105-93072-164

REC 7 105-172932-2

EX 100

OCT 11 2 31 PM '67

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DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8MCS/AT
(SPK)

Copy to: [initials] SF
by routing slip [initials]
info [initials]
action [initials]
date 10/16/67
by [initials]

59001271967

NOV 15 1967

SECRET
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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

John Gerassi
John Krebs
John Gerassi
John Krebs

SECRET

NO FOREIGN DISSEM

-2-

1. Source Comment: While in London during the week of 17 July, Gerassi said he was en route to Havana where he was to be an observer at the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference. He believed the Cuban attitude has changed considerably in the past year and that the Moscow-leaning Communists are losing all their influence. The former repressive measures in Cuba against homosexuals, beatniks and other deviants have been dropped. Concerning the International War Crimes Tribunal, Gerassi appeared convinced that the Tribunal's Second Session will be held in Stockholm rather than in Copenhagen or some other city. He said that he will testify at the event in any case.

2. Field Comment: The First Session of the Tribunal was sponsored by the BRPF and was commonly referred to as the "Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal". This designation however can no longer apply inasmuch as cumulative reporting, since the Stockholm meeting, indicates that the BRPF and the Tribunal are separate entities with independent motivation, direction and control. According to various sources, the Second Session of the Tribunal is scheduled to be held in Copenhagen, Denmark beginning 20 October 1967. It is not known whether or not the BRPF will support the Copenhagen event.

CSCI 316/04373-67

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

SECRET

background 5 OCT 1967

SUBJECT: ~~Views of Billy Hollins on Black Militant Situation in Chicago Ill.~~

in Chicago, Ill.

1. ~~Billy Hollins~~ is a Chicago-born Negro organizer for Martin Luther King's SCLC. He lives with Betty Jones, a white Minnesota girl, at 2014 North Dayton, Chicago, Ill. 60614 (phone 477-1601).

2. Hollins said that SCLC activities in Chicago were declining, but were not being wound up. He personally had worked during the summer on a Federally sponsored adult school, but that had been terminated and he thought he might be going to California. Dr. King spent little time in Chicago and was more involved with the peace movement at present, Hollins said. Nevertheless, he and the others (sic) remain solid supporters of King.

3. Hollins said that there were many guns in the black community, but he seriously doubted that they would be used for anything other than self-defense against the police, if necessary. The black leadership was chaotic, Hollins maintained, and continually sought to gain prestige or profit at the expense of each other and the masses.

4. Hollins thought Chicago might remain calm, without undue incidents for a while, but the underlying causes of the black rebellion were so great and remained just what they had always been, that new outbreaks of violence were also inevitable, despite the corrupt leadership. He felt that King sought at least constructive, positive projects, but he admitted that King's slum housing project in Chicago was impossible. The city had promised \$4,000,000, when \$40,000,000 would not be enough, and even the \$4,000,000 had never actually been allocated, he said. In general, he felt the situation was frustrating and depressing and very gloomy in outlook.

5. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject on the basis of the contents of this report without prior consultation with this Agency. This restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States, although the fact that these statements were made by Subject should continue to be considered restricted.

105-93072-163

*RA
R. Ober
C.A.*

all handwritten

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DATE 12/19/95 BY SP8 MAC/SGT
S-20

*cc to [unclear] 10/9/67
by RAB
of note item [unclear]
Omn/ci*
105-172932

SUGAR

OCT 11 1967

REC-63

SECRET

66 OCT 18 1967

*R. D. [unclear]
D. [unclear]
R. Y. [unclear]*

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

27 OCT

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: SUGAR
Forthcoming Closed Meeting in London with "Senior Member"
of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

Rudolph
C. J. Brennan
Quinn
S. J. Papich
Thompson

1. The following information was received from SUGAR who talked with Ahmed G. Ebrahim, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) representative in Peking who has temporarily returned to London, and Abhimanya M. Manchanda, British citizen of Indian descent who is pro-Chinese in outlook.

2. On 23 August 1967, Ebrahim said that he had seen an invitation which had been sent to the "Internationalists" to attend a meeting sometime soon in London in order to meet with a "senior member" of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The date of the meeting was not specified. Since the meeting is to be a secret one, admittance will be strictly by invitation. Ebrahim did not know the name of the "senior PLP member" but believed it may even be the London PLP representative, Texas-born William Ash -- who, at times, is given to secrecy because of his position with the BBC Drama Department.

3. Manchanda said that he too had learned of the proposed meeting -- but not from Ebrahim -- and that it is being sponsored by the group around the publication, The Marxist.

1. Source Comment: The Internationalists is a group at Trinity College, Dublin. Ebrahim is in contact with Dick Daley, a member of the Internationalists who is resident in London.

CSCI 316/04722-67

18 NOV 6 1967

GROUP 1
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declassification

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DATE 12/19/88 BY SP8 MAC/SAT
(JFK)

SECRET

6 OCT 1967

Rec from
R. Ober CIA
PP

Oz. R.
SUBJECT: Views of Gerald Gray, Anti-Draft Counsellor, on the Anti-Draft Movement and Black Militancy Generally

9.2. Gray
part

1. Gerald Gray (see S-7 and CSCI-316/03659-66, 20 July 1966) said his plans of the previous year to move to Bogalusa, Louisiana to work with the Deacons of Justice had fallen through. He hinted that he had no continuing connection with the organization. In reply to a question, he said that the Chicago Deacons bore little resemblance to the original body and were only inspired into existence by the visit a year or two ago of one of the Bogalusa leaders. Gray believed that the Chicago group was quite local in character

But how
putting

2. Gray said that he had been in touch with the Bay Area SNCC, which was mainly white. The Negroes formerly in it had moved into local black nationalist organizations, he added.

Washington
Wagon
Down

mz
3. Gray said he was most concerned about the anti-draft movement and he desperately wanted information on the groups helping U.S. deserters in Holland, Sweden and France. He said that there were many problems arising from the growing numbers of American draft dodgers in Canada, and there were also deserters in Canada and within the U.S.A. Getting them abroad involved passport problems, but it was still possible for servicemen to obtain valid passports by simply not mentioning their service status, i.e. by pretending to still be civilians. He did not believe this situation would long continue, because the State Department would eventually learn of the loophole.

4. In Canada, draft dodgers enjoyed relative security, but the deserters did not, he said, because of the NATO Treaty. He wanted to move the deserters to Sweden or France. However, even in Canada, many young Americans felt out of place, in an alien culture, and despite their growing numbers, they were suffering from problems of loneliness, away from families, friends, etc. Gray said he wanted to go to Vancouver again in the near future, and David Wineman (Gray's girl-friend) said she had someone she wanted to see up there, apparently a draft dodger that she knew, as well as the leftwing groups in Vancouver aiding U.S. draft evaders.

5. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject on the basis of the contents of this report without prior consultation with this Agency. This restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States, although the fact that these statements were made by Subject should continue to be considered restricted.

Can
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SP8 Mac
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DATE 11/2/88 BY SP8 MAC/STW

S-24

Source - Subject
105-93072
REC 51
SECRET

13 OCT 24 1967

70 NOV 7 1967

RACIAL INT. SECT.

TO: SAG,

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Date 10/19/67

SECRET

RE: **STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - SNCC**

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) (S)
DATE 10-24-67 ACV/MSD~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks: **Attached is a CIA report dated 10/16/67 captioned, "Views and Comments by Bill Mahoney on SNCC Activities" from their informant "Sugar." Do not disclose code name. Also note paragraph 7.**

(S)

SECRET

Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
3/13/77

Enc. _____
Bufile **100-439190**
Urfile **100-6488**

Classified by **Sp8 MAC/GAT**
Declassify on: **OADR (JFK)**

16 OCT 1967

SUBJECT: Views and Comments by Bill Mahoney on SNCC Activities

(Sugar)

1. Bill Mahoney, who works full-time for the Negro newspaper, The Atlanta Voice, continues to help SNCC headquarters in Atlanta with printing problems and publications, writing as well as printing. Mahoney said he had turned down a job offer from The Atlanta Constitution in order to remain within the Negro community.

2. Mahoney said that the only SNCC project of international scope that he was aware of was the James Forman's "Skills Bank." Under this scheme, he said, American Negroes with various skills could go abroad to work in African countries.

