

Eldridge Cleaver

FBI File #100-HQ-447251

Section 29

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Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. AD Adm.	_____
Dep. AD Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Serv.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Fin. & Pers.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Intell.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Plan. & Insp.	_____
Rec. Mgt.	_____
S. & T. Serv.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

FBI/DOJ

February 14, 1977

DELIVERED BY HAND OUTSIDE SOURCE

Mr. Clarence M. Kelley
 Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 United States Department of Justice
 Washington, D.C. 20535

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

b6
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Re: Eldridge [redacted] Cleaver v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et al.,
Civil Action No. 76-0795

Dear Director Kelley:

This letter is in further response to your letter dated January 12, 1977, a copy of which I have enclosed. As the matter of your agency's withholding of documents has now been fully joined in judicial proceedings, we do not believe it to be appropriate to fully and specifically address ourselves to that matter outside of those proceedings.

So that the record of our correspondence is clear, we wish to note that in our view the invocation of the exemptions noted in your letter of January 12th is not legally justified. Accordingly, we will seek the release of the documents withheld from the District Court.

Sincerely yours,

Robert B. Cornell

Robert B. Cornell

XEROX
 FEB 24 1977

RBC:mp
 Enclosure
 cc: Bruce E. Titus, Esquire (w/enc.)
 [redacted] (w/enc.)

REC-26

100-447251-1396

23 FEB 14 1977

- 24

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

3648

11- LEGAL COUNSEL
 B.O.A.R.

57 MAR 7 1977

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-9942



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 12, 1977

Robert B. Cornell, Esq.
Wald, Harkrader, and Ross
910 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Dear Mr. Cornell:

This letter is to confirm our understanding of arrangements made by our counsel, Mr. Bruce E. Titus, Deputy Chief, Information and Privacy Unit, Civil Division, Department of Justice, concerning delivery on January 12, 1977, of processed documents from FBI files to you on behalf of your clients Leroy Eldridge Cleaver and [redacted] pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. Mr. Titus has advised us that he will insure delivery to you of the processed documents, consisting of 1,336 pages and that the duplication costs thereof, at ten cents a page, totalling \$133.60, will be paid by you by check or money order made payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Excisions have been made from the above-mentioned documents and other documents have been withheld in their entirety in an effort to protect information exempted from disclosure by the following subsections of Title 5, United States Code, Section 552:

- (b) (1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 11652 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy
- (b) (2) materials related solely to the internal rules and practices of the FBI
- (b) (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would:
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of another person

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-1394

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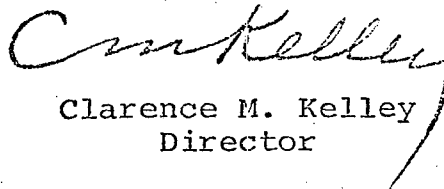


Robert B. Cornell

- (D) reveal the identity of an individual who has furnished information to the FBI under confidential circumstances or reveal information furnished only by such a person and not apparently known to the public or otherwise accessible to the FBI by overt means
- (E) disclose investigative techniques and procedures, thereby impairing their future effectiveness
- (F) endanger the life or physical safety of law enforcement personnel

Although we are fully aware of the pending litigation in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, the law requires us to advise that you have thirty days from receipt of this letter to appeal to the Attorney General from any denial pertaining hereto. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Attorney General (Attention: Freedom of Information Appeals Unit), Washington, D. C. 20530. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal."

Sincerely yours,


Clarence M. Kelley
Director

CLEAR

TELETYPE

PRIORITY

FM DIRECTOR

2/15/77

TO LOS ANGELES (PRIORITY)

SAN FRANCISCO (PRIORITY)

SACRAMENTO (PRIORITY)

1 -
Attention:

CRK

SAN DIEGO (PRIORITY)

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DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

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BT

CLEAR

ELDRIDGE ¹ CLEAVER V.

PS

CLARENCE M. KELLEY, ET AL., (U.S.D.C., D.C.)

CIVIL ACTION NO. 76-795

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) MATTER

BUDED FEBRUARY 18, 1977

RE BUREAU TELEPHONE CALLS FEBRUARY 14 AND 15, 1977.

CONFIRMING REFERENCED TELEPHONE CALLS, U.S. DISTRICT
COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BY ORDER FEBRUARY 10,
1977, DIRECTED THE FBI, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO CONTACT ITS
CALIFORNIA FIELD OFFICES AND "SUCH OTHER FIELD OFFICES AS

Per

NOTE: Above being sent per Court order in captioned matter
Coordination with Legal Counsel Division, Information and
Privacy Acts Litigation Unit.

