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**THE BLACK MILITANT THREAT TO CIA**

Source materials obtained from Government agencies at local, state, and federal levels as well as from the media (including samplings of the underground press) do not indicate that CIA and/or its personnel and installations are considered at this time to be the prime or sole target of any of the numerous black militant organizations or individual black activists.

This is not to say that there is no animus toward the Agency nor any threat to it, but only that there appears to be little closely identifiable personal or organizationally held rancor. However, as CIA is a prominent segment of the "establishment" and, indeed, a most newsworthy one, the Agency is an appealing target for the dissidents and subversives of many hues. To the militant blacks, it would seem to be less vulnerable and invite less antipathy than do other examples of authority, regimentation, discrimination, and "repression" such as the military, law enforcement agencies, and the educational hierarchy. As an organization to which the public, at least, attributes much influence on foreign policy, a close identification with the war in Vietnam, and a variety of domestic activities and relationships (the propriety of which they hold to be moot, at best)

the Agency must expect a share of whatever level the militant anti-establishment activity reaches. It has been the subject of considerable diatribe and invective but, to date, a minimum of actual violent action. The situation is fluid and extremist activity has been escalating. The affect the recent election may have is difficult to predict. It may be that the probable increased effort to maintain law and order will have a counter-reaction for a time by an increase in violent opposition.

Selection of CIA as a subject of or scapegoat for harassment and even, perhaps, penetration, by black militant individuals and organizations can in some cases be deemed to be the result of foreign influence and support (psychological, physical, and financial). CIA is, of course, a priority target, and it is known that foreign contacts are made, both here and abroad. In addition, influence is exercised in the black movement by such organizations as the Communist Party USA, Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), and Progressive Labor Party (Maoist) which, although not themselves significantly black organizations, do have black activists in their membership and are believed to attempt to control and direct the essentially black organizations through dual memberships as well as by other means, be they overt, subtle or devious.

A target of the "New Left," whether it be the radical elements who are pressing for complete displacement of our social and governmental system, or whether it be the liberal element who generally desire only reform and are willing to labor for change substantially within our existing perimeters, is the so-called "military-industrial" complex in which CIA is viewed as a flagrantly culpable example. So, too, does the "New Left" frequently aid, abet, and cooperate with the black militant movement. There is a trend in most dissident activist groups today, if for no other reason than to develop combined strength for movement toward each one's own main goal, toward unification and mutual support and a general loose amalgamation of pacifist, civil rights, anti-discrimination and student power groups. Thus, a working relationship develops between blacks, student leftists, and anti-war/anti-draft groups. The coalition is frequently tenuous and mutuality of some interests does not usually suffice to support real control or domination by any one organization. Strong efforts have been exerted to lead the black militants but have in large measure failed, as have attempts to organize their strength into United Fronts. The leaders of the respective black organizations are constantly vying for personal and organizational power, not only

within but between organizations; and, although even those organizations such as the National Agency for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which were formerly deemed moderate and relatively conservative in scope, have become less so, there is still a wide gulf between the aims and methods espoused by ultra-extremist black nationalist groups and those by the more moderate ones. The latter were essentially oriented toward civil rights activity, bi-racial in membership, and willing to attain their goals (usually full integration and rights of citizenship) through effecting change within the system. Today's black extremists go so far as to advocate separatism, including a black nation within the boundaries of the U. S. A., and they claim that revolution and racial warfare are both necessary and proper to attain their goals. They seem to visualize a destruction of capitalist democracy as a necessity, also.

CIA is a clearly visible target, attack upon which if effective, would not only produce headlines in bold print but would severely hamper CIA's efforts to accomplish its very important missions. As of this time, among the more active, more volatile black organizations, and thus more threatening perhaps to the Agency posture, personnel and installations, are the following:

[REDACTED]

Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP)

This extremist black organization based in California seems to be the fastest growing organization in recent months. Its extravagant claims and violent posture have captured the imagination of many young blacks - chapters have evolved in a number of large cities. Leaders such as Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, George Murray and Bobby Seale preach revolution and destruction of our political-economic system. Much of the current violent action nationally has been attributed, probably justifiably, to the BPP. BPP leaders have had much contact with Castro's Cuba and seem strongly influenced by the Chinese Communists. The chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has described the BPP as influenced by the Communists through infiltration.

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

Probably the most blatantly violent and extremist black power organization - follows the Maoist line and advocates urban guerrilla warfare. Theoretical leader is Robert F. Williams - self-exiled U. S. black, currently residing again in Peking after residences since 1961 in Cuba, China, and Tanzania. Max Stanford, radical U. S. leader, is also associated with BPP. Many black militants of other organizations seem to have at least peripheral connection with RAM.

[REDACTED]

Several groups appear to be RAM front groups: Black Liberation Front - involved in the plot to dynamite Statue of Liberty and Washington Monument and UHURU (Swahili for Freedom).

Black Muslims, aka Nation of Islam (NOI)

This anti-white, anti-police, anti-government black national extremist group headquartered in Chicago and lead by Elijah Poole, aka Elijah Muhammad, is probably the largest and best financed and is a nationwide organization. NOI has achieved respectability of sorts by shrewdly using a shield of religion and insisting that its well disciplined members avoid radical disorder and live moderately. Considerable emphasis is placed on economic benefits. NOI has participated to some extent in activities of other "black power" groups and Communist-front activities, but generally remains aloof. On occasion, the group's publications have been known to reprint articles from Chinese Communist sources.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Since creation in 1960 as a nonviolent, bi-racial, civil rights organization, SNCC, under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, followed by H. Rap Brown, has evolved into a hate group motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, anti-white ideology that places no

faith in democratic procedures. It seems strongly anti-semitic and has established ties with foreign radical groups. It appears to be adhering to the "Third World" concept which is more closely related to a Maoist-Castroite orientation than to the so-called Soviet line. Several of its leaders have openly attacked the CIA amongst broad-brushed denunciations of the establishment. The FBI, in its report for FY 1967, has charged that SNCC represents a serious threat to national security. Phil Hutchings, its new leader, recently announced the dissolution of SNCC's brief association with the BPP and the eviction of Stokely Carmichael.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

One of the larger organizations, national in scope and headed by Floyd McKissick, it was originally considered one of the more moderate "civil rights organizations," but has gradually increased in militancy and has become more separatist, black supremacist and ideologically aligned with the New Left. Although it has not been cited by any Federal agency or committee, its activities and many of its top personalities show distinct interrelationships with the Communist cause. In 1964 CORE distributed leaflets charging that "Mississippi has been taken over by the CIA and Federal Marshals."



**Black Liberation Alliance**

As radically and revolutionary as CORE has moved, it was not far enough to satisfy some of its members and in October 1968, a more militant group splintered off to form this organization which will seek to promote racial separatism, Black Nationalism, and the formation of a separate black nation within the boundaries of the U. S. A.

**Black Republic of New Africa**

A movement for a separate Negro nation to be established in five southern states - spearheaded by the radical Henry brothers (Milton and Richard) of Detroit. President (in exile) is Robert F. Williams. The Henry brothers are leaders in the Malcolm X Society, named after Malcolm X who split with E. Muhammad's Black Muslims. Advocates formation of a Black Liberation Army.

**US**

A still small but militant black organization based in Los Angeles established on the principle of self respect, self defense, and self determination. Led by Ron Karenga, a very articulate and clever Negro whose statements frequently are extreme.

### Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

The extremist black militant group in New York City which followed Malcolm X after his split with the Black Muslims. The followers of Malcolm X still purport to believe CIA was responsible for his murder in 1965, despite all the evidence to the contrary.

### Mau Mau Society

A small militant black nationalist group in New York City, headed by Charles 37x Morris, aka Charles Kenyatta. Urges disturbances and has apparently taken upon itself the task of providing protection for well-publicized black power leaders.

### Deacons for Defense and Justice

Black power group organized in mid-'64 in Jonesboro Arkansas has chapters through the U. S. The group purports to act as armed vigilantes to "defend" Negroes who are "under attack." Concept was first advanced by Maoist Robert F. Williams, who is constant disciple of "meeting violence with violence." The chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has charged the group with being Communist infiltrated and having "accepted disguised Communist assistance to a substantial degree." Its ideological ties however, appear to be with the Peking-line and Trotskyite causes rather than the orthodox Communist Party.

Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

Although not a totally Negro organization, it has a Black Liberation Commission headed by William Epton, and constantly exhorts the Negro to revolt. The PLP an openly Maoist organization splintered from the CPUSA in 1962, played a strong role inciting violence during the Harlem riots.