



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*Inserts of interest were  
removed*

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee  
May 6, 1968

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Re: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT  
RACIAL MATTERS

As will be set forth hereinafter, a black power group in Memphis, Tennessee, which has been in existence for the past several months, has until recently used the name Black Organizing Power (BOP). It has now been determined that the correct name, currently being utilized by this group, is Black Organizing Project (BOP), which consists of five cells or parts thereof known respectively as (1) Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB); (2) Black Student Association (BSA); (3) LeMoyné Intercollegiate Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); (4) Invaders; and (5) City Organizers.

As recently as April 18, 1968, a first source advised that the AAB is composed of students at Owen Junior College, Memphis, publishes a Mimeograph paper periodically entitled "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks," and has about 12 members on the planning and coordinating and strategy committees. This source advised that the BSA is composed of black students at Memphis State University (MSU), Memphis, is the sponsor of programs aimed at political and cultural awareness as black spokesmen with the administration, and publishes periodically a Mimeograph sheet entitled, "Black Thesis." The BSA has about 20 members on the steering committee. This source also advised that the LeMoyné Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP is composed of students at LeMoyné College, has about 20 members and promotes political and cultural awareness, being the campus base for NAACP operations. Source advised that the Invaders is comprised of high school students throughout the city of Memphis and provides these students with a cultural awareness and knowledge of political importance of youth in Memphis. The Invaders has members that are high school dropouts and the Invaders had about 15 members as of April 18, 1968. Source advised that the last cell is known as City Organizers, this cell being comprised of young adults concerned with problems in the black community, having a wide

- 11 - Bureau; 1 - Atlanta;
  - 1 - Knoxville; 1-USA, Memphis;
  - 1-G-2; 1-NISO; 1-OSI;
  - 1-NISO, Mfs.; 1-Secret Service;
  - Memphis; 1 - 111th MI, Mfs.
  - 1 - 111th MI, Nashville
  - 11 - Memphis (2) - 157-1067
- WHL:gmh (32)

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157-1067-36



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in Memphis working with SCLC and the COME group. Source pointed out that all funds collected for the sanitation workers have heretofore been funneled through COME and now BOP was insisting on getting some of this money. Many of those present resented this, feeling that the money should go to the sanitation workers.

Also on April 3, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, advised that a reliable source of the Police Department had advised that a meeting of the BOP group, which sometimes interchangeably uses the name "Invaders," was held on the early evening of April 2, 1968, in the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry, Memphis. This source also advised that some of the BOP group, including John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Charles Ballard, Edwina Harrell, were all staying at the Lorraine Motel with the SCLC group which had checked into the Motel during this period. Part of the BOP group was in Room 315 and among those present at this meeting were John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, and Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff; and a Reverend (First Name Unknown) Carnes, or Cornious, of Cairo, Illinois, who claimed to have connections with the National Council of Churches and also claimed connections with a "black liberation front," was also present. Source stated that Reverend Carnes claimed to have been sent to Memphis by the "black liberation front" and he allegedly pledged money of an unspecified amount for the BOP group if they would "keep pressure on the white man." Carnes told those present, according to Lieutenant Arkin's source, "You have to burn the white man's store and virtually have to burn him before you can bring him around." Carnes also reported that the National Council of Churches has about two million dollars to dispense in at least five cities in the United States which have either had serious racial trouble or which may have serious racial trouble and that Memphis is currently being considered as one of the potential trouble spots.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, Reverend James Orange said that he would be willing to work with the black power group and the BOP group and urged BOP to cooperate. John B. Smith got up and referred to BOP as a "steamroller," and said, "All we want is the money and we'll keep rolling." Following



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this Charles Cabbage stated that the BOP group wants money to set up black co-ops and to sell various goods, including black literature, and to also set up black history classes.

According to Lieutenant Arkin's source, another group involving BOP met at the Lorraine Motel at about 9 p.m. on April 2, 1968, with all of the abovementioned individuals present, including Jesse Jackson, and here the BOP group headed by Cabbage complained that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and who heretofore has been their main liaison with the COME and the strike support group, was ineffectual as Cabbage said, "All he deals in is theory. He is not a guy for strategy and action and is inadequate for our program." Cabbage further stated that with regard to the violence which erupted during the march held on the morning of March 28, 1968, and which was led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that Lawson should have known, "had he done his homework," that there was going to be violence on that day. He did not elaborate, other than to blame the trouble on March 28, 1968, on a group of "hustlers," a group of Beale Street and teen-age punks who were out to loot and create trouble, and stated that they had used the march as an excuse for so doing. Cabbage laughed and thought this to be funny, stating that none of Lawson's informers had been able to "tip him off that this was going to happen."

Lieutenant Arkin's source pointed out that BOP was demanding to be a part of all future strategy meetings and was demanding fund money to support BOP activities and they hoped to receive it from either the COME or the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) or the War on Poverty Committee, Memphis, Tennessee, which is funded by the OEO with Federal funds.

This source advised that Reverend Jesse Jackson asked BOP who they wanted to sponsor them in the future and to be their liaison and they all agreed that Reverend Samuel B. Kyles of the Monumental Baptist Church would be a good man.



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Lieutenant Arkin advised that his source learned later on the night of April 2, 1968, that Reverend James Orange of the SCLC staff had promised that BOP would have an office of its own in the Minimum Salary Office of the AME Church, 276 Hernando, by April 3, 1968.

Also on April 3, 1968, source two advised that Cabbage, John B. Smith, Charles Hallard and Edwina Harrell were all staying in Rooms 315 and 316 of the Lorraine Motel.

Later on April 3, 1968, source two stated that Dr. King, who was staying in Room 306 of the Lorraine Motel, had checked in there prior to going to a strategy meeting at the Centenary Methodist Church on April 3, 1968, and that he returned to the Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, for lunch with members of his staff and various representatives of the COME and BOP.

Later on April 3, 1968, source two stated that BOP representatives Charles Cabbage, Edwina Harrell and Don Neely, an Owen College dropout, all ate dinner with Dr. King and with Dorothy Cotton and Andrew J. Young, all of the SCLC staff, and that Harrell bragged that she had been living with some of the black power people at the Lorraine Motel for the past several days.

Source two advised that Neely resides at 531 East Mclemore and has been described by his brother, Richard Neely, as a fanatic follower of Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith. Source two added that he learned from Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., who heretofore had been the liaison man of COME with BOP, was no longer in accord with BOP and was extremely worried at the fact that BOP is being brought into the COME, SCLC and sanitation workers coalition. His basis for concern was the fact that BOP is not disciplined, is definitely unpredictable, and has given vent to statements advocating violence in the past. Lawson said that no one could control these young militants and he felt that their presence in the coalition would definitely divide the necessary and imperative united Negro ministerial support which COME has heretofore possessed.



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Source two added that Hosea L. Williams, a leading staff member of the SCLC, on learning of Lawson's concern, told the COME group that while BOP is a divergent, dissident, belligerent and militant group, they are nevertheless Negroes and that older people will have to make some effort to form a united front with them and maintain liaison with them.

Source two added that based on conversations with Lawson, it was apparent that Lawson was bitter because Cabbage recently made a statement to Robert Analavage, staff writer of the "Southern Patriot," to the effect that non-violence in Memphis died on March 28, 1968, as a result of violence resulting from the march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and that the concept of nonviolence of Dr. King and James Morris Lawson, Jr., was dead as far as leadership of Negroes was concerned.

Source two added that on April 3, 1968, Lawson said, "We had an excellent movement here and BOP by its irresponsibility can ruin it." Lawson added that all BOP does it to beg money and to criticize and to threaten to disrupt the community, and that it never has anything constructive to offer and probably never will have.

Source two stated that in connection with a meeting at the Lorraine Motel on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, that some of the BOP people were trying to call in other students and supporters from throughout the city of Memphis to meet with them.

Possible corroboration of this was furnished on the afternoon of April 3, 1968, by source twenty one who stated that between 12:20 and 12:30 p.m., April 3, 1968, in the Student Center at Memphis State University, which has a BOP affiliate known as the Black Student Association (BSA), that several calls came over the public address system urging BSA people Ronald Ivy, Eric Fair, and Thomas Potter to immediately come to Rooms 310 and 315 of the Lorraine Motel as quickly as possible. Source stated that a few minutes later another similar call came over the public address system asking for Donald Douglas and Robert Montgomery to call or come to Room 316 of the Lorraine Motel.

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Source twenty one stated that Ronald Lewis Ivy, one of the leaders of the BSA group, is a senior and lives at 560 LaClede Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee; that Donald Douglas, whose full name is Donald Eugene Douglas, is a freshman residing at 2036 Benton, and that Robert Montgomery is a freshman residing 1608 Waverly. Source stated that Eric Fair is officially listed as Eric Wardell Fair, a freshman, no home address listed, with his Telephone Number at home listed as 324-0693; and that Thomas Potter is listed on the rolls as Thomas Eugene Potter, a freshman, home Telephone Number 946-3284.

On April 3, 1968, source four advised that several rough-talking black militants had been hanging around Clayborn Temple, the headquarters of the COME during recent dates and that one of these persons identified himself as Theodore Manuel, Jr., originally a Memphian who claimed to have recently lived in Detroit, Michigan, and who bragged that during the March 28, 1968, march he had been injured ostensibly by the police and had gone to St. Joseph Hospital for treatment but hurriedly left after he heard the police were coming.

The Memphis "Press-Scimitar" newspaper, issue of March 29, 1968, carried a list of some of the people who had been treated at the various hospitals in Memphis for injuries growing out of the March 28, 1968, disturbance, and that one of those was listed as Theodore Manuel, residence 949 D Mosby, listing his occupation as a "CPA." This article reported that he had been treated at St. Joseph Hospital for abrasions on his head and injuries to his left elbow. He refused X-ray treatment and discharged himself, not waiting for additional treatment.

Source four advised that another young militant who has been around Clayborn Temple was Willie James Kimp, male Negro, about 23 years of age, who lives at 1015 Palermo and who is often in the company of the hereinbefore identified John Henry Ferguson. Kimp has claimed to have been a former member of the notorious black power group in Chicago known as



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the Blackstone Rangers.

Source four added that on April 2, 1968, a Negro male turned up at Clayborn Temple using the name of Jake or Jack Connor, age about 27 or 28, 5 feet 10 inches tall, weighing 180 to 190 pounds, heavy set, with a broad chest, and a heavy head of semi-Afro style hair, with a small thin beard and thin mustache. He carried a brown brief case, indicated that he was from "up north," possibly from Milwaukee, and that he was in Memphis to contact John B. Smith. Source four added that upon hearing this Kimp told him that it was not generally known but that Smith was temporarily staying at the Lorraine Motel and a little later a Negro preacher, since identified tentatively as Harold A. Middlebrook, told Connor that he would take him to the Lorraine Motel to meet Smith.

On April 4, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin advised that circumstantially the Jake or Jack Connor, identified by source four, is undoubtedly identical with the Reverend Carnes, or Cornious, mentioned by his source.

Source five stated that Kimp also mentioned that the group known as the Invaders will soon be doing some recruiting and that both he and Manuel were interested in getting into this group.

Again on April 4, 1968, source two stated that the COME-SCLC-sanitation strikers coalition which was attempting to form a united front with BOP was concerned with the fact that Charles Cabbage and his BOP group were attempting to gain importance and were spending all of their time giving the illusion to Negro leaders in Memphis that they, the BOP, were the only ones who could control militant Negro youths in Memphis and were the only ones who could prevent trouble if necessary. On each occasion they were demanding money and funds with no strings attached and many of the Negro leaders, including NAACP leaders, such as Jesse Turner, President, NAACP; Maxine Smith, Executive Secretary of the NAACP; Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., Vice President of the NAACP; and a number of the Negro ministers connected with the COME, felt that



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this was merely a form of blackmail on the part of the BOP group. According to source two, Cabbage at a strategy meeting with COME and SCLC on the night of April 3, 1968, kept claiming to have the power to prevent violence but when pinned down by some of the ministers and SCLC people to give specifics, he was vague and unable to furnish any.

At this meeting Charles Cabbage was present, along with Edwina Jeanetta Harrell and Charles Steven Ballard. The meeting was chaired by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr. At this meeting, plans for the scheduled April 5, 1968, mass march to be led by Martin Luther King, Jr., were discussed and it was agreed that various ministers would train at least 25 parade marshals. It was decided that Charles Cabbage would be a top deputy marshal representing BOP and it was up to him to provide 25 of his BOP people as parade marshals, although Cabbage indicated that he did not actually have 25 BOP members, but that he possibly could get some allies or sympathizers from the various colleges to serve. Source two pointed out that he, as well as many others present, was very definitely of the opinion that Cabbage was "trying to drop a pigeon on the COME and SCLC group," explaining that this was a form of blackmail on the part of Cabbage wherein he in effect was saying, "Give us money or we can't be responsible for any violence which might happen." Cabbage further belabored the SCLC people, saying, "We don't need outsiders to come into Memphis and tell us what to do." Source two added that one of the leading strike supporters, Cornelia Crenshaw, a Negro political leader in Memphis, stated she was definitely opposed to any of the strike support funds raised by COME being diverted to subsidize a special dissident group such as Cabbage's BOP.