3. Mahoney said that Forman had asked him to draft a pamphlet about the Skills Bank and he added that he himself was interested because his father, a "man with many skills," had got into a scrape with the law and frustrated in efforts to make a career for himself.

4. Mahoney did not know which particular African countries, Forman envisaged participating in SNCC's Skills Bank. If a SNCC office was to be opened in Dar es Salaam, it would be to facilitate the operation, Mahoney felt. He said that so far he gathered that discussions about the Skills Bank had taken place in Zambia when Forman attended the UN Seminar on Apartheid in Kitwe and perhaps in the USA.

5. As for Stokely Carmichael's current foreign tour, Mahoney said that nobody knew exactly what Carmichael was up to. It would be a mistake, he added, to think that Carmichael was only connected with SNCC and no other movement in the USA. He did not specify which other movements. Mahoney said that he felt that, basically, the trip was to further Carmichael's own education.

6. Carmichael would definitely be returning to the USA and SNCC people felt that Carmichael would be arrested almost immediately on some "phony charge," probably sedition. He would also lose his passport, Mahoney said, but Carmichael would fight the cases and the resulting publicity would only further the cause, helping SNCC to win greater influence in the black community.

7. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject on the basis of the contents of this report without prior consultation with this Agency. This restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States, although the fact that these statements were made by Subject should continue to be considered restricted.

100-439190-1539

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/15/83 BY SP8 MAC/BAT (JPK)

6-28

SUGAR - SUGAR
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105-93072

NOT RECORDED

46 OCT 20 1967

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Records
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Date **10/19/67**

RE: **STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE IS - SNCC**

SECRET

~~(APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF DATE 3-17-79 BY ACT/98)~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

For information optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from Report of SA [redacted] dated _____

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
 Report of SA [redacted]
 DATE: **1678 RFP/CH 3/12/86**

Remarks: **ReBulet 10/18/67 captioned: ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND SM - MISCELLANEOUS (RACIAL INTELLIGENCE SECTION)**

Attached is a CIA report dated 10/16/67 captioned, "Views and Comments of Elizabeth Sutherland" from their informant "Sugar." Do not disclose code name. Note paragraph 11.

(S)

11/7/84 Spl GSK/cal Appeal #81-1144
 8/21/85 3042 PWT/AB/CH
 100-439190
 100-147263
 2/13/95 Sp8 MAC/GAT (JFK)
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2
 Date of Declassification Indefinite
SECRET

16 OCT 1967

SUBJECT: Views and Comments of Elizabeth Sutherland

Sugar

1. Elizabeth Sutherland of SNCC (see S-17) stated she had not had any serious hostility directed against her in the New York SNCC office, although she is white. There had been an occasional sharp remark, especially from some of the Negro girls in the office, but she felt that she was spared harsher criticism because she is half-Mexican.

2. Sutherland maintained that funds were not the problem of SNCC that the press sometimes indicated.

3. In answer to a direct question by Source, Sutherland stated if Stokely Carmichael had not made a good impression on the Chinese Communists, it was more than likely that Stokely's style, his arrogance and cockiness, did not go down well in China, and she was sure that Robert F. Williams and Carmichael would not hit it off well, mainly because of rivalry as Negro leaders, although she maintained that Williams would probably be more concerned than Carmichael.

4. Sutherland said she felt more hope about the racial situation in America since her return from Cuba because she had observed a marked change in the attitude of white students towards Negroes. She said she had attended the SDS convention in Madison, Wisconsin earlier this year and had spoken on a panel on the woman question. She complained that leftist women were generally behind middle-class women in independence of their menfolk. While mouthing political slogans about freedom, the leftists were far more docile and submissive to masculine authority, she said. Asked why SNCC didn't have a black woman as its next leader, Sutherland said that would be a good idea, but there were "many problems involved." She did not specify.

5. She said that Fidel Castro, to whom the SNCC delegation had spoken at length, could not understand black separatism in the USA. Castro could not understand the Negro question other than a component of a bigger class issue, she added.

6. Speaking of Ralph Schoenman, Sutherland was frankly, hostile to Schoenman, whom she considered some sort of racketeer. She admitted Schoenman had established close ties with the Cuban Government, but she expressed the hope that Fidel Castro would eventually see through Schoenman and get rid of him.

400-437190-1544

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/13/95 BY SP8MAC/GAT

105-93072

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46 OCT 20 1967

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Sugar 105-93072*

70 OCT 23 1967

7. Sutherland said she too felt now that the USSR was failing in its duty to the world revolutionary movement. The Cubans were striving to regain some sort of economic independence of the Soviet Union and now admitted that their complete acceptance earlier of the so-called "Socialist Division of Labor" was a serious mistake, as Che Guevara had maintained at the time. Sutherland said she had feared a turn to the right in Soviet bloc countries when she toured some of them in 1963, but Source had the feeling that her rejection of the Soviets was reluctant. She made no specific criticism of the Chinese, except to say that they were vastly different from the Cubans and that the Cubans were creating a new and freer brand of Communism. She said that many Cubans were completely convinced that the United States would launch an invasion of Cuba after the inevitable U.S. defeat/withdrawal from Vietnam. The Cubans did not expect any military assistance from the Russians she said.

8. In paragraph 4 of Report S-17, the book being published by Dial Press is her own book on Cuba and not one of the books which she had worked on with James Forman. Sutherland stated her Cuba book would consist mainly of statements by Cubans she had spoken with and race would play a big part in the book. Race was still something of a taboo subject for discussion in Cuba, Sutherland said, but she stated that white-black intermarriage had now become the fashionable thing among the youths in Cuba. She said she expected an unidentified play on a racial theme to shake up Cubans and other Cuban cultural events to prompt talk about race in Cuba.

9. While in Puerto Rico with James Forman and his then pregnant wife, Sutherland said they had stayed at a beach cottage owned by Dr. Ana Livia Cordero, who, according to Sutherland, has given up medicine to devote herself to political organizing. Sutherland said she helped Forman to work on two books, which are now half finished.

10. Speaking of her own personal problems, Sutherland said she was constantly short of money. She would eventually have to move from her large apartment on East 92nd Street. She said she had a problem with her 13-year old daughter, mainly because of the child's unhappy relationship with her divorced father, Hans Koninsberger. Sutherland said she did not want to go to Europe particularly, but thought she might visit friends there later this year. Source also commented that Sutherland, many years ago, had had an abortion which left her sterile; he believed that this fact may have been at the root of her differences with her former husband.

11. In view of the particular sensitivity of Source's relationship with Sutherland and other members of SWCC, no direct action should be taken by the Bureau on the basis of the above information without prior consultation with this Agency, or unless it is also developed independently.

SECRET

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Date 10/19/67

SECRET

RE: **STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
IS - SNCC**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) DATE 10-17-80~~
Classification
ACB/AN

- For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks: **Attached is a CIA report dated 10/16/67 captioned, "Richard Moore, of Station KQED San Francisco, on his recent visit to Cuba," from their informant "Sugar." Do not disclose code name. Note paragraph 5.** (S)

SECRET

Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
88008
B/13/78

11/21/95
Classified by SP8 MAC/GAT
Declassify on: OADR (JFK)

SECRET

Enc. **100-439190**
Bufile **100-6488 (AF); 100-50885 (SF)**
Urfile

SECRET

SUBJECT: Richard Moore, of Station KQED San Francisco, on his Recent Visit to Cuba

1. Richard Moore, who directed a KQED film team in Cuba for a month at the time of the OLAS Conference, said he believed that the members of the SNCC delegation were completely unprepared for the lionizing they received from Fidel Castro and other Cubans.

2. Moore maintained that Stokely Carmichael was completely astonished by the tumultuous reception he got in Cuba and that Carmichael responded by enthusiastically espousing many Cuban views on world crises, such as the Sino-Soviet split. However, Moore appeared to doubt that the trip was part of a predetermined global endeavor by SNCC, despite Carmichael's further travels in the Far East, the Middle East and Africa.

3. Moore stated that he felt the Cuban authorities had little understanding of the complexities of the racial situation in the USA, despite much verbal support for black militants. In any case, Moore was certain the Cubans did not believe that the black extremists could seriously weaken the international posture of the U.S. Government.

4. See Report S-25 which reported similar views on the SNCC delegation in Cuba.

5. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject on the basis of the contents of this report without prior consultation with this Agency. This restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States, although the fact that these statements were made by Subject should continue to be considered restricted.

