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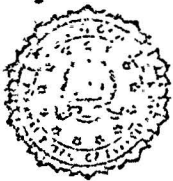
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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No.

January 11, 1968 *S-1020*

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
 BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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12326
2/19/86 *SP*
MacPike

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Malcolm X Little was an articulate member of the Nation of Islam, a black nationalist organization headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, until his expulsion in late 1963. While with the Nation of Islam his violently antiwhite utterances brought him widespread notoriety.

In 1964, Malcolm X, as he was known, with the assistance of a United Arab Republic advisor at the United Nations made a trip to Mecca. In the course of this trip and subsequent ones in 1964, he visited such countries as Nigeria, Ghana, Morocco, Algeria, Tanzania, Guinea, Kenya, and Uganda where he was frequently received as a guest by the heads of state. In Ghana he was received by the Cuban and Communist-Chinese Ambassadors.

In June, 1964, he announced the formation in New York City of a militant black nationalist organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity. This organization was

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 Group 1
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JAN 21 1968	
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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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Malcolm X was murdered in February, 1965, and his organization for all intents and purposes has ceased to function effectively.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was a great admirer of Malcolm X and his teachings have undoubtedly influenced Carmichael and other leaders of this organization into moving the SNCC into the militant black nationalist organization that it is today. The SNCC is now motivated by a revolutionary direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. It follows the Communist Party line in its criticism of United States policy in Vietnam and in its recent charge that Israel was guilty of aggression in the Middle East.

The actual as well as the potential extent of foreign involvement and participation in the black nationalist movement is highlighted by the recent foreign travels of Carmichael and other members of SNCC. Carmichael, George Ware, Julius Bernard Lester, and Elizabeth Sutherland, also members of SNCC, traveled to Cuba in July of 1967. Carmichael as a guest of the Cuban Government and an "honorary delegate" attended the conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) held in Cuba in July and early August, 1967, where he sought to tie in the Negro extremist activities in the United States with the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, which was the

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
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At ceremonies in Santiago de Cuba, Fidel Castro introduced Carmichael as "one of the most distinguished leaders for civil rights in the United States." In a press conference in Havana on August 1, 1967, Carmichael praised Cuban communism, called Abraham Lincoln a "white racist" and listed his idols as the late Malcolm X, Cuban guerrilla warfare expert Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and Chinese communist leader MAO Tse-tung. Carmichael is reported to have stated in Cuba, "We have to fight in the United States in order to change the structure of that capitalist society." He called his talks with Fidel Castro as "the most educational, the most interesting, and the best apprenticeship of my public life." He was successful in getting Castro's promise to take up the cudgel for the American Negro.

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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In the Summer of 1966 Williams went to Peking, China, where he is a guest of the Chinese Government. He continues to engage in anti-American propaganda activities through press and radio channels. At Williams' urging, MAO Tse-tung issued a message in August, 1963, expressing support for the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination by United States imperialism. His message was reprinted in the "Peking Review," a Chinese communist publication, in August, 1966, and 1967.

There is evidence of an existing line of communication outside the normal lines of communication between Williams and members of RAM in the United States. While Williams was in Cuba these lines of communications included representatives from the Cuban Mission to the United Nations and the Guinean Mission to the United Nations. There are also allegations of Communist China financial support of RAM; however, these have not been substantiated.

Paul Edward Brooks, a well-educated RAM leader, is devoted to the idea of violent revolution. He visited Cuba in May, 1966, and has spoken of going to China.

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Diane Bevel, wife of James Bevel, a former leader in the SCLC, along with several others, traveled to Moscow, USSR, in December, 1966, where she spent several days and reportedly met with the North Vietnam Ambassador to the Soviet Union. She subsequently traveled to Hanoi, North Vietnam, spending 11 days touring this country and returning to the United States in early January, 1967. She has subsequently written news articles extremely critical of the United States involvement in Vietnam. Bevel has in the past been active in SMCC as well as SCLC.

Stoney Cooks attended the conference held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in September, 1967, previously mentioned, as a representative of SCLC. Cooks, who is presently stationed in Chicago, Illinois, is slated to come to Washington, D. C., to help organize the massive civil disobedience publicly announced by King for Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1968 unless certain commitments are forthcoming from Congress.

Other Travel by Militant Black Nationalists

Milton Robinson Henry, an attorney of Pontiac, Michigan, and his brother, Lawrence Henry, a photographer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government in April, 1966. Arrangements for this visit were handled through the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, D. C. Both are active militant black nationalists with Milton Henry having in the past some affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite communist organization.

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Earnest Thomas, former Head of the Deacons of Defense and Justice, a militant black nationalist group originally formed for the ostensible purpose of providing protection for Negro protest marchers in Louisiana, traveled to Europe in the Summer and Fall of 1966. [In September of that year he was in touch with the Chinese diplomatic mission in London, England.] He visited Cuba in July of 1966 where he claims to have sat in on a cabinet meeting of the Cuban Government. Thomas has also stated that a civil rights leader is obligated to enlist support from any source willing to offer it including the so-called communists. Thomas was introduced by Stokely Carmichael at a meeting in Chicago, in May, 1967, as "a brother who has been traveling around the country with me and what most people are talking about is that he's been doing a lot of jobs keeping us alive."

Willie Wright, President of the United Afro-American Association, a militant black nationalist organization in Newark, New Jersey, was also in attendance at the Bratislava conference, previously mentioned, in September, 1967. He has frequently been critical of United States involvement in Vietnam and has stated he would "make a deal with the Devil to secure the rights of black people in the United States."

Puerto Rican Involvement

Another developing situation of growing concern is the possibility that Puerto Rican extremist elements may coordinate their activities with elements of the black nationalist movement. For example, Stokely Carmichael visited Puerto Rico in January, 1967, where an agreement was reached between SNCC and two local "independence" groups affirming a need for a joint Negro-Puerto Rican struggle

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against political, economic, and social oppression, as well as other issues including the Vietnam war.

Juan Mari Bras, a leader of one of the independence groups, attended the LASO conference in Havana, Cuba, in July, 1967, where he supported the revolutionary policy of the Cuban Government and stated that the recent pact signed between his organization and SNCC would affect the coming battle of the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans in New York City. Mari Bras is involved in the recruiting of Puerto Ricans for guerrilla warfare training in Cuba.

Communist Party, USA

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has international ties with other communist movements throughout the world. It has been active in support of the black nationalist movement in this country, it has solicited funds for SNCC, and it has made Martin Luther King a central figure for communist support. In October, 1967, a new position paper was developed which included the following statement: "We as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, there can be no question of the right of black people in the United States to use violence to achieve change."

Since communism thrives on discontent and chaos, racial violence, hatred, and bigotry are grist for the communist propaganda mill. A primary communist aim is to alienate the Negroes against established authority.

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Czechoslovakian interest

Jiri Jambor, a Czechoslovakian national, recently returned to the United Nations as Political Affairs Officer, Political and Security Council Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. Jambor has expressed interest in meeting rank-and-file members of the black nationalist movement in the United States, as well as interest in meeting with African students in the United States who believe the war in Vietnam is a racist war. He is willing to bear all expenses involved in arranging for such meetings. e

Jambor was previously assigned to the United Nations in 1961, at which time he exhibited a great interest in African affairs. He is suspected of being an intelligence agent. e

Cuban potential for involvement

Allegations have been received to the effect that the Government of Cuba is operating a training school for Negroes for the purpose of engaging in subversive operations against the United States. The purported objective is to bring about a Negro revolution in the United States. e (S-1)

While these allegations are largely unsubstantiated to date, the potential for the training of Negroes in Cuba certainly exists. e

The existence of Cuban Embassies in Mexico and Canada and the existence of the Cuban Mission to the United States in New York City, all heavily manned by trained intelligence agents, together with the interest expressed by Cuban officials in the black nationalist movement in this country, certainly accentuate the possibility of involvement by the Cubans in this movement. There is little restriction on the ease with which individuals affiliated with militant black nationalist groups in the United States can travel to Canada, Mexico and even to Cuba. e

The Cuban refugee channels through which Cubans are introduced into the United States present an excellent means e

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through which Cuban-trained Negroes of other than United States citizenship could be infiltrated into the United States. C

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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No.

January 11, 1968 *S-102A*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2/19/86 BY SP-1
 OT/MLK

**FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
 BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT**

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SP-1
MLK

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SERIALIZED <i>2/24/68</i>	FILED <i>YAL</i>
JAN 24 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Franklin

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP-1 MLK*
 ON *2/19/86*

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Stoney Cooks attended the conference held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in September, 1967, previously mentioned, as a representative of SCLC. Cooks, who is presently stationed in Chicago, Illinois, is slated to come to Washington, D. C., to help organize the massive civil disobedience publicly announced by King for Washington, D. C., in the Spring of 1968 unless certain commitments are forthcoming from Congress.

Other Travel by Militant Black Nationalists

Milton Robinson Henry, an attorney of Pontiac, Michigan, and his brother, Lawrence Henry, a photographer of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government in April, 1966. Arrangements for this visit were handled through the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, D. C. Both are active militant black nationalists with Milton Henry having in the past some affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite communist organization.

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- 3 -

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Earnest Thomas, former Head of the Deacons of Defense and Justice, a militant black nationalist group originally formed for the ostensible purpose of providing protection for Negro protest marchers in Louisiana, traveled to Europe in the Summer and Fall of 1966. [In September of that year he was in touch with the Chinese diplomatic mission in London, England] (S) He visited Cuba in July of 1966 where he claims to have sat in on a cabinet meeting of the Cuban Government. Thomas has also stated that a civil rights leader is obligated to enlist support from any source willing to offer it including the so-called communists. Thomas was introduced by Stokely Carmichael at a meeting in Chicago, in May, 1967, as "a brother who has been traveling around the country with me and what most people are talking about is that he's been doing a lot of jobs keeping us alive."

Willie Wright, President of the United Afro-American Association, a militant black nationalist organization in Newark, New Jersey, was also in attendance at the Bratislava conference, previously mentioned, in September, 1967. He has frequently been critical of United States involvement in Vietnam and has stated he would "make a deal with the Devil to secure the rights of black people in the United States."

Puerto Rican Involvement

Another developing situation of growing concern is the possibility that Puerto Rican extremist elements may coordinate their activities with elements of the black nationalist movement. For example, Stokely Carmichael visited Puerto Rico in January, 1967, where an agreement was reached between SNCC and two local "independence" groups affirming a need for a joint Negro-Puerto Rican struggle

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

against political, economic, and social oppression, as well as other issues including the Vietnam war.

Juan Mari Bras, a leader of one of the independence groups, attended the LASO conference in Havana, Cuba, in July, 1967, where he supported the revolutionary policy of the Cuban Government and stated that the recent pact signed between his organization and SNCC would affect the coming battle of the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans in New York City. Mari Bras is involved in the recruiting of Puerto Ricans for guerrilla warfare training in Cuba.