Source two pointed out that Dr. Vasco Smith and wife Maxine Smith were definitely opposed to any of the COME money being funneled or diverted to Cabbage and his BOP movement, feeling that Cabbage merely wanted to get a foothold in the Negro movement and that he and his group would give the Negro movement a bad image.



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Source two added that Bernard Lee, administrative aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stated at this meeting that Cabbage had already "conned" SCLC out of \$167.00 which came from SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, this money being given to Cabbage ostensibly to pay for the motel rooms at the Lorraine Motel which Cabbage, John Smith, Edwina Harrell and other BOP people had been occupying since around March 30, 1968. Lee further stated that it appeared Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group were unable to convince Cabbage and BOP of the propriety and advisability of the SCLC philosophy of nonviolence. Lee stated that it appeared that Cabbage wants money without being able to give any firm commitments. Source two pointed out that Cabbage, Edwina Harrell and Ballard all used extremely vulgar and foul language at this meeting which was attended by several prominent Negro ministers and Negro women in the city of Memphis. Source two pointed out that as an example of the utter and brazen disrespect shown by Cabbage and his group that earlier on April 3, 1968, at the Lorraine Motel Cabbage was in his room with Edwina Harrell and was attempting to have her arrange a conference with him and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at which point Cabbage told Harrell, "I want you to go down there and tell that Nigger King that I want him to come up here and see me."

Source two advised that as of the night of April 3, 1968, it was determined that James Elmore Phillips, Jr., of the BOP governing body, John Burrell Smith and Verdell Brooks, along with Don Neely of 531 East McLemore, were all staying at the Lorraine Motel.

Source two added that on the late evening of April 3, 1968, Bernard Lee lamented the fact that SCLC people including Dr. King had consistently met with the BOP people during the previous few days but had concluded that BOP is too impatient in that it wants instant action, instant success and instant accomplishments coupled with the fact that BOP does not trust anyone from any other group. Lee stated that despite this SCLC would try to help BOP but added, "We won't be blackmailed by them."



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Also on April 3, 1968, during the late evening, according to source two, Hosea Williams of the SCLC told John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage that he, Williams, along with Reverend James Orange, would be willing to continue talks with BOP, Williams stating that he felt that Orange and himself were probably better able emotionally to deal with people like Cabbage. He did not elaborate.

Source two also recalled that on the late night of April 3, 1968, Reverend James Morris Lawson made the statement, "Thank goodness there was a riot in Memphis last week (March 28, 1968) because without it we would not have gotten all the outside help and attention such as that furnished by SCLC." Lawson stated that despite the fact violence had occurred he could not personally, as a minister of the gospel, condone violence.

Lawson added that the COME group would have to try to get along with BOP and do the best it could under the circumstances.

Source two pointed out that on the night of April 3, 1968, Reverend William Smith, pastor of the Collins Chapel CME Church, who is a member of the COME governing group, attempted to convince Cabbage that he, Cabbage, needed to talk prevention rather than violence, but that Cabbage stated that he would never tell COME or SCLC how to prevent violence and gave the impression in his ambiguous vague statements of being a "dreamer." Cabbage gave the impression of having visions of a massive black political movement of an undetermined nature in the United States. Source two emphasized that as recently as April 4, 1968, Mrs. Maxine Smith said that the NAACP was most distrustful of Charles Cabbage and his group as they were too militant and too distrustful.

On April 4, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that a reliable source of the Memphis Police Department reported that at about 4 p.m., April 3, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,

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met with the BOP group, including John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, and one Oree McKenzie who resides at 362 Essex, who is 18 to 19 years of age, and who was recently discharged from the United States Army after having entered as an under-age enlistee about two years ago. Also at this meeting was Edwina Jeanetta Harrell and James Elmore Phillips, Jr., along with Jesse Jackson, Hosea Williams and Andrew J. Young, the latter three of the SCLC staff. At this meeting Cabbage asked for immediate money of large proportions in order to assist BOP in starting a "liberation school" and a "black co-op," at which black culture and black history could be taught and through which black literature teaching black power could be sold. Cabbage indicated that he had a 5-point program which he did not pinpoint and stated that he needed money, even talking in terms of needing two million dollars.

According to Arkin's source, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., told Cabbage that he would use his influence in a group of churches recently formed in Detroit and that this new church group had set up a program of giving financial aid to black militant groups throughout the country. He stated that this group would give money to at least groups in eight different cities and would channel this through Andrew J. Young of his staff and that Young would handle the mechanics and set up an outline; but that Cabbage would have to have a more specific plan and finalized program before SCLC could assist him in pursuing this matter further. Andrew Young indicated that he would help Cabbage re-write his program for BOP.

Lieutenant Arkin stated that in the opinion of his source, King and his group would give money to BOP in order to keep them in line and to keep them from following a violent pattern during any future marches in which SCLC people may be participants. According to this source, King had concluded that BOP would definitely have to be recognized by the Negro leadership in Memphis. This source stated that even during some of the meetings with King and his group, the BOP people were drinking a cough medicine having a high alcoholic content and getting drunk on it and that James Phillips became so highly emotional in an argument with John Burrell Smith

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that he actually broke down and cried. This source stated that the BOP group had indicated that they were getting something similar to marijuana from a Beale Street character named "Jiggs." They did not elaborate.

On April 16, 1968, source two advised that one of the leading figures in the invaders cell of the BOP, Donnie Delaney, a recent graduate of Carver High School and a resident of 163 West Dixon, has been hanging around the Minimum Salary Office where the COMB headquarters is located with other unknown young black militants, continually talking of the necessity of destruction of the United States and of the inevitability of blacks having to eventually physically fight and going to war against the white race, which source stated is nothing more or less than a nihilistic philosophy.

On April 18, 1968, source one advised that John Burrell Smith, Charles Cabbage, Charles S. Ballard, Charles Harrington, Edwina Harrell, and a Memphis State University black power advocate Herman Lee Prewitt who lives at 363 Driver, Apartment H, had spent several days as guests of the SCLC at the Lorraine Motel from March 30 until April 4, 1968. This group all checked out of the Motel about thirty minutes prior to the sniper death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was shot while standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in front of Room 306 at about 6:01 p.m., April 4, 1968. This source added that such individuals as Willie Kimp and John Henry Ferguson are followers of the BOP but are not actually members and are not at this point actually members of the Invaders.

Source one indicated that the BOP group has drawn up an introduction type brochure or prospectus which BOP hopes to furnish to such groups as the National Council of Churches; United States Department of Labor; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Office of Economic Opportunity; various antipoverty groups in Memphis, Tennessee; and to any other group which BOP feels may fund BOP for future activities. Source one furnished a copy of this brochure which is 13 pages in length and which is set out hereinafter.



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REVISED BUDGET I (ONE) YEAR

<u>PERSONNEL</u>	<u>YEARLY</u>	<u>MONTHLY</u>
1 Executive Director	7,200.00	600.00
4 Assistant Directors	19,200.00	400.00
1 Secretary (Full Time)	3,600.00	300.00
1 Watchman	2,400.00	200.00
5 Full Time Black Counselors		
3 Full Time Field Workers		
1 Part Time Consultant Nurse		
1 Full Time Pre-School Director		
4 Program Consultants (Full Time)		
1 Public Relations Director (Full Time)		
4 Community (Black) Consultants (Full Time)		
Establishing and initiating expense		\$ 15,285.00
Operation expense for one neighborhood		\$ 300,000.00
Operation expense for entire city area program (Operating for one full year)		\$ 2,000,000.00



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On April 18, 1968, the first source advised that some of the BOP personnel had talked with U. S. Labor Department Undersecretary James Reynolds when he was in Memphis during April, 1968, to help mediate the Memphis sanitation workers' strike. They talked to Mr. Reynolds about the possibility of Federal funds being furnished to BOP, and that Mr. Reynolds had two U. S. Department of Labor employees from Washington, D. C., namely, Grace Whitney and Chuck Pugh connected with the Department of Labor's "Coalition for Youth Action," come to Memphis and talk to BOP representatives. Source one said that BOP hopes to receive funds and operating expenses from this Coalition for Youth Action sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Source one added that three adult advisers of the BOP in Memphis are Reverend Ezekiel Bell of Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Reverend William Smith of the Collins Chapel CME Church, and Reverend Jesse Jackson of the SCLC staff who lives in Chicago.

Source one added that Donnie Delaney is active in the Invaders and that the leader of the Invaders is Oree McKenzie. Source one said that around late March or early April, 1968, one Chuck or Charles Koen (phonetic) talked to the BOP people about a program regarding black power which he had in East St. Louis, Illinois, for which he had received Federal funds. He referred to this as Impact House and/or Project Upgrade.

Source one said that currently most BOP and Invaders meetings are held at Clayborn Temple.

Source one stated that a Memphis Negro attorney, Ira Murphy, is helping BOP to draw up a charter.

On April 20, 1968, source fifteen and on April 22, 1968, Lieutenant Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, respectively advised that source fifteen, as well as a reliable source of Lieutenant Arkin, had attended a meeting of the Invaders held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, Memphis, on the night of April 18, 1968, at which 25 to 30



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people were present. Including among those recognized by sources were John Burrell Smith; Charles S. Ballard; Oree McKenzie; Autry Norwood, male Negro, address not known; Donnie Delaney, also known as Donny Delaney; Theodore Manuel; Roosevelt Green; Marrell McCollough, a male Negro, address not known; Van Cabbage, younger brother of Charles Cabbage; Ted (male white, last name unknown) with two other white males, one of whom claims he teaches in the State of Mississippi, a tall white male, with brown hair, mustache, wearing glasses, and a young reddish-blond male white whose first name is believed to be Ted and who works at the Minimum Salary Office as a printer. This individual has a beard, a mustache and wears black-rimmed glasses. There were two white females present, one described as being heavy set, about 5 feet 4 inches in height, and the other about 5 feet 4 inches tall and extremely thin. This was the first time that any white people were known to have attended any of these meetings. Others present were a male Negro named Morice (phonetic), one Willie Poag who lives on South Parkway near Hamilton High School, and one Tommy Nelson who did not stay for the meeting. Also present at the meeting were John Henry Ferguson, Verdell Brooks, and Charles Harrington. Charles Cabbage was there earlier but left before the actual meeting started.

At the meeting John Burrell Smith claimed that he, as well as Oree McKenzie, was dividing the city into districts, approximating seven districts, and that the Invaders would have a captain for each district. John Smith stated that the "liberation school" and classes on black arts and culture which the Invaders wanted to form were merely a "front" for the Invaders undercover activities which he did not further describe.

Oree McKenzie spoke stating that the Invaders would have their own newspaper by this summer and that the "liberation school" and black arts and culture classes would be sponsored and financed by the War on Poverty Committee, Memphis, Tennessee, which is financed by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

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Source fifteen and Lieutenant Arkin's source advised that it was learned at the meeting that the chairman of the Invaders is Richard Cabbage, younger brother of Charles L. Cabbage; that the Executive Secretary is Oree McKenzie; that Donnie Delaney is in charge of Black Arts; and Autry Norwood, who claims to be a discharged veteran, is "Minister of Self Defense," (a paramilitary unit) and that he is assisted in this regard by Oree McKenzie who claimed also to have had previous military training.

The above sources advised that this group, according to statements made by those at the meeting, will train the members in "hand-to-hand fighting, the use of guns and the making of Molotov cocktails." Autry Norwood stated that it was time for all of the Invaders to obtain guns and be prepared to retaliate against the white power structure. He did not elaborate.

Sources advised that John B. Smith then explained that the Invaders, which group was originally all black, did not want to exclude all whites from membership but wanted to break down the white power structure, and that the Invaders and BOP were only opposed to whites who were engaged in suppressing the black man.

Source fifteen added that one of those present, a tall thin Negro, possibly a graduate of Carver High School, had the name of "Sonny." John B. Smith and Oree McKenzie, according to source fifteen, explained that BOP is the parent group which has several units including the Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University, the Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP at LeMoyné College, the Afro-American Brotherhood at Owen College, and the Invaders. Oree McKenzie pointed out that there is no age limit in the Invaders but they primarily want youth. They would like to have assistance from some high school teachers and adults to help them in some of their training. McKenzie claimed the leadership in the Invaders would be fluid in that it would depend upon those who had the best ideas to be leaders at any given time, and that they want to break down, in addition to the self-defense group, into other units known as Black Arts, Black History and some form of business co-op which they can have.

