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Extracted from "The New Left: Road to Anarchy", FBI, December 1967

the more than 200,000 who took part in the massive civil rights demonstration in Washington in August, 1963-- it is significant that support was solicited and received from a wide variety of organizations ranging from old-established pacifist groups to organizations which have publicly vowed their allegiance to the international communist movement. This demonstration marked the firm establishment of another plank in the new left platform--the "antiwar movement."

Black Power Concept

As the university reform and antiwar movements gained momentum, new left influence in the civil rights movement began to wane. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had encouraged responsible civil rights leaders to look increasingly to the law for redress of their grievances, and by the end of 1965, there was a diminution of the tactics which had characterized the early days of the civil rights struggle. This new stance assumed by the civil rights leaders was totally incompatible with the militant philosophy of the new left.

The period of relative tranquility in the civil rights movement came to an abrupt end in May, 1966, when Stokely Carmichael* was elected National Chairman of the SNCC and promptly started to publicize the concept of "black power." The SNCC was considered by new leftists to be the counterpart of the SDS in the civil rights struggle.

Following Carmichael's election, a strong resolution was passed at the SDS National Council meeting in June, 1966, which made reference to the long-standing fraternal relations between the SDS and the SNCC and fully endorsed the philosophy of black power. The resolution stated, in part: "Let it be clear that we are not merely supporting SNCC's right to its views, we are welcoming and supporting the thrust of SNCC's program, and expect to continue our joint work." Thus, it was clear that the introduction of the principle of black power had served to overcome a temporary setback experienced by the new left in the civil rights campaign.

In May, 1967, when H. Rap Brown* became SNCC National Chairman, Carmichael went abroad to solicit support for the SNCC

*See Appendix.

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and black nationalism, especially from so-called third world countries such as Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Guinea and Tanzania. Carmichael also visited Cuba, North Vietnam, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and France before returning to the United States on December 11, 1967.

While in Cuba in late July, Carmichael was honored at a dinner given by Fidel Castro who described him as the "representative of the Negro people of the United States." In an hour-long harangue in Havana on August 1, Carmichael compared the Negro revolt in America to the Cuban revolution and exhorted American Negroes to take up arms and fight for their freedom.

In Paris, France, on December 7, 1967, Carmichael told 3,000 persons that he would like to see America lose the Vietnam war. Standing before a huge portrait of the dead Latin American revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, he declared that "black people have always been cannon fodder for the wars of imperialism." He urged young American Negroes to "develop a resistance movement that will disrupt the entire United States."

The SDS has expressed its support of other extremist organizations such as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). RAM is a militant all-Negro organization which advocates urban guerrilla warfare as a means of overthrowing the United States Government and replacing it with a Chinese communist-oriented society. At the SDS National Convention in June, 1967, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the SDS would defend and give aid to members of the SNCC and RAM who were arrested.

Merger of Antiwar and Civil Rights Movements

One of the most ambitious endeavors of the new left to date--which has been given high priority by leaders of both the new left and the communist left--has been an all-out effort to unite the antiwar movement with the civil rights struggle. The claim is made that the war in Vietnam is diverting attention from civil rights and is consuming funds that might otherwise be expended for the war on poverty in the Negro ghettos of large cities. The Vietnam war is denounced as a "racist war" in a constant barrage of propaganda emanating from such organizations as the SNCC and the SDS as well as from communist sources. Negroes are urged to unite with their "Vietnamese brothers" in the struggle

against the "U.S. imperialists" and to refuse to serve in the Armed Forces.

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King,* recognized creator of the so-called "non-violent resistance" tactics utilized so effectively in the early days of the civil rights struggle, has for the past two years injected himself into the Vietnam war issue and has given much stimulus to the efforts of the new left to bring about a merger of the civil rights movement with the antiwar movement. It is significant that King's position on Vietnam has been carefully plotted by several of his close advisors who are dedicated communists with concealed affiliations. As a matter of fact, one of these communist advisors wrote the speech which King delivered on April 15, 1967, at the rally of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held in New York City in which he viciously denounced United States policy in Vietnam.

Although civil rights, university reform, and peace continue to provide the impetus for the new left, there is a constant change in the emphasis placed on the various aspects of these issues. Just as the main thrust of the new left in civil rights is now focused on the philosophy of black power, the current emphasis of new left activities in the antiwar movement has in recent months centered around resistance to the draft. New left adherents who are active in the university reform movement have selected college administrators as their current targets and are demanding that the administration of the universities be turned over completely to the students.