Communist Party, USA

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has international ties with other communist movements throughout the world. It has been active in support of the black nationalist movement in this country, it has solicited funds for SNCC, and it has made Martin Luther King a central figure for communist support. In October, 1967, a new position paper was developed which included the following statement: "We as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, there can be no question of the right of black people in the United States to use violence to achieve change."

Since communism thrives on discontent and chaos, racial violence, hatred, and bigotry are grist for the communist propaganda mill. A primary communist aim is to alienate the Negroes against established authority.

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- 10 -

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Czechoslovakian interest

Jiri Jambor, a Czechoslovakian national, recently returned to the United Nations as Political Affairs Officer, Political and Security Council Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. Jambor has expressed interest in meeting rank-and-file members of the black nationalist movement in the United States, as well as interest in meeting with African students in the United States who believe the war in Vietnam is a racist war. He is willing to bear all expenses involved in arranging for such meetings. C

Jambor was previously assigned to the United Nations in 1961, at which time he exhibited a great interest in African affairs. He is suspected of being an intelligence agent. C

Cuban potential for involvement

Allegations have been received to the effect that the Government of Cuba is operating a training school for Negroes for the purpose of engaging in subversive operations against the United States. The purported objective is to bring about a Negro revolution in the United States. C-S-A

While these allegations are largely unsubstantiated to date, the potential for the training of Negroes in Cuba certainly exists. C

The existence of Cuban Embassies in Mexico and Canada and the existence of the Cuban Mission to the United States in New York City, all heavily manned by trained intelligence agents, together with the interest expressed by Cuban officials in the black nationalist movement in this country, certainly accentuate the possibility of involvement by the Cubans in this movement. There is little restriction on the ease with which individuals affiliated with militant black nationalist groups in the United States can travel to Canada, Mexico and even to Cuba. C

The Cuban refugee channels through which Cubans are introduced into the United States present an excellent means C

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

through which Cuban-trained Negroes of other than United States citizenship could be infiltrated into the United States. C

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- 12 -

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

244/re Sprague

7-16-68
JSA TAP/RBS 11/3/68 *SP3 RGS*

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups

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| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Washington Field Office |
| 2 - Cleveland | |
| 2 - Detroit | |
| 2 - Jackson | |
| 2 - Los Angeles | |
| 2 - Memphis | |
| 2 - Newark | |
| 2 - New Orleans | |
| 2 - New York | |

** CIO*
French
7-16-68
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157-5818-

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 26 1967	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Hick

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, and the Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as Stokely Carmichael, H. "Rap" Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford.

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," (Bufile 100-3-104), which is directed

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

against the Communist Party and related organizations or the program entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," (Bufile 157-9), which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

21484 Spinaemia
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-10-80 BY 80608/JS
SP2TAP RBW 11-3-83

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| 2 - Memphis | |
| 2 - Newark | |
| 2 - New Orleans | |
| 2 - New York | |

** CIO*
Re assigned to
FRENCH
FA

157-5818-11

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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AUG 26 1967	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Hilgard

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

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BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS

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FBI

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

JWA
From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Denmore 2/4/68
9/10/67
11/4/67
10/21/67
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Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence
for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

PERSONAL ATTENTION FOR ALL THE FOLLOWING SACs

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| 2 - Atlanta | 2 - Minneapolis |
| 2 - Baltimore | 2 - Mobile |
| 2 - Birmingham | 2 - Newark |
| 2 - Boston | 2 - New Haven |
| 2 - Buffalo | 2 - New Orleans |
| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - New York |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - Omaha |
| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Philadelphia |
| 2 - Cleveland | 2 - Phoenix |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - Richmond |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Jackson | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Kansas City | 2 - Seattle |
| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - Springfield |
| 2 - Memphis | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Miami | 2 - Tampa |
| 2 - Milwaukee | 2 - WFO |

Transfer 4/4
1st day set
March, June
F.A. Seaman

100-54158-2

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>45</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
MAR 7 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Transfer

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Albany	Memphis
Atlanta	Newark
Baltimore	New Orleans
Boston	New York
Buffalo	Philadelphia
Charlotte	Phoenix
Chicago	Pittsburgh
Cincinnati	Richmond
Cleveland	St. Louis
Detroit	San Francisco
Jackson	Washington Field
Los Angeles	

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)
Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

FBI

Date: 3/4/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

JWA
From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Spinnacynce 2/14/86
9/11/81
1/4/82 10321 DRM RWS 5399
10/2/89 spa Tao / RB 956203

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence
for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

PERSONAL ATTENTION FOR ALL THE FOLLOWING SACS

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| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - Springfield |
| 2 - Memphis | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Miami | 2 - Tampa |
| 2 - Milwaukee | 2 - WFO |

French
4/4
Thompson 1st day set
French, J. A. ...

100-58158-2

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>4/5</i>	FILED <i>1/1</i>
MAR 7 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

French

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

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Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
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Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

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1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

4/5/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (RUC)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

2/17/86 Spinaemia
9-16-81 *888 Rom. 1/1/86*

Re Bureau airtel dated March 4, 1968.

SA JACK A. FRENCH is assigned to co-ordinate the captioned Counterintelligence Program in the St. Louis Division.

The Black Nationalist movement in the St. Louis Field Territory is summarized as follows:

The only active Black Nationalist Extremist Group is the Nation of Islam (NOI), Mosque Number 28. This Mosque has been active since approximately 1954 and has a current membership of approximately one hundred. The fourteen officials of this Mosque are currently on the Security Index of the St. Louis Division and recommendations will shortly be made for inclusion of the top four officials to be placed on the Rabble-Rouser Index.

In the past, all violent activities of the NOI have been directed against current or former members of the organization. In public and in private this group has stated that it is against violence. It is not unlikely, however, that the leaders in the Mosque will not always be able to control the individual activities of the members, some of whom may be prone to agitate local disturbances.

The Rabble-Rouser Index of the St. Louis Division currently includes three individuals who may be considered Black Nationalists. They are as follows:

HENRY THOMAS and JOSE PANCHECO RENTERIA, III, who are youthful agitators in the St. Louis area; both former affiliates of the local Chapter of CORE, they have since tried unsuccessfully to obtain a SNCC Charter;

PERCY GREEN, who left CORE about four years ago,

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - St. Louis (2-157-5818)
- 1 - 100-20916

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157-5818-3

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2/17/86
9-16-81
888 Rom. 1/1/86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL: 157-5818

heads his own group called ACTION. ACTION has been very active in picketing-type demonstrations in the St. Louis area.

In spite of its record for avoiding racial disturbances, the NOI Mosque Number 28 must still be considered a potential source of racial agitation. The Mosque is strong in both membership and finances and the discipline of both the National and Local leaders is well evidence. It is felt that the primary area of other intelligence activity against this organization should be concentrated toward discrediting the leaders and the organization as a whole and thus frustrating their attempts to increase their membership and influence.

The above three mentioned individuals, who now appear on the Rabble-Rouser Index are all excellent targets for Counterintelligence action, inasmuch as any one of them, particularly HENRY THOMAS, might serve as a catalyst for individuals in the area espousing Black Nationalism.

Another individual of the St. Louis, Missouri-East St. Louis, Illinois, area, JAMES HENRY ROLLINS, is currently under active investigation by this Division and the Springfield Office. ROLLINS is a Black Nationalist and currently the co-ordinator with Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK of the Conference on New Politics. Although recently convicted on a local narcotics violation, ROLLINS is free on appeal bond and has suffered no apparent lack of influence in the Black community.

It is felt that other intelligence activity against THOMAS, RENTERIA, GREEN and ROLLINS would be particularly effective in preventing any unification or coalition of various individuals in the St. Louis area, who favor Black Nationalism.

Although this Division currently has no active Chapters of SNCC or Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), any attempts to start such organization in this Division should receive concentrated Counterintelligence activity, in order that these groups potential for violence could be negated.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL: 157-5818

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

4/5/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (RUC)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

157-5818-3
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-18-81 BY 8889 Rcm/PHR

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- 3 - Bureau (RM)
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JAF:jfb
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3-157-5818-3
Notes of classification 4-14-78

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SL: 157-5818

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Chicago (157-2209)

5/3/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

PS
PERSONAL ATTENTION

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(NEGRO NEWS MEDIA)

In considering methods to neutralize black nationalist extremist groups you should consider the use of news media that cater to the Negro community. There are numerous newspapers and radio stations aimed at a primarily Negro audience or readership. If a situation arises where publicity about black nationalist extremists appears desirable you should determine whether an Afro-American newspaper or a radio station aimed at a Negro audience might be the best medium for such publicity. This would insure publicity within the Negro community.

When you submit counterintelligence recommendations to the Bureau using the technique of publicity you should advise whether your office has established, reliable, contacts among Negro news media who might be of assistance. Each SAC should be alert to establish such contacts if not already done.

The Bureau would welcome any comments or suggestions along this line.

- 2 - Baltimore (157-2520) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Cincinnati (100-16921) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Cleveland (157-1189) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Detroit (100-34055) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Los Angeles (157-2252) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - New York (100-161140) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Philadelphia PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - Pittsburgh (100-15730) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - San Francisco (157-601) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- ② - St. Louis (157-5818) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - WFO (157-1292) PERSONAL ATTENTION

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11-3-63 SPATAP/RBB *CR 45-62-88*

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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French

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SL: 157-5818

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SL: 157-5818

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Chicago (157-2209)

5/3/68

Director, FBI (100-448006)

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BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
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- 2 - Pittsburgh (100-15730) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - San Francisco (157-601) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - St. Louis (157-5818) PERSONAL ATTENTION
- 2 - WFO (157-1292) PERSONAL ATTENTION

157-5818-4

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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French

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OF 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-5238)

DATE: 6-12-68

FROM: SA HARRY C. JUNG

RE: SWP
ST. LOUIS DIVISION
IS - SWP

The following report was received on ediphone belt, 5-30-68, via U. S. Mail. It was transcribed 6-3-68, and authenticated by the informant, 6-10-68. The original is filed in 134-213A-574.

If this information is disseminated to an outside agency, it should be paraphrased carefully to protect further the informant's identity.

The following names are to be indexed: RUTH POHLMAN, AUDREY ABRAMSON, DONALD WALKER.