100-439198-1546

S-29

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/13/95 BY 5668 ddy/gat

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SUGAR 105-13072

NOT RECORDED
46 OCT 20 1967

Account file
Sugar - 105-93072

SECRET

59 OCT 20 1967

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SECRET 10/13/67

SAC, Chicago (100-41353)

Director, FBI (100-442715)

AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CH

1 - Mr. Ryan

Classified by
Exempt from GDS
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ReCGairtel 10/4/67 setting forth results of the contact by Richard Gibson with Ad Hoc Committee (AHC) informants CG 6547-S and CG 6648-S in Chicago on 9/27/67. Reference is also made to CGlet 10/6/67 which indicated Gibson corresponded with the AHC on 9/27/67 following his meeting with the AHC informants

Enclosed for Chicago and New York is one Xerox copy each of a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) report dated 10/6/67 covering the Gibson-AHC meeting on 9/27/67

Reairtel set forth CG 6547-S was of the belief Gibson was aware of his informant status and both CG 6547-S and CG 6548-S reached the definite conclusion Gibson was a CIA agent. The Bureau has no information indicating Gibson has knowledge of the informant status of CG 6547-S although a review of the CIA report covering Gibson's 8/66 contact with CG 6547-S and the report covering the current meeting indicates he may have suspicions relating to the militancy and and theoretical knowledge of CG 6547-S and of the clandestine nature and tactics of the AHC. Irregardless, the fact Gibson chose to direct a comradely letter to the AHC immediately following his personal contact would indicate he has no intention to question the AHC bona fides

The Bureau concurs that the AHC should endeavor to avoid future personal meetings with Gibson unless there is current evidence such contacts will benefit this operation. Based on the initial contact with Gibson, which was undertaken at Chicago's recommendation, the current contact was difficult to avoid without casting suspicion upon the AHC. Gibson's contact with the AHC was one of over thirty separate contacts he had tentatively scheduled during his current trip to the United States.

Enclosure

1 - New York (100-154902) (Enclosure) (S)

1 - Bufile 105-93072 (Gibson)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

DR:scr (6)

Classified by SP-13/AS-SAMAC/BAT
Declassify on: OADR

NOT RECORDED

66 OCT 26 1967

87 OCT 19 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-511-135353

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [unclear]
DATE 3-14-81 [unclear]

Letter to SAC, Chicago
RE: AD HOC COMMITTEE
100-442715

SECRET

As a matter of background, CIA has indicated Gibson is currently closely associated with and respected by pro-Chinese individuals and groups in Belgium and Scandinavian countries. He has continued considerable correspondence with militant black nationalist Robert Williams in Peking and apparently is endeavoring to represent Williams in Western Europe. At the suggestion of the leadership of the Belgian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Gibson has been endeavoring to establish a base in the United States for his activities in Europe but, from all indications he has been unsuccessful in this quest. (S)

Promptly advise the Bureau of all correspondence received by the AHC from Gibson or any information developed through this operation relating to Gibson. (S)

NOTE: AHC is intelligence operation projected as legitimate pro-Chicom organization. Gibson is operated in Western Europe as a CIA informant under the code name "Sugar." He is currently visiting this country where he is contacting a wide variety of black nationalists, leftists, and pro-Chinese individuals. (S)

SECRET

SECRET

6 OCT 1967

SUBJECT: Herb Julien Block, of the Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party

Richard Gibson

1. Concerning the New Politics Convention, Herb Block was extremely pleased with the outcome and said Ad Hoc's Negro comrade (unnamed) had been a member of the Black Caucus (presumably as a member of the CPUSA and not of Ad Hoc, which believes itself super-clandestine). Ad Hoc, he added, hoped to develop its contacts with black militants.

2. Block, a plumber by trade, said he had visited Brussels last summer with his wife, a school teacher who had been able to take him along on a cheap charter flight to Europe. While there, Block said that Rene Raundorf, member of the Grippa Belgian Communist Party (pro Chicom), had encouraged Ad Hoc to establish contacts with Progressive Labor (PL) but PL remained completely silent to all their overtures, even their paid subscriptions to PL publications had never been honored, although the checks were cashed.

3. Ad Hoc remained a small, very clandestine group, Block emphasized. Ad Hoc members did not approve of the open, "adventuristic" behavior of PL. They felt that PL was only asking for serious trouble from the Government, Block said.

4. Block said Ad Hoc had received at its New York address 500 copies of the English translation of Jacques Grippa's pamphlets, but he wondered why the pamphlets had been sent by the Belgians to New York rather than to Chicago. On the other hand, Block added, Ad Hoc had ceased to receive any of the North Vietnamese literature that Leo Van Zwol used to send them from Rotterdam.

5. See GSCI 315/04504-66, 6 September 1966, for previous report on Herb Julien Block.

6. The Bureau may pass the above information to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. In view of the particular sensitivity of Source's relationship with Block, no direct action should be taken by the Bureau on the basis of the above information without prior consultation with this Agency, or unless it is also developed independently.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-135570

11/21/95 8-23

FBI INFO
Classified by Sp8MAC/BAT
Declassify on: OADR (JFK)

105-93092
NOT RECORDED
87 OCT 19 1967

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

5 OCT 1967

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: SUGAR
Activities of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) of the US

Dec 1967
C. P. ...
Thompson
R. ...
Ryall

1. The information below was received by SUGAR from a person he has known for several months, who is close to and who talked with Allan Krebs, formerly a member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) of the United States and currently Director of the Free University in New York City.

Eng.

2. Krebs, who attended the Dialectics of Liberation Congress in London in late July 1967, was among a group from the PLP which went to Cuba in 1964. At the time of the Cuban trip, Krebs was not a Party member but later became one. He now claims to have left the PLP after Milton Rosen convinced Steve Newman, Jeff Gordon, Roger Taus, Levi Laub and others in the PLP that the Party's efforts should be concentrated on the student-worker alliance. Rosen's position is based on the thesis that the "revolution" in the United States will grow out of the consciousness and contradiction of the workers. Newman was also in the PLP group which went to Cuba in 1964; Taus and Laub were in Cuba in 1963.

NY - Cuba

3. Krebs said that he did not know where Fred Jerome stood on the student-worker alliance issue, but that his brother, Karl Jerome, had become disillusioned. Karl has now formed a small group of 10 to 20 individuals (including Frank Gillette who recently wrote an article for the Free University magazine) which is collaborating with Krebs in an attempt to work out some viable program.

4. There are five PLP members in prison in the US and Krebs protested the failure of the Party to even form a picket line around the jails in order to focus people's attention on the injustice.

105-93072-160

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/21/95 BY SP8 MAC/BAT

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5. In its newspaper and magazine the PLP attempts to publish material from the Peking Review and uses the linguistic style of the Chinese, hoping the latter will think that the PLP is echoing the Chinese line. Krebs felt, however, that if the PLP analyzed its own position it would discover that it is following the position of Liu Shao-Ch'i, Chairman Mao's principal opponent. Another problem which confronts the PLP stems from the Party's previous intimation that former Cuban revolutionary leader "Che" Guevara had been killed by "revisionist" Fidel Castro. Now the PLP is embarrassed inasmuch as Guevara appears to be alive and active in Latin America.

6. The Du Bois Clubs are on the verge of closing down in New York City because the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) does not want to support irritants to the US Government, Krebs claimed. The Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) is merging with the CPUSA; the latter hopes to control all peace activities in the US. This is in line with the decisions made in Stockholm 6 - 9 July 1967, at the World Conference on Vietnam.

7. According to Krebs, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has "increasing relevance" within the American scene.

8. It is requested that no action be taken on the basis of this information without prior coordination with this agency.

Comment: See CS 311/03523-67 dated 22 March 1967 for information on plans for holding the Dialectics of Liberation Congress.

CSCI 316/04370-67

SECRET

5 OCT 1967

R. C. ... CIA

SUBJECT: Activities and Comments of Elizabeth Sutherland

1. Elizabeth Sutherland, of SNCC, has recently returned to New York from travel which included at least Havana (to attend the LASO Conference end July 1967), Mexico City, and Puerto Rico.

2. Regarding Stokely Carmichael's current travels, Sutherland asserted that these were not necessarily to draw forth any immediate results, but rather to awaken the consciousness of "people back here."

3. Sutherland is not sure whether Carmichael has a real role to play in the future. According to her, James Forman (who is now back in New York) is really SNCC.