100-447251-1396X

- Assoc. Dir. _____
- Dep. AD Adm. _____
- Dep. AD Inv. _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm. Serv. _____
- Ext. Affairs _____
- Fin. & Pers. _____
- Gen. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Inspection _____
- Intell. _____
- Laboratory _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Plan. & Eval. _____
- Rec. Mgnt. _____
- Spec. Inv. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director Sec'y _____

FU:car (4)

CRK *108*

REC-37

190-2546-3

FEB 16 1977

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

56

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

PAGE TWO CLEAR

MAY HAVE INFORMATION ENCOMPASSED BY THE COURT'S ORDER OF DECEMBER 22, 1976, AND TO THEREAFTER PROVIDE PLAINTIFFS WITH SUCH INFORMATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECEMBER 22, 1976, ORDER."

THE AFOREMENTIONED DECEMBER 22, 1976, ORDER, AMONG OTHER THINGS, DIRECTED THE FBI TO PROCESS PLAINTIFFS' FOIA NARROWED REQUEST DESCRIBED AS INFORMATION CONTAINED IN OUR FILES RELATING TO "...COVERT LAW ENFORCEMENT AND COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, ACTING ALONE OR IN COLLABORATION WITH CALIFORNIA LOCAL AND STATE POLICE AUTHORITIES, DIRECTED AGAINST ELDRIDGE AND [REDACTED] CLEAVER AND THE CALIFORNIA BRANCHES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) OF WHICH THEY WERE A PART, FOR THE TIME PERIOD AUGUST, 1967, THROUGH APRIL, 1968."

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IN AN EFFORT TO COMPLY WITH THAT PORTION OF THE FEBRUARY 10, 1977, ORDER DESCRIBED ABOVE, RECIPIENTS SHOULD CONDUCT A SEARCH OF THEIR INDICES FOR ALL MAIN FILES IDENTIFIABLE WITH LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED] AND THE BPP AND FOR ALL REFERENCES TO LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND [REDACTED]

PAGE THREE CLEAR

ANY DOCUMENTS CONTAINING INFORMATION FALLING WITHIN THE AFOREMENTIONED AUGUST 1, 1967, THROUGH APRIL 30, 1968, DATE SCOPE OF PLAINTIFFS' NARROWED REQUEST ARE TO BE DUPLICATED AND TWO COPIES EACH THEREOF SHOULD BE FORWARDED BY COVER AIRTEL TO FBIHQ, DESIGNATED TO THE ATTENTION OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY ACTS BRANCH, TO REACH FBIHQ NO LATER THAN FEBRUARY 18, 1977. PROCESSING PURSUANT TO FOIA WILL THEN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY FBIHQ PERSONNEL.

COVER AIRTEL SHOULD DESCRIBE THE RESULTS OF THE INDICES SEARCH BY MAIN FILES AND REFERENCES, INCLUDING CASE CAPTIONS AND FILE NUMBERS, AND THE DOCUMENTS ENCLOSED THEREWITH SHOULD BE GROUPED AND LABELED ACCORDINGLY.

BT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

FBI

Date: 2/16/77

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION
FOI - PA BRANCH

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (62-564) (RUC)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE [redacted] CLEAVER v.
CLARENCE M. KELLEY, ET AL.,
(U.S.D.C., D.C.)
CIVIL ACTION #76-795
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) MATTER
Buded 2/18/77

ReButel, 2/16/77.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2 copies of Sacramento
serials pertaining to LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [redacted]
[redacted] and Black Panther Party (BPP) from the period
8/1/67 to 4/30/68. This does not include serials already
received by the Bureau.

Indices search revealed SC 157-52, BPP main file
captioned BPP, RACIAL MATTERS, included serials for the time
period requested. Other BPP files and references did not
contain communications in the requested time period.

Indices search and file review of SC 157-291, main
file for LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and references to CLEAVER
indicates the first Sacramento communication as May, 1968.

Indices search and file review determined SC 157-2149,
main file for [redacted] and references SC 157-52-20
and 157-52-Sub # 34, p7, 9, shows first communication of
May, 1968.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 1)
 - 1 - Sacramento
- BRLK:smd
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC-26

100-447251-1396X1

EX-103

FEB 18 1977

27-77

E.O. 12958

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

53 MAY 10 1977 Special Agent in Charge

SC 62-564

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Sacramento indices and review of files determined several references for LEROY ELDRIDGE [REDACTED] CLEAVER after date of requested period.

SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1503)

10/3/67

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-864) - RUC

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
IS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Reurlet 8/28/67. DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

The "Oakland-Tribune," daily newspaper published in Oakland, California, for 6/17/67, in an article captioned, "Panthers File for Party Status," it was reported that papers were filed "yesterday" with the Secretary of State to incorporate subject organization as a non-profit political organization. These papers were filed by attorney FRANK A. EVANS, JR. of Los Angeles and listed the founding directors as JOHN FLOYD, FRANK HARDING, and RENE HARDING, all of Los Angeles.

According to the article, "Among the purposes of the Black Panther party, as stated in the proposed articles of incorporation are to 'develop political power for the black community....select and run our own candidates.... establish and develop good relations with the third world, that is, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.'"

Sacramento is requested to check the office of the Secretary of State for verification and additional information on this filing and advise Los Angeles.

- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- ② - Sacramento (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-864)
- (1 - 157-677)

JTQ/jr
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Handwritten: C9A
10/4/67
Signature

157-52-1

SEARCHED <i>M</i>	INDEXED <i>M</i>
SERIALIZED <i>g</i>	FILED <i>g</i>
OCT 10 1967	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	
<i>11/4</i>	

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T-11/14

ENCLOSURE 100-447251-1396x1
Handwritten: 190-2546-1

SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1503)

Nov. 16, 1967

SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-52) RUC

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
IS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Los Angeles letter to San Francisco dated 10/3/67.

On November 7, 1967, [redacted] Office of the
Secretary of State Corporation records, Sacramento,
California, advised that her files fail to reflect any
incorporation records for the Black Panther Party.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-864)(RM)
- 1 - Sacramento

NPL:grh
(4)

g

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157-52-2
SEARCHED *g*

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 11/16/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/27-11/16/67
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD) <i>Black Party 157-52</i>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	TYPED BY erg
EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1) DATE 09-11-2008		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS	

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REFERENCE: San Francisco teletype to Bureau dated 10/28/67.

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Copies of this report have been designated for the Los Angeles and Sacramento Offices for information inasmuch as this report contains ramification of specific interest to those offices.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by SF T-1 if disclosed could possibly result in loss of an informant of continuing value.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED _____ SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 6 - Bureau (105-165706)(RM)
- 2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
- 1 - NISO 12 ND (RM)
- 1 - OSI 19 D (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (INFO)(RM)
- ① - Sacramento (INFO)(RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (100-58841)

157-52-3

SEARCHED <i>lv</i>	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>lp</i>	FILED <i>lp</i>
NOV 20 1967	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-58841
WJW/erg

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED]
HUEY PERCY NEWTON and [REDACTED] are included on
the Security Index.

Results of the prosecutive action taken, fines levied and sentence imposed of those who participated in varying degrees in the invasion of the California Legislative Assembly, Sacramento, California on 5/2/67 have been reported in the individual case files on each of the individuals, and are not being restated in this summary.

Case files have been opened on each of the individuals named in this report as an officer or suspected member of this organization, for the purpose of compiling identifying and background data. The cases on the following individuals will be closely reviewed to ascertain whether active investigations on these should be conducted.

[REDACTED]

BOBBY JAMES HUTTON

[REDACTED]

The Sacramento Office has been requested to check records of the Department of State, Sacramento, California to corroborate the information that their organization has not filed incorporation papers as a non profit political organization.

SF 100-58841
WJW/erg

This report is a summary of information previously furnished in the main by LHM to Bureau and this information was appropriately disseminated throughout the investigative period of this report.

[Redacted]

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-2 is

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

SF T-3 is

[Redacted]

100-58841-2

(By request)

SF T-4 is

[Redacted]

100-58841-2

SF T-5 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-6 is

[Redacted]

100-58841-2

(By request)

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SF 100-58841
WJW/erg

SF T-7 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-8 is

[Redacted]

100-58841-41

(By request)

SF T-9 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-10 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-11 is

[Redacted]

100-58841-9

SF T-12 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-13 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

SF T-14 is

[Redacted]

Characterization of

[Redacted]

(S)

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SF T-15 is

[Redacted]

This report

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LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will submit
characterization of this organization for Bureau approval.