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Source fifteen pointed out that there were also a few Negro girls present, identities not known.

According to source fifteen, John B. Smith bragged that no one will ever know the "real leaders" as the "real leaders" will stay in the background. He claimed that this was the mistake that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had made by letting the world know that he was the leader of the SCLC and as a result he was shot. Smith also pointed out that the BOP and the Invaders hope to become recognized by some respectable group such as the SCLC, the NAACP, or the War on Poverty Committee in order to gain prestige and money, but that BOP will never subvert itself to any of these adult groups as BOP does not trust any of them.

On April 30, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin advised that on April 25, 1968, three of the Invaders group, Autry Norwood, also known as Arthur Norwood, who claimed to be the "Defense Minister" for the Invaders; Oree McKenzie; and Thomas Clark, address unknown, according to Detective R. H. Ferguson of the Community Relations Bureau, Memphis Police Department, had in their possession a drawing of a man holding up both arms in a black power manner and holding a knife in one, saying, "We shall over-run!" This drawing also contained the statements, "Time is running out," and "Think black." This group, according to information furnished to Lieutenant Arkin by Detective Ferguson, met on April 25, 1968, in the office of Dan Wilkinson of Wilkinson and Snowden, Inc., Real Estate Company, Wilkinson being president of the Junior Chambers of Commerce. The meeting was set up by Jim Bowers of the Youth Guidance Commission and Detective R. H. Ferguson, in that the Invaders group was attempting to get funded and to get support. At this meeting, Oree McKenzie identified himself as Executive Secretary of the Invaders; Thomas Clark identified himself as the Business Manager; and Arthur Norwood identified himself as the Defense Minister. All three said they were 18 years of age. Oree McKenzie told the group that the Invaders was entirely a black power organization with about 15 white supporters.



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McKenzie implored the businessmen of the community to give them funds so they could set up a work program and help to train black youths. When Jim Bowers tried to explain that this was the same thing that Youth Guidance and other poverty groups were trying to do and that McKenzie and his group would be welcome to work within the existing group, McKenzie was not interested in this.

Wilkinson told McKenzie that the black power organization was considered militant and had a hard product to sell and that its plans were vague, whereupon McKenzie claimed that his group would be called a Community Unification Program and that the money would be used to help keep kids off the street by providing them with recreation facilities. McKenzie stated the money would be used for materials, for transportation, and for office expenses. When Jim Bowers asked McKenzie what he thought of the existing poverty groups such as the Memphis Area Project - South (MAP-South) group, a subsidiary of the War on Poverty Committee, McKenzie claimed that MAP-South was no good, that it did not know what it was doing, and that it did not know how to organize. McKenzie was not interested in attempting to raise any of his own funds and told Wilkinson that he expected someone to give them all of their money. McKenzie told Detective Ferguson that he and his group have not attempted to solicit any money from any of the Negro businessmen.

McKenzie admitted that he would only use his funds to support black people and would not help any whites.

According to Detective Ferguson, Wilkinson invited McKenzie and his group to come to the Youth Center at the Fairgrounds on Saturday, June 1, 1968, where some thirty business people were going to set up a booth in order to obtain jobs for young people; but McKenzie did not seem to be interested in any such program. Wilkinson even offered for McKenzie or any of his group to come to a board meeting of the Junior Chamber of Commerce scheduled for the following Monday night at the Chisca Hotel. McKenzie did not seem to be interested in trying to present his program to such a body.



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Detective Ferguson told Lieutenant Arkin that after the meeting Dan Wilkinson agreed that McKenzie and his group had nothing positive to offer and that Wilkinson had even talked with David Caywood, white attorney, son-in-law of prominent Memphis attorney Lucius Burch and head of the American Civil Liberties Union and prominent in the Tennessee Council of Human Relations, both organizations having done much to help integrate and improve the lot of the Negro, and that even Caywood had stated that although he had defended several of the BOP people legally at various times in the past, Caywood had concluded that they were "nothing but militants" and could not be trusted.

On April 23, 1968, James Elmore Phillips volunteered to a representative of the FBI that Coby Vernon Smith, 2240 Brown Street, Southwestern College student, a male Negro, who had been one of the original organizers of BOP in Memphis, was no longer formally connected with the BOP due to personal differences which he refused to discuss. Phillips did state, along with source one, that following the March 28, 1968, riots, Coby Vernon Smith was interviewed by television media and later appeared on a national television broadcast, at which time he stated that BOP would "tear up the town." Both Phillips and source two advised that Smith had no authority to talk for BOP as he had no connection whatsoever with it.

On April 23, 1968, source two stated that BOP is endeavoring to obtain a headquarters in an old seven to eight story building across the street from the Alonzo Locke School on St. Paul Street in Memphis.

On April 27, 1968, source eleven furnished a 3-page Mimeograph document entitled "Invaders" which he had obtained April 26, 1968, from self-admitted BOP follower Hurley Gibson of 109 East Utah. Gibson who, according to source eleven, has been in and out of the reform school and penitentiary for several years is temporarily crippled with cut leaders in one of his feet which he allegedly obtained while looting during the recent riots in Memphis.

On April 29, 1968, source fifteen furnished a copy of the same document which has been reproduced in Xerox form, one copy of which is set forth hereinafter as a part of this communication.



Literature

p. 78

THE SPRING OFFENSIVE

The Spring Offensive began March 28, 1968 when racist law enforcement forced black people into so-called 'civil disobedience'. This brilliant police retaliation against a non-violent march, was a brutal, disgraceful attack on humanity that resulted in the tragic slaying of an innocent black brother.

In the white controlled news media, however, there were no reports of police brutality, effective snipers, and the burning of 'whiteys' places of business (places that literally take money from black people), but instead there were lies that everything was under control. This was another attempt of the white power structure to subvert our struggle for black liberation. This was to make it seem as if our retaliation to their oppression was to no avail.

White conspiracy destroyed one of our greatest leaders, Dr. Martin Luther King, in an attempt to end the black man's struggle toward equality, but instead with his death the total black community is beginning to realize the necessities of unification and power, BLACK POWER, the main theme of Dr. King, in the struggle toward our God given rights. The death of King and his non-violent tactics must not end this struggle. We must unite and fight to avenge King's death and achieve, not civil rights, but our God given rights of freedom and equality.

The Invaders propose that to win we must unite for power, BLACK POWER, to gain what is ours as human beings. We also leave the judgement of designating the winner of the Spring Offensive up to you

OFFENSIVE ASSESSMENT

- | Black Liberation   | White Supremacy                             |
|--|---|
| 1. 200 or more stores looted, burned, damaged or destroyed | 1. economical lost to white community       |
| 2. 9 cops shot-23 beaten                                   | 2. disgrace to white racist law enforcement |
| 3. 2 black brothers slain                                  | 3. shows true color of white supremacy      |
| 4. snipers damaged police and National Guard vehicles      | 4. lost to white racist law enforcement     |
| 5. major cities in nation burning                          | 5. disgrace to America abroad               |

WINNER!!!!!!  
The Invaders propose a long hot summer!! Are you ready?



## 808 IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

To deal with the problem of racism in our educational system we must first know the definition and composition of racism itself. In our case, is discrimination because of color and religion. There are two types of racism one is individual racism and the other is institutional racism. Institutional racism deal with controlling bodies which base their decisions on racist ideas and philosophies, while individual who doesn't actively participate in but supports the institutions of racism.

The main problems to be dealt with are these two types of racism practiced by the Memphis board of education and its "Uncle Tom" teachers and principals.

These practices are evident in the type educational material that is forced upon us and called "a well round education." We are forced to learn, by law (laws which we didn't make or have adequate representation at the making of such), about whitey's history, heritage and culture which seeks to destroy the black man as a whole. The history that is forced upon us shows hatred and misuse of blacks through murders, slayings and slavery. Whitey's heritage is forced upon us to makes us feel inferior and think that we have none of our own to be proud of. Finally, his most potent trick is to force his culture upon us, which seeks to make us believe that in order to be equal you must deny your black cultural heritage and try to be white (integration).

The latest evidence of racism shown by "our" board of education is the outlawing of high school proms. You and I both know the reason for this. They don't want "good timing niggers" associating with whites at social functions. The Invaders say that there is no law that can stop a group of students pooling money and giving themselves a prom, as they have always done anyway. The beautiful thing about it is if they do, it can be a form of shaking off white oppression and showing black awareness. They don't need formals, this is not a black thing anyway, why not come in regular tribal dress, but of course if you want to be white or an "uncle tom" then wear formal clothing, but wouldn't it be hip to see yourself as you really are? If you as an individual dig this proposal, then organize your people and see what happens.

Witness my s&A (signature) and seal



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Both sources eleven and fifteen [redacted] pointed out that there is no doubt in their respective minds that the BOP group and the Invaders definitely want an opportunity to create violence in Memphis, Tennessee, and are imbued with a bitter hatred of the white race and the white power structure and that, despite any promises they offer to any Federal agencies or city or state agencies for funding or any promises they make to any church groups, they definitely cannot be trusted. These sources, both of whom are young in age, pointed out that actually the BOP group and none of its auxiliaries have any control whatsoever over the Negro youths in the city of Memphis. They pointed out that there are probably close to 90,000 youths among the Negro race in Memphis; that Negroes now comprise approximately 52 per cent of the high school population in Memphis; and that no one or no one group can even conceivably begin to speak for a small fraction of this youth group. They stated that in their opinion BOP is merely engaging in a form of blackmail by attempting to scare the black and white power structure into feeling that they control Negro youths in Memphis with the promise of keeping the Negro youths quiet provided they are furnished the necessary funds. Both of these sources pointed out that there are ample organizations in Memphis, both Federal and local, plus private organizations which are willing to help provide jobs and recreation for Negro youths, if the Negro youths will merely take advantage of the opportunities offered. They stated that the big problem is not that of material resources, but of individual motivation on the part of the individual who claims that he wants to be helped.

As an assistance in locating information set out hereinbefore, an Index of names is attached hereto as a part of this communication.



BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

The following is an article which appeared on page 5 of the April, 1968, issue of the "Southern Patriot," official publication of the SCEF:

'DR. KING AND THE MILITANTS

'Following are excerpts from interviews Bob Analavage had with black Memphis students before Dr. King was assassinated. They spoke to him three days after the first march led by Dr. King ended in violence. It is important to listen to what they have to say if one is to understand their alienation from King, and their rejection of nonviolent direct action in Memphis.

'These students are members of the Black Organizing Project (BOP), which has organized several cadres in the community and on campus along lines similar to those called for by SNCC and the Black Panther Party, whom they consider their allies.

\* \* \*

'"The local black leaders do not see the maturity of the human rights struggle in this country. They are conducting an old-time civil rights campaign and it can't meet the needs and problems of the black community.'

'"You had violence on the march because King didn't understand the situation here. He assumed the movement here was led by the ministers. It wasn't. The young people here have reached a political consciousness that those ministers do not understand or control.'

'"They (the ministers) did not bring us into any of the planning. They shut us off from the rest of the community. They even told the strikers not to have anything to do with us.... Those students that "rioted"--if you want to use that term--were merely calling attention to their existence, saying "we're here and you're going to have to deal with us."'

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

"King can use the old people and the ones that have been following the ministers since '54. But he can't control the young. We are quite capable of leading ourselves. As for nonviolence--that died in Newark and Detroit."

"We have unity with King in terms of attitude. We differ on tactics. We are not yet together on how we can gain liberation in this country."

"King believes in black power, only he calls it Soul Force. But any time you call for a mass mobilization of black people in a show of force like King is doing, he is calling for black power."

"If King thinks his views are the prevailing ones, he is in for a rude awakening."

\* \* \*

"The Rev. James L. Lawson, the local minister leading the Memphis campaign, denied that the students were barred from any meetings. 'I invited them to come to the planning sessions. They came and behaved like John Birchers. They refused to have any agenda. They refused to discuss any of the day-to-day problems of a sustained struggle, like where do you get money, how do you feed people?'"

"All they were interested in was having ideological discussions. They spoke at some meetings and criticized the leaders and to me it seemed they wanted to destroy the unity in our community. If this is revolutionary thought, I want nothing to do with it."

"Rev. Lawson does not blame the students for the violence. 'All young people have to do is watch television to learn all they want about violence. And there is the war in Vietnam, that can teach anybody about violence.'"



BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

I

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as  
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the National leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "war of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1968, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same House report, "The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (SCEF), and stated its purpose to be to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions and ideals.

The masthead of the April, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" indicates that it is the publication of SCEF, editorial and business offices of which are located at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, eastern office of which is located at Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York City, New York. "The Southern Patriot" is published once each month, except July. The SCEF is stated to be dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin or economic condition.