4. Sutherland stated that she had worked with Forman in Puerto Rico on two books which are to be published soon, one by Dial Press. This latter book will have a section on the racial situation in Cuba, and will contain statements by various Cubans, in what was described by her as "an Oscar Lewis type of presentation." There will be some 1961 photographs by Leroy McLucas, with which she is not very happy since they are now so very much out of date.

5. In view of the particular sensitivity of Source's relationship with Sutherland and other members of SNCC, no direct action should be taken by the Bureau on the basis of the above information without prior consultation with this Agency, or unless it is also developed independently.

6. A follow-up report with greater details concerning Sutherland's current views and activities is expected shortly.

S-17

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/13/96 BY SP8MAC/GAT

(JFK)

Savage - SUGAR

RF

105-93072
105-93027-

NOT RECORDED
170 OCT 18 1967

105-21126-25
ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~59 OCT 25 1967~~
57 NOV 3 1967

OCT 31 1967
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105 93072
File 5 plt

5 OCT 1967

*Re from
Richard CIA
[initials]*

*9
2*

SUBJECT: Views of the Reverend Daniel Mallette on the Black Militant Situation in Chicago

*see [unclear]
see*

1. *see* Father Mallette, of St. Agatha's R.C. Church in Chicago, said that "Fats Washington" was really Fats Crawford of the Deacons, a virtually autonomous Chicago offshoot of the Louisiana original organization. Crawford had been arrested recently, Mallette said. Although it was certainly true the Deacons were heavily armed, Mallette maintained there was no evidence that they intended to use the arms in a black rebellion. In fact, there was hardly a Negro home in Chicago without firearms, he added, but the amazing thing about the summer just past was that no serious riots had occurred, although, he maintained, that there had been three occasions-- such as the police shooting of a Negro youth--when riots "should have normally occurred" in protest at police brutality. Thanks to the liberal amounts of cash and jobs made available by the Daly machine, Chicago remained calm, but the black masses also remained restive and bribes to black leaders did not solve their very serious problems, Mallette said.

2. He *see* thought the housing problem was most serious. He was very bitter about Robert Weaver's visit that day to Chicago to announce a housing scheme in Lawndale, the section of Chicago where Mallette's St. Agatha's R.C. Church stands. Mallette claimed that the Federal scheme was merely intended to shift the Negro population from sub-standard frame houses to rabbit-warren high-rise apartment houses that also became dens of crime and vice. Also, the scheme was intended as a buffer for the middle-income development that Sears was to build to house its junior executives and middle-grade employees in the vicinity, near the Sears headquarters.

3. Mallette said that white radical groups had no influence in the black ghettos and he also doubted if RAM even existed there, as well. It was a gross untruth to claim there was any sort of nationwide conspiracy among black extremists and some of the most loud-mouthed militants were the most suspicious, he added, such as Russ Meek, who moved around Chicago without any real following, always had money, and who put on a good show of black militancy without ever leading the slightest demonstration. And when demonstrations were called, Mallette added, they were often made up of only a mere handful of sincere militants, whose ranks were swollen by Chicago Negro policemen and poverty program people in civilian clothes.

Sugar

*cc to CG 4-07, 143 10/17/67
for info "SUGAR" name should
not be divulged. PTB/dlt*

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/95 BY SP8 MAC/GAT

SUGAR (JFK)

RUSKINS

*105-93072
File (SPT)*

REC-50

105-93072-158

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11 OCT 24 1967

70 OCT 27 1967

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4. Mallette said there was not much anti-draft counselling among Chicago Negroes. The youth gang members managed somehow to escape military service and it was mainly the youths from the better homes who found themselves in uniform. He added that his church wanted to find a way to help them avoid military service, if possible. *see*

5. Mallette mentioned ~~Dave~~ Florens, an editor of Negro Digest, who, despite his employment with Johnson Publications, was a very militant black youth, who knew a great deal about what was going on.

6. Mallette also mentioned an old friend, Edward R. F. Shehan, a freelance writer, who lives at 120 rue de Javel, Paris 15e, and Doug Andrews of the West Garfield Organization. He said that Andrews had often hinted he was a RAM member or very close to RAM, however, Andrews' organization was suspiciously opulent and it might be receiving Federal or local money. *see*

7. Mallette was quite hostile to Dr. Martin Luther King, whom he calls a "phoney" and refers to as "De Lawd". He maintained that Rev. James Bevel was deliberately used by King to terrorize whites, who then were only too eager to cooperate with King to restore order. However, Mallette maintained that King had made serious errors in Chicago, despite an understanding with Mayor Daly, and was now virtually halting his Chicago operations. He also accused King and his aides of profiteering in the slums, in collaboration with the National Tea Company's Delfarms supermarkets. *see*

8. Source Comment: ~~Daniel~~ Watts described Father Mallette as the one person, white or black, who knew what was happening in the black ghettos of Chicago. Mallette is young, almost fanatical in his devotion to the interests of the black community, shows obvious signs of extreme fatigue or battle-weariness. Source commented that Father Mallette was one of the "most foul-mouthed" priest he had ever met, and described him as a "practicing White Negro". He nevertheless remains an impressive person, who undoubtedly is one of the rare whites who can walk with relative safety into some of the toughest black nationalist haunts in Chicago. Mallette is a friend of Milwaukee's Rev. Groppi. *see*

9. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject of this report without prior consultation with this Agency; this restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States.

S-13

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10/11/67

~~SECRET~~

SAC, Detroit

Director, FBI

105-93072

1 - Mr. Trainor

RIOT IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN
BEGINNING JULY 23, 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

RICHARD THOMAS GIBSON

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a communication from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), classified "Secret" by that Agency. The communication sets forth information received by the CIA from one of its informants who is identified as "Sugar." (S)

It is noted in paragraph eight of the enclosed that the CIA requested that the Bureau take no action on the basis of the information set forth without prior consultation with that Agency. (S)

Your attention is directed to Singleton's statement in paragraph three of the enclosure that he had been told by some black nationalists that if there were another riot situation there would be no fire bombing (especially of black property) but a more coordinated plan of attack on key communications and power installations. You should be alert through your informants and sources for any information that would tend to corroborate this information.

Enclosure

JCT: bff

(5)

① - 105-93072

Classified by 159 (S) 009A
Exempt from GDS, Category 1
DATE 10/13/77

NOT RECORDED
184 OCT 23 1967

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

1/21/96 SP8 MAC/SAT
Declassify on: OADR (JFK)

66 OCT 19 1967

DUPLICATE YELLOW

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 1-19-78
ALP/19C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-15-2188

Letter to SAC, Denver
RE: RIOT IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN
BEGINNING JULY 23, 1967

SECRET

NOTE:

The information furnished by the CIA informants consists of the views of John Singleton, a National Broadcasting Company news employee, regarding the July, 1967, Detroit riot and Singleton's belief that CIA is covertly financing black nationalist groups within the United States as part of a vast plot to crush black militants. According to the informant, Singleton was unable to furnish any proof in support of his contention but asserted that CIA funds reaching small scattered black groups will encourage them to irresponsible actions certain to alienate white liberals and black moderates. With regard to the Detroit riot itself, Singleton's statements as reported by the informant appear to be based on his own conjecture and not on any specific evidence. In view of the restriction placed by CIA on the information furnished by its informant, Singleton is not available for interview by us at this time.

(S)

SECRET

SECRET

*Rec'd
R. Allen
CIA
10/11/67*

*RUSKIN'S
TAYLOR
2 OCT 1967*

SUBJECT: Views of John Singleton, NBC News Sound Man, on Detroit Riots and Alleged Anti-Negro Plot

*G.C. Moore
orig*

1. John Singleton, a 45-year-old Negro married to a Caucasian, is a sound man for NBC News and worked on the recently-shown NBC documentary on the Detroit riots.

2. Although described by Source as normally sophisticated and unhysterical, Singleton was almost unshakeably convinced that the CIA is covertly financing black nationalist groups within the U.S. as part of a vast plot to crush black militancy. He was unable to provide any proof in support of this contention, but asserted that CIA funds reaching small scattered black groups will encourage them to irresponsible actions, certain to alienate white liberals and black moderates. A list of black nationalists and other Negroes to be arrested has been circulated to police throughout the country in readiness for mass arrests, Singleton maintained, and 13 concentration camps have been placed in renewed condition in various parts of the country to hold some of the thousands of blacks who will be apprehended. In this plot, Singleton claimed, ultra-right white groups such as the Minutemen and Breakthru, in Detroit, will join forces with the police and the military and the CIA to deal a crushing sudden blow to black nationalism.