100-5238

1 - 134-213A-574

1 - 100- (Derrick Morrison)

1 - 100-12430 (J. Hamilton)

1 - 7547 (D. Clarke)

1 - 100-17210 (S. Torcian)

1 - 100-7563 (H. Von Romer)

1 - 100-20872 (H. McGill)

1 - 100-20910 (M. Liebowitz)

1 - 100-5814 (C. Terrell)

1 - 157-5818 (Blk Nats)

1 - 25-11095 (NOI)

1 - SAC, NEW YORK RM

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157-5818-5

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FBI, St. Louis	

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R 7/11
R 7/14
R 7/17
Jung

OF 10

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1 - SAC, NEW YORK RM

HCJ:wma
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157-5818-5

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Serialized... 6-12-68
FBI, St. Louis

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2/1/68 Sprague

St. Louis, Missouri
May 19, 1968

On May 19, 1968, at the Tandy Recreation Center in St. Louis a MALCOLM X Day was held sponsored by local Negro groups and attended by members of the SWP and various radical organizations in St. Louis. Meeting was scheduled to begin at twelve o'clock, however, because of failure to properly procure a meeting room the group was not allowed into the center and was compelled to hold their meeting on the steps. Chairman for the meeting was a ^{CHARLES} TORRELL. TORRELL is 6'2" tall, Negro, 45 years of age, 160 pounds, and medium dark complexion. Others who were there included the following:

DERRICK MORRISON, who is a member of the SWP in New York City and who had come to St. Louis to serve as principal speaker commemorating MALCOLM X Day. MORRISON is approximately 6' tall, 210 pounds, 38 years of age, and a dark skin Negro.

Also present were the following:

RUTH POHLMAN, who is identified as a member of the PERCY GREEN group called ACTION; AUDREY ABRAMSON, who identified herself as a University of Missouri student who attends at the Normandy campus in St. Louis. She identified herself as a friend of TORRELL and implied she just came from his apartment; MARTY LIEBOWITZ, 6', 160 lbs., 30 years old,

black hair, sallow complexion, and a Mr. MC GILL, who implied that he is living with TORRELL in his apartment and who was complaining to other people that he had been highly molested by the Police Department of the City of St. Louis. He is about 45 years of age, 6' 1" tall, 230 pounds, dark skin Negro. DONALD WALKER, approximately 25 years of age, 5' 8", 175 lbs., light skin Negro. Mr. BROWN, one of the preliminary speakers, 6', 27 years of age, 175 lbs., light skin Negro. Mr. and Mrs. A . Mr. A is white, bearded, 6', 170 lbs., and approximately 45 years of age. Mrs. A is Negro, approximately 35 years of age, 5' 6" tall, 170 lbs., light skin Negress. Those present who have been previously identified by this writer included JIM HAMILTON, SOREN TOROIAN, DICK CLARKE and Mr. DINWIDDIE.

During the confusion of the period prior to actual meeting the size of the group ranged from 15 - 25 with various people coming and going. Four different groups of Black Muslims with FOI^{caps}. This is a group trying to sell papers and selling tickets to an upcoming visit of CASSIUS CLAY. Prior to the meeting TORRELL and his associates sold newspapers to the group. This newspaper was identified by TORRELL as an underground paper and AUDREY ABRAMSON said that it was edited by MARTY LIEBOWITZ. There were two speakers prior to MORRISON. Each speaker lauded MALCOLM X and pleaded with the

group to work closer with rank and file Negroes in gaining support. They spoke approximately five minutes each.

DERRICK MORRISON then spoke for approximately 15 minutes and he in turn recited many of MALCOLM X positions on the American Negro and the Negro movement throughout the world and in general made a specific point himself to express statements made by MALCOLM X, in effect, calling for solidarity among Negroes and asked people all over the world to work hand in hand toward removing the system which promotes colonialism and capitalism.

After the meeting the group went back to Tandy Center steps to hear a tape of a speech by MALCOLM X. The group was forced to go inside because of inclement weather. The group decided to meet again the following Sunday at Loffingwell and Franklin Ave. to discuss the next steps by the MALCOLM X group. This next step will be the establishment of a "Wall of Respect". This wall will feature paintings of prominent Negro leaders to remind the Negro population of the work these people have done. Artists will be contacted to help with the art work. The group collected money and all present gave approximately 50¢ to \$1.00 to help MORRISON with his expenses. It was noted that there was a secret handshake between many of the people present. MORRISON participated in this handshake which included a double

grasping of the hands, mutual grasping of the wrists, mutual grasping of the elbows and mutual grasping of the right shoulder. Before, during, and after the speech DERRICK MORRISON left the group to make three different phone calls. MORRISON had trouble with his plane fare and DICK CLARKE and SOREN TOROIAN drove him downtown to the Western Union Office to see if he could get money from New York City. When it was found that he would miss his five o'clock plane if he waited CLARKE voluntarily lent him the money until money from New York City came.

TOROIAN drove CLARKE and MORRISON to CLARKE's home where the money, \$40, was collected. MORRISON then implied that he was flying to Atlanta that night en route to North

Carolina to speak on several campuses there. He did not specifically state which city in North Carolina he was going to. TOROIAN and MORRISON drove to the airport alone and there was a general discussion of the Negro movement throughout the United States as well as the assassination of KING. It was MORRISON's impression that KING was assassinated by an organized group in the South. He was left off at the airport at approximately 4:30.

During the meeting JIM HAMILTON implied that he was no longer going to Washington University and was teaching high school. He also stated that his wife worked for

a DAVE BURBANK at Washington University and he was interested in TOROIAN and HARRY VON ROMER coming to meetings. He inquired TOROIAN's phone number and address. DICK CLARKE told TOROIAN that he would be holding meetings at the German Free Thinkers and that he would be invited to attend these meetings to assist him in debate. MORRISON told TOROIAN that the Party would be sending youth workers to St. Louis after the national elections. Among various groups who attended the meeting were several individuals with the "Zulu's". This word was on their jackets. All wore Black Power buttons as well as CORE buttons.

RUTH POSLMAN is approximately 35 years of age, 5' 4", 140 lbs., and black hair.

AUDREY ABRAMSON is 5' 3" tall, 130 lbs., 25 years of age, and black hair.

St. Louis, Missouri
May 19, 1968

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grasping of the hands, mutual grasping of the wrists, mutual grasping of the elbows and mutual grasping of the right shoulder. Before, during, and after the speech DERRICK MORRISON left the group to make three different phone calls. MORRISON had trouble with his plane fare and DICK CLARKE and SOREN TOROIAN drove him downtown to the Western Union Office to see if he could get money from New York City. When it was found that he would miss his five o'clock plane if he waited CLARKE voluntarily lent him the money until money from New York City came.

TOROIAN drove CLARKE and MORRISON to CLARKE's home where the money, \$40, was collected. MORRISON then implied that he was flying to Atlanta that night en route to North Carolina to speak on several campuses there. He did not specifically state which city in North Carolina he was going to. TOROIAN and MORRISON drove to the airport alone and there was a general discussion of the Negro movement throughout the United States as well as the assassination of KING. It was MORRISON's impression that KING was assassinated by an organized group in the South. He was left off at the airport at approximately 4:30.

During the meeting JIM HAMILTON implied that he was no longer going to Washington University and was teaching high school. He also stated that his wife worked for

a DAVE BURBANK at Washington University and he was interested in TOROIAN and HARRY VON ROMER coming to meetings. He inquired TOROIAN's phone number and address. DICK CLARKE told TOROIAN that he would be holding meetings at the German Free Thinkers and that he would be invited to attend these meetings to assist him in debate. MORRISON told TOROIAN that the Party would be sending youth workers to St. Louis after the national elections. Among various groups who attended the meeting were several individuals with the "Zulu's". This word was on their jackets. All wore Black Power buttons as well as CORE buttons.

RUTH POELMAN is approximately 35 years of age, 5' 4", 140 lbs., and black hair.

AUDREY ABRAMSON is 5' 3" tall, 130 lbs., 25 years of age, and black hair.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

7/15/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Director airtel to Albany dated 3/4/68 and
St. Louis letter to Director dated 4/5/68.

The following information is submitted regarding
racial intelligence matters in the St. Louis Division:

1) Operations Under Consideration

MICHAEL KIMBLI (157-5847) was arrested in St. Louis
on 4/18/68 after burglarizing a store for the purpose of
obtaining guns for use in riots and racial disturbances which
he hoped to foment. Upon arrest KIMBLI claimed he was a
representative of CORE and that CORE would "take care of
things" relative to his arrest. KIMBLI felt that SOLOMON
ROOKS, CORE's local head, was highly influential and would
help him. KIMBLI to date is in jail awaiting trial but is
unable to raise bond and apparently ignored by SOLOMON ROOKS.

Since KIMBLI had influenced two youths to accompany
him on the burglary and appeared to be quite impressed
with CORE, some kind of anonymous publicity regarding KIMBLI's
abandonment by CORE has been considered. It is felt that
an anonymous mailing to CORE membership reporting his abandon-
ment would tend to amplify KIMBLI's plight and shake confidence
in CORE leadership.

2) Operations Being Effected

There are no racial counterintelligence programs
presently being effected in the St. Louis Division.

3) Tangible Results

Since no operations are presently being effected
no tangible results can be reported.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - St. Louis
DRS/jtc
(3)

157-5818-6

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FBI - ST. LOUIS
157-5818-6
S. J. [Signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4) Development of Counterintelligence Interest

Recently a group of four to six or eight Negro militants, two from East St. Louis, Illinois, have been making demands of local Negro radio stations which would require these stations to participate in black nationalist propaganda. These persons, or those connected with them, have intimidated merchants on a local level. Informants have reported that these individuals have no backing by legitimate organizations or groups, but have used Mid-City Community Congress, a church financed civic organization. In doing so these persons have raised the ire of some prominent Negro leaders. One is HOWARD B. WOODS, who is Editor and Publisher of the "St. Louis Sentinel", a Negro newspaper. WOODS is considered to be a high caliber person holding several important positions such as former Ass't. Director, United States Information Agency, and Editor of "Sengtacke", a syndicate headquartered in Chicago which publishes approximately 14 Negro newspapers. WOODS has been concerned that these persons were using the headquarters of the Mid-City Community Congress, an ostensible non-militant organization, for the planning of some of their activity of which he disapproves. WOODS is a liaison source of the St. Louis Division and has cooperated with the FBI for several years. Consideration is being given to enlistment of WOODS regarding some type of publicity which would tend to discourage or discredit these racial militants.

Black nationalist organizations and hate groups remain as previously described in referenced St. Louis letter. No definable new organizations have developed and leadership in existing organizations remains as it was last outlined. The potential for violence of the Nation of Islam (NOI) does not seem to have been effected by the passage of time since 4/5/68.

The Agitator Index of the St. Louis Division presently includes HENRY THOMAS, JOSE RANCHECO RENTERIA, III, and PERCY GREEN as previously outlined. JAMES HENRY ROLLINS, who was briefly described in the prior communication, has since been placed on the Agitator Index as has MICHAEL KIMBLI, who was discussed previously. KIMBLI was permitted to travel to St. Louis by the Pennsylvania paroling authority in January, 1968, after conviction and parole on 1/8/68, resulting

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL

157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
from charges of inciting to riot at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on 8/25/67. KIMBLI was subsequently arrested at St. Louis on 4/28/68 for the previously mentioned burglary.