Carl Braden is identified as Executive Director of SCEF and Anne Braden as editor of "The Southern Patriot."

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11, and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court in a state sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl Braden and his wife Anne McCarty Braden as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF



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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.(continued):

continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issues.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.



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APPENDIX

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class-outlook and a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA, General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee

May 6, 1968

Title: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,  
Tennessee, dated and captioned as  
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

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diversity consisting of college graduates, as well as high school dropouts and people with educational backgrounds in between, many of whom are unemployed. This cell had about 20 members as of April 18, 1968.

Source one continued that the leadership of Black Organizing Project (BOP) rests with the executive board and the central committee. The executive board is comprised of four members from each of the five cells, the Chairman being John Burrell Smith, male Negro, currently a student at Owen Junior College and residing at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis. The secretary is Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, a student at MSU, who resides at 2418 Gentry, Memphis. The treasurer is James Elmore Phillip, Jr., a resident of 1592 Short, who is a senior student at LeMoyné College, Memphis. The assistant treasurer is listed as Palmer Gunter (Watson Palmer Gunter), who is a painter and artist, and who lives at 1749 Foster, Memphis.

Source one advised that the central committee comprised of the Chairmen of the five cells and the Executive Secretary who shall preside over the Committee will actually be the governing body. Source one advised that the Executive Secretary is Charles Laverne Cabbage, male Negro, a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, who is currently staying part time with his mother at 234 Ingle and with his grandmother at 1924 Rile, Memphis.

As recently as April 26, 1968, a second source advised that actually since around July 1, 1967, Charles Laverne Cabbage, John Burrell Smith and Coby Vernon Smith, male Negro, 2240 Brown Avenue and a student at Southwestern College, Memphis, had been attempting to form a black power group in Memphis which they hope to develop as an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Source two advised that their efforts continued throughout the Summer and Fall of 1967 and early Winter of 1968, and, according to source two, they have had little success in gaining acceptance in the Negro community of Memphis, Tennessee, although they have developed a limited

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number of followers at Memphis State, Owen Junior College, and LeMoyné College and among some of the high school dropouts. Source two stated that recently Coby Vernon Smith has appeared to have drawn away from this group and is not now believed to be formally connected with any branch or facet of BOP activities.

COBY VERNON SMITH

Coby Vernon Smith was one of the out-of-town attendees at the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Plenum held at 873 Broadway, New York, New York, June 2, 3, and 4, 1967, according to information furnished by source three on June 5, 1967.

(The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

As recently as April 26, 1968, source two advised that throughout the Summer and Fall of 1967 Coby Vernon Smith and Charles Laverne Cabbage both bragged that they had connections with the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia; that they wanted to bring black power advocates such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, National Chairman of SNCC, to Memphis, Tennessee; and that they planned to set up a SNCC "Freedom House" in Memphis. Source two advised that they stated that Memphis needed a good race riot and they would like to see Memphis turned upside down and burned.

Source two pointed out, as mentioned above, that they have never gained any large following, although their intemperate and violence-prone statements had tended to frighten, not only a large segment of the black community in Memphis, but a large segment of the white community, particularly after some of their utterances were printed in the Memphis "Press-Scimitar" and "Commercial Appeal," both Memphis daily newspapers, in some of the Summer, 1967, issues.

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On November 13, 1967, a fourth source advised that as early as the Spring of 1967 Calvin Leroy Taylor, then a junior at MSU, a male Negro, residing 347 West Waldorf and employed as a copy boy at the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, began talking up a SNCC movement in Memphis, Tennessee, and that also during the Fall of 1967 Charles Cabbage claimed to have been active in the SNCC in Atlanta in 1966 and early 1967. Source added that in October, 1967, Cabbage bragged that John Burrell Smith and himself had recently gone to Atlanta to the SNCC headquarters.

On November 8, 1967, source five advised that Charles Cabbage for several months had been trying desperately to become a Negro leader and wanted to form his own black power group. Source stated that in his opinion, Cabbage was a bitter young man imbued with his idea of self importance and he has been frustrated in that he has heretofore been unable to get any adult backing or financial support. Source stated that Cabbage is vague as to his actual plans, has denied that he has been formally affiliated with the SNCC, but has admitted that he has some connections with the SNCC.

Also on November 8, 1967, source six advised that Charles Cabbage and John Burrell Smith had ostensibly gone to Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of November 4, 1967, to seek SNCC support for their black power group in Memphis.

On November 9, 1967, source seven advised that Calvin Leroy Taylor, copy boy for the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, Memphis, has openly admitted being a SNCC member and black power advocate since as early as 1967 and has been wearing a jacket with the name "Invaders" on the back thereof.

On November 24, 1967, source eight advised that on November 22, 1967, Charles Cabbage, along with James Elmore Phillips and other members of the group claiming to be BOP, claimed they needed money with which to purchase guns and weapons to be used by them in "determining their own destiny."

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On November 19, 1967, source nine advised that on Thursday, November 16, 1967, at a meeting of the Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College, Memphis, Charles Cabbage led the discussion assisted by John Burrell Smith. Source stated that Cabbage claimed that Negroes had to resort to violence and would continue to use violence. Cabbage implied that racial violence will occur in Memphis in the near future, claiming a racially desegregated and integrated society will not work as it will always be dominated by the white man. He lectured in detail as to how Molotov cocktails can be made from rags, gasoline and bottles. He claimed that Negroes would always be kept in slavery by the white power structure so long as the capitalist system existed in the United States, claiming it was geared to maintain the status quo which perpetuates racial segregation. He claimed that the black man's only salvation lies in the complete and unequivocal overthrow of the capitalistic system by any means. According to source nine, this was purely and simply communistic teaching on the part of Cabbage.

Source nine advised that Cabbage also discussed Vietnam, claiming that the Vietnamese who are Orientals are somewhat related to the black man, and that when the Negro soldiers of the United States kill them, they are in effect killing their "brothers." Cabbage claimed that the Vietnamese war is not a battle of communism versus democracy as the United States leaders claim, but that the Vietnamese people are merely seeking to achieve their own destiny.

On September 13, 1967, source ten advised that on September 12, 1967, Coby Vernon Smith at a private meeting contended, "We have to have black power." He emphasized that he was organizing BOP which he claimed was Black Organizing Power and that this was a name which he had picked but actually it was a subterfuge being controlled by the SNCC. He stated that SNCC gave him permission to use this name as Memphians were generally skeptical and afraid of the SNCC.

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On December 8, 1967, source six advised that Charles Cabbage and James Mickey Booth, who he said was a self-admitted SNCC leader from Nashville, Tennessee, and who had been expelled from Tennessee A and I University, Nashville, because he tried to form a revolutionary movement along black power lines there during the Spring of 1967, were in Memphis, Tennessee, and contacting leading college and business officials in the Negro community. He stated that both Booth and Cabbage commented that they wanted to bring the Memphis black power movement out from the underground and that in order to do so they will need money, paper, printing supplies, telephones, funds for travel, and a Post Office box, and that as an alternative to this, they would use pressure and disruptive tactics which they refused to describe. Source six construed this to be a threat or extortion on their part in which they were attempting to scare the community.

On December 16, 1967, an eleventh source advised that Cabbage lamented the fact that his following was still small, that his main problem was lack of money, and that he might have to do something desperate to stir the people and shock them into giving him financial support. He did not elaborate.

On January 12, 1968, Dr. Jesse Parrish, Dean of Students, MSU, advised that on January 11, 1968, he was visited by Charles L. Cabbage, Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507 Fontaine, Watson Palmer Gunter, all nonstudents, and by Ronald L. Ivy, senior student at MSU, a male Negro. Dr. Parrish stated that Cabbage was the spokesman and said he wanted to organize a black student movement on the MSU campus, that this group would model its activities after the SNCC, and that this group in particular would follow and enunciate the teachings of SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown and former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael.

On February 15, 1968, Clifford Louis Taylor, male Negro, residing 2507 Fontaine Road, Memphis, advised representatives of the FBI that BOP in Memphis was headed by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith. Taylor stated that BOP's purpose was to teach the Negro black

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identity, to uplift blacks, to teach Negro or black history, to improve black physical education and physical fitness, and to stimulate black consciousness, particularly among black college students. Taylor stated that in his opinion Memphis was about to explode into a racial riot of some sort. He claimed that Charles Laverne Cabbage, who he described as a recent graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, makes frequent trips to Atlanta to SNCC headquarters and in fact around the end of January, 1968, Cabbage attended a large SNCC and black power conference in Atlanta, at which Ron Karenga, a black power leader of the group known as "US" in Los Angeles, California, and Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC chairman, were present.

Taylor advised that on these trips to Atlanta Cabbage always brings multiple copies of the SNCC and related black power literature back to Memphis with him. Taylor admitted that when Cabbage and his former associate Coby Vernon Smith, now a Southwestern College student, came to Memphis in late June or July, 1967, that they made some intemperate statements, such as, Memphis needs a good riot and should burn. He said they did this to scare Memphians into realizing that inequities in the black community need correcting and that they really did not mean to start a riot or to burn the city.

Taylor claimed that BOP is affiliated as a fraternal group with the SNCC but is not formally a SNCC chapter in Memphis, Tennessee.

Taylor said that the "Invaders" is not a separate entity but that the word "Invaders" is merely a name adopted by John Smith and Donnie Delaney, a recent Carver High School graduate, and basic followers of Charles Cabbage and BOP. He stated that a lot of young Negroes have put the letters "Invaders" on their jackets as a symbol of their belief in black power.

On January 5, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage came to the Memphis Office of the FBI and volunteered to Special Agents thereof that during the Summer and Fall of 1967 he had made statements to the effect that "Memphis should be

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burned" and that "Memphis should have a good race riot." He stated that he did not mean these things literally but was saying them in an effort to shock Memphians into doing something to help financially impoverished Negroes. He predicted, however, without offering any proof or stating any basis in fact, that Memphis could well have racial trouble in the immediate future.

Cabbage denied that he was a formal member of the SNCC and stated that for all practical purposes his group, known as Black Organizing Power, was a "paper group." Cabbage admitted that he is a great admirer of H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael and generally agreed with all of their publicly reported statements which had been attributed to them in the nation's press. He would not elaborate.

Cabbage talked in riddles and with oblique phrases such as "We want a programmatic approach to the programs," and "We must take a problematical approach to the problem." Cabbage claimed he hoped to establish in Memphis a black people's group such as Pride, Inc., in Washington, D. C. Cabbage berated what he termed the old line black leadership personified by such groups as the NAACP and the Urban League, calling these groups a collective composite of "Uncle Toms." He claimed that these people are tools of the white community. Cabbage claimed that he had organized black power groups at LeMoyne College, Owen College and Memphis State University.

Again on February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage volunteered to Special Agents of the FBI that he is head of the Black Power organization in Memphis which he referred to as Black Organizing Power. At this point he introduced the governing body of BOP to the Special Agents as follows:

Edwina Jeanetta Barrell, Negro female,  
residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis, Tennessee,  
a student at Memphis State University;

John Burrell Smith, male Negro,  
residence 1644 Hannauer, Apartment 2, Memphis,  
a student at Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee;

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James Elmore Phillips, Jr., male Negro,  
residence 1592 Short Street, Memphis,  
a student at LeMoyné College, Memphis, Tennessee;

Clinton Roy Jamerson, male Negro,  
1397 Davis Street, Memphis,  
a student at LeMoyné College, Memphis, Tennessee;

Charles Harrington, male Negro,  
residence 2075 Rile Street, Memphis,  
a student at Owen College, Memphis;

Charles S. Ballard, male Negro,  
residence 1830 Kansas, Memphis,  
a student at Owen College, Memphis;

Verdell Brooks, male Negro,  
a student at Owen College, Memphis;

Curtis Carter, male Negro,  
residence 377 East McLemore, Memphis,  
a student at LeMoyné College, Memphis.

Cabbage added that Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507  
Fontaine, Memphis, is also a member of the governing body.

Cabbage at this time claimed that he, Cabbage, is  
the impetus of the black power movement in Memphis, Tennessee,  
and that its main purpose is to stimulate in the young Negroes  
a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness,  
to create in the blacks an independent spirit, to cease to be  
dependent upon and influenced by the white race. He added  
that he has stimulated the development of black power units  
on three Memphis college campuses, namely, the Black Student  
Association (BSA) at Memphis State University, the Afro-  
American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen Junior College, and  
the BOP at LeMoyné College.

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James Elmore Phillips, Jr., interrupted to say that actually the LeMoyne group is also known as the LeMoyne Intercollegiate of the NAACP, although the NAACP does not actually now have a unit at LeMoyne College.

Cabbage exhibited various SNCC posters and booklets which he said he distributes to prospective followers. Cabbage said that his followers were issued various Mimeograph pamphlets at MSU, Owen and LeMoyne, and that all literature issued by these groups would clearly show thereon that they were issued by BOP, AAB, or BSA.

