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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-1 can*

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE  
 BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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Although evidence to date is lacking which would show the black nationalist movement in this country is either under foreign control or direction, it must be recognized that a real potential for foreign exploitation exists and presents a definite threat to our internal security. In fact, as evidenced by the following, considerable data has already been developed indicating varying degrees of foreign participation, influence and/or involvement among black nationalist groups and individual militants.

Organization of Afro-American Unity

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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## FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

intended to include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. The initial aim of this organization was to internationalize the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations.

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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- 2 -

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE  
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basic theme of the conference. He expressed support for a policy of armed struggle declaring that violence is the only method of struggle. He stated that it was necessary to "create 50 Vietnams" in the United States "in the same way as outside of the United States."

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.

On his way to Cuba, Carmichael visited England in July, 1967, where his contacts included Ralph Schoenman, Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is sponsoring the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal, Michael De Freitas, a self-styled leader of an alleged black muslim movement in the United Kingdom, and allegedly some leaders of the African National Congress, a communist-infiltrated group. While in England, Carmichael made a violently antiwhite speech in which he advocated the internationalization of the colored peoples' struggle, including a policy of violence and guerrilla warfare.

From Cuba Carmichael traveled extensively abroad seeking support for his movement in the United States. He visited Hanoi, North Vietnam, where he was received by North Vietnamese Government officials. His other travels included

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE  
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

visits to Algeria, Guinea, Syria, Egypt, Tanzania, Denmark, and Sweden. He attended portions of the second session of the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal in Copenhagen, Denmark, in late November, 1967, as the SNCC representative on this tribunal.

Carmichael arrived in Paris, France, from Stockholm, Sweden, on the evening of December 5, 1967, and was initially refused permission to enter; however, friends of Carmichael who had been involved in the War Crimes Tribunal, including Jean-Paul Sartre, a well-known French communist, applied a great deal of pressure on the French Government to admit him. As a result, he was admitted for a period not to exceed 90 days. Interestingly, most of the known contacts of Carmichael while in Paris were communists and others of that ilk active in opposition to the United States war effort in Vietnam. In speaking at a meeting organized by the National Vietnam Committee, which opposes United States involvement in Vietnam, he stated, "We do not wish to see peace in Vietnam but victory by the Vietnamese over the United States. The moment has come for we black Americans to move from protestation to resistance; it is now that we must fight in order to avoid becoming a nation of assassins. If necessary we will plunge the entire United States into chaos." Carmichael returned to the United States on December 12, 1967.

It is interesting to note that Carmichael's travels abroad in some instances paralleled the travels of Malcolm X in 1964.

In an interview in Tanzania in November, 1967, Carmichael stated that Cuban Embassies had been most helpful to "us" wherever "we've gone." He further stated that "lots" of success had been obtained as a result of "our" trip on the coordination of black power around the world and that good concrete steps had been taken in that direction. [To add significance to Carmichael's] (c)

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- 4 -

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## FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

claim of assistance by Cuban Embassies is the fact that as recently as December 27, 1967, James Forman, the International Director of SNCC who is headquartered in New York City, was advised that the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York was holding some money for his organization and arrangements were made for him to visit Jose Vieri at the Mission on the afternoon of December 27. Vieri is a known Cuban intelligence agent (c)

Julius Bernard Lester of the International Affairs Department of SNCC, previously mentioned as having traveled with Carmichael to Cuba, also visited Hanoi during 1967. His trip was sponsored and paid for by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London, England. Lester is the author of an article captioned "To Hell With Protest" appearing in a recent SNCC newsletter which contains a vicious attack on the President of the United States and veiled threats to his safety.

Numerous other members of SNCC have traveled abroad during the year, 1967, seeking support for their movement. They have reached such far-flung countries as Cuba, England, France, Sweden, Norway, Cambodia, North Vietnam, Tanzania, Czechoslovakia, and Russia. John Tillman represented SNCC at an anti-Vietnam conference held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in September, 1967, which was attended by representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Five members of SNCC traveled to Havana, Cuba, on January 1, 1968, reportedly to attend a "cultural" conference in Havana scheduled for January 4 - 11, 1968. This matter was handled through the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Although billed as a cultural congress to include writers, artists, and scientists from all over the world, the general theme of the conference will be colonialism and neo-colonialism and the announced purpose is to obtain unity of action in the Cuban anti-imperialism fights.

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- 5 -



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## FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Indications are quite clear that SNCC is attempting to obtain international recognition. It has appointed a Director of International Relations, James Forman, who is stationed in New York City, and has attempted to establish an international headquarters at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Tanzania would appear to be ideal for such a headquarters because of that country's pro-communist orientation, the heavy influx of Communist Chinese technicians and scientists, and the large Communist Chinese Embassy located there. Further, Carmichael in his public utterances abroad has called for internationalization of the black power movement.

The development of international contacts by SNCC could have begun as early as 1964 when some members of the organization visited Guinea at the invitation of its President, Sekou Toure. SNCC representatives participated in a national youth seminar on racialism held in Tanzania in April, 1966. James Forman participated in a United Nations Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa which was held in Zambia in July, 1967, in which a wide variety of Governmental representatives including some from the USSR and other Soviet-bloc countries participated. Fay Bellamy, Vernon Crutchfield, Dwight Williams, and Muriel Tillinghast, SNCC representatives, visited the Soviet Union in June, 1966, at the invitation of the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations and at the suggestion of the Communist Party, USA. The Soviet Union paid all the expenses of this travel. William Hall, a SNCC representative, attended the Seventh Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a communist organization, in Bulgaria, in June, 1966.

### Revolutionary Action Movement

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) was formed in Detroit in 1963. It is an all-Negro black nationalist organization active principally in New York City and Philadelphia,

SECRET

- 6 -

## FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Pennsylvania. Its recognized leader in exile, to whom members in this country look for guidance, is Robert F. Williams who sought refuge in Cuba in August, 1961, hours before he was indicted on a charge of kidnapping a white couple during a racial disturbance in Monroe, North Carolina. While in Cuba he directed a propaganda campaign against the United States urging Negroes in the United States to take up arms against the whites.

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.

### Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., publicly

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## FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

took a definite stand against United States involvement in Vietnam in the Spring of 1966 on the advice of one of his closest advisors, Stanley Levison, a former secret member of the Communist Party, USA.

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 SNCC 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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- 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.] 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. 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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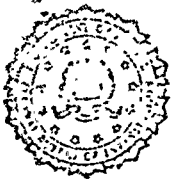
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FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE  
BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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

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- 12 -



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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
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January 11, 1968 SACAA

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