CLARENCE GUTHRIE, a Negro agitator who was one of the prime movers in demands made on local Negro radio stations and who claims to be a member of the Black Economic Union of East St. Louis, Illinois, appears to be emerging as one against whom counterintelligence activities might be conducted in the future. GUTHRIE has also claimed membership in the so far non-militant Mid-City Community Congress of St. Louis.

Submission of instant letter is delayed due to extensive investigation required by the Murkin case, and the extended illness of the person exclusively assigned to Blacpro matters and the Racial Intelligence Program.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

7/15/68

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COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
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2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - St. Louis
DRS/jtc
(3)

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157-5818

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: 8/5/68

JH
FROM : Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The Bureau wants to bring a highly successful counterintelligence operation to the attention of all counterintelligence offices, so that all offices will be aware of the type of results that can be obtained in this program.

The Miami Division developed a source at a local television station and the source produced a news special on black nationalists and on the New Left. Miami requested Bureau authority to furnish the source background data of a public source nature when the source indicated an interest in producing a show exposing these groups.

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| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - New York |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - Omaha |
| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Philadelphia |
| 2 - Columbia | 2 - Phoenix |
| 2 - Cleveland | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Richmond |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Jackson | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - Seattle |
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157-5818-7

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

The Bureau authorized furnishing the source data on a confidential basis and the show appeared 7/7/68. A great deal of research was done by Miami Agents and it resulted in an excellent program. The show, which ended with quotes from the Director on the nature of the New Left, was so well received that the television station received requests for a film of the show by local civic groups.

As you are aware publicity about New Left and black nationalist groups, especially television coverage, sometimes enhances the stature of these groups. At the same time, Miami has demonstrated that a carefully planned television show can be extremely effective in showing these extremists for what they are. Local New Left and black nationalist leaders were interviewed on the show and seemed to have been chosen for either their inability to articulate or their simpering and stupid appearance.

Miami furnished a film of this show for Bureau review and it was apparent that the television source used the very best judgment in editing comments by these extremists. He brought out that they were in favor of violent revolution without their explaining why. But he also brought out that they, personally, would be afraid to lead a violent revolution, making them appear to be cowards. The interview of black nationalist leaders on the show had the leaders seated, ill at ease, in hard chairs. Full-length camera shots showed each movement as they squirmed about in their chairs, resembling rats trapped under scientific observation.

Each counterintelligence office should be alert to exploit this technique both for black nationalists and New Left types. Miami learned from sources that those who appeared on the show realized that it presented them in a most unfavorable light. One even complained to the television station about it. This counterintelligence operation will be of great value in the South Florida area

Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

and the Bureau hopes these results can be duplicated in other offices. Success in this case resulted from hard work and acumen on the part of the Agents who handled the matter. Especially important was the choice of individuals interviewed as they did not have the ability to stand up to a professional newsman. The fine job of interviewing and editing done by the news people involved was also most important.

Each office should be alert to the possibility of using this technique. No counterintelligence action should be taken without Bureau authority. For your information operations of this type must be handled through reliable, established sources and must be set up so that the FBI is not revealed as the source.

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| 2 - Columbia | 2 - Phoenix |
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| 2 - Kansas City | 2 - Springfield |
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| 2 - Memphis | 2 - Tampa |
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157-5818-7

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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Letter to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
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100-448006

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9/6/68

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReSLlet to Bureau, 7/15/68.

The following information is submitted regarding racial intelligence in this Division:

1) Operations Under Consideration.

In the past 6 weeks 2 Black Militant organizations have become organized and active in this area: the Zulu 1200's and the Black Liberators. Both draw from the ranks of the youth of the Negro ghettos and, in fact, there are many instances of dual membership. The Black Liberators sponsored a rally featuring STOKELY CARMICHAEL, which drew a packed house of about 800 in Sheldon Memorial on 8/29/68. Two days later the Zulu's held an African fashion show in the same hall and barely managed to sell 100 tickets. Some hard feelings have resulted, and the SL Division is considering the best way to exploit the differences and prevent these 2 groups from increasing their respective power by any sort of alliance or affiliation. Specific Bureau authority will be requested when a plan is formulated.

2) Operations Being Effected.

There are no current operations being effected.

3 - Bureau RM
 ① - St. Louis
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 (4) maw

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 8888 RAM/MAE
[Handwritten signatures]

SL 157-5818

3) Tangible Results.

No tangible results in this program have been effected since the date of referenced letter.

4) Development of Counterintelligence Interest.

In addition to the 2 Black Militant organizations previously mentioned, this division has 2 other groups of interest: NOI Mosque #28 and the local chapter of the Association of Black Collegians (ABC). The latter has been dormant during the summer but it anticipated that when the colleges resume their fall terms, attempts will be made to resurrect this group at the two local colleges, Washington University and St. Louis University.

With the exception of the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200's, no degree of cooperation between the various militant organizations has been noted. It is felt that should any degree of alliance develop, their respective power to cause racial disorder would be greatly increased. This Division will be alert for any plan which would exploit the differences of these groups. Specific Bureau authority will be requested when such a plan is finalized.

9/6/68

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3 - Bureau RM

1 - St. Louis

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(4) maw

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SL 157-5818

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/11/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) RUC

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

24774 Sprmae

9-17-68

8383 RAM/ANK

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, 9/30/68.

This Division proposes that the following suggestions be considered in the counterintelligence program against the Black Panthers:

1. Making available to responsible Bureau sources who are in positions of authority locally in Negro newspapers, copies of The Black Panther newspaper in order that they may publish selected excerpts from it which particularly expose the rabid racist and violence-prone nature of the Panthers, thereby encouraging Negro opposition to the Black Panthers.

2. Utilizing the same sources to publicize Black Panthers who are in disfavor with the Panther leaders and/or other black nationalist leaders and contrasting Black Panther leaders in a less favorable light, thereby creating the climate for factional in-fighting.

3. Have law enforcement agents pick up a Black Panther lesser official at a location away from their headquarters, drive him in a law enforcement vehicle to a location near the headquarters, and then let him out of the vehicle as one of the agents says in a loud enough voice, "Thanks for the information, Willie (or whatever his name is), we'll pay you again next week."

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157-5818-9

3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - St. Louis
(1 - 157-5818) (1 - 157-5872)

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SL 157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. Handprint a Black Panther's first name on an FBI embossed envelope (empty) and place it anonymously in the vehicle of another Black Panther while the vehicle is unoccupied. Both this suggestion and number 3 should serve to cast suspicion on the Panther involved.

5. Have a Negro agent or male clerk telephonically contact the residence of a Black Panther during late hours, and ask for the Panther's wife by her first name. In any ensuing conversation, the caller should attempt to leave the impression with the Panther that he is the current lover of the wife.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/11/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) RUC

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
(BUDED 10/14/68)

2/4/70 Sp. Macmoe

9-11-81 888 Ramp/HC

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(1 - 157-5818) (1 - 157-5872)

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(5)

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SL 157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/29/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of flyer entitled "Black People Choose!"

1. Background

The Black Liberators (Bufile 157-10356) and the Zulu 1200 (Bufile 157-9866) are two of the foremost Black Militant groups in the St. Louis area. The Zulu 1200's have been in existence since 1/68, and are far less militant than the Liberators who originated in latter summer 1968. A degree of friction between the two exists which can be exploited although the two groups do have similar aims and share some dual members. As of this writing, the Liberators, a pseudo-military group who emulate the Black Panthers, appear to garner most of the newspaper publicity locally and are recruiting at a faster rate than the Zulu's.

2. Explanation of Flyer

The enclosed flyer was prepared by the St. Louis Division and its tenor and vocabulary were carefully chosen to give the impression it was written and reproduced by local Black Militants. It is purposely slanted to give the impression that the Zulu's may have had a key role in its preparation although this is not stated. Intentional errors of typing and spelling in the flyer were inserted to add to its "authenticity".

Most of the information in the flyer is relatively true; at least most of the Zulu 1200's have expressed similar complaints. However, the flyer does emphasize and exaggerate the differences of the two groups in degrading the Liberators.

The flyer is designed to spread dissension and increase friction between the two groups as well as hamper

3 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)

2 - St. Louis

JAF/ral

(5) [Signature]

157-5818-10

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SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Liberator recruiting efforts among the local Negroes. It is designed to put all militants in a position of having to take a stand on the flyer, i.e. the Zulu's are or are not trying to "back-stab" the Liberators with its distribution. Although the Liberators will logically be very distressed with the appearance of the flyer, it is possible that the Zulu's might not deny that they produced it. In any case, it is felt that the flyer will stir up enough controversy among the militants that just deciding who really produced it, and how to deal with the situation, can be expected to result in time-consuming efforts which will detract from the time and energy the militants ordinarily spend on plotting, recruiting, and fund-raising.

3. Recommendation

St. Louis Division proposes to produce 300 copies of this flyer locally exactly as they appear in the enclosure. These were reproduced on the office duplicating machine, which is not significant from a security standpoint since all of the militant groups in this area have access to similar duplicating machines in churches, colleges, and places of business; and in fact, most of their own literature is produced in this manner.

Flyers will be mailed anonymously in ordinary, inexpensive envelopes which will be purchased from downtown five-and-ten stores. Ordinary stamps will be used and disguised handwriting will address the envelopes which will have no return address although they will be mailed at various mail boxes downtown.

St. Louis proposes to send the flyer to known Black Liberators, other Black Nationalists, offices and officers of various Negro groups; this will include the St. Louis, Missouri and East St. Louis, Illinois area. Copies will not be sent to Zulu 1200 members, so when inquiries are made of their office and leaders, their denial of its existence will serve to increase suspicion that they produced it.

St. Louis, through its racial informants and sources, will be able to determine the effect of this flyer in its proposed intent.

SL 157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bureau authority is requested to initiate this counterintelligence project as delineated above.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

10/29/68

[Handwritten signature]
SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) (P)

**COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE**

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of flyer entitled "Black People Choose!"

1. Background

The Black Liberators (Bufile 157-10356) and the Zulu 1200 (Bufile 157-9866) are two of the foremost Black Militant groups in the St. Louis area. The Zulu 1200's have been in existence since 1/68, and are far less militant than the Liberators who originated in latter summer 1968. A degree of friction between the two exists which can be exploited although the two groups do have similar aims and share some dual members. As of this writing, the Liberators, a pseudo-military group who emulate the Black Panthers, appear to garner most of the newspaper publicity locally and are recruiting at a faster rate than the Zulu's.

2. Explanation of Flyer

The enclosed flyer was prepared by the St. Louis Division and its tenor and vocabulary were carefully chosen to give the impression it was written and reproduced by local Black Militants. It is purposely slanted to give the impression that the Zulu's may have had a key role in its preparation although this is not stated. Intentional errors of typing and spelling in the flyer were inserted to add to its "authenticity".