Cabbage claimed that he regularly services these campus groups giving them aid, comfort, guidance, counsel and advice but that they operate independently of each other, although they do help to give each other support and are part of the over-all BOP movement.

Cabbage claimed that BOP is now a chartered group and has obtained a State Charter. He claimed, however, not to have a presentable copy to exhibit to representatives of the FBI.

Cabbage disclaimed any advocacy of violence, except that necessary for self defense. He claimed that his group is being harassed, followed and intimidated by unknown groups who apparently want to stop him or deter his activities. Cabbage said that his group follows the teachings of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, but that BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. He was evasive but did admit frequent trips to Atlanta, Georgia, the national headquarters of SNCC.

On April 22, 1968, Mrs. Lois Gordon, Charter Clerk, Secretary of State's Office, State of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that no charter has ever been issued in the State of Tennessee for BOP, for Black Organizing Power, for Black Organizing Project, for Black Student Association, Afro-American Brotherhood, LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP, Invaders, or City Organizers.



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On April 22, 1968, sources twelve and thirteen who are familiar with most phases of the SNCC activity in the State of Tennessee advised that they have never heard of the BOP or any of its other names and know of no Memphis people who are formally connected with the SNCC.

It will be noted at this point that a strike commenced in Memphis, Tennessee, February 12, 1968, during which over one thousand sanitation workers employed by the Department of Public Works, City of Memphis, walked off the job and sought recognition from the city of Memphis by the Union which claimed to represent most of them, namely the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO).

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of February 23, 1968, reported that the strike continued and that in addition to the Union other supporters such as the Memphis, Tennessee, Chapter of the NAACP and the Tennessee Council on Human Relations met in the City Council Chambers on February 22, 1968.

A story by Reporter Joseph Sweat reported that Reverend Ezekiel Bell, male Negro, pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, Memphis, told the strikers, "When you go home don't sleep too soundly. We may be calling for you again."

Another story on page one of the "Commercial Appeal," February 23, 1968, issue by Reporter Richard Lentz stated that about 700 sanitation strikers and their families and sympathizers crowded into the City Hall Council Chamber on February 22, 1968, in a tense session. The story reported that about eight Negro women sliced up bologna on the City Attorney's table to be used for sandwiches and later passed these sandwiches around to those in the audience and generally messed up the Council Chambers with food and debris. The story also reported that approximately 142 police officers had to be called in an effort to keep down trouble and that Reverend Ezekiel Bell told the audience, "Black women have nursed white babies for hundreds of years. Now they say they don't have time for us." He further stated, "This is our building

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we don't know if we will redecorate it or not," and according to the story hinted of the defacing of the chambers. The story further quoted Bell as saying, "I wish to inform you that there are not going to be enough rest rooms so I don't know what's going to happen." He also was reported to have attacked, verbally, the Memphis City Seal, saying, "I'm not going to get up there and tear it down, but I wouldn't care if someone else got up there and tore it down."

The story continued that Jesse Turner, President, Memphis Chapter of the NAACP, addressed a crowd saying, "I think we should call all of our friends and ask each one to come down and bring a bucket of garbage."

On February 23, 1968, source seven advised that a meeting of sanitation strikers and supporters was held in Ellis Auditorium on the afternoon of February 23, 1968; that Tommy Powell, a white male, President of the AFL-CIO Labor Council, Memphis, claimed that the Union had tried to keep the strike a Union matter; but that it is no longer a Union matter and was now a racial matter. Source stated that Thomas Oliver Jones, male Negro, President, Local 1733, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, spoke and claimed that his group was going to march in the street. He said, "We tried to keep this a Union issue but it's now a racial issue. I am not responsible for what you do." Source added that Reverend James Morris Lawson, male Negro, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, told the audience that the white news media were responsible for any trouble which might occur due to their unfair and slanted coverage of the strike. Source stated that Jesse Turner urged strikers and their supporters to bring their garbage onto Main Street in downtown Memphis and dump it. Source advised that Dr. Vasco A. Smith, Jr., Vice President, NAACP, Memphis, told the strikers "You'll get only what you're strong enough to take." He stated that O. Z. Evers, male Negro, a political crone of former Memphis Mayor William B. Ingram and bitter foe of the incumbent Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb, and President of a local Negro political group known as the "Unity League," told the audience that he might have to bring black power

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leaders such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown to Memphis in order to keep the police busy while the strikers settled their problems with the city and stated he was tired of Negroes being treated as they were.

Later on February 23, 1968, Chief of Police James C. Macdonald, Memphis, Tennessee, advised that after the meeting that several hundred strikers and strike sympathizers marched down the middle of Main Street toward Mason Temple and on reaching Gayoso and Main, some of them attempted to upset a police squad car resulting in the police having to break up the crowd by the use of Mace and billy clubs resulting in seven of the trouble makers being arrested.

Chief Macdonald advised that earlier at the February 23, 1968, meeting at Ellis Auditorium the abovementioned Tommy Powell had stated in referring to the strikers and their supporters, "They're just going to plan the destruction of the city. I tried to tell the people that this was going to happen if some justice wasn't given these men. Now it's out of labor's hands."

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of February 25, 1968, reported that a strike support meeting was held at the Firestone Union Hall late on February 24, 1968, and that Reverend Harold A. Middlebrook, male Negro, called for "taking to the streets" in defiance of an injunction which had been handed down in Chancery Court enjoining further strike activity and called for the "filling of the jails." The paper reported that at this particular meeting an undercover Negro officer of the Memphis Police Department was discovered by some of the strikers, was captured by them, taken to the stage, and exhibited to the audience, whereupon his revolver and Mace cannister were taken from him, and he was finally led from the hall only through the intervention of some of the Negro women who prevented the males from physically harming him.

On February 28, 1968, a fourteenth source advised that it had now become palpably apparent that the strike support group originally primarily supported by a group of

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Memphis Negro ministers known as the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and the NAACP, was gradually losing its influence and that the influence in the strike support was being taken over by a small group of militant Negro ministers and by members of the Black Organizing Power or Black Organizing Project, a small clique of loud-mouthed black power advocates in Memphis led by Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith.

Source fourteen advised that as recently as February 25, 1968, this source had been reliably informed that the black power youths were being brought into the strike by some leaders in the Ministerial Alliance not necessarily for the purpose of creating obstructions or violence but to form a united front or alliance with them, ostensibly to keep them under control and to use their limited influence. Source fourteen pointed out that this strategy had already backfired when John Burrell Smith had recently urged Memphis Negroes to obtain guns for future use of an undescribed nature, making said comment at an open strike support rally sponsored by the Ministerial Alliance at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando Street, Memphis, on the night of February 26, 1968.

Source fourteen felt that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and Reverend Malcolm Douglas Blackburn, a white male, pastor of the Clayborn Temple, African-Methodist-Episcopal (AME) Church, the only white minister of a Negro church in Memphis, were possibly responsible for the injection of the black power followers into the strike.

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JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR.

On May 9, 1967, source fourteen advised that on a WHBQ-TV panel discussion Sunday, April 30, 1967, Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., Negro male, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and who has been a leader in April, 1967, demonstrations in Memphis opposing United States policy in Vietnam, was asked by Panelist Clark Porteous, "Press-Scimitar," reporter, if he, Lawson, was a Communist. Lawson replied that he was not a member of the Communist Party, but he felt that the Communist program had many good points and much to offer the United States.

MALCOLM DOUGLAS BLACKBURN

The "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of April 10, 1967, in a story on page 5 captioned "Misery Has Company of a Strong Faith," by Reporter Barney DuBois, reported that Reverend Malcolm D. Blackburn, then age 39, a native of Canada and formerly connected with the Stewardship Department of the National Council of Churches in New York, had taken over the pastorship of the Clayborn Temple after having worked for some time as Stewardship Field Secretary of the AME Church.

On February 28, 1968, source two advised that it was Malcolm D. Blackburn who brought John B. Smith and his black power associates into the strike scene; that Blackburn appears to be most domineering, has a violent temper; and in source's considered opinion is not sincere in wanting to help members of the Negro race but is more interested in inflating his own ego and in operating in a paternalistic manner.

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On the late night of February 26, 1968, a fourteenth source advised that about 1300 strike sympathizers including many strikers, primarily all Negroes, met on the night of February 26, 1968, in Clayborn Temple and that when Reverend Henry Logan Starks, president of the Memphis Ministerial Alliance, called upon Reverend Malcolm D. Blackburn to give the benediction that Blackburn to the surprise of everyone called upon his "friend" John Burrell Smith, male Negro, a student at Owen College, who he said wanted to say a few words. Thereupon, Smith made a fiery and impassioned speech in which he poked fun at such people as Reverend Starks and Dr. K. Ralph Jackson, a leader in the strike support group and who is director of the Minimum Salary Division of the AME Church, saying that all of their praying would not solve the strike or get justice for the Negro. Smith referred to the Negro as a black man and he urged that all people present take their garbage to the Memphis City Hall and dump it and said, "We've got to do some fighting." He said further, "We're not going to do it all unless we fight. We must fight the power structure, whether it is Henry Loeb or Richard Nixon (former Vice President of the United States)." He then told the audience, "The police are working for the white power structure and they will not represent the black man." He added, "You'd better get some guns. Get your guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

Following Smith's speech, according to source fourteen, Reverend Starks apologized to the audience for the remarks of Smith and emphasized that Smith was speaking as an individual and not on behalf of the various groups supporting the strike. Reverend Blackburn, however, according to source fourteen, made some comment to the effect that he agreed with and supported the remarks made by John B. Smith.

Early on the morning of February 27, 1968, source two corroborated in detail the information furnished by source fourteen regarding the remarks of John B. Smith and Reverend Blackburn on the night of February 26, 1968.

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Source two did recall that when John Smith was making fun of the preachers and telling people in the audience to get their guns, he said, "You preachers do the praying and we'll do the other work." He did not elaborate in the latter regard.

On February 29, 1968, source two advised that Charles Laverne Cabbage along with John B. Smith had recently been showing up at some of the strike support meetings and that Cabbage bragged on February 28, 1968, that he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, inferring that he had been there in connection with SNCC business having been there since about February 22, 1968. Cabbage stated that he had seen Coby Vernon Smith in Atlanta but did not elaborate as to the nature of the contact.

Source two added that from a reliable source he had learned that someone in the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance had given John Burrell Smith \$75.00 "allegedly with which to pay his rent." Source two learned that John B. Smith had attended a policy meeting in connection with the strike held in Clayborn Temple around noon on Tuesday, February 27, 1968.

On the late night of February 29, 1968, source two advised that following the police arrest of Gerald Fanion, Shelby County Community Relations Council, and of James Edward Harris, a reporter of the "Tri-State Defender," in front of Mount Pisgah CME Church during a strike support rally, that Charles Laverne Cabbage and John Burrell Smith, along with two of their governing board members of the Black Organizing Project, namely, Charles Harrington and Charles Ballard, all wanted to make an immediate issue of the arrests and said they were "going to have some action." Late that night, around midnight, they attended a policy meeting at the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, pastored by Reverend Ezekiel Bell. Source two pointed out that Ballard, Harrington and Smith are all students at Owen Junior College, and that Cabbage is allegedly a recent graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. At this policy meeting, some of the ministers attempted to quiet these four black power advocates and Charles Cabbage, as spokesman, stated that his group needed money, needed a car and supplies, and that if they were not provided, he could not guarantee what his group

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would do and that if they were provided that he and his BOP group would harass the sanitation workers currently working and coerce them and intimidate them in a manner not further described by him. Source two pointed out that such individuals as Dr. H. Ralph Jackson told Cabbage and his followers that he and his group could not condone violence and that Jesse Kpps, Field Director for the Union, who was present, said the Union could not tolerate acts of violence.

Source two pointed out that it was very apparent in conversation with Cabbage, John Smith, Ballard and Harrington after the meeting that they did not have money and do not have a car. They did indicate that they are able to spot police department cruisers including detective cars which are unmarked due to the fact that these cars have black sidewall tires and they have warned some of their friends who have cars similar in appearance that they should immediately get white sidewall tires, lest their cars be mistaken for police cars and be damaged.

On March 6, 1968, sources two and fourteen advised that a massive strike rally was held in Clayborn Temple night of March 5, 1968, attended by some 500 to 600 individuals and that it was chaired by Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr. Sources two and fourteen pointed out that at this meeting Charles Laverne Cabbage, self-admitted Memphis black power leader, and some 40 of his followers were observed passing out a 5-page Mimeograph pamphlet entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, Black Thesis, Black Power!:" A copy of this is set out as follows:

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Literature

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Also on March 6, 1968, Captain Jewell Ray of the Intelligence Unit of the Memphis Police Department advised that late on the night of March 5, 1968, a Molotov cocktail was thrown from a passing automobile against the front of a residence owned by Eddie Lee Smith, 1654 Standridge, Memphis, Tennessee, scorching the front of his house. The fire was extinguished shortly thereafter by the Memphis Fire Department with only minor damage done to the house. Eddie Lee Smith advised representatives of the Memphis Police Department that he is employed as a current sanitation department worker and has refused to go on strike.