3. Concerning the Detroit situation, Singleton felt that cooperation between Negro groups only developed after the initial day or so of rioting and that this unity was, and remains, extremely limited in scope, being essentially a reaction of joint self-defense against white outsiders. Singleton did not believe that any group planned further rioting or terrorist attacks, but he added that he had been told by some black nationalists that, if there were another riot situation, there would be no firebombing (especially of black property), but a more coordinated plan of attack on key communications and power installations, e.g. telephone centers, powerplants, etc.

4. (In connection with the above statements, Source wished to point out that Singleton is not himself a black nationalist, and that while his wife is active in local politics and probably has a leftist political background, neither he nor she can be described as Communists. Singleton himself, for instance, is not opposed to the Johnson Administration, and although not agreeing with Secretary Rusk's position on the Vietnam War, has characterized the latter as a very courageous man. His virtually unshakeable belief in a CIA-sponsored plot, however, was indicative of the degree of suspicion and fear, as well as anger, prevalent in many Negro circles.)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-15-2188

5-87

*see sent
Detroit by
10-11-67
10/11/67*

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DATE 1/21/95 BY SP8 MAC/BAT

*Source "SUGAR"
OP
(JFK)*

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-2-

5. Speaking of his own personal plans, Singleton said he had been encouraged by Daniel P. Moynihan to set up an all-black film unit for riot situations, when white newsmen might not be able to circulate in the black ghettos, to shoot film which would be sold to white film and television units.

DETROIT MIGHT
6. Singleton mentioned the name of George W. Gaddy, 1605 Glynn Court (telephone TO 5-5719) as an individual with extremely wide and friendly contacts at all levels of the black community in Detroit. Gaddy, not a black nationalist himself, is a teacher and community leader, and secretary of the "Detroit Collegians", a group of Negro men and women who try to obtain college scholarships for Negro youths.

7. Singleton lives in Englewood, N.J.

8. It is requested that the Bureau take no action on the basis of the above information without prior consultation with this Agency.

S-10

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442715)

DATE: 10/6/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41353)

(S) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
IS - CH

SECRET

A. P. J...
Y. P. J...
(S)

Enclosed for the Bureau and New York Office are one xerox copy each, of a letter to the Ad Hoc Committee from RICHARD GIBSON, post marked 9/27/67 and received through the Ad Hoc Committee Chicago post office box, by CG 6547-S. In his letter, GIBSON furnishes the names of two leaders of the newly organized pro-Chinese Communist organization in Sweden, BO GUSTAFSSON, of Uppsala, Sweden, and NILS HOLMBERG, Goteborg, Sweden. GIBSON suggested that these individuals be added to the Ad Hoc mailing list.

HOLMBERG has been on the Ad Hoc mailing list since January, 1967 when GIBSON furnished his name by letter to the AHC. In this same letter GIBSON furnished the name of GUNNAR BYLIN to which the bulletin should be sent "in care of BO GUSTAFSSON, Uppsala, Sweden," and bulletins have been sent to GUSTAFSSON in this manner since January, 1967.

No reply to GIBSON's letter is called for at this time.

Records: Place copy in 105-93072 (Gibson)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-1348 (S)

105-93072

NOT RECORDED
165 OCT 12 1967

11/3/95
Classified by SP8 MAC/GAT
Declassify on: OADR (BTK)

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago
- RHN:tmm
(4)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)
DATE 11-28-88

Classified by
Exempt from GDS, Category
Date: 11-28-88

12 OCT 11 1967

ENCLOSURE

SECRET



66 OCT 18 1967 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Wednesday afternoon

Dear Comrade,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SECRET

Here are the addresses I promised you. As so many of our comrades in Sweden and elsewhere in Scandinavia do read English, I am sure they would be delighted to receive your bulletin and to establish fraternal relations.

The following comrade is chairman of the newly organized Marxist-Leninist group in Sweden. He is also a distinguished Marxist thinker and teaches at Uppsala University.

Bo Gustafsson
Marmorvägen 7A
Uppsala, Sweden

And the other comrade was for many years a member of the Central Committee of the SKP, until squeezed out by the ultra-revisionists.

Nils Holmberg
Tredje Langgatan 43
Göteborg S.V., Sweden

If you think there is anyone in the East that I should see before going back home, you or they will be able to reach me at the Hotel Algonquin next Monday to Wednesday.

Comradely,

Dick

(S)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE 3/14/78

Classified by 1089
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3
Date 10/13/78

11/3/95 SP8 MAC/GAT
Classified by (JFK)
Declassify on: OADR

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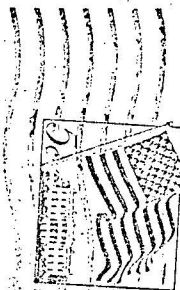
ENCLOSURE

105-93072 -

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

Ad Hoc Committee
P.O. Box 6193
Chicago, Ill. 60680



SECRET

(S)

SECRET

C. D. [Signature] 5 OCT 1967

RUSKIN

T. R. [Signature]

B. [Signature]

SUBJECT: Views of Doug Andrews on the Black Militant Situation in Chicago

1. Doug Andrews, of the West Garfield Organization, was organizing the picketing of a white supermarket, alleged to be selling inferior meat. He said the Garfield Organization hoped to put the store out of business and was directing Negroes to buy from a nearby Negro shopkeeper.

2. Andrews said he devoted his energies to West Chicago. Not only was he not thinking of going abroad, he was not even thinking of going to other parts of Chicago.

3. The situation of the black militant was a desperate one, he maintained. His position was hopeless. He could "only learn to die well and take some hunkies with him," Andrews said, adding there was no possibility of a black victory in White America. However, black people had no other course of action, except servitude, to escape their destruction in the battle with the whites, he said.

4. He maintained he was not a member of RAM and that RAM did not exist in Chicago. Max Stanford was a good and sincere fellow, but his tactics were stupid and he was thereby fated to remain behind bars, at least during the hot part of every summer, yet "Max was not up to anything."

5. Ron Karenga and Lawrence Landry were coming to see him the afternoon of 28 September 1967, Andrews said, but he "knew about both of them and what their game was," but he would not specify.

6. Progressive Labor and all the other white radical groups had no foothold in the black community, Andrews claimed. He said that William Epton had recently been to Chicago, and had spoken very vehemently against Robert F. Williams. Williams had no personal following in Chicago, although respected by black militants, Andrews said, but Epton had even less of a following and the local Negroes did not understand just what Epton was up to, but they were very wary of him.

7. In general, in Chicago, as elsewhere, he said, the trouble with the black nationalist movement was that there was no unity. He scoffed at the reports of a vast conspiracy and claimed he had had to work for two years, drinking bad wine in back alleys with youth gangs, to get even a semblance of unity in West Chicago.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-7297

REC 6 105-93072-158

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/7/95 BY SP8 MAC/GAT

OCT 23 1967

SECRET

79 OCT 26 1967

Source - SUGAR

Below copy of [Signature] (JFK) 105-93072 July 5 [Signature]

cc to CG by O-7 K/S 10/17/67
for info. "SUGAR" name should not be divulged. 075/def

Richard Thomas Gibson

R. [Signature] CIA

SECRET

8. (See comment on Andrews by Father Mallette, paragraph 6, S-13.)

9. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject of this report without prior consultation with this Agency; this restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States.

S-14

SECRET

SECRET

6 OCT 1967

Rev from R. Ober CIA

SUBJECT: Comments of Claudette Morin, Former Worker of SCLC, on Black Militancy

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
IN MAINE APPROX 1946

Belmont
D. Drake
RYA

1. Claudette Morin is twenty-one years old and comes from Glendale, California, but was born of French Canadian parents in Maine. She is a former SCLC worker and is presently living in Billy Collins and Betty Jones' old apartment at 2030 N. Dayton, Chicago (phone: 477-4887). (See Report S-20.) Morin now works for the American Friends Service Committee project in Chicago.

2. Claudette Morin is very friendly with Rev. James Bevel. Morin was especially committed to non-violence as a philosophical position and deeply regretted the growing violence in the black movement, although she admitted that it probably was caused by the frustrations and false hopes caused by the first wave of the civil rights movement.