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The flyer is designed to spread dissension and increase friction between the two groups as well as hamper

3 - Bureau (Encis. 5) (RM)

2 - St. Louis

JAF/ral

(5) *[Handwritten signature]*

157-5818-10

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SL 157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Bureau authority is requested to initiate this counterintelligence project as delineated above.

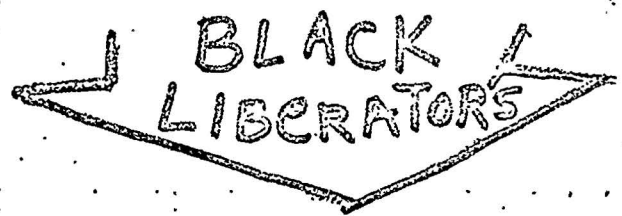
- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

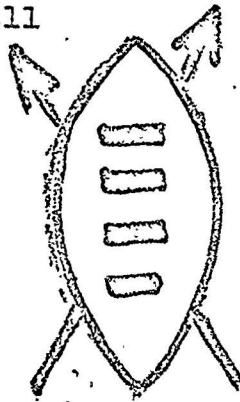
BLACK PEOPLE Choose!



1. Run by Blacks, for Blacks, with Blacks.
2. Members are Blacks born & raised in ST. Louis who know our people and needs.
3. Are loyal to and are working for St. Louis Black People.
4. Help only the Black Youth Of St. Louis.
5. Provide for all of the oppressed Blacks in St. Louis.
6. Are Black, Strong and Proud. Ask nothing from white honkies.
7. Support & Upgrade our Black African culture in every way.
8. Dress as Proud Black Africans who respect all Black men & women.



1. Run by white honkie ministers like Harless, Matheus and Witte.
2. Members are Chuck Koen and other Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn.
3. Are loyal to California Panthers, New York SNCC and who knows what the hell else.
4. Work with the white college hunkies.
5. Let Joe Thomas rot in honkie jail for two weeks after his bond moeny was raised.
6. Cry in honkie federal court that police are harrasing them.
7. Hang around St. Stevens Church and let the honkies jive them.
8. Dress like honkie truck drivers and motersycle cats.



BLACK

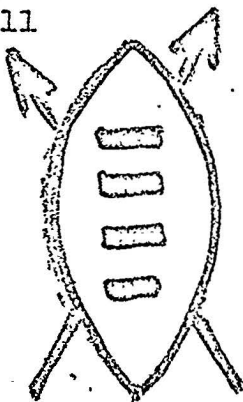
POWER

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BLACK

POWER

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (157-5818)

DATE: November 6, 1968

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

Reurlet 10/29/68.

Authority is granted to anonymously mail up to 300 copies of the flyer enclosed with relet to members of the Black Liberators, other known black nationalists, and other individuals and organizations sympathetic to the Black Liberators. Use commercially purchased stationery and take the usual precautions to insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Advise the Bureau of the results of this operation and be alert for logical follow-up action.

157-5818-12

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
NOV 8 - 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

[Handwritten signature]

2/4/80 Spruance
9/17/81 *8888 RAM/WR*



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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
NOV 8 - 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Spencer 2/1/86
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 9-17-81 BY 8883 RAM/ANR



SAC, NEW YORK

11/15/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) RUC

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
Buded: 11/15/68

Re Bulet to SF, 10/29/68.

The below is a list of responsible individuals
in the St. Louis Division who should be sent a copy of
Black Panther news article:

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, 4272 Washington Blvd., SLMO;
HAROLD ANTOINE, 3735 Shreve Ave., SLMO;
M. L. BOHANON, 5850 Waterman Ave., SLMO;
WILLIAM DECATUR, 4902a Northland Place, SLMO;
WALTER HAYES, 4930 Highland Ave., SLMO;
ARTHUR KENNEDY, 1512 Pendleton, SLMO;
ERNEST MABINS, 5044 Raymond Ave., SLMO;
Rev. E. E. NANCE, 4559 Evans Ave., SLMO;
HOWARD B. WOODS, 3000 Easton Ave., SLMO;
Dr. BENJAMIN DAVIS, 7915 Bennett Ave., SLMO;
Rev. OLIVER GIBSON, 8553 Redfir Ave., St. Louis
County, Mo.

- 2 - New York (RM)
- ② - St. Louis
- ① - 157-5818 (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE)
- 1 - 157-5872 (BLACK PANTHERS)

JAF:bam

(4)

bam

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INDEXED _____
FILED _____

RUC

11/29/86 *Spinaemier*

157-5818-13

SAC, NEW YORK

11/15/68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) RUC

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
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2 - New York (RM)

2 - St. Louis

1 - 157-5818 (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE)

1 - 157-5872 (BLACK PANTHERS)

JAF:bam

(4) *bam*

~~but Confidential~~
~~11/29/68~~
~~157-5818~~
~~157-5872~~

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INDEXED	_____
FILED	_____

RUC

157-5818-13

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

11-22-68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) C

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK LIBERATORS)

Re SL let to Bureau, 10-29-68, and Bulet to SL,
11-6-68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 3 copies of newspaper
clippings.

In accordance with Bureau authority, approximately
200 of the "Black People Choose" flyers were produced and
mailed anonymously to various Black Nationalist groups and
leaders in the greater St. Louis area during the weekend of
11/8-10/68.

The results of this counterintelligence action were
regarded as very satisfactory and are set forth below:

On 11-11-68, Det. JOHN SIEBENMAN, Intelligence Unit,
St. Louis PD, made available to SA JACK A. FRENCH a copy of
the flyer which one of their policeman had been furnished
on the street by an unknown Negro male. The Negro male told
the officer at the time, "Looks like them Zulu's are asking
for trouble."

On 11-12-68, a confidential source of the SL Division,
WALDORF SINGFIELD, advised SA PEMBROKE WASHINGTON that the
questioned flyer had been received by several Negro secretaries
who are active in various Black groups in the area. Their
concensus of opinion was that the flyer was prepared by "white
hunkies" in the local chapter of Students for Democratic Society
(SDS) and they were going to attempt to secure some sample
envelopes from the SDS "hang-outs" to see if they compared
with the envelopes in which the flyers were received.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)

1 - St. Louis

JAF:amb

(4)

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SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

At St. Louis 11-14-68
157-5818-14

2/11/74 J. J. McNamee
9-11-81 BY 385
RAM/AMR

SL 157-5818

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On 11-12-68, SL 1428-R (PROB) advises SA JACK A. FRENCH that on the previous evening a small group of Black Liberators went into Simba John's, a tavern on Natural Bridge Ave. frequented by the Zulu 1200's. The Zulu's were giving a skit and one of their members held up a picture of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. A Black Liberator jumped up, tore the picture from his hand, and a very brief scuffle ensued. The Black Liberators immediately left.

While the above incident may not be directly attributed to the flyer mailing it is very likely that it was a contributing factor.

On 11-20-68, SL 1428-R (PROB) advised that the flyer was a great cause of concern to the Black Liberators and they have a copy of it posted in the main office. While they are satisfied that the actual leadership of the Zulu 1200's did not prepare the flyer they are not certain that some of Zulu members did not do so. The informant also advised that there has been plenty of "talk on the streets" regarding the flyer and most Negroes are unconvinced that the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200's are not feuding, despite the protests of their officers in the newspapers.

An article relating to the flyer merited headlines in the St. Louis Sentinel, a weekly Negro newspaper with a large circulation, and it was also referred to in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Copies of both articles have been enclosed for the Bureau.

Both articles added greatly to dissemination which the flyer received. Not only was the flyer quoted but also the articles explained some of the points made, and in so doing, tended to add credence to the complaints against the Black Liberators in the flyer.

This division will be alert to logical follow-up action in this matter and if a potential circumstance is noted Bureau authority will be requested for logical action.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

11-22-68

SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) C

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3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)

1 - St. Louis

JAF:amb

(4)

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INDEXED _____
FILED _____

Att. [unclear] 11-14-75
11-26-79

157-5818-14
11-27-81
8383 RAM
AKL

SL 157-5818

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Black Feud

Is Denied

Liberators, Zulus Say All Is Love

A Black Power war between the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200's appeared above the surface in the form of unsigned pamphlets last Monday, but both militant groups denied Wednesday that they are at odds.

"It's a plot to keep black people apart and get them to fight each other," a spokesman for the Black Liberators said.

"Both groups are fighting for the same thing, and both work together," a member of the Zulus said Wednesday.

A white minister considered a radical who speaks out for Negro rights also charged there is a plot to keep black people separated.

Black People Choose

The most explosive piece was mailed out through hand-addressed envelopes. It was titled, "Black People Choose," at the top and finished with a shield and "Black Power" at the bottom.

On one side it praised the Zulu 1200's as proud and black with eight points in their favor, and on the other side it denounced the Black Liberators as run by "white honkies" with eight points against them.

The Zulus, it said, are "run by blacks, for blacks, with blacks," born and raised and loyal to St. Louis, helping local black youth, support and upgrade black African culture and dress as "proud black Africans who respect all black men and women." It called the Zulus "black, strong and proud" who "ask nothing from white honkies."

page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

- St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
- St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

ST LOUIS SENTINEL

Date: 11-16-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor: page 1
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis
 Being Investigated

157-5818-15

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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NOV 2 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

9/11/80
Spina

On the other hand it says the Black Liberators are run by "white honkie ministers," has "Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn" as members, are loyal to outside groups, dress like "honkie truck drivers and motorcycle cats" and "cry in honkie federal court that police are harassing them." It also criticized the Liberators for working out of St. Stephens Episcopal church on Park and for working with whites.

White Minister Talks

The Rev. William Matheus, a militant white minister at St. Stephens, called the Liberators a noble group seeking to "create black dignity" and "get their thing together." He said the Liberators are free to "utilize the facilities of the church" because they do not have the finances and staff to do all the work needed

from their office at 2810 Easton ave.

Recently Charles (Chuck) Koen, prime minister of the Liberators participated in a public black forum at St. Stephens, which has white ministers. The Liberators also conducted a recruiting drive on the south side from that church.

A Liberator spokesman agreed that the Liberators do use church facilities, but declared that whites have nothing to do with the administration of the Black Liberators.

Matheus added, "I doubt seriously that the Zulus had anything to do with this vicious tract. After all, the Zulus work from the Mid-City Community Congress and worked with Webster college students in campaigns for housing blacks." Ocie Pastard, executive director of the Mid-City Community Congress, where both militant groups got their start, said the Zulus had nothing to do with the pamphlet. He added:

"Somebody wants these two black groups to start fighting. There have been several attempts to break up the good relationships between the two groups. Both groups were smart enough to take it intelligently."

The pamphlet came out after a big weekend for the Liberators during which Phil Hutchings, national chairman of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) announced at a public rally that the Liberators along with other "black" groups such as the Black Panthers were becoming affiliates of SNCC. He also noted that Koen had been named a national official of the affiliated groups.