~~SECRET~~

SF 100-58841
WJW/erg

Will advise Bureau by letter of results of check of records of Department of State, Sacramento regarding incorporation status.

Will submit report within six months.

~~SECRET~~

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COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 2 - 115th MI Group (RM) 1 - NISO 12 ND (RM)
1 - OSI 19 D (RM)

Report of:
Date: 11/16/67

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

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Field Office File #: 100-58841

Bureau File #: 100-165706

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)

DECLASSIFIED BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL
ON 09-11-2008

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California in December, 1966. RICHARD MATSUI AOKI held title of Minister of Education. BPPSD designed as political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. Only top leadership appeared to be knowledgeable of or interested in the political philosophy of BPPSD, taken from writings of MAO Tse-tung, ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, MALCOLM X LITTLE and black militant writers. Leadership has advocated use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression and oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam. BPPSD has no apparent connections with other organizations; STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former chairman of SNCC was "drafted" and invested with rank of Field Marshall. NEWTON and have been convicted on charges of "assault with deadly weapon"; both

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

SF 100-58841
WJW/erg:mfm

[redacted] and NEWTON and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols". On May 2, 1967, members of BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly, Sacramento, carrying loaded weapons to protest restrictions on carrying of guns. Membership meetings were held on weekly basis at Headquarters, 5624 Grove Street, Oakland. Membership included 40 to 50 activists. Last issue of publication "The Black Panther -- Black Community News Service" appeared July, 1967; headquarters now closed and no meetings held since August, 1967. [redacted] Newspaper article quotes NEWTON as having stated "Every time you can execute a white racist gestapo cop you are defending yourself." On 11/13/67 Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, indicted NEWTON for murder of Oakland Police Officer at 5:00 a.m. on 10/28/67, Oakland.

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SF 100-58841
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SF 100-58841
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DETAILS.

I. ORIGIN AND SCOPE

The concept of the formation of a militant black political organization designed to combat "police brutality" to unit militant black youth to determine the destiny of black communities and to educate the black people in African history, was originated in December, 1966, by HUEY PERCY NEWTON and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, former students of Oakland City College, now known as Merritt College, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland, California.. In December, 1966, SEALE and NEWTON named their organization "Black Panther Party for Self-Defense" (BPPSD), and assumed their titles; NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and SEALE, Chairman.

SF T-1, 7/11/67

The name of the organization was inspired by the symbol of the Black Panther adopted by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization of the State of Alabama, now better known as the Black Panther Party. There is no link between these organizations, but there may have been an exchange of literature and correspondence on matters of mutual interest.

SF T-1, 7/11/67

In early 1967, the exact date not known, RICHARD MATSUI ADKI of Berkeley, California, also a former Oakland City College student, was drawn into the BPPSD and had the title of Minister of Education bestowed upon him. NEWTON and [redacted] knew [redacted] to be a scholar of the classic writings on revolution by such former black militants as FRANTZ FANON, MARCUS GARVEY, MALCOLM X LITTLE and W.E.B. DuBOIS. The organizers of the BPPSD also selected [redacted] for a position of leadership in the organization because of his experience while serving as [redacted] of the Campus Committee for Lowndes County, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) front organization on the Campus of the University of California, Berkeley, (UCB), which collected contributions for the aforementioned Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

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SF T-2, 5/1/67

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SF 100-58841
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[redacted] resigned from the SWP in the
Spring of 1967.

SF T-2, 5/1/67

In a special meeting at the Greek Theatre, UCB, October 29, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), stated in part "We developed the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, a political Party. Alabama law says that a political party must have an emblem. We chose for the emblem a black panther."

A characterization of the SWP and YSA are found in the appendix pages.

A characterization of MALCOLM X LITTLE is included in the characterization of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) contained in the appendix pages.

The BPPSD is a militant black nationalist youth organization which has headquarters at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, located one block south of the Merritt College Campus, Oakland.

Meetings were held on a weekly basis at 4:00 PM on Saturdays with approximately 8 to 22 young Negroes (males) in attendance.

SF T-3, 3/10/67

The leaders of the BPPSD are BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, [redacted] and HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street, Oakland. NEWTON and [redacted] and some of their associates were observed on the streets of Oakland, California, carrying carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view, as they were engaged in what they called "defense patrols". They have not been known to carry concealed weapons or to possess such weapons as sawed-off shotguns, which are in violation of existing law, and have, therefore, not subjected themselves to arrest.