3. The Bureau may pass the above information to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject of this report until after Source's departure from the United States.

S-21.

Source SUGAR

copy cc to on 9/10/67 by 0-7 for info with statement "Note item 3." D.M.W./ci

REC-41 105-93072-157

18 OCT 17 1967

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/17/96 BY SP8 MAC/BAT

(JFK)

SECRET

INT. SEC.

PMS
NOV 7 1967

INFORMS OF A SOURCE

Rec from R. Ober, CIA
RA

SUBJECT: General Comments re ~~Black Militant Activities in the U.S.~~

G. City

The following are some general comments made by Source, based on his observations and recent contacts with Black Militants and groups in various key cities of the U.S.:

1. There is no tight organization, no cohesiveness between the various black militant groups, no indication of a "Black Conspiracy".

no ties

2. There are no apparent indications of any significant foreign ties or of any foreign money.

5-Triple

3. The ferment is based mostly on basic grievances (housing, schooling, draft), and although poverty funds have alleviated many sore points in ghetto conditions, these have not yet reached the basic problems, which continue to exist. (These funds have, however, been effective enough to undercut the grievance platform of many militant leaders who exploited the grievances.)

Kenney

4. There is very little real ideological ferment. It is all visceral, tied to basic grievances, or of the "Kill Whitey!" variety. Mao literature circulates, but few militants are literate enough, let alone intellectual enough, to understand it. However, a strong leader at the right moment (i.e., riot circumstances) could direct the mobs and even unite the various now-uncoordinated black nationalists.

9

5. Even the anti-draft movement is not so much a political protest at the involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam, as it is a manifestation of the Negro belief that the draft is being used by the U.S. Government as an instrument to exterminate the American Negro (they point to the larger proportion of Negroes who are drafted because Caucasian boys can more easily evade it on the basis of educational exemptions).

105-93072

6. There are lots of arms floating around in all these militant groups, and Mace is also being collected and stored, for use against police and national guards. There is an aversion to firebombing, but a general agreement seems to prevail toward intensive sniping, mainly at police.

105-93072-156

22 OCT 11 1967

Sugar

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DATE 11/17/95 BY SP8 MAC/GAT
(JFK)

Source - "SUGAR"

30 OCT 18 1967

SECRET

W. J. ...
W. J. ...
5 OCT 1967

SUBJECT: Views of James and Grace Boggs on Detroit Riots and Black Militancy Generally

SUGAR

1. (According to Source, James Boggs, who has been an auto worker for twenty years and is now working in the Chrysler plant in Detroit installing engines, claims to be a Marxist, but says he has gone a long way beyond the work of Marx, Lenin or even Mao Tse-tung, because of the uniqueness of the racial situation in America. Boggs thinks of himself as a "black theorist". He said his involvement in politics was due to his meeting the West Indian Trotskyist C.L.R. James years ago, but he added that he had been saddened to see James not long ago and to discover that James was "still living in the thirties." Grace, his wife, is a strong-willed, fair-skinned, opinionated woman, who occasionally argues with her husband and often competes with him for the attention of their visitors.)

2. The Boggses were not in Detroit at the time of the riots, which they insist were a rebellion. Concerning Louis Lomax's article, they maintained the articles were highly incorrect and have made Lomax the laughing stock of the black community. (Please see our unnumbered report entitled "Negro Militant Activities - The Black Establishment," which reports a contrary evaluation of the Lomax article by William Gardner Smith.) In any case, they claim Lomax is genuinely mentally ill. On the other hand, Robert Maynard's series of articles in the Washington Post and N.Y. Post were highly regarded by the Boggses. Maynard's article reflected accurately the atmosphere of the black ghettos and the thinking of militants, they said.

3. The Boggses distinguished between the political and the military leadership of the black community in Detroit. While they did not specifically say so, Source assumed them to mean that the persons they mentioned as the "Leadership"--Rev. Albert Cleage, Milton Henry, Richard Henry, Edward Vaughn and themselves--were the political leadership of the black movement.

4. They said that Rev. Cleage could mobilize 2,000 persons anytime at all, but that the movement had a hard core of about 400 persons in Detroit. The real rallying point of the movement in Detroit, they said, was Rev. Cleage's Central United Church of Christ and his Black Christian Nationalist Movement.

5. Boggs said Cleage was the real agitator of the masses, Milton Henry the "black defender" and he (Boggs) the theorist.

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3- ENCLOSURE

105-93072-M...

S. R. ...

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/17/98 BY SP8 MAC/BAT
79 OCT 31 1967 (JFK)

NOT RECORDED
184 OCT 26 1967

SECRET

18 OCT 24 1967

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6. The rebellion had given the movement great strength, as police and military repression had broken the psychological link between the black community and white society. Moreover, since the rebellion, white rightist groups, such as Breakthru, were holding nightly meetings, urging whites to arm and to be ready to exterminate the blacks. Black people, Boggs said, were not convinced that whites, especially working class whites, would not hesitate to apply a Hitlerite "final solution" to the black problem. This widespread conviction, he pointed out, was not the same as the feeling in many other cities that blacks could only "get ready to die." Rap Brown and many young blacks were convinced of their own early deaths by white violence, he said. They believed there could be no escape and, at most, black people could hope to destroy a large portion of America as they went to their deaths in some sort of racial Gotterdammerung.

7. Boggs maintained that this was not quite the case in Detroit, because he had been able to evolve a theory of black seizure or transfer of power that held some chance of success. As he had been saying for years, the cities of America are being abandoned to Negroes as whites flee to the segregated suburbs, leaving only a white non-residential city center surrounded by black slums. Blacks in time would seize the cities by a combination of electoral power and urban guerrilla warfare. He said that violence, especially confrontation with the white working class, was inevitable and would be, in the main, provoked by the whites, but the blacks were evolving much more sophisticated means of warfare than that seen during the July rebellion in Detroit. There would also be economic warfare, he added, mentioning a meeting he had had with executives of Sears to demand that one of Sears' stores in Detroit be turned over directly to black management. He had pointed out that Sears had not been burned out last July, which had not been an oversight, but it might be burned out in the future if the Sears executives refused to understand that blacks intended to manage and administer all forms of activity within their black cities. This was no threat to the ownership of the store by Sears or to its profits, which might even rise after transfer of management to Negroes, Boggs said. He said that even some of the auto plants might eventually be the target of black takeover attempts.

8. Seizure of state power was the aim of all revolutionaries, Boggs said, and the only power black could obtain would be inside the white-abandoned cities. Of course, they could also establish schemes to migrate to virtually empty states, such as Wyoming, and eventually oust the white minority, but that was a lot more difficult than simply exerting their numbers in the urban areas, he said. Open housing in the suburbs might foil this concentration of black power and it was probable that the white bourgeoisie, always less racist than the working class, was well aware of this, but the white leadership (neither Johnson in Washington nor Reuther in Detroit) could not keep working class whites in line for such an effort.

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9. In Detroit, black cadres had been trained and were still being trained. A political machine was coming solidly into being, with its roots in the black community and enjoying united support, even from blacks who did not agree wholeheartedly with the program, while the moderates supported it too because it was visibly working. Black nationalists were organizing at every level of activity and in every professional group, such as teachers, although the black industrial workers remained basically indifferent to political action and some even were "brainwashed" with notions about "class/unity" with white workers. Boggs said one of the keys to success in future rebellions was the group of youths known as "do-rags", i.e. who wore black cloths around their straightened hair. They were essentially a social, extremely nihilistic and violent, lacking any life aims, hate-filled for whites, whose hair they imitated, and for their Negroid selves, which they partially repudiated. Boggs said that nevertheless they represented the shock troops of the rebellion, if once disciplined. The black nationalist leadership had been attempting to reach the "do-rags" through nationalist youth, who tended to be students from middle-class Negro families, and who had to be constantly reproached for taking an over-intellectual tone in dealing with this black lumpenproletariat. (The favorite current reading of this element at present is a paperback novel entitled Pimp by Iceberg Slim, probably a white author but one who certainly understood the aspirations of this sub-class. The book is a best-seller in bookshops in Black ghettos across the country.)