On March 11, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin of the Intelligence Unit, Memphis Police Department, advised that on the morning of March 11, 1968, he was called to the Northside High School, Memphis, by the Principal who complained that Murray Austin Ervin, age 17, president of the student body, had passed out leaflets urging the students to leave school in an unauthorized school walkout to march in support of the sanitation strike. He stated that Ervin was assisted in this distribution by another student, Alex Johnson, age 18.

When Lieutenant Arkin interviewed Johnson and Ervin, Ervin served as spokesman, stating that he had been invited by ministers from Clayborn Temple to get students to participate. Ervin was very militant, according to Lieutenant Arkin, stating that violence was necessary to force the community to settle the strike, although he refused to become specific. He did state that he hates the white power structure. Ervin told Lieutenant Arkin that Monday, March 9, 1968, was to have been "turnover day" in Memphis, but he did not elaborate as to what he meant.

Lieutenant Arkin added that also on the morning of March 11, 1968, police were called by the Principal of G. W. Carver High School, an all-Negro student body institution, after John Henry Ferguson, residence 1279 Pennsylvania, a male Negro, age 20, born September 11, 1947, and Willie James Jenkins,



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male Negro, age 18, born August 31, 1949, residence 86 West McLemore, had attempted to get students to leave the school to march and had refused to leave the school when asked to do so by school officials. According to school officials, they were loud and bolsterous, reclined on the floor and grabbed hold of tables when the police attempted to remove them.

On March 13, 1968, source fifteen advised that a massive strike support rally was held at Centenary Methodist Church (church of Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr.) on the night of March 12, 1968, and that Reverend Ezekiel Bell of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church made an impassioned speech saying that "If Memphis was not a city for all the people, there would be no city at all." He added that Reverend H. Ralph Jackson also spoke saying that he was concerned regarding "police snitchers," and that if he found any police department officers or informants in the midst of any of the strike rallies, that he would not stop them from being beaten up.

Source fifteen added that another speaker at this rally was Thomas Oliver Jones, President of Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO). Jones stated that he, Jones, had at least 75 Negro volunteers who would do most anything to end the strike and that if it was necessary to burn the community, they would probably be willing to do so.

On March 13, 1968, source eleven advised that as recently as March 6, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage stated that he was convinced that the white power structure in Memphis was dedicated to the destruction of the black man and stated that some of the whites would probably try to kill off some of the more militant black men, including himself, and that he was not going to take this "lying down." Cabbage stated that he had obtained a gun which he described as a "Russian-type gun," not further described; but he did state it was impossible to get ammunition for this weapon in Memphis and that he would have to get it out of Alabama or Georgia. He stated that when the weather gets warm he would



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need this gun to protect himself against the whites who were dedicated to killing him and his followers.

Source eleven added that Cabbage said that in an effort to build his black power organization he is branching out, developing contacts in various neighborhoods in Memphis, in an effort to organize a broad-based black power group, and that he has had his greatest success on college campuses in Memphis and has been most fortunate by being able to take an active part in the current sanitation strike. He added that only recently both John Borrell Smith and he had been able to make talks at some of the strike support meetings.

Source eleven pointed out that he has not personally seen any weapons in the possession of Cabbage, Smith or any of their followers, although beginning as early as July, 1967, Cabbage and John Smith on various occasions particularly in southwest Memphis openly made statements to the effect that Memphis should burn and that Memphis needed a good race riot. Source eleven pointed out that to date Cabbage and Smith appear to have a small following but that their attitude and loud statements could set off an explosive situation by "setting off the younger irresponsible element of the Negro community into possible mass actions which could lead to a riotous situation should some tense situation develop in the city of Memphis."

Again on March 1, 1968, source eleven stated that on February 29, 1968, John B. Smith had stated, "We want to get Stokely Carmichael in here." Thereafter Smith bragged that Carmichael had recently gone to Communist Cuba to obtain reinforcements although he, Smith, did not elaborate. John B. Smith further complained that the Memphis police had used chemical Mace and clubs against some of the strikers and strike supporters and said, "We'll have to get weapons to defend ourselves." Source eleven noted on this date that John B. Smith, along with three unidentified Negro teenagers who were with him, all wore Army field-type jackets with the word "Invaders" on the back of the jackets.

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BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

On March 14, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that approximately 30 youthful demonstrators including ten girls were arrested by representatives of the Memphis Police Department during mid-afternoon of March 14, 1968, after police officers had observed them blocking traffic in an effort to physically stop the movement of the sanitation trucks picking up trash in that area. Lieutenant Arkin advised that this group at the time was led by Reverend Harold A. Middlebrook, age 26, residing 258 Walker, Memphis, Tennessee, and that Middlebrook was assisted in the venture by Reverend Roosevelt Joyner, age 24, residing 911 Grove. Both Middlebrook and Joyner were among those arrested and also arrested in connection with this incident were John Burrell Smith, male Negro, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis, a student at Owen Junior College, and his associate Charles S. Ballard, male Negro, residence 1830 Kansas, also an Owen College student.

On March 14, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He advised that racial tension was building up in a definite danger-wrought manner in Memphis, that each arrest and each march or demonstration tends to build up emotion and tension and in some instances hatred on the part of Negroes toward the city administration and in particular toward Mayor Henry Loeb who they considered as their enemy, even prior to his entrance into office, and against the Memphis Police Department because this agency is charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order; and that the Negro community was particularly bitter because the Police Department had sent many Negro officers in plain clothes to strike support meetings, several of them thus far having been exposed. He stated that the longer the strike continued, the more bitter the feeling would become and the more conscious the Negroes would be of their need of a unified effort against the city government and that this emotion could lead to possible sporadic incidents, outbursts, and possible vandalism, all of which could only culminate in more arrests, further compounding the tension existing in Memphis.



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Source sixteen added that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., appeared to be becoming the brains and bellwether of the Ministerial Alliance which primarily was supporting the strike, and that Charles L. Cabbage who heads the BOP movement in Memphis, which heretofore has been extremely small, appears to be gaining more "say-so" in the strategy of the strike supporters. He stated that Cabbage, whose followers heretofore have primarily been at LeMoyné, Owen and Memphis State University, is now building up support in the high schools and among the high school dropouts in Memphis, using the sanitation strike as a vehicle to stimulate interest on the part of Negro youths in his black power movement. According to source sixteen, Cabbage recently stated that he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, for two or three days prior to March 13, 1968, to get advice and guidance and inferred that he had been in contact with representatives of the SNCC in Atlanta. Cabbage on returning to Memphis read a story which recently appeared in the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" newspaper indicating that Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., controlled the black community, and Cabbage bitterly resented this. On March 13, 1968, Cabbage tried to call Lawson to challenge him in regard to the purported Negro leadership but was unable to make contact.

Also Source sixteen stated that Cabbage commented that he was purposely staying in the background recently in an effort to coordinate black power activities in the city of Memphis and was letting his associate John B. Smith get the publicity and be the "front man."

On March 20, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that two of the biggest troublemakers thus far in connection with the strike support activities, namely, Willie James Jenkins, age 18, male Negro, 86 West McLemore, and John Henry Ferguson, age 20, male Negro, 1279 Pennsylvania Avenue, appeared in Memphis City Court about a week previously and were fined \$10 each on Disorderly Conduct charges and bound to the State of Tennessee on State charges of Disorderly Conduct; and on March 19, 1968, the Shelby County, Tennessee, Grand Jury indicted Ferguson and Jenkins under an old State statute, charging them with "Unlawful Disturbing and Disquieting a School Assemblage."



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Lieutenant Arkin stated that Ferguson and Jenkins appeared to be coming into the orbit of the black power group in Memphis, Tennessee.

On March 20, 1968, source two advised that a strike support meeting was held in Warren Temple on Mississippi Boulevard at Williams Street, Memphis, on the night of March 19, 1968, the featured speaker being James L. Bevel, Executive Staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and that Bevel is a specialist in "nonviolent action." Source two stated that Bevel is a large man who now wears a full beard and is partially bald, is a male Negro; and Bevel urged all present to give their undivided support to a mass march to be led by SCLC President, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on Friday, March 22, 1968. He urged all students to refuse to go to school on that day and to come to downtown Memphis to participate in the march.

Also on March 20, 1968, source two stated that two self-admitted members of the BOP movement in Memphis, namely, Clinton Roy Jamerson, male Negro, 1397 Davis, and a student at LeMoyne College, and James Elmore Phillips, Jr., 1592 Short, also a student at LeMoyne College, invited James L. Bevel to speak at an assembly at LeMoyne College at 11:30 a.m., March 20, 1968.

JAMES L. BEVEL

Bevel, in early March, 1966, was observed to be present at the offices of the Westside W. E. B. DuBois Clubs in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DCA as a Communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DCA had a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

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One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a communist and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. He stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but, when they do, they will all be socialists.

(Source seventeen)

(A characterization of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) is set forth in the appendix of this communication.)

On March 21, 1968, source two advised that James Bevel, one of Dr. Martin Luther King's key workers, had remained in Memphis since March 18, 1968, and had been working in concert with Reverend Harold A. Middlebrook, 257 Walker, in organizing college and high school students to participate in a future march scheduled for March 22, 1968, to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Source two added that around noon on March 20, 1968, James L. Bevel and Middlebrook were taken to LeMoyne College by James Elmore Phillips, Jr., and Clinton Roy Jamerson for a non-scheduled meeting in the Student Center at LeMoyne. He stated that approximately 75 to 100 LeMoyne students attended. Bevel was the main speaker and the host was a young dramatics instructor understood to be named Lee. Bevel according to source two gave a most virulent black power talk, claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negroes in the United States in some form of genocide and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proved that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in foreign aid than it does to black nations such as those comprising the continent of Africa. Bevel claimed that while the Negroes or black men welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders," that these people are not really sincere;



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that they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro; and he suggested that his listeners read several black revolutionary books, and particularly urged them to read the book, "The Wretched of the Earth," by Frantz Fanon.

Source two stated that the following BOP personnel were observed at this meeting, namely, John Burrell Smith, Charles S. Ballard, Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks, the latter also an Owen College student. Bevel urged all of the students present to stop wasting their time dancing and playing cards and to come into the black power movement and dedicate themselves to its cause. He urged all of the LeMoyné students to cut classes March 22, 1968, and participate en masse in the Martin Luther King, Jr., - led sympathy march for the sanitation workers strike scheduled for that day.

At this meeting John Burrell Smith, Ballard, Harrington and Brooks, along with Bevel and Middlebrook, all stated they were canvassing the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the high schools on March 22, 1968, in order that these students could participate in the march.

Source two added that Bevel was scheduled to speak at a mass rally at the Lane Avenue Baptist Church on the night of March 21, 1968, and that Middlebrook and Bevel stated they planned to canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, and Christian Brothers College later on March 21, 1968, and to appear at Owen Junior College on March 21, 1968, in an effort to induce students to participate in the March 22, 1968, mass march.

Source two pointed out that by this time it appeared that there were two young militant groups working in support of the sanitation strike, one group being the BOP headed by Charles Cabbage and John B. Smith, and the other, a small undisciplined group of young militants headed by John Henry Ferguson and Willie James Jenkins, both mentioned hereinbefore.

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Source two stated that Jenkins and Ferguson have a small group of some ten to twelve teen-age followers, all militant and all of whom loaf at the headquarters of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees located at the Hotel Peabody in Memphis, Tennessee. Source two stated that in his considered opinion this group would probably be prone to engage in sporadic acts of vandalism throughout Memphis which might occur in the near future. Source two had no specific information that such acts would occur.

Source two pointed out that none of the Ferguson-Jenkins group appeared at any of the meetings with Bevel.

Source two added that at the LeMoyne meeting Bevel urged those present to read black nationalist literature including "Muhammad Speaks," the official newspaper of the Nation of Islam, headed in Chicago, Illinois, nationally by Elijah Muhammad. He pointed out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of black power philosophy with the exception of the religious aspects thereof whereby Muhammad claims Allah as his god. He told the students to ignore the religious aspects of the NOI program and to merely follow the economic and political aspects propounded therein.

(A characterization of the NOI is set forth in the Appendix section of this communication.)

Bevel also told some of the people present including a new BOP convert, Milton Mack, who is a former student at LeMoyne College, that he, Bevel, plans within the next year to form a new nationwide black power organization which would probably supersede SNCC and take in the remnants of the varied, uncoordinated, black power groups now existing throughout the United States. He wants to build this into a united effort to have tentacles in all major communities in the United States.