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page, name of
er, city and state.)

- St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
- St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

ST LOUIS
SENTINEL

Date: 11-16-68

Edition:

Author:

Editor: page 1

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: St. Louis

Being Investigated

157-5818-15

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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NOV 2 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Liberators' apparently softened position toward whites was attacked last week in a blue pamphlet being circulated through Negro areas of the city. The pamphlet compared the militancy of the Liberators unfavorably with that of the Zulu 1200s, another Negro group that recently severed its ties with the Mid-City Community Congress.

Feud Denied

Members of both the Liberators and the Zulus have denied that the organizations are feuding.

The pamphlet said the Liberators were run by "white honkies" and the Zulus were run "by blacks, for blacks and with blacks." The pamphlet described the leadership of the Liberators as "Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn" and said the uniforms of the Liberators make them look like "honkie truck drivers and motor cycle cats."

Koen is from Cairo, Ill. The Liberators wear black uniforms and combat boots.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri
3A St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri
St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri

11-18-68

Date:
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis
 Being Investigated

157-5818-16
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
NOV 22 1968
FBI - SAINT LOUIS

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Liberators' apparently softened position toward whites was attacked last week in a blue pamphlet being circulated through Negro areas of the city. The pamphlet compared the militancy of the Liberators unfavorably with that of the Zulu 1200s, another Negro group that recently severed its ties with the Mid-City Community Congress.

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or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

Being Investigated

157-5818-16
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
NOV 27 1968
FBI - SAINT LOUIS

11/18/68

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FBI

Date December 6, 1968

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany
From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS C
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

For briefing and lecture purposes, the Bureau needs

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 2 - Atlanta | 2 - Minneapolis |
| 2 - Baltimore | 2 - Mobile |
| 2 - Birmingham | 2 - Newark |
| 2 - Boston | 2 - New Haven |
| 2 - Buffalo | 2 - New Orleans |
| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - New York |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - Omaha |
| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Philadelphia |
| 2 - Columbia | 2 - Phoenix |
| 2 - Cleveland | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Richmond |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Jackson | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - Seattle |
| 2 - Kansas City | 2 - Springfield |
| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Memphis | 2 - Tampa |
| 2 - Miami | 2 - WFO |
| 2 - Milwaukee | |

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Airtel to SAC, Albany
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, (VISUAL AIDS)
100-448006

to receive, under this caption, visual material relating to violence by black extremists. Photographs of scenes of racial violence, sniping attacks on police such as those at the Cleveland, Ohio, riot this year, photographs of arsenals of black extremists, and of black extremists engaged in military-type drill, are needed. Diagrams of explosive and sabotage devices and booby traps that are being circulated among black extremists are also desired.

By return airtel under this caption, each office should furnish any available material not previously furnished the Bureau or advise no such material is available. Photographs furnished should be clear, glossy, 8" X 10" photographs, if available, and only one copy of each item submitted is needed. Material submitted will not be returned so any item that is needed by the field should be copied for submission to the Bureau.

Thereafter, as items of interest are received, they should be submitted to the Bureau under this caption on a continuing basis so that the Bureau can have the benefit of new material that would be useful for visual aid purposes.

FBI

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(Type in plaintext or code)

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From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

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BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Spinnagynia activity

7-16-80 Sp803 cap 675-6203

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| 2 - Atlanta | 2 - Minneapolis |
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| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - New York |
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| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Philadelphia |
| 2 - Columbia | 2 - Phoenix |
| 2 - Cleveland | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Richmond |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Jackson | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - Seattle |
| 2 - Kansas City | 2 - Springfield |
| 2 - Los Angeles | ② - St. Louis |
| 2 - Memphis | 2 - Tampa |
| 2 - Miami | 2 - WFO |
| 2 - Milwaukee | |

157 5918 - 17

Exhibit

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COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, (VISUAL AIDS)
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, St. Louis (157-5818)

DATE: 10/16/68

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 10/11/68.

The suggestions contained in relet have merit and will be considered in conjunction with the overall evaluation of counterintelligence measures received from various divisions.

Those suggestions which you desire to implement in your division should be worked out in detail and submitted to the Bureau for approval prior to taking any action.

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157-5818-18

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OCT 18 1968 FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Freud



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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DATE: 10/16/68

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9-17-68

FBI - ST. LOUIS

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157-5818-18

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Feud

Is Denied

Liberators, Zulus Say All Is Love

A Black Power war between the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200's appeared above the surface in the form of unsigned pamphlets last Monday, but both militant groups denied Wednesday that they are at odds.

"It's a plot to keep black people apart and get them to fight each other," a spokesman for the Black Liberators said.

"Both groups are fighting for the same thing, and both work together," a member of the Zulus said Wednesday.

A white minister considered a radical who speaks out for Negro rights also charged there is a plot to keep black people separated.

Black People Choose

The most explosive piece was mailed out through hand-addressed envelopes. It was titled, "Black People Choose," at the top and finished with a shield and "Black Power" at the bottom.

On one side it praised the Zulu 1200's as proud and black with eight points in their favor, and on the other side it denounced the Black Liberators as run by "white honkies" with eight points against them.

The Zulus, it said, are "run by blacks, for blacks, with blacks," born and raised and loyal to St. Louis, helping local black youth, support and upgrade black African culture and dress as "proud black Africans who respect all black men and women." It called the Zulus "black, strong and proud" who "ask nothing from white honkies."

page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

~~St. Louis Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri~~
~~St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri~~
~~St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Missouri~~

ST LOUIS SENTINEL

Date: 11-16-68
 Edition:
 Author:
 Editor: page 1
 Title:

Character:
 or
 Classification:
 Submitting Office: St. Louis

Being Investigated

157-5818-20

SEARCHED INDEXED
 SERIALIZED FILED

NOV 20 1968

FBI - ST. LOUIS

FRENCH

On the other hand it says the Black Liberators are run by "white honkie minister," has "Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn" as members, are loyal to outside groups, dress like "honkie truck drivers and motorcycle cats" and "cry in honkie federal court that police are harassing them." It also criticized the Liberators for working out of St. Stephens Episcopal church on Park and for working with whites.

White Minister Talks

The Rev. William Matheus, a militant white minister at St. Stephens, called the Liberators a noble group seeking to "create black dignity" and "get their thing together." He said the Liberators are free to "utilize the facilities of the church" because they do not have the finances and staff to do all the work needed

from their office at 2810 Easton ave.

Recently Charles (Chuck) Koen, prime minister of the Liberators participated in a public black forum at St. Stephens, which has white ministers. The Liberators also conducted a recruiting drive on the south side from that church.

A Liberator spokesman agreed that the Liberators do use church facilities, but declared that whites have nothing to do with the administration of the Black Liberators.

Matheus added, "I doubt seriously that the Zulus had anything to do with this vicious tract. After all, the Zulus work from the Mid-City Community Congress and worked with Webster college students in campaigns for housing blacks."

Ocie Pastard, executive director of the Mid-City Community Congress, where both militant groups got their start, said the Zulus had nothing to do with the pamphlet. He added:

"Somebody wants these two black groups to start fighting. There have been several attempts to break up the good relationships between the two groups. Both groups were smart enough to take it intelligently."

The pamphlet came out after a big weekend for the Liberators during which Phil Hutchings, national chairman of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) announced at a public rally that the Liberators along with other "black" groups such as the Black Panthers were becoming affiliates of SNCC. He also noted that Koen had been named a national official of the affiliated groups.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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St. Louis Argus,
St. Louis,
Missouri~~

ST LOUIS
SENTINEL

Date: 11-16-68
Edition:
Author:
Editor: page 1
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis
 Being Investigated

157-5818-20

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SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____

NOV 20 1968

FBI - ST. LOUIS

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FRENCH

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Basie's Wife Tells of Fear Of Panthers

By THOMAS POSTER

Fear of the Black Panthers forced her to resign her leadership role in a civil rights organization, Mrs. Catherine Basie, wife of the famed orchestra leader, Count Basie, disclosed yesterday.

Trembling with emotion, the civic leader told the Joint Legislative Committee on Crime and Violence:

"Our own people are attacking us. These Black Panthers, mili-



Mrs. Catherine Basie
Forced to resign, she says

tants and extremists threatened our lives. This is the trend."

Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve (D-Buffalo), a leader in that city's Negro community, interrupted Mrs. Basie's testimony to suggest the formation of "a black man's club to stand up to these Panthers and extremists."

"Same Trouble in Buffalo"

"We had the same trouble in Buffalo, but we stood up to them, and when they told me they were going to kill me, I told them that my friends would kill every one of them," Eve said. You can't back down from them."

The lawmaker, a member of the committee, said that about 700 men are members of the Black Man's Club. Some attend community meetings in the Negro area to "protect their wives and children from any extremists infiltration."

Mrs. Basie, near tears, countered: "But what do you do when 15 or 20 of these Black Panthers disrupt your meeting and threaten your board members, threaten their lives. I cannot go along with this new takeover and this intimidation. Even the Negro businessmen are moving out of our neighborhoods."

In Council 16 Years

She told the lawmakers that she resigned as chairman of the South Jamaica Community Council, a post she had held for 16 years.

"One hundred years ago we feared the white man," she added, "and now we fear our own people, and it's a worse fear."

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157-5818-20

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

22

TO : SAC, San Francisco

DATE: October 29, 1968

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FROM

Director, FBI (100-448006)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
BUDED: 11/15/68

ReBulet to San Francisco 9/30/68, copies of which were furnished to receiving offices.

Enclosed herewith for recipient offices is a reproduced copy of an article which appeared in the 9/18/68 issue of the New York Daily News. This article vividly portrays the fear the Black Panther Party (BPP) instills in the Negro community. The impact of this article on responsible Negroes should harden their resistance to BPP intrusions in the Negro community.

The New York Division has recommended that a sufficient number of reproduced copies of the article be prepared and be disseminated on a Nation-wide basis in areas where the BPP is known to be active.

Enclosure

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2 - Albany (Enclosure) | 2 - Newark (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Atlanta (Enclosure) | 2 - New York (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Baltimore (Enclosure) | 2 - Omaha (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Boston (Enclosure) | 2 - Pittsburgh (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Chicago (Enclosure) | 2 - Portland (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Denver (Enclosure) | 2 - Sacramento (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Detroit (Enclosure) | 2 - St. Louis (Enclosure) |
| 2 - El Paso (Enclosure) | 2 - San Diego (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Houston (Enclosure) | 2 - Seattle (Enclosure) |
| 2 - Los Angeles (Enclosure) | 2 - WFO (Enclosure) |

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OCT 31 - 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

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157-5818-21

Letter to SAC, San Francisco

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; BLACK PANTHER PARTY

100-448006

Recipient offices furnish to New York no later than 11/15/68 the names and addresses of responsible Negroes in your division to whom you desire attached article be sent. After receipt of this information, the New York Division is authorized to mail in plain white envelopes reproduced copies of the newspaper article to those individuals whose names have been furnished by receiving offices.

New York handle this in such a manner that the mailing is not traced to the FBI. All offices report to the Bureau all tangible results obtained by this counter-intelligence action.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC, San Francisco

DATE: October 29, 1968

Just
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OCT 1 - 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/8/69

2/4/69 JPMackm

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

9-18-81

888 RAM/HR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

[Handwritten initials]
RE:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re St. Louis let to Bureau, 9/6/68.

The following information is submitted regarding racial intelligence in this Division:

1) Operations Under Consideration.

The Black Liberators have recently been involved in two attacks against Black people. In December they kidnapped, robbed, and brutally assaulted OSCAR KING, JR. aka JAMES L. KING, a Negro male who apparently stole a rifle from them. Three Black Liberators were subsequently arrested by SLED in connection with this. On 1/4/69, the business firm of a Black capitalist, JAMES HURT, was fire-bombed, in all probability by the Black Liberators.

St. Louis is presently considering the best way to exploit and publicize the above in a counter-intelligence activity.

2) Operations Being Effected.

There are no current operations being effected.

3) Tangible Results

Two counter-intelligence operations were effected in this Division since the date of referenced communication and both met with success.

Bureau RM
2 St. Louis

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SL: #157-5818

In November, 1968, 200 flyers were anonymously mailed to various Black leaders and organizations locally which praised Zulu 1200's and criticized the Black Liberators. Informants and sources subsequently advised that the flyers and the resulting publicity in the local newspapers were responsible for all but eliminating the previous good will that existed between the two groups. It also hurt white liberal support of the Black Liberators.

Later in November a letter was sent to CHARLES KOEN, Prime Minister of the Black Liberators, purportedly from some SDS students at Washington University. It praised him and criticized LEON DENT, a General in the Black Liberators, and KOEN's "right-hand man". The letter apparently had an adverse effect on the relations between SDS and the Black Liberators. It is also possible that the letter germinated a seed of distrust in the friendship of KOEN and DENT.

4) Developments of Counterintelligence Interest.

Since the date of referenced communication, the Zulu 1200's have become almost dormant; the Black Liberators are recruiting younger and younger members to bolster their sagging membership. Conversely, the Association of Black Collegians (ABC), flushed with its relative success during its December sit-in at Washington University, seems to be increasing both its influence and membership. However, this group seems to be legitimately interested in racial pride and community betterment, and not as concerned with adopting a "militant" posture.

ACTION, a local dissident group of CORE, is apparently drawing a close to the Black Liberators. One of the Black Liberators' favorite meeting place is the residence of PRECIOUS BARNES an ACTION leader.

St. Louis is attempting to formulate a plan which would frustrate any strong degree of cooperation between ACTION and the Black Liberators.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/8/69

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

2/4/86 Logmaster
DATE 9-18-81 BY 883 RAM/HR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P
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SL: #157-5818

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St. Louis is attempting to formulate a plan which would frustrate any strong degree of cooperation between ACTION and the Black Liberators.

11/6/68

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

New Left organizations in the St. Louis area including SDS have attempted to form a closer affiliation with the Black Liberators, a militant Negro organization in St. Louis, which organized in July, 1968. Members of the Black Liberators have appeared in public bearing arms and usually wear an all black uniform. CHARLES KOEN, the Prime Minister of the Black Liberators has embarked on a speaking program before numerous organizations including a series of 10 weekly lectures sponsored by SDS at Whol Center, Washington University, St. Louis. During these lectures KOEN has mentioned that the Black Liberators have an arsenal of weapons and frequently refers to killings and violence. These remarks have been reported to the Bureau under appropriate captions.

LEON DENT, second in command to KOEN, has replaced KOEN as speaker on several occasions, however, does not display the speaking ability of KOEN.

The enclosed letter, if approved, would have an adverse effect on the consolidatory efforts of the SDS and the Black Liberators.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - St. Louis
M.J.W:bam

[Handwritten initials]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

157-5818-23

~~100-21213-39~~
SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED *[initials]*
INDEXED _____
FILED *[initials]*

[Handwritten signature]

SL 100-21213

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is requested the Bureau grant authority for St. Louis to send a typewritten copy of instant letter, mailed anonymously to CHARLES KOEN at Black Liberator headquarters, St. Louis, Mo. Since timing is important in the delivery of instant letter it is requested St. Louis be advised by return airtel.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/6/68

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3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
① - St. Louis
HJW:bam

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

157-5818-25

~~100-21213-39~~
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SERIALIZED Am
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SPINACOME

SL 100-21213

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Dear Prime Minister:

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1. General Dent should not be allowed to speak to college groups. He does not appear too intelligent as witnessed by numerous errors in speaking style. Also he attempts to draw the same magnetism as you attract & fails in his effort. We feel he brings out the "nigger" in the black community in regards to the above.

2. We feel you should not lecture to the U. campus concerning weapons. We are leftists, not militants. It is proper to use any means necessary to gain your freedom, however, some whites are not responding favorably to militancy & we must gain a semblance of respectability before we can be most effective.

We hope these ideas will be useful in analyzing your future activities.

R

157-5818-22

~~100-21213-38~~
SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED *Sm*
INDEXED _____
FILED *Sm*

DECLASSIFIED *Spina...*
ON *2/11/80*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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157-5818-22

~~100-21213-38~~
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2/4/66

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

1/8/69

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

2/11/69 Sprague/Ince

9-18-81

8883 RAM/AHR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (157-5818) P

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re St. Louis let to Bureau, 9/6/68.

The following information is submitted regarding racial intelligence in this Division:

1) Operations Under Consideration.

The Black Liberators have recently been involved in two attacks against Black people. In December they kidnapped, robbed, and brutally assaulted OSCAR KING, JR. aka JAMES L. KING, a Negro male who apparently stole a rifle from them. Three Black Liberators were subsequently arrested by SLPD in connection with this. On 1/4/69, the business firm of a Black capitalist, JAMES HURT, was fire-bombed, in all probability by the Black Liberators.

St. Louis is presently considering the best way to exploit and publicize the above in a counter-intelligence activity.

2) Operations Being Effected.

There are no current operations being effected.

3) Tangible Results

Two counter-intelligence operations were effected in this Division since the date of referenced communication and both met with success.

3 - Bureau RM
 2 - St. Louis
 JAF:mck
 (5)

~~SECRET~~
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 157-5818-25
 157-5818-23

SEARCHED _____
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 INDEXED _____
 FILED _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SL: #157-5818

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4) Developments of Counterintelligence Interest.

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~~1/3/69~~ 1/3/69

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

2/11/69 Sprague

9-10-81 8388 Ram/NE

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(5)

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The deepening schism within the Negro community over tactics or goals, gleefully fostered and distorted by insensitive and irresponsible news media, is headed toward a major internal crisis requiring each of us to stand up and be counted. Differences among black folk in this country are not new, but a new ingredient has been added—the attempt by a small minority of black extremists to force compliance with its views and tactics. This nihilistic minority professes disdain for all "white" values while at the same time invoking and utilizing, as instruments of controversy, the worst practices of the most benighted stratum of white society, to wit, obscene name-calling, threats, intimidation, suppression of opposing views and violence.

The emergence of this swaggering band of black extremists demanding abandonment of democratic methods and goals and a reversal of the trend toward integration must be met head-on by the vast majority of Negroes who reject the minority's tactics and goals. To be sure, the new mood has been generated by white America's historic racism. In turn, the new black mood nurtures further white racism.

Campaigning in New York City last month, Senator Edmund S. Muskie, the Democratic nominee for Vice President, challenged responsible people of both races to speak up. "We must break through the terrible cycle of action and reaction, assault and counter-assault, hatred and response to hatred," he said.

"The only way to break this vicious cycle," Senator Muskie continued, "is for the moderates in both communities to cope with the merchants of hate and violence within their own ranks. To date, the moderates—both black and white—have been too silent."

On our part, as on the part of white folk, there is urgent need for strong and unequivocal re-affirmation of our commitment to the democratic processes as a means of attaining, here in our homeland, full, equal and unfettered rights for America's 22,000,000 black folk. This means a repudiation of the nihilism of the extremists who are shrilly and insistently espousing apartheid, racism, including anti-Semitism, intimidation and violence.

Most fatuous of the extremists' exhortations is the call for "black revolution"—the seizure of power by the Negro minority. Any revolution remotely possible in this country at this time would not be one that advances the position and cause of Negroes. Rather it would be a revolution of the Right suppressing not only the black community but also curtailing the basic liberties of the total society.

Repeated surveys and polls by reputable and impartial opinion testers show that this minority misrepresents the true views and aspirations of the majority of the nation's Negro population. A September, 1968, survey by the Columbia Broadcasting System found that the "great majority of Negroes still want integration and want to achieve equality through legal means. Only a very small minority of Negroes approve of violent tactics, nine out of ten in the survey expressing disapproval of violence to achieve equality."

Notwithstanding the evidence that the Negro masses remain committed to the program and tactics which have brought substantial gains in the struggle for equality, the voices within the Negro community which publicly express this majority view have been few and, often, lonely. Partly this has been because of a tendency on the part of the news media to by-pass spokesmen for the majority and to project the minority spokesmen as the authentic voices of the Negro community. There is the additional factor that responsible leaders who speak out against the extremists have been subjected to threats of violence. Moreover, Negro leaders have traditionally been reluctant to speak out publicly in opposition to other black spokesmen.

But the time has come for speaking out loud and clear lest the entire race be branded as hate-mongers, segregationists, advocates of violence, and worse. The silent majority must let its views be known not merely in polls but also in print, on the rostrum, and via radio and television. The time for silence or muted voices is past. The extremists must be answered promptly and forthrightly in the name of the majority. Their racism and anti-Semitism

Magazine of the
National Association
for the Advancement
of Colored People

The Crisis
November, 1968

157-5818-2426

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 9 1969	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

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In a message to the founding conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, William Lloyd Garrison expressed the hope "that the Conference will utter no uncertain sound on any point affecting the vital subject. No part of it is too delicate for plain speech."

So it is today. Let there be "no uncertain sound" on the issue confronting us. To make the record clear, let us repeat again and again so that none need be unaware of the Truth: Black America rejects and condemns separation, racism, intimidation, suppression of free speech, and violence. Let it be known that the preachers of hate, the defeatists afraid to compete in the open market, the name callers who substitute epithets and slogans for reason, the exhorters who summon Negro youth to death in futile shoot-outs with the police and the military—let it be known that these media-created "leaders" are not our spokesmen.

Dissent, protest and militancy, yes. Intimidation, disruption, suppression of free speech, extremism and violence, no!

The time to speak up in no uncertain terms, to rally the silent black majority to a constructive program of responsible militancy and resistance to extremism, is now. Tomorrow may be too late.

The deepening schism within the Negro community over tactics or goals, gleefully fostered and distorted by insensitive and irresponsible news media, is headed toward a major internal crisis requiring each of us to stand up and be counted. Differences among black folk in this country are not new, but a new ingredient has been added—the attempt by a small minority of black extremists to force compliance with its views and tactics. This nihilistic minority professes disdain for all "white" values while at the same time invoking and utilizing, as instruments of controversy, the worst practices of the most benighted stratum of white society, to wit, obscene name-calling, threats, intimidation, suppression of opposing views and violence.

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November, 1968

157-5818-26

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FBI - ST. LOUIS	

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FBI

Date: January 7, 1969

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany
From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

2/4/80 Spina...
7/16/80
8/28/80 Rev
11-7-80 Sp2 Top RBH CA # 75-6883

Enclosed for each office is a Xerox copy of an article
Enclosure

- 2 - Atlanta (Enclosure)
- 2 - Baltimore (Enclosure)
- 2 - Birmingham (Enclosure)
- 2 - Boston (Enclosure)
- 2 - Buffalo (Enclosure)
- 2 - Charlotte (Enclosure)
- 2 - Chicago (Enclosure)
- 2 - Cincinnati (Enclosure)
- 2 - Cleveland (Enclosure)
- 2 - Columbia (Enclosure)
- 2 - Denver (Enclosure)
- 2 - Detroit (Enclosure)
- 2 - Houston (Enclosure)
- 2 - Indianapolis (Enclosure)
- 2 - Jackson (Enclosure)
- 2 - Jacksonville (Enclosure)
- 2 - Kansas City (Enclosure)
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- 2 - Omaha (Enclosure)
- 2 - Philadelphia (Enclosure)
- 2 - Phoenix (Enclosure)
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- 2 - Portland (Enclosure)
- 2 - Richmond (Enclosure)
- 2 - Sacramento (Enclosure)
- 2 - San Diego (Enclosure)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enclosure)
- 2 - Seattle (Enclosure)
- 2 - Springfield (Enclosure)
- ② - St. Louis (Enclosure)
- 2 - Tampa (Enclosure)
- 2 - WFO (Enclosure)

157-5818-27

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JAN 9 1969	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Shumway

Sent Via _____

Airtel to SAC, Albany
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
100-448006

from "The Crisis," magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This article condemns black nationalist extremists and is one of the first such condemnations by a responsible civil rights organization. The article received some notice in the regular press when it was published.

The Bureau feels this article may be of use in contacting potential sources, to show how responsible Negroes reject violence in racial matters. The article may also be of counterintelligence use. For example, in cases where we might want to alert an individual or organization to the extremist nature of some black nationalist group, we might also want to use the editorial to justify opposing extremists.

Any suggestions for counterintelligence use of the enclosed article should be submitted to the Bureau for approval. The article may be used as necessary in contacts with racial sources or potential sources.

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(Priority)

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From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

2/4/84 SP3maeyme
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-16-80 BY 8300/col
11-7-78 SP3 TOP 1873 CA #70,6203

Enclosed for each office is a Xerox copy of an article
Enclosure

- 2 - Atlanta (Enclosure)
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- ② - St. Louis (Enclosure)
- 2 - Tampa (Enclosure)
- 2 - WFO (Enclosure)

157-5818-29

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JAN 9 1969	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Hammond

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SAC, ST. LOUIS (134-5405)

11-26-68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SA MARTIN JOHN WEBER

SL 1426-S
SI

On 11-9-68, captioned individual provided a copy of a flyer headed "Black People Choce" which he stated he received on that date at 4487 McPherson. The original is being designated for informant's file. (134-5405A-1A47)

Date classified 1-14-75
Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

1 - 134-5405
① - 157-5818
MJW: amb
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NOV 26 1968
FBI - SAINT LOUIS

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157-5818-28
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SERIALIZED.....
NOV 26 1968
FBI - SAINT LOUIS

62-117290-866

SAC, ST. LOUIS (134-5405)

11-26-68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SL 1426-S
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Spina...

2/4/80

Date classified 1-14-75
Classified by 3067
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

1 - 134-5405
1 - 157-5818
MJW:amb
(2)

157-5818-28
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SERIALIZED.....
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FBI - SAINT LOUIS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/19/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SAC, Albany

JWA From: Director, FBI

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
(RACIAL INTELLIGENCE SECTION)

SAC Letter 67-66 (F) dated 11/7/67 instructed each office to submit a memorandum setting forth all information in its files concerning the above matter.

An analysis of field replies reveals that while evidence to date is lacking which would show the black nationalist movement is either under foreign control or direction, considerable data has been developed indicating varying degrees of foreign participation, influence and/or involvement among black nationalist groups and individual militants.

A copy of Bureau memorandum dated 1/11/68 which contains the analysis of the field replies is enclosed for each office. All Agents handling nationalities intelligence matters, particularly those concerning Cuba and Red China, all Agents handling security matters and all Agents handling racial matters should familiarize themselves with the contents of this memorandum and be alert for any indications of significant contacts between representatives of foreign countries and black nationalists. Informants covering these matters should be alerted to the Bureau's interest in this matter. Any such information should be submitted to the Bureau under the above caption.

Enclosure

2 - To All Offices

157-5839-12

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 21 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

F B I

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2 - To All Offices

157-5839-4

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 24 1968	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

OF 10
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS

FROM : SA JACK A. FRENCH

SUBJECT: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 3/22/68

1/29/86 JPT/mac/mia

In view of the intensive attention all Divisions have been directed by the Bureau to afford the organizations and leaders of the Black Nationalist Movement in the United States, it is imperative that an effective system of channelization and dissemination be utilized.

In furtherance of this, a survey was made by the writer of all main files relating to Black Nationalist organizations and leaders. This survey reflected that we have main files on the following:

STOKELY CARMICHAEL 100-20639
REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING 100-17801
M. RAP BROWN 100-20871
JAMES FOREMAN 157-108

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) 100-19355

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 100-8295

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) 157-590

Nation of Islam (NOI) 25-11095

- 1 - 100-20916 (BLACK NATIONALISTS)
- 1 - 100-19355 (SNCC)
- 1 - 100-8295 (CORE)
- 1 - 157-590 (RAM)
- 1 - 25-11095 (NOI)
- 1 - 105-4027 (SCLC)
- 1 - 157-1848 (DDJ)
- 1 - 100-20639 (S. CARMICHAEL)
- 1 - 100-17801 (REV. KING)
- 1 - 100-20871 (RAP BROWN)
- 1 - 157-108 (J. FOREMAN)
- 1 - 157-New Lead (RON KARENGA)
- 1 - 157-New Dead (REV. J. L. BEVEL)
- 1 - 157-New Dead (CLEVELAND SELLERS)
- 1 - 157-New Dead (BLACK PANTHERS)

JAF:jc
(15)

105-4027-53

Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
March 22, 1968	
FBI - St. Louis	

SL 100-20916

JAF:jc

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
(SCLC) 105-4027

Deacons for Defense and Justice
(DDJ) 157-1848

This survey disclosed that this Division currently has no main files on the following prominent Black Nationalist groups and individuals:

REV. JAMES LUTHER BEVEL
CLEVELAND SELLERS
RON KARENGA
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense
Us

The following sets forth background information regarding these groups and individuals.

REVEREND JAMES LUTHER BEVEL

BEVEL, a negro, was born October 19, 1936, in Itta Bena, Mississippi, and attended the American Baptist Theology School in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1957 to 1961. He is currently employed as a staff member of the Urban Training Center for Christian Missions in Chicago.

In the spring of 1967, BEVEL was released by the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to become National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. BEVEL has vigorously protested United States policy in Vietnam and has called President JOHNSON a murderer. He has also stated, "We here will decide what the Government will be when we take over."

CLEVELAND SELLERS

SELLERS, one of the main SNCC Regional Coordinators, has been a frequent visitor to many cities. He travels either alone or in the company of H. RAP BROWN.

SELLERS was one of the ringleaders in the student revolt at South Carolina State College at Orangeburg, South Carolina, in February, 1968. He was shot and wounded during the revolt. He was also arrested in connection with this and released on \$20,000.00 bail.

RON KARENKA

KARENKA, whose true name is RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT, is the leader of a Los Angeles based organization called "Us", which is described below. He took the Swahili name of KARENKA and has encouraged the use of Swahili language by all of his followers. KARENKA was one of the key figures at the Black Power Conference at Newark, New Jersey, in the summer of 1967.

KARENKA was one of the leaders in a movement after the Watts riots of 1965 advocating that the Watts area of Southeastern Los Angeles secede from the city of Los Angeles and become a separate city.

On April 21, 1967, KARENKA spoke at Venture College, Ventura, California. He stated the negro will "make the next revolution." He also stated, "We're not going to sit-in or beg-in any longer. We're going to move. This is when history will be made. We believe in freedom at any cost. It's the American way."

US

US was organized in July, 1965, in Los Angeles, California. RON KARENKA is the leader of this organization. KARENKA stated in June, 1966, the purpose of the organization, US, is to help the Afro-American identify himself by emphasizing the culture and history of the Afro-American. He stated the ultimate goal of US is to establish a cultural center, preferably in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, for the purpose of teaching negro history and negro culture and provide training for negroes so they can learn trades, thus improving themselves economically.

The magazine, "Sepia", a monthly publication aimed at the mass negro market, published in Fort Worth, Texas, in its issue of April, 1967, contained an article entitled, "Ron Karenga and US", in which it was explained the word, US, was not an abbreviation but literally meant "US - black people".

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

SL 100-20916

JAF:jc

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was informally organized in the fall of 1966 at Oakland, California, as a militant black nationalist youth organization. The group was stimulated by the Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Party organized by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and has approximately 20 to 30 members. The leader of the organization, HUEY NEWTON, claims they are "a revolutionary party" and anti-white. They advocate arming the black community against "white oppressors."

The members of this organization have on several occasions appeared in public carrying rifles, shotguns, and holstered pistols. However, there is no evidence that this group has planned or instigated any riots.

Current leaders of this organization as of the date of this writing are as follows:

BOBBY SEALE, Chairman
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Prime Minister
JAMES FOREMAN, aka JAMES FORMAN, JAMES FOURMAN,
JAMES RUFUS, Minister of Foreign Affairs (is also International
Director of SNCC)
HUEY P. NEWTON, Defense Minister
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information.

It is therefore recommended that the following 157-(NEW) (DEAD) cases be opened:

REV. JAMES LUTHER BEVEL;

CLEVELAND SELLERS;

RON KARENGA;

Black Panther Party for Self Defense.

The organization "Us" can be handled under the main file of KARENGA.

OF 10
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RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 3/22/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/29/86 BY SP/ma/pe

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105-4027-53

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