10. As for contacts with other black nationalist groups in other cities, Boggs said that Rev. Cleage and he travelled a great deal, speaking wherever possible, and people from other cities and even from abroad, such as William Gardner Smith in Paris, were always coming to see them in Detroit, but the situation elsewhere was at a far lower level than in Detroit. In those cities, he said, coordination meant simply a list of telephone numbers of black leaders who were contacted in an emergency, but who generally fought against each other and did not agree about anything except their opposition to whites. In Detroit, there was genuine functional coordination with political/national aims and the Detroit example was certain to spread, despite the rivalries and feuds among blacks elsewhere, Boggs felt.

11. Boggs stressed that he is neither anti-white nor anti-semitic, but insisted that all old radical groups and parties were utterly without influence in the black communities. In Detroit, the only white who could move freely in the black community was Frank Joyce. They were sure of Frank, he added, and they know he could be trusted to do anything that was necessary. Joyce had a small group of white followers and was an invaluable ally, but most of the

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white radicals would not follow his example, because they wanted white leadership and still believed myths about a revolutionary white working class, which simply was not true. The white working class was closer to fascism than the white bourgeoisie and constantly complained of the "soft leadership" in Washington and Lansing, Boggs added.

12. As for Robert F. Williams, Boggs said he could not understand how Williams could even think of returning to the USA. It was utterly impossible and, if he were so foolish as to try, he would be dead within hours, Boggs said. He added that it was a miracle that he himself was not dead or in jail, but white officials had probably correctly guessed that this might provoke black violent retaliation. Williams had never answered a single letter that he had written him, he added, and had instructed Max Stanford to go illegally to Cuba in 1964--to the point of stealing a car to cross the Canadian border--when he and Milton Henry had arranged for Stanford to travel to Cuba legally as a journalist. But, he stressed, he was not hostile to Williams and hoped that he could establish himself in China and explain the situation in America (if he had any idea what it now was) to the Chinese, who were indeed the center of the world revolutionary movement. However, Mao's statement was foolish when it referred to unity between black and white workers and he (Boggs) would tell him so if he ever saw him.

13. The Detroit movement had no international ties yet. They had heard from Bjorn Kumm (reporter in Sweden for Aftonbladet, an extreme left wing socialist paper) who wanted material for an anthology on black power, and were in contact with Quaderni Piacentini in Italy, and someone from Nouvel Observateur, writing a book on the Afro-American struggle, had also visited Detroit several times. William Gardiner Smith had also promised to remain in contact with them, Boggs said. They also had an English-born friend, Kathleen Aberle, now living in Vancouver, Canada, who taught there and was in contact with U.S. draft dodgers and others. (Aberle lives at 4518 W. Marine Drive, West Vancouver.) Boggs told Tom Kwon (phonetically), a Chinese who works at Ford, that Aberle was visiting Detroit again in December, but was staying at a hotel rather than with old friends with whom she no longer agreed politically. Kwon had apparently worked with Boggs in the Correspondence and preceding Trotskyist splinter groups, perhaps with Aberle.

14. As for RAM, Boggs said that, frankly, many of its members were lunatics. He did not believe they were guilty of everything they had been accused of, but they presented the easiest target in America for white repression. Max Stanford had behaved badly with many people, especially Milton Henry, to whom he had written an obscene letter. And Paul (last name not known) was simply using the black movement to hustle money, Boggs said. He was running a sort of protection racket.

15. Boggs said he had been very cautious about Williams' feud with the Cubans and had not become involved in the dispute in nationalist circles about Carlos Moore. He had not had enough facts to make a rational judgment, but he knew from an Argentinian who had visited Detroit that Che Guevara was

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alive six months ago. This Argentinian had actually seen Che somewhere in South America and Boggs was certain the Argentinian was a reliable source.

16. Concerning international contacts, Boggs complained of the lack of a review like the old Revolution and wondered if some sort of serious colloquium on black power and racial discrimination could not be organized abroad, either in Europe or Africa.

17. Boggs spoke highly of Daniel H. Watts and his magazine, Liberator. He said he felt that Liberator was read by the black people he wanted to reach and he intended to write more frequently for the publication. Rev. Cleage would do so also, he said.

18. In conclusion, he said the black movement in Detroit was in a period of transition, but it had established solid bases for the eventual seizure or transfer of power in the city. In a matter of time, there would be a black city administration, and this pattern would be followed in many other cities. Violence was necessary for self-defense against white racists or to cut through the run-arounds and other evasions of the white power structure in seeking to avoid granting blacks the management of their own affairs in their cities, the homelands of the black nation within a nation in America, Boggs emphasized.

19. Attached are copies of hand-outs distributed by the Reverend Cleage. Also attached is a copy of an article which the Boggses expect to have published shortly in the National Guardian.

20. The Bureau may pass the above report to appropriate field offices for Background Use Only. It is requested no direct action be taken against the Subject of this report without prior consultation with this Agency; this restriction may be considered withdrawn one month after Source's departure from the United States. It is also requested that the Bureau's possession of the Boggs draft article and its contents be closely held until such time as it is published, since we are unable to determine how many copies of this particular draft have been given out by the Boggses.

S-16

Attachments:

As stated above

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *JJR*

DATE: 10/5/67

FROM : S. J. Papich *P*

SUBJECT: [SUGAR] (S)

G. C. Moore

BP

Richard Ober, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), advised the Liaison Agent that SUGAR has returned to the East Coast and will be making some more contacts before he travels to Europe. Ober pointed out that in the event the Bureau believed it would be worthwhile for SUGAR to return to the West Coast and the Mid West for any additional contacts with past associates, CIA is in the position to arrange such travel. Ober commented that the Bureau possibly might deem it advisable to have SUGAR "check back" on information previously furnished by the CIA source. (S) *(S)*

ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Subversive Control Section.

- 1 - G. C. Moore
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

REC 18 105-93072-155

EX-103

13 OCT 10 1967

SJP:rab
(4) *rab*

~~SECRET~~

*Dick Ober, CIA advised
7/31/67 see no need for "Sugar"
to recheck with his source
10/9/67
WOB*

5- RUSHING

T. J. [unclear]

~~Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

~~SECRET~~

12/30/74
Classified by SP8MAC/GAT
Declassify on: OADR
(S)
(S)

53 OCT 13 1967

10/4/67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

AIRTEL

SECRET

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442715)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41353)
SUBJECT: AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR A
MARKIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA
IS - CH

Classified by 1259/233

(S)

(S)

113/95
Classified by Sp8 MAC/GAT

Declassify on OADR (JFK)

Re Bureau airtel, 9/13/67 and Chicago airtels,
9/14/67 and 8/5/66.

On 9/27/67 CG 6547-S and CG 6548-S telephonically
advised that they had been called that morning by RICHARD
GIBSON and that because GIBSON was busy with other contacts
he only had time for a luncheon engagement at the Sherman Hotel
in Chicago. Informants stated that because of the hurry-up
nature of GIBSON's call, they acceded to his request. Informants
subsequently met with GIBSON and advised the following concerning
this contact to SAs RICHARD E. NACHTSHEIM, HERBERT K. STALLINGS
and ROBERT R. GLENDON on 9/27 and 28/67: (S)

It may be stated at the outset that CG 6547-S
advised that he felt that GIBSON knew of the relationship
of CG 6547-S as an informant. He based his statement on the
fact that GIBSON in his letter to the Ad Hoc Committee (AHC)
indicated he had matters of importance to discuss and intimated
that he had been in contact with the Belgians on matters con-
cerning the AHC. The informants advised that GIBSON had no
matters of urgency to discuss with the AHC; that he was not
particularly concerned with informants' comments on the New
Politics Conference in Chicago, as well as with other matters
facing Marxist-Leninists in this country; and that it seemed
to them there was no real purpose to GIBSON's contact with the
AHC. Hence, the conclusion on the part of CG 6547-S that GIBSON (S)

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-154902) (Info.) (RM) (S)
- 3 - Chicago
(1 - 134-1800)
- (1 - 134-1844)

RRG/vmg
(7)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) 3-4-67

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105-93072
NOT RECORDED
87 OCT 26 1967

57 OCT 27 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-442715-1367 (S)

CG [100-41353] (S)

may know of informant's status. (S)