Community Action and "Participatory Democracy"

The new left has no real, positive ideology for bringing about fundamental changes in the political, economic, and social system in this country. Instead, it has assumed a righteous and intransigent moral posture which rejects the American system but offers no program or alternatives. Since the new left has not developed specific goals and a detailed program, it has been challenged to produce an alternative ideology and theory of action.

The main response to this challenge has been the development of the concept of community action and "participatory democracy." This theory of action, in practice, is to organize

*See Appendix.

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."

H. RAP BROWN

Brown, a Negro, was born October 4, 1943, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, as Hubert Geroid Brown. He is reported to have attended Southern University in Baton Rouge but left before graduation and became involved in civil rights activities in Mississippi and Alabama.

A member of the SNCC since 1963, Brown succeeded Stokely Carmichael as National Chairman in May, 1967. Since becoming National Chairman, Brown has followed Carmichael's example by traveling throughout the United States making speeches condemning American policy toward Vietnam, assailing the white man, and calling for "rebellion by any means" and for "massive civil disobedience." He has encouraged Negroes to buy firearms and ammunition.

The State of Maryland issued a warrant for Brown's arrest on a charge of inciting a riot and inciting to commit arson as a result of an inflammatory speech he made at Cambridge, Maryland, on July 24, 1967. He was subsequently arrested in Alexandria, Virginia, and is currently on bond appealing extradition to Maryland. Under the conditions of his bond, Brown is prohibited from traveling to make speeches and is restricted to southern New York in the custody of his attorney.

On August 19, 1967, Brown was arrested in New York City on a Federal charge of transporting a weapon in interstate commerce (New York City to New Orleans and return by commercial airliner) while under indictment for a felony. He was released on \$15,000 bond.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Carmichael, a Negro, was born June 29, 1941, in Trinidad, West Indies, and gained derivative United States citizenship through his father's naturalization. He graduated from Howard University in Washington, D.C., in June, 1964, with a degree in philosophy.

Shortly after being elected National Chairman of the SNCC in 1966, he transformed this organization from a civil rights group to a revolutionary black nationalist organization. He popularized the slogan of "black power" which, to Carmichael, signifies "bringing this country to its knees" and using "any force necessary" to obtain Negro goals. He maintains that "violence is inevitable in this struggle for Negro liberation," and he urges Negroes in the United States to prepare for a "Bloody revolution."

In his public appearances, Carmichael has vociferously and bitterly condemned the war in Vietnam as an "illegal, immoral" war being "fought for racist reasons." He claims the only way to stop the war is for young Americans to say "to hell with the draft."

Since being replaced by H. Rap Brown as SNCC National Chairman in May, 1967, Carmichael has traveled extensively throughout the world trying to solicit support for the SNCC and the black nationalist movement in the United States.

Carmichael was an observer at the conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) in Havana, Cuba, in July-August, 1967. The LASO promotes revolution in Latin America through guerrilla warfare. While in Cairo, Egypt, in October, 1967, Carmichael said he did not know if he was a communist "but my political philosophy is influenced by the Chinese and Cuban revolutions."

Just prior to his return to the United States in December, 1967, Carmichael spoke before an audience of 3,000 in Paris, France, where he reportedly shouted "We do not want peace, we want the Vietnamese to defeat the United States."

REVEREND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

King, a Negro, was born January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. He received an A.B. degree from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1948; a B.D. degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1951; and a Ph.D. degree from Boston University in 1955.

In 1957, King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with himself as President, a position he still holds.

In his rise to national prominence since he headed the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1956, King has been closely allied with communists. He has shown not only a willingness but even an eagerness to accept communist aid, to support communist causes, to confer with high-ranking communist functionaries, and to rely heavily upon the advice and direction of dedicated communists with concealed affiliations.

King is regarded in communist circles as a genuine Marxist-Leninist who is following the Marxist-Leninist line. Over a period of time, he has been guided into advocating a procommunist position on the war in Vietnam. Specifically, King seeks to create opposition to that war and thereby influence the United States Government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

In the past year, King has become an open critic of the Vietnam war and was the keynote speaker at the rally held in New York City on April 15, 1967, under the sponsorship of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

King was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace in 1964 and has traveled abroad on several occasions. He has publicly announced that he will travel to Europe and perhaps the Soviet Union sometime in the near future in pursuit of "peace" in Vietnam.