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Source two pointed out that Bevel while an ordained Baptist minister was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk at LeMoyné shocking some of the women who were present, it being noted that the Physical Education Instructor left the meeting after some of these vulgarities were spoken by Bevel.

Later on March 21, 1968, source two pointed out that it definitely appeared that the Jenkins-Ferguson faction is not a part of the Cabbage-Smith BOP group and that Jenkins-Ferguson and their followers appeared to be led by Reverend Harold A. Middlebrook who is a close follower of James Bevel and who in turn seems to have a considerable influence over the BOP faction.

Source two recalled that in his speech Bevel claimed that the white man will purposely not allow the black man to have enough of the economic goods of this country, that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, to control raw materials, and to utilize his talents. Bevel said that the black man is not presently capable of doing this and pointed out that as an illustration, "You could put all of the Negroes in the United States on a large island and have all of the necessary raw materials planted not more than two feet deep and yet they could not survive because they would not have the know-how and ability to utilize the raw materials by turning the raw materials into utilitarian products necessary for their survival."

He pointed out that this was one problem the black man had to overcome before he could control the United States.

On the morning of March 22, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that due to the accumulation during the night of well over 12 inches of snow, the scheduled march to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in support of the sanitation workers scheduled for the morning of March 22, 1968, had been cancelled.

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On March 21, 1968, sources six and nine advised that James Bevel, staff member of SCLC, had been at Owen College, wanting to talk with students to solicit their participation in the mass march to be held in support of the sanitation strikers on March 21, 1968, and that it was understood that the President of the school, Mr. Charles L. Dinkins, refused to discuss this on March 22, indicating that any student who wanted to participate would have to cut classes in order to do so.

Sources six and nine both pointed out that John Burrell Smith, head of the Afro-American Brotherhood faction of BOP at Owen College, got into the chapel on March 20, 1968, asking for permission to lead a mass prayer for H. Rap Brown, national Chairman of the SCLC, then in prison. These sources pointed out that much to their surprise nearly the entire student body, almost in unison, laughed at John Smith's proposal, and that they considered this to be a healthy attitude in that the students at Owen have very little confidence in John B. Smith due to his bellicose and obstreperous attitude.

Also on March 21, 1968, source six stated that James Bevel formerly attended a seminary in Nashville, Tennessee, and later became a Baptist minister and was stationed at Selma, Alabama, where he became a follower and convert of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Source six advised that Harold A. Middlebrook who had accompanied Bevel to the Owen College campus is in the opinion of source six a mixed-up young man who has a fiery and feisty manner who wants attention and has a supreme ego, but basically is a decent sort of individual, despite some of his bellicose comments. Source six does not believe that Middlebrook is the type individual who would, when the chips are down, advocate or condone acts of violence. Middlebrook, source said, is about 26 years of age, formerly attended Morehouse College, Atlanta, and while in attendance there became active in the civil rights movement and worked for some time with the SCLC staff in the Atlanta, Georgia, and Alabama area prior to coming back to Memphis, Tennessee.



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Middlebrook also once worked for SCLC in Selma, Alabama, later came back to Memphis to get a job with the Post Office, and later became an assistant pastor at Middle Baptist Church, the pastor of which is Benjamin L. Hooks; also a Judge of Shelby County Criminal Court, Division IV. Source stated that Hooks and Middlebrook had a falling out sometime back after Middlebrook attempted to create a power struggle within the church, hoping thereby to wrest the leadership of the church from Hooks.

On March 26, 1968, source two advised that the Negro ministers in Memphis connected with the Memphis Ministerial Alliance had formed a group called the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), which had the assistance of some NAACP members and other Negro political leaders in Memphis but was primarily operated by Negro ministers. Source stated that this group had scheduled a mass march to be headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis during the latter part of the week, probably March 29, 1968, and that Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Vice President at large, of the SCLC, was scheduled to speak in Memphis to a large rally on March 27, 1968, at which time he was scheduled to urge a massive work stoppage on the part of Memphis Negroes and a boycott of the city schools by Negro students in order that thousands of Negroes can participate in a mass march to commence at 10 a.m., Thursday, March 28, 1968, and to be led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., scheduled to arrive in Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968.

On March 28, 1968, source two recalled that Martin Luther King, Jr., had originally spoken in Memphis at a mass rally on the night of March 18, 1968, at which time he called for a massive work stoppage in Memphis and called for all school children to stay away from school to participate in his originally scheduled March 22, 1968, march which was cancelled at the last minute due to a heavy snowfall. Source two pointed out that during the few days preceding March 28, 1968, a concerted effort had been made on the part of strike support leaders, including COME leaders, James Bevel, and various BOP leaders, to induce people to stay away from work and to induce school children to stay away from school and participate in the march.



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Source two and Lieutenant E. W. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, both advised early on March 28, 1968, that preceding the March 28, 1968, downtown march that high school age students from several Negro high schools in a rather boisterous manner had left school to come downtown to participate in the mass march scheduled originally to begin at about 10 a.m., and that at Hamilton High School, a predominantly Negro school, some 200 to 300 youngsters took to the streets, began throwing rocks, which resulted in police being called. They threw rocks and bricks at the police injuring several police and as a result the police had to use considerable force to quell this disturbance.

Source two and Lieutenant Arkin pointed out that the start of the march was delayed until approximately 11 a.m. due to the late arrival in Memphis from Atlanta of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was to head the march.

Also on March 28, 1968, source two and source fifteen, both of whom were in the immediate vicinity of Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando Street, where the march originated, immediately prior to the march pointed out that approximately 5,000 to 6,000 people, many of them high school age youngsters, congregated near the Temple and that at least half of them appeared to be school-age youngsters. Among the marchers were individuals described by sources two and fifteen as being "common criminal types," and in particular source two recognized several as being ones who had been in and out of penal institutions and reform schools for various law infractions in the past.

Source two pointed out that the COME group had organized the march and had made a bad mistake by giving out several hundred pre-constructed pasteboard placards which had been stapled onto long pine poles or sticks, some of which appeared to be close to four feet in length. It appeared prior to the start of the march, according to sources two and fifteen, that some of these youngsters were planning to use these placards as sticks and clubs because they were indiscriminately ripping the cardboard away leaving nothing but sticks in their hands and were waving



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them in a threatening manner and that no one in charge of the march was apparently able to or made efforts to cause them to cease and desist. Sources two and fifteen stated that several of the parade marshals and ministers made efforts to caution the people in the crowd against violence and that some of the youths would utter obscenities at those who were cautioning them.

This information was corroborated on March 28, 1968, by source eighteen.

Sources two, fifteen and eighteen observed several black power individuals in the group prior to the march and for example source eighteen recognized John Henry Ferguson who had already been arrested at least three times in connection with incidents growing out of the sanitation strike and also recognized John Burrell Smith. Source eighteen heard Ferguson make fun of the marchers saying that he and his group had more important things to do inferring, but not specifically saying, that they were going to engage in violence.

[REDACTED] commented that the BOP people did not organize specific violence as such; however, some of these people including John Burrell Smith did make inflammatory statements prior to the march stating that the preachers did not know what they were doing. Source two recalled that as early as March 5, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage, before approximately 1500 people at a strike support rally in Clayborn Temple, passed out the leaflet described hereinbefore containing the inflammatory letter from H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the SNCC, and also containing the professional-type drawing showing in detail how one could make a Molotov cocktail.

Source two pointed out that immediately prior to the March 28, 1968, John Smith and some of his associates were indiscriminately giving out the pine poles to various teen-age youngsters in the area and John Smith was heard by source two

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to tell some of these youngsters, identities not known, not to be afraid to use these sticks. He did not elaborate as to what he meant.

On March 28, 1968, source fifteen advised that prior to the start of the march, the parade marshals agreed to put the sanitation workers in front of the march with the remainder of the people to follow behind. While several of the marshals cautioned the youngsters to be peaceful, source fifteen observed two of the BOP people namely James Elmore Phillips of LeMoyné College and Samuel Carter, also a student at LeMoyné College, and other unknown associates, believed by source fifteen to be with the BOP group, making remarks sometime between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. near Clayborn Temple that they were going to "tear this s.o.b. town up today." Phillips also made some general statements about some high school students being "chicken" and staying in school, rather than marching; and he stated that the white people who were participating in the march were fools for marching because if any trouble started, the Negro marchers would turn on them first.

Corroboration of the above information was received on April 23, 1968, from source nineteen who stated that while he is close to the leadership of the COME group, he regrets that COME saw fit to bring the BOP group headed by Charles L. Cabbage and John Burrell Smith into the strike support strategy sessions during February and March, 1968. Source stated that John B. Smith and Cabbage are extremely bitter young men; have made numerous violence-prone statements, exact details of which he could not recall; that they have cursed God and Christianity; and that they have continually made fun of God and the preachers of the Christian gospel. Source nineteen stated that he had personal knowledge and had overheard John B. Smith prior to the start of the march on March 28, 1968, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., take over the microphone of the public address system in Clayborn Temple during which time it was filled with youths scheduled to march and make inflammatory statements, inflaming the youths by indicating that they



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should not listen to the preachers, that there was nothing to be gained by following God and that they would have to possibly use force to gain their rights.

Source nineteen stated he could not recall the specific statements made by John E. Smith but recalled that at the time he was most concerned feeling that some of the immature youths might see true Smith's remarks to mean that they should engage in violence which some of them later did by breaking windows and store fronts on Beale Street and South Main Street and engaging in general looting throughout March 28, 1968.

Source fifteen advised that after the march finally started around 11 o'clock a.m., March 28, 1968, that he observed two unidentified Negroes breaking windows in Paul's Clothing Store at Third and Beale and that he could hear a series of windows being broken west on Beale Street. He stated that these youths were using the pine clubs distributed to them by the COME leaders prior to the start of the march as weapons. He stated almost instantaneously thereafter a widespread series of looting took place in stores in the Beale Street area and that the looters began running in all directions. Some of the parade marshals were attempting to urge them to reverse their direction and return to Clayborn Temple. He stated that various Memphis police officers were also urging them to cease and desist. Source stated that by this time, approximately 11:15 a.m., mass confusion reigned and people were running in all directions. Source pointed out that in all fairness there did not appear to be any organization to the looting, that it appeared to be a spontaneous sort of thing that followed after the first window was broken, as this seemed to electrify and excite the crowd.

Source fifteen then recalled that prior to the start of the march some of the associates of Phillips, and possibly Phillips, were making remarks near Clayborn Temple



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to the effect that some of the marchers should consider breaking windows and looting. Source fifteen did not know if any of the marchers specifically heeded these remarks.

Source eighteen recalled that after some of the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple after the march was broken up following the start of the looting that some of the BOP group virtually took over Clayborn Temple and Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., one of the CORE leaders, was unable to control them. One of these individuals, name not known, made the statement over the public address system, "We're going to take over this town."

Source eighteen who remained near Clayborn Temple during the march recalled seeing various teen-age Negroes, names not known, with sticks and also observed some of them literally tearing apart some old iron beds which were located near the Temple and making iron shivs from parts thereof. Source stated these teen-age Negroes were making such statements as "We're going to get some white bastards today," whereupon they ran down and caught up with the march and joined it. Source eighteen pointed out that the march was poorly organized, that the march leaders never had any real control over the marchers even before they started, and that when that many teen-age youngsters were placed in a confined area with no real control, it was quite likely that trouble could develop.

On March 28, 1968, Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, advised that a reliable source of the Memphis Police Department had between 8 and 9 a.m., March 28, 1968, reported observing John Burrell Smith and some of his black power associates near Clayborn Temple with sticks and brickbats.

Source fifteen added that after some of the marchers returned to Clayborn Temple after the start of the looting that Charles L. Cabbage told them that they should not run from the police and that they should "not start a job that they did not plan to finish." He did not elaborate, although source fifteen construed this as a call for trouble.



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Later on March 28, 1968, sources two and fifteen advised that there was no evidence that any of the BOP group actually participated in any of the looting or vandalism. Source two advised that he saw several of this group immediately after the initial rioting and looting started and that they definitely had not engaged in any in his presence.

Source two pointed out that these individuals nevertheless had done much by their previous statements over the past several weeks, as outlined hereinbefore, to incite some of the more ignorant and greedy youths who participated in the march. Source two pointed out that he is particularly close to the Negro ghetto area and in his opinion and in his conversations with numerous Negroes who observed portions of the disturbance and who are familiar with many of the activities in the area of Beale Street, that the looting was not necessarily organized as such. Source stated that in his opinion approximately only 1 per cent of the marchers engaged in actual looting and violence and that many of these people were originally criminally inclined, namely people who had been in previous trouble with the law and who allowed their material greed to prompt them to take material which did not belong to them when they felt they could do so due to the anonymity of being in a crowd.