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CG 6548-S, however, concluded that GIBSON was solely interested in pushing sales for a forthcoming book based on articles of ROBERT WILLIAMS. (GIBSON mentioned more than once that the Belgian Communist Party (BCP) was going to publish this book and that he, GIBSON, was responsible for the publication.) CG 6548-S stated that their opinion of GIBSON could have been the result of: 1) the information brought back from Europe last year by CG 5908-S to the effect that the Italian pro-Communist group suspected GIBSON of being a CIA agent and 2) GIBSON's repeated statements during this contact that he had been suspected of being a CIA agent. CG 6548-S felt that because GIBSON repeated this charge against him at least three times during their discussion that they felt that this could have been the main and sole reason for his contact with the AHC, e.g., to dispel the implication made by the Italians that GIBSON was an agent. The informants advised that they told GIBSON that as long as GRIPPA and RAINDORF believed the charge against him was false then so too does the AHC believe there is no substance to such accusations. (S)

It should be pointed out that both informants definitely believe that GIBSON is a CIA agent and that his primary reason for contacting the AHC was to dispel the suspicions of the Italians. Informants added that GIBSON is a smooth operator, but that his ideological understanding is very shallow and his manner of approach is such that a Marxist-Leninist would have cause to wonder just why he was being contacted by GIBSON. They concluded that a true Marxist would be vitally interested in the recent New Politics Convention and especially of an analysis of the Black Power forces within this convention, but such was not the case with GIBSON. CG 6548-S stated that it was definitely her impression that GIBSON did not mean one word he said nor did he listen to any word that they said. Hence, their conclusion. These impressions of the informants are set forth initially because of the interest of the Bureau in this matter. Because of these statements and because of the status of GIBSON, the following information, which relates to his contact with informants, has not been set forth in LHM form, it being noted that this procedure was followed in GIBSON's contact with CG 6547-S last year. It is apparent that the submission of such information to CIA would identify our informants. (S)

(S)

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GIBSON advised that he had seen SID LENS that morning and produced a statement of LENS regarding the recently held New Politics Conference. According to GIBSON, LENS was worried that the tactics of Black Power at the convention would backfire to the extent that the Government would crackdown on, not only Black Power groups, but all liberal-progressive elements (S)

GIBSON stated that he had been to Los Angeles, but not San Francisco or Canada. He related that he had talked to someone in Watts (not identified) and also that Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was passing out \$5 bills to persons in Watts to attend PLP classes. With respect to PLP, the informant stated that he had recently been contacted by a former National Committee (NC) member of PLP who questioned the source of funds of this organization and GIBSON replied that PLP does seem to have a lot of money to pass around. He was asked where he thought PLP was getting the money, but he did not answer the question (S)

With respect to PLP, GIBSON stated that this organization has attacked China and the Belgians. When apprised of the recent standing of PLP with respect to Soviet aid to Viet Nam, he stated that this was not unusual since PLP always has been to the left of everyone else. GIBSON stated that SUE FRANK had contacted with the Belgians last year and all she was interested in was to have the Belgians print articles concerning the WILLIAM EPTON case. He stated that he does not believe that the Belgians know anything more about PLP and that it may have been for this reason that the Belgians had asked the AHC to contact this organization (S)

With respect to the Belgian CP, the informants advised that GIBSON had nothing of importance for the AHC from the Belgians and the only information at all that he reported to the informants was the fact that JACQUES GRIPPA had recently been ill. (S)

In connection with this conversation about GRIPPA, GIBSON advised that he had translated GRIPPA's pamphlet which attacks U.S. imperialism which pamphlet the Belgians had promised to send to the AHC (S)

The informants inquired of the status of LEO VAN ZWOL of the Holland Party, stating that they had received Viet Nam literature through VAN ZWOL and were highly disturbed to find out through GRIPPA and RAINDORF that VAN ZWOL had been expelled. Since VAN ZWOL had informed the AHC that he was a friend of (S)

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(S)

GIBSON they were wondering if he could clear up this matter for them. GIBSON reported that VAN ZWOL had been expelled from Holland for not being a citizen of that country, but that he was still in the movement and operating in another country. He stated that VAN ZWOL was not expelled from the movement, hence the impression that the informants had from the Belgians was erroneous. It was at this time that GIBSON mentioned that he too had been expelled and the informants understood that the country he was referring to was France. It was also at this time that GIBSON brought up the fact that he had been accused of being an agent of CIA by one of the Italian groups and that even RAINDORF and GRIPPA had had similar charges against them. Informants advised him that as long as he had the backing of the Belgians he was okay with the AHC. It may be iterated here that the informants advised that GIBSON raised this subject at least three times during his discussion with them, and again it was their impression that this could well have been the only reason that he was in contact with the AHC, that is, to counter charges made against him as a CIA agent. (S)

Informants advised that one of the apparent reasons for GIBSON's trip in the U.S. was that he is trying to push the sale of a book by ROBERT WILLIAMS. GIBSON related that he was having this book published by the BCP and that it consists of a selection of WILLIAMS' writings. In connection with the discussion on WILLIAMS, GIBSON mentioned that STOKELY CARMICHAEL has been in China twice. After CARMICHAEL's trip to Cuba he carried a message to China from Cuba with respect to Cuba's stand in opposition to China on China's purchase of sugar from Cuba. GIBSON related that WILLIAMS "raised hell" with STOKELY and straightened him out in this matter (that is, presented the pro-Chinese position to CARMICHAEL). (S)

It is not known if this statement relating to CARMICHAEL is a self-serving device on the part of GIBSON to enlarge his reputation as a trusted pro-Chinese communist, but it was the informants' opinion that this could well have been the case since GIBSON is a "name dropper" and uses this device to enhance his own standing. (S)

GIBSON also mentioned that ROBERT WILLIAMS will make speeches in Sweden sometime in the near future and that his appearances in Sweden has been cleared by the Government. He stated that WILLIAMS will return to the U.S. some day, but not until the legal problems surrounding him have been corrected. (S)

(S)

139032

GIBSON furnished the names of PAUL and SUE RICHARDS, 924 F Eagle Heights, Madison, Wisconsin 53705, to the informants as persons who would be willing recipients of the "Ad Hoc Bulletin" and who share a pro-Chinese view. He stated that PAUL RICHARDS is attending the University of Wisconsin and is politically working on conscientious objectors and that he hopes that he will be able to finish his Masters Degree before the Government clamps down on his anti-draft activity. He stated that PAUL RICHARDS was a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and advised that he had met him in Chicago that morning. He stated that PAUL RICHARDS is the son of HARVEY RICHARDS who he had known in the past and who formerly was a resident of the West Coast, but who presently is a wealthy contractor in Ghana. He stated that HARVEY RICHARDS' second wife was active politically in Ghana and that after the fall of KWAME NKRUMAH, she was to have been executed for her activity, but the only reason she was saved was because HARVEY RICHARDS was a wealthy contractor. (S)

The informants advised that their contact with GIBSON was very friendly and they parted with the understanding that GIBSON would report to RAINDORF the best wishes of the AHC. (S)

It is believed that the impressions of these informants are such to preclude any future contacts with GIBSON unless such contacts are absolutely mandatory and have a solid basis for advantage to this operation. (S)

The names PAUL and SUE RICHARDS will be added to the mailing list UACB. U

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (105-93072)

DATE: 10/3/67

FROM : *FT* Legat, London (100-2611) (RUC)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: RICHARD THOMAS GIBSON
IS - CUBA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Wicks
J. P. ...
Rushing
Patterson

ReLonlet 8/3/67. *u*

During a recent brief chance meeting in the lobby of New Scotland Yard Headquarters with a Special Branch Officer, Asst. Legat was asked if he had ever heard the name RICHARD GIBSON. When told Asst. Legat had heard the name before, the Special Branch officer than stated he had recently interviewed him during which GIBSON, under questioning concerning his involvements in all sorts of activities in the U.S., informed that his friends in the American Embassy would not allow him to get into trouble. The Special Branch officer then asked if he was serving as a source or informant for the American Embassy. In reply he was told that if he was being used within the Embassy, it was on such a high level that Asst. Legat had never heard of it.

Asst. Legat stated to the Special Branch Officer he had heard the name for to do otherwise would undoubtedly cast suspicion in the officer's mind that he was not being truthful as Special Branch is aware Legal Attache's Office displays intense interest in the activities of all Americans in the London area.

Because of CIA's interest in the above matter, CIA representative, London, was informed of the above.

Foregoing for information.

1 906 9+D

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison (direct)
- 1 - London

LM:vw

(5)

Classified by *Sp8 MAC/GAT*
Declassify on: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

EX-103

REC 30

105-93072-154

8 OCT 9 1967

LATIN-AMERICAN

Patterson



OCT 23 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NAT. INTELL. SEC. ADMIN.