SF T-3, 3/10/67

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SF 100-58841
WJW/rlk

As of March, 1967, [redacted] was employed
as [redacted]

Oakland, California.

As of the Fall of 1965, [redacted] was [redacted]
[redacted] of the "Soulbook", self-described as the
"Quarterly Journal of Revolutionary Afro-Americans".

SF T-4, 3/1/67

Records of the Clerk of Superior Court, Alameda
County, California, Oakland, California, in Action
Number [redacted] disclosed that on October 10, 1966,
[redacted] was sentenced to one year court
probation, Superior Court of Alameda County,
California, after pleading guilty to a charge of
battery of a Berkeley Police Officer on March 17,
1966.

Records of the Military Records Center, St. Louis,
Missouri, disclosed that [redacted] was given
a bad conduct discharge, February 11, 1959, as
[redacted], Ellsworth Air Force Base, South Dakota.
[redacted] was diagnosed as [redacted]
[redacted].

FBI Identification record Number [redacted] contains
the following data concerning [redacted]
as of November 2, 1967:

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SF 100-58841
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On November 3, 1967, Inspector [redacted] Homicide Detail, Oakland, California, Police Department, advised that [redacted] was then incarcerated in the Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, Graystone Prison, Alameda County, California, at Pleasanton, California, awaiting trial on his May 23, 1967, arrest by the Oakland Police Department on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon.

Records of the Oakland Police Department, #159483, disclose that HUEY PERCY NEWTON, born February 17, 1942, Monroe, Louisiana, was on October 8, 1964, found guilty by jury in Superior Court of Alameda County, California, of an assault with a deadly weapon and on October 29, 1965 was sentenced to three years probation, six months county jail.

The records of the Richmond, California, Police Department, Arrest Number 96945, Offense Number 93310, disclose that at 5:50 AM on June 4, 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON was arrested by the Richmond Police Department at 10th and Lincoln, Richmond, on a charge of violating Section 148 Penal Code (interfering with police). The details of the offense report reads that a group of Negroes gathered around Richmond police officers who were issuing a citation on a traffic violation. One of the Negro on-lookers, named [redacted] in an intoxicated condition, attempted to kick the officers. NEWTON swung at one of the officers and struck this officer on the chest.

Booking record #129994 of Contra Costa County Jail, Martinez, California, disclosed that on October 9, 1967, NEWTON was sentenced by Municipal Court, Richmond, California, to serve 60 days in County Jail following conviction of the June 4, 1967, charge aforementioned. On October 10, 1967, NEWTON was released on bail on court order, pending appeal.

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FBI Identification Record, Number 804 121 E, contains
the following data concerning HUEY PERCY NEWTON:

<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested of Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	3/2/63	wrn't (848 PC) (PT)	dism
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy Newton #20502	3/4/64	Viol Sec 459 Pen Code (burg)	dism
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-2363	3/5/64	Burg 5 cts	dism on chg of 4 cts burg
PD Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #159483	6/11/64	warr 245 PC (ADW)	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey Percy Newton #64-9016	10/8/64	ADW	6 mos CJ 3 yrs prob
SO Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #66/2960	3/18/66	242 PC batt against peace officer	misd crt prob 2 yrs
PD Berkeley Calif	Huey Percy #20502	3/17/66	148 PC (resist arrest) & 243 PC (B-pol ofc)	no compl on 1st chg guilty of 242 PC (batt) continued on prob 10/10/66

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<u>Contributor of Fingerprints</u>	<u>Name and Number</u>	<u>Arrested or Received</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
PDRichmond Calif	Huey Percy Newton #42141	6/4/67	resist arrest	60 days 10/9/67
PD Oakland Calif	Huey P. Newton #159483	5/22/67	(1) 415 PC (dist peace) (2) 417 PC (drawing or exhibit firearm or other deadly weapon) (3) 3-4:01 OMC (profane- obscene language) (4) 2-7:02 OMC (displaying dangerous weapon)	Set for trial Municipal Court #5 Oakland 11/17/67
SO Martinez Calif	Huey Percy Newton #129994	10/9/67	148 PC resist arrest	60 das

HUEY NEWTON was reported to be qualified as an expert in demolition and reportedly had supervised the making or gathering of molotov cocktails and incendiary bombs.