[REDACTED] pointed out that from his [REDACTED] that he would say that probably the first breaking of the first window was enough to set off the crowd which had been emotionally worked up by its two-hour wait for the start of the march and by the general festive air surrounding the march which was on a balmy spring day and was participated in by several hundred youths who obviously had cut school in order to participate.

Later on the night of March 28, 1968, source two advised that the biggest definite contributing factor to the violence in his opinion was the fact that the COME group had for the first time in any of their numerous daily

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marches furnished wooden sticks to the marchers, as previously they had merely used cardboard placards which could not become lethal weapons. He pointed out that giving out several hundred hard pine sticks was tantamount to giving out an equal number of baseball bats which could easily be used to break windows and which could be used as weapons by the participants in the march.

Source two also recalled that he had observed John B. Smith, James Elmore Phillips, and Samuel Carter, all of the BOP, giving out sticks to teen-age youngsters prior to the start of the march and recalled hearing John B. Smith tell some of the youngsters, "Don't be afraid to use these sticks if you have to." Smith did not elaborate.

Also source two pointed out that prior to the start of the march another BOP leader, Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, was drinking a cough medicine known as Robetussen which consists of about 18 per cent alcohol and she has told source two that she and other BOP members drink it because they get "high" on it and it tends to intoxicate them. They refer to this as "going for a boat ride."

Source two pointed out that another of the BOP leaders, Clifford Louis Taylor, was personally observed by source during the greater part of March 28, 1968, and that he definitely had not engaged in any of the riotous activity and had not encouraged others to do so.

Source two pointed out that on the evening of March 28, 1968, he knew that Edwina Harrell, Charles Harrington, and John B. Smith were together during the greater part of the evening at John B. Smith's apartment at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis.



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The Memphis "Commercial Appeal" newspaper, issue of Saturday morning, March 30, 1968, reported in detail concerning the activities of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 29, 1968, the day following the march which resulted in rioting and stated in a story on page one by Reporter Thomas BeVier that King came to Memphis to star in what was billed as a "dress rehearsal" for his scheduled April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Crusade" on Washington, D. C., and that "by his own non-violent standards, the rehearsal was a flop." The story stated that King in a press interview on March 29, 1968, reported that he would be back in Memphis as early as April 3 and not later than April 5, 1968, for another mass march and was quoted as saying, "We're going to have a massive non-violent demonstration in Memphis." The story continued that the question being asked in Memphis and the nation "is whether-- with the increasing militancy of black youth--anyone can say with certainty that a non-violent demonstration will stay that way."

The story continued that King stated in an interview, "I am convinced we can have a non-violent demonstration," but he was reported as adding that it was impossible to "guarantee" that there would not be any violence. The story stated that it was significant that King was more than a half hour late for his 11:30 a.m. press conference on March 29, 1968, because he was at that time meeting with three members of the black power group which the paper referred to as "the Invaders."

BeVier in this story reported that these three young men refused to give their names and stated that they would have their own press conference at a later time.

The story continued that King was staying in a \$29.00-a-day room at the Holiday Inn Rivermont and that King claimed to the newspaper that he did not realize when he came to Memphis that there were those in the Negro community who were "talking about violence." He stated, "We (SCLC) had no part in the planning of the march. Our intelligence was nil." He said that if he had known there

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were persons likely to start violence, he would have had them made into parade marshals, a move which he said had been successful in other marches.

King was reported in the story as being critical of the press for reporting that he left the march in haste after the trouble started on March 28, 1968, and he claimed that he left the march calmly to say, "I will not lead a violent march." He claimed that he was agonized over what had happened.

The story continued that King claimed that the Thursday, March 28, 1968, march was "poorly planned," which the paper said was tantamount to criticism of Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., who King himself had called "the leading nonviolence theoretician in the country."

The paper reported that Reverend Lawson is in charge of the strategy for the Memphis Negro ministers known as COME and was pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church. The paper continued that Lawson did not entirely agree with Dr. King's assessment of his activity. The story stated, for instance, that King had said that the black power advocates with whom he had met earlier had said there had been a lack of communication between them and the ministers and that they felt "rejected." Reverend Lawson was quoted in the story as saying, "There has been communication. I don't accept that," referring to King's statement.

The paper said that it was Reverend Lawson who had originally asked King to come to Memphis and that for about ten years Lawson had served in an advisory capacity with the SCLC. The paper stated that Lawson agreed with King that a nonviolent demonstration was possible and pointed out that this was one of the reasons King had been asked to come to Memphis.



BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

In connection with the abovementioned "Commercial Appeal" story with reference to the "Invaders,"

advised that this group technically was known as Black Organizing Project and claimed a fraternal but not a formal affiliation with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The source pointed out that Cabbage and John Smith have advised some of their followers to wear the word "Invaders" on their jackets and that John Smith personally wears this word on his jacket. Source stated that many teenagers in Memphis have put the word Invaders on the back of their jackets, although they are not necessarily connected with the BOP organization. They do this, according to source two, more or less as a symbol of their self-professed affinity with the black power concept. Source two pointed out that three individuals who met with King were Charles L. Cabbage, Charles Harrington, and a young man who he later identified as Calvin Leroy Taylor, a Memphis State University senior, who works part time as a copy boy at the Memphis "Commercial Appeal" newspaper. This trio had immediately prior to seeing King on March 29, 1968, attempted to see Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Salary Division of the African-Methodist-Episcopal (AME) Church, 274 Hernando, but that Jackson said he was "fed up" with Cabbage and his black power associates. Jackson stated he had originally attempted to have rapport and communication with them and had even offered to get them financial support out of New York City but that after the rucus started on March 28, 1968, Cabbage, John B. Smith and their associates came back to the Clayborn Temple after the ministers had attempted to get the marchers to return and virtually took over the Temple, took over the microphones, and would not cease and desist when some of the ministers asked them to do so.

Source two pointed out that since around March 1, 1968, the BOP group headed by Cabbage and Smith had been in close contact with the Memphis sanitation strike and had been working in cooperation with the COME group and that Reverend James M. Lawson, Jr., and Dr. Jackson, the two prime leaders in the COME group, had allowed them to attend strategy meetings and had met with them on numerous occasions.



BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

In fact, source two pointed out that it is significant that a mass strike support meeting was held in Clayborn Temple on the night of March 5, 1968, when Charles Cabbage gave out the leaflet showing those in the audience how to make Molotov cocktails and that none of the ministers made any effort to stop them from doing so or to warn the audience later that they should disregard the material given out by Cabbage.

On March 30, 1968, source twenty advised that the three so-called Invaders who met with Dr. King on March 29, 1968, were Calvin Leroy Taylor, male Negro, who resides at 347 West Waldori and who is a senior at Memphis State University; Charles Harrington, and Charles L. Cabbage.

Source twenty continued that Calvin Leroy Taylor had recently stated that he is a part of the BOP group and that he had been serving as a liaison representative for BOP with the COME group and the Ministerial Negro leaders in the strike support movement in Memphis. Source stated that Taylor, Cabbage and Harrington had an audience with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and that their purpose in seeing King was to tell King that they wanted more of the "action" in Memphis feeling that they were not getting enough of the action. Source stated that Taylor refused to elaborate as to what he actually meant by this. Source twenty stated that Taylor had confidentially told him that there were only about 12 to 15 hard-core BOP people in Memphis and that the others who claimed to be black power advocates are merely followers or people who tend to imitate them. Source stated that he had learned reliably from several individuals that when the trouble began on March 28, 1968, that the actual BOP people did not personally participate in any of the looting or vandalism, although prior to the meeting several of them, exact identities not known, had been agitating the young high school age Negroes who were preparing to participate in the march by indicating to them that there should be trouble, that Memphis was not worth saving, and that it should burn and other inflammatory utterances to this effect.



BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)

On April 1, 1968, source two advised that Charles L. Cabbage and others of the BOP group spent the entire weekend of March 30-31, 1968, at the Lorraine Motel and had been interviewed on the night of March 30, 1968, by Robert Analavage, described in the masthead of the "Southern Patriot," the official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), October, 1967, issue, as a reporter for the "Southern Patriot."

(A characterization of the SCEF is set forth in the Appendix Section of this communication.)

Analavage also told source two that he is a reporter for the "Guardian," a weekly New York paper, which identifies itself in its masthead as an independent radical news weekly.

Analavage was in Memphis to get a story on the sanitation workers strike and, according to source two, he had a lengthy interview with Charles Cabbage, that Cabbage told Analavage that he did not think King had any business in Memphis in the first place, and that he and his BOP group had not participated in the actual March 28, 1968, march which resulted in violence. Analavage stated after interviewing Cabbage that it appeared that Cabbage and two of his key BOP associates, John Burrell Smith and Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, want to destroy the King image but that it appeared that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group will have to get control to a limited extent of the BOP group if they expect to have further nonviolent marches in Memphis.

Source two advised that later on the night of March 30, 1968, Analavage was introduced to Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr., pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, and one of the leaders of the COME group. Source two stated that Lawson told Analavage that actually the BOP, including John B. Smith and Charles Cabbage, had been a part of the strike support strategy for some time and had been a part of the strategy-making forces leading up to the March 28, 1968, march. Source two stated that Lawson stated that he, Lawson, was now somewhat skeptical of Cabbage and the BOP, feeling that BOP had been infiltrated by some government investigative agency, possibly



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the CIA, and that for this reason the COME group does not fully trust Cabbage and his group. Lawson did not elaborate.

Source two advised that on March 30, 1968, Cabbage admitted that he, Charles Harrington, and Calvin Leroy Taylor of the BOP group held a lengthy discussion with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on Friday morning, March 29, 1968, in order to 'state their position to him.' Cabbage claimed that BOP had no real grievances with King but that they did explain to King that they did not feel his presence was necessary. Cabbage stated that they did complain that they, the BOP, were dissatisfied because the COME group would not bring them completely into the policy-making and planning actions with regard to the racial situation in Memphis, Tennessee.

Source two pointed out that Cabbage in numerous utterances during recent weeks had indicated by his statements that he is a self-acclaimed black power theoretician who is completely dedicated to the cause of black separatism, rather than violence per se, and that he is not, however, against the use of violence and has often stated that violence will be necessary in order to unify the black people in this country. Source two continued that Cabbage has very definitely stated in recent conversations that if he can build up a sufficiently militant black power organization that he hopes to then convince leaders of the community, including antipoverty organizations, possibly the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and some financial foundations, to financially back and fund him and his group, the BOP, to set up an antipoverty group on their own. He stated that he would use the argument that only he and his followers have the ear and confidence of militant black youths in this community and that if they were properly funded that they could "keep the lid on," in other words, prevent violence.

Source two stated that, with all due consideration and taking all factors into consideration, he is convinced that Charles Cabbage is preaching black power for a purpose, namely, that he wants to scare and blackmail the community and thereby perpetrate a form of "verbal blackmail and con these groups into funding his organization." Cabbage has even used



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the figure that he would like his salary to ultimately be \$12,000.00 per year.

Possible corroboration of the above information rests in the fact that on March 30, 1968, source one advised that Charles Ballard, Charles Cabbage and John Burrell Smith spent the weekend of March 30-31, 1968, in the Lorraine Motel, 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis, this being the place where Analavage interviewed Charles Cabbage.

On April 3, 1968, source two stated that a strategy meeting was held on the night of April 2, 1968, and early morning of April 3, 1968, attended by representatives of the SCLC, COME, and BOP. At this strategy meeting it was voted to include BOP into the over-all planning for future strike support activities. Source two stated that some of those present were extremely skeptical about BOP because of the militant statements made by some of its members and felt that the BOP group could not be trusted or controlled. Particularly critical of BOP were Bishop J. O. Patterson, Sr., Church of God in Christ and father of J. O. Patterson, Jr., who is one of the three Negro members of the Memphis City Council, and Bishop Julian B. Smith, Bishop of the First Episcopal District, CME Church, with headquarters at 664 Vance, Memphis. Source two pointed out that there was little doubt that the BOP group, small in number, was attempting to blackmail the leadership in the strike. Source two stated that the BOP group really has nothing to offer but a title and is attempting to gain finances, communications, and office space in order to further their organization by giving the impression that they control potential violence springing from Negro youths in Memphis and that if they are not budgeted and funded that they cannot be responsible for what might happen.

Accordingly, the group at the strategy meeting set up a committee consisting of Reverend Ezekiel Bell, pastor of the Parkway Gardens Presbyterian Church, and Samuel B. Kyles, pastor of the Monumental Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, both male Negroes, along with Reverend Jesse Jackson, staff member of the SCLC who is from Chicago, Illinois, and who has the title of Director of "Operation Breadbasket, North." Jackson was then