a former member of the Communist Party, and to Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. According to the informant, and Carmichael were members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and

NOTE:

See Baumgardner to Sullivan memorandum, 3/16/66, same caption, prepared by FTB:ceh.
TO: Mr. Sullivan
FROM: F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: 8/16/66

REFERENCE IS MADE TO MEMORANDUM FROM MR. BAUMGARDNER TO MR. SULLIVAN 8/15/66 WHEREIN INFORMATION WAS REPORTED CONCERNING DYNAMITE IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) IN PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia teletype of 8/15/66 advised that (previously identified as (redacted)) voluntarily surrendered at the Philadelphia Police Headquarters the evening of 8/14/66 and on 8/15/66 was held on $50,000 bail pending further hearing on 8/22/66. (redacted) is the individual who had furnished the dynamite to members of SNCC in Philadelphia. As a result of (redacted), a Philadelphia construction worker who admitted stealing the dynamite, has not been arraigned. Philadelphia Police Department is still seeking whereabouts of (redacted), members of SNCC members, appeared in Quarter Sessions Court, 8/15/66, and was released on own recognizance. (redacted) bail was reduced to $5,000. They are all scheduled for further hearing 8/22/66.

New Orleans teletype, 8/15/66 indicated an informant (a former member of the Communist Party) and (redacted) (redacted). According to the informant, members of SNCC in this action.
RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That copies of the enclosure be forward by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Mr. John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to the Vice President; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar and Vinson.

(2) Also, that copies be forwarded to Secret Service and the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force.
By separate communication to all offices, the investigations of SNCC and its leader Stokely Carmichael are being greatly intensified in view of Carmichael's recent actions and inflammatory statements. The Bureau, however, desires to call to your attention for immediate handling the following information:


It was reported in this release that members of SNCC, under the leadership of National Chairman Stokely Carmichael, will go to North Vietnam as part of the international investigating committee to gather evidence for presentation to the "tribunal." It was not known yet how many SNCC members would go to North Vietnam. However, in joining the "tribunal," Carmichael allegedly stressed that SNCC itself was endorsing the trial and said discussions are underway in the U. S. and elsewhere to mobilize support, funds and a world-wide petition calling for the indictment of "war criminals."

Atlanta and New York are instructed to contact all logical sources and informants and conduct such investigation as may be indicated to determine if Carmichael and other members of
Airtel to SAC, Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
    STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
    COMMITTEE (SNCC); STOKELY CARMICHAEL
    100-439190

SNCC have made or are in the process of making plans to attempt to go to North Vietnam and/or attend the "war crimes tribunal." All pertinent information relative to the participation of Carmichael and SNCC concerning this matter should be immediately submitted to the Bureau.

With respect to possible travel to North Vietnam, it should be noted that such travel could possibly be in violation of Section 1185(b), Title 8, U. S. Code. If such travel is not specifically authorized by the Department of State, in the event information is developed that Carmichael and other members of SNCC are engaging in such travel without State Department permission, competent evidence to prove the violation must be developed.

In this regard, WFO is instructed to immediately contact the Department of State to determine if Carmichael is in possession of a valid passport and, if so, whether it is specifically stamped not valid for travel to North Vietnam. WFO is further instructed to alert the Department of State to the above news release which indicates Carmichael and possibly other members of SNCC may endeavor to travel to North Vietnam.

Atlanta and New York are instructed that upon determining the identity of any member of SNCC who will participate in the travel to North Vietnam, to submit their names by expeditious means to the Bureau and WFO for similar check of their passport records.

The above should be afforded immediate, thorough and continuous investigative attention.
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/3/60

1-06PM CST URGENT 8-15-66 KMD
TO: DIRECTOR, ATLANTA AND PHILADELPHIA
FROM: NEW ORLEANS (174-NEW) (RUC)

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

RE NEW ORLEANS TELCALL TO ATLANTA AUGUST FIFTEEN INSTANT.

AT NINE TWENTY-EIGHT A.M., AUGUST FIFTEEN INSTANT,

NEW ORLEANS POLICE DEPARTMENT,

TELEPHONICALLY FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

THAT ON AUGUST FOURTEEN LAST,

ATLANTA, [REDACTED] STATED WAS VERY ACTIVE IN

THE SOUTHERN COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH IS PART OF THE

COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM.

AND STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AND

INFORMANT [REDACTED],

ATLANTA.

ACCORDING TO INFORMANT,

MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

IN THIS

ACTION.

END PAGE ONE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR
INFORMANT

NEW ORLEANS

FOR THIS REASON,

INFORMANT

UNITED STATES

END

WASHINGTON

FBI WASH DC

Atlanta

FBI ATLANTA

PHILA

FBI PHILA

INITIALS PLA PH RJS

FBI PHILA

COMPL ROSEN 6TC
8/16/66

Airtel

To: SAC, New Orleans

From: Director, FBI

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC); STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Re: Teletype dated 8/15/66, captioned Atlanta, Georgia."

New Orleans should report under the caption of this communication any information pertinent to Stokely Carmichael and/or SNCC regarding the alleged...

This matter should be followed closely, and the Bureau promptly advised of all pertinent developments.

1 - Atlanta
1 - Philadelphia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/2/70 BY 59481N/RNP
Due to the interest of the President in the activities of Stokely Carmichael and his organization, we have prepared a summary setting forth the current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

Atlanta teletype of August 17, 1966, advised that approximately seventeen Negroes picketed the Twelfth Corps Headquarters, United States Army, 699 Ponce De Leone Avenue, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia, on August 17, 1966. These pickets carried signs and distributed a leaflet urging Negroes not to support or participate in the war in Vietnam. According to a representative of the Atlanta Police Department, the pickets arrived in a SNCC bus and most of them were known to him as members of SNCC.

Atlanta teletype of August 18, 1966, advised that approximately twenty-seven Negroes again picketed the Twelfth Corps Headquarters. A group of inductees were urged by the pickets not to enter the building and one picket attempted to physically delay entry of one of the inductees. Pickets attempted to force their way into the building and as a result, approximately twelve pickets were arrested by the Atlanta Police Department. According to a representative of the Atlanta Police Department, the majority of these picketing on August 18, 1966, were known to him as members of SNCC.

According to a news release dated August 16, 1966, a spokesman for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London, England, announced Bertrand Russell plans to hold a "war crimes tribunal" in Paris in November to "indict" President Johnson and "other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Vietnam."
Memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan

RE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

It was reported in this release that members of SNCC, under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, will go to North Vietnam as part of the International Investigating Committee to gather evidence for presentation to the "tribunal." It is not known how many SNCC members will go to North Vietnam; however, in joining the "tribunal," Carmichael allegedly stressed that SNCC itself was endorsing the trial and said discussions are under way in the United States and elsewhere to mobilize support, funds and a world-wide petition calling for the indictment of "war criminals."

Appropriate instructions have been issued to appropriate offices to closely follow this matter.

Carmichael met with Elijah Muhammad on August 7, 1966. Although items discussed are unknown, a source stated Carmichael will not obtain any cooperation from Muhammad. The source stated Muhammad is always the dominant figure and the only way Carmichael can cooperate with him is to become a member of the Nation of Islam and be subservient to Muhammad. Carmichael refused to do this, although they parted amicably. Carmichael, however, through Nation of Islam officials in Atlanta on the approval of Muhammad, will be invited to attend a Nation of Islam rally in Chicago on August 28, 1966.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Mr. John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to the Vice President; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorneys General, Yeagley, Doar and Vinson.

2. Also, that copies be forwarded to Secret Service and the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force.
August 19, 1966

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

There is set forth below a summary of current activity of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leader Stokely Carmichael.

Picketing Activities, Atlanta, Georgia

Approximately 17 Negroes picketed the Twelfth Corps Headquarters, United States Army, 699 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia, on August 17, 1966. The pickets carried signs such as "The Viet Cong Never Called You Nigger"; "Black Man Stay Home, Fight for Black Power"; and "The White Man Kills Black Kids, I Won't Kill Vietnamese Kids."

A leaflet was distributed by the pickets which stated in part: "to stay at home and fight for your black self, your family, your community and your black nation. Why must we go abroad to kill yellow skinned men for white skinned men who force us to live in rat infested slums? We must demonstrate each time a brother is sold into slavery (drafted) and keep our youth at home to build our power."

It was observed by a representative of the Atlanta Police Department that the pickets arrived in a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee bus, and most of the pickets were known to him as members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

On August 18, 1966, approximately 27 Negroes again picketed the Twelfth Corps Headquarters. A group of inductees entering the building were urged by the pickets not to enter, and one picket attempted to physically delay entry of one of the inductees.

Pickets attempted to force their way into the building and, as a result, approximately 12 pickets were arrested by officers of the Atlanta Police Department.
Arlington, Va.
August 21, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Just finished viewing the special program
of Meet the Press, on which were interviewed six
civil right leaders.

Was shocked at the remarks of Stokely
Carmichael. I considered it a threat of insur-
rection.

Does this man have his American naturaliza-
tion papers --- or is he a subject of Trinidad?

I consider him very dangerous, and if he
is not an American should he deported.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/2/66 BY 8A6PA/WP REG-24

acknowledged 6/25/66
the back seat of the vehicle were two loaded weapons - a thirty-two caliber automatic and a thirty-eight caliber short revolver. Also found in the vehicle were large quantities of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee literature.

All these individuals advised the Demopolis Police Department they had worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the past, but were unwilling to furnish any additional information.

It was subsequently determined that the vehicle in the possession of these individuals was registered to Sojourner Motor Fleet, 303 Spring Street, Atlanta, Georgia. The Sojourner Motor Fleet is a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organization utilized in registering automobiles of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers.

Black Panther Party, New York City

A confidential source advised that Max Stanford, Field Secretary for the Revolutionary Action Movement, had recently been in contact with Stokely Carmichael concerning the formation of a Black Panther Party in New York City. Carmichael offered to help Stanford with any assistance he may need to organize a Black Panther Party in New York City. It is noted Carmichael previously established a Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, for the purpose of bringing Negroes together as an independent political bloc.

The Revolutionary Action Movement is an all-Negro Marxist-Leninist oriented organization which follows the Chinese Communist line and advocates achieving Negro rights by violence, if necessary.
August 26, 1966

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

There is set forth below a summary of current activity of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its leader, Stokely Carmichael.

Possible Resignation of Stokely Carmichael from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

According to a confidential source, it is rumored that as a result of criticism directed at Stokely Carmichael in a recent staff meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Carmichael has submitted a letter of resignation to the Central Committee of this organization to become effective October 21, 1966. According to the source, the Central Committee is holding Carmichael accountable for the current financial trouble of the organization, claiming it is due to the manner in which Carmichael has handled public announcements and policies of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee since he has become its leader. The source further related that although the Central Committee has Carmichael's letter of resignation, it has made no decision as to whether or not it will be accepted.

Arrest of Three Individuals Connected with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Demopolis, Alabama, August 18, 1966

On August 18, 1966, [redacted], age 22, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; [redacted], age 19, Grenada, Mississippi; and [redacted], age 23, Selma, Alabama, were arrested by the Demopolis, Alabama, Police Department and charged with transportation of unlicensed pistols and carrying concealed weapons. At the time of the arrests, these individuals were in possession of a 1964 blue Plymouth four-door sedan and were unable to prove ownership of the vehicle. Brown said he obtained the car from a rental agency in Atlanta, Georgia. Brown claimed he was a Federal employee working with the Poverty Program out of Washington, D. C., and was "sent on a field trip to look over poverty." Under
Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan
RE: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE;
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Revolutionary Action Movement is an all-Negro Marxist-Leninist oriented organization which follows the Chinese Communist line and advocates achieving Negro rights by violence, if necessary.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That copies of the enclosure be forwarded by routing slips to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Mr. John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to the Vice President; the Attorney General; the Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley, Doar and Vinson.

(2) Also, that copies be forwarded to Secret Service and the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force.
Due to the interest of the President in the activities of Stokely Carmichael and his organization, we have prepared a summary setting forth the current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

A confidential source of the Atlanta Office

Stokely Carmichael, he has submitted to the Central Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee effective 10/21/66. The source advised the Central Committee is holding Carmichael accountable for the current financial trouble of the organization and was critical of the way he has conducted himself since becoming its leader. Although the Central Committee has Carmichael's

On 8/18/66, three individuals were arrested by the Demopolis, Alabama, Police Department and charged with transportation of unlicensed pistols and carrying concealed weapons. At the time of the arrest they were in possession of a 1964 blue Plymouth four-door sedan and were unable to prove ownership of the vehicle. It was subsequently determined the vehicle was registered to Sojourner Motor Fleet, Atlanta, Georgia. The Sojourner Motor Fleet is a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organization utilized in registering automobiles of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers. All three individuals advised the Demopolis Police Department they had worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, but were unwilling to furnish any additional information.

Max Stanford, Field Secretary, Revolutionary Action Movement, had recently been in contact with Stokely Carmichael for the purpose of organizing a Black Panther Party in New York City. Carmichael previously established the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, for the purpose of bringing Negroes together as an independent political bloc.
Memorandum to Mr. Wick
Re: Meet the Press, Channel 4 TV

Meredith claimed that Negroes have never engaged in violence although the white people did. He said that if the white people would not remove the killers of the Negroes, then the black people should do so. He said he knew and the white people knew who the killers of the Negroes were but since the whites refused to do anything, the Negroes should arm themselves and do the job the whites refused to do. Stokley Carmichael agreed with Meredith, stating that the Negro, while accounting for 10% of the population, was so located in cities throughout the country that if the 180 million white people turned on the Negro, all would go down together. He noted the Army was integrated and that 40% of the Army in Vietnam was Negro and they would not permit the whites to attack Negroes without retaliating. Roy Wilkins said Carmichael abounds in the provocative statement and that no one believes the Negro would take up arms. Carmichael noted that Students' Nonviolent Coordinating Committee would attend the War Tribunal trial of President Johnson called for by Sir Bertrand Russell. Carmichael said he would like to attend the trial as he felt the Vietnam War was immoral.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be brought to the attention of the Domestic Intelligence Division in view of Carmichael's seditious remarks.
Program was monitored and no reference was made to the FBI or the Director by any of the participants.

Martin Luther King, Jr., stated the rioting must end but demonstrations must continue as the latter serve to call attention to issues and bring the parties to the conference table. Roy Wilkins agreed with Dr. King and noted that adherence to law and order is not a handicap. King felt the injunction issued against him in Chicago was unconstitutional but he would abide by it because he has been having discussions with Negro leaders and real estate men and others of good will. He noted the hatred of the North toward the Negro, differed from that of the South in that in the South the hatred of the mob was aided by law enforcement which is not true in the North. As to the Civil Rights Bill, King felt it would not change the hearts of people but that the legislation would alter peoples' habits and attitudes which eventually would bring about the aims of the civil rights leaders. King decried programmatic action around nonviolent activity, noting there was a difference between aggressive and defensive nonviolence. Floyd McKissick felt nonviolence was something out of the past and that the Negro would not stand idly by when attacked although he believed in nonviolence until he was attacked.

Stokley Carmichael stated Negroes fighting in Vietnam are hired mercenaries because the military services intimate to the Negro that a method to improve his lot in life would be to join the military which necessarily involves killing people. Carmichael noted that he would not join the military and stated he was a citizen of the United States. He said he would not go to Vietnam and he urged others not to go. James Meredith took issue with Carmichael stating he supported war in Vietnam but not the Administration's conduct of it.

Continued - over 13 Aug 31 1966

1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Cooper
10 5 4 5 9 6 6
BGH:par (6)
In an unpublicized meeting, Stokely Carmichael met with Elijah Muhammad on August 7, 1966, at Muhammad's residence, 4847 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Specific items discussed are unknown. However, a confidential source advised Carmichael will not obtain any cooperation from Muhammad in any civil rights or black power struggle. According to the source, Muhammad is always the dominant figure and the only way Carmichael can cooperate with Muhammad is to become a member of the Nation of Islam and be subservient to Muhammad. Carmichael refused to do this and nothing positive came from this meeting although they parted amicably.
A representative of the Atlanta Police Department advised that the majority of those picketing on August 18, 1966, were known to him as members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.


According to the spokesman, members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, will go to North Vietnam as part of the international investigating committee to gather evidence for presentation to the "tribunal." It is not known how many Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members will go to North Vietnam. However, in joining the "tribunal," Carmichael allegedly stressed that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee itself was endorsing the trial and said discussions are underway in the United States and elsewhere to mobilize support, funds and a world-wide petition calling for the indictment of "war criminals."

Meeting with Leader of the Nation of Islam

Stokely Carmichael, through Nation of Islam officials in Atlanta, Georgia, will be invited to the Nation of Islam rally to be held on August 28, 1966, at the International Amphitheater, Chicago, Illinois. Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, has approved extending this invitation to Carmichael. The Nation of Islam is an all-Negro semi-religious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race.

It is noted Muhammad recently directed letters to civil rights leaders for the purpose of calling a "summit conference." The response of the various civil rights leaders to Muhammad's invitation was completely negative with the exception of Stokely Carmichael.
TO: Mr. Sullivan
FROM: F. J. Baumgardner

DATE: 8/23/66

SUBJECT: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
STOKELY/CARMICHAEL INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Due to the interest of the President in the activities of Stokely Carmichael and his organization, we have prepared a summary setting forth the current and planned future activity in this matter. A copy of the summary is attached for ready reference.

It has been previously reported that members of SNCC and other individuals were arrested by the Philadelphia Police Department for illegal possession of dynamite.

Philadelphia teletype of 8/22/66 advised that at a hearing held at Philadelphia on 8/22/66 three of these individuals, including two SNCC members, were discharged while three other individuals, including one SNCC member, were held under $50,000 bail for grand jury action.

During and after the hearings, rallies held outside Philadelphia City Hall were addressed by James Forman, national SNCC leader. Forman claimed the prosecution of this case was a "frame up" by whites against SNCC and Negroes because Negroes were defendants while the district attorney, judge, testifying officers and all court officials were white. Walter Palmer, a black nationalist, participated in the rally with Forman and spoke disparagingly of the white race.

It was previously reported that Stokely Carmichael would participate in a "war crimes tribunal" in Paris, France, in November, 1966, to "indict" President Johnson and "other war criminals responsible for American atrocities in Vietnam."

Recently, press releases have quoted an unidentified spokesman for SNCC as stating that although Carmichael had been invited he would not attend the "tribunal." However, some other official of SNCC might attend.

ENCLOSURE

P.S.: "I am available to testify at a hearing called to investigate illegal possession of dynamite in Philadelphia," declared Stokely Carmichael in terms of the teletype. This action would allow him to travel to Paris."