SF T-5, 11/22/66

On March 6, 1967,

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[REDACTED]

SF T-5, 3/8/67

On April 25, 1966, a rally sponsored by the Afro-American Student Union (AASU) was held at UCB. DON JUAN DAVIS President of the AASU urged Negroes to oppose the drafting of black men and stated in party "We are not about to go to Viet Nam and fight against people like ourselves who are fighting for equal opportunities, equal rights and the end of oppression.

SF T-6, 4/25/66

The AASU is an organization recognized by the UCB Administration as a Campus Student Organization.

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In March, 1967, [REDACTED] and NEWTON emphasized that it was the objective of the BPPSD to arm the Negro community to full capacity for the purpose of backing "all plays for the Negro community" and to act as a deterrent to all organizations including the Oakland and San Francisco Police Departments.

SF T-5, 3/8/67

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

The asserted aims and purposes of the BPPSD are set forth in a leaflet captioned "Black Panther Party for Self Defense What We Want - What We Believe". Copies of this leaflet were widely distributed throughout the San Francisco Bay Area during April, 1967.

SF T-7, 5/3/67

A copy of the aforementioned leaflet is set forth below:

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"WHAT WE WANT NOW! :

- "1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF BLACK COMMUNITY.
- "2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
- "3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
- "4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSEING FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
- "5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.
- "6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
- "7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.
- "8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN AND WOMEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.
- "9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL, TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES, AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
- "10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSEING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE.

"WHAT WE BELIEVE :

- "1. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
- "2. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE EVERY MAN EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME.
WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THEN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

"SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESS MEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND GIVE A HIGH STANDARDS OF LIVING.

- "3. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RETRIBUTION FOR SLAVE LABOR AND MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MANY COMMUNITIES. THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 MILLION JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 MILLION BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.
- "4. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSEING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY THEN THE HOUSEING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MADE INTO COOPERATIVE SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AIDE, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSEING FOR ITS PEOPLE.
- "5. WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.
- "6. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOSE NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

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WJW/rlk

- "7. WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.
- "8. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL.
- "9. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14th AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMICAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDENT CAME. WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE BEING TRIED BY ALL WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE 'AVERAGE REASONING MAN' OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.
- "10. WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE ANDEQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DELCARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO THE SEPARATION.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATER WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE
LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED,--
THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE

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FOR THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO
ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING
ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS
POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO
EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.

"PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG
ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT
CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHEWN, THAT
MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE
SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS
TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF
ABUSES AND USURPATIONS, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT,
EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM,
IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF
SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR
FUTURE SECURITY."

III. LOCATION OF HEADQUARTERS

During the period of March to July, 1967, the BPPSD rented ground floor office space at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, for their headquarters and meeting place. The organization was forced to abandon their location because of lack of funds.

SF T-7, 4/1/67 and 7/5/67
and 8/1/67

Ad of October, 1967, the BPPSD had no headquarters location and was no longer conducting membership meetings.

SF T-1, 10/25/67

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From April through October, 1967, the BPPSD used Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, as its mailing address.

SF T-1, 11/7/67

IV. PUBLICATIONS

During the period of April 25, 1967, through July 20, 1967, five issues of "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" (The Black Panther - BCNS") official publication of the BPPSD were published. The publication listed its mailing address as Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California, 94608, but did not list its staff.

SF T-7, 8/1/67

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On July 28, 1967, [redacted] San Francisco, California, advised that he had printed only issues number 4 and 5 of the "Black Panther - BCNS" and that the press run for the latter issue was 5,000. The BPPSD paid in cash.

V. INCORPORATION STATUS

As of October, 1967, the BPPSD was not known to have filed papers with the Department of State, Sacramento, California, to become incorporated as a political organization and there were no indications that this organization intended to file these papers.

SF T-1, 10/25/67 and
11/7/67

VI. OFFICERS

As of early July, 1967, the Executive Committee of the BPPSD consisted of the following:

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON
Minister of Defense and
Treasurer

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE
Chairman and
Branch Captain of North Oakland

RICHARD MATSUI AOKI
Minister of Education and
Branch Captain of Berkeley

GEORDE EDWARD DOWELL
Branch Captain of North Richmond

MARK EVERETT COMFORT
Branch Captain of East Oakland

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Editor of Newspaper and
Branch Captain of San Francisco

SF T-1, 7/11/67

[redacted] California,
was drawn into the BPPSD in April, 1967, when
leadership of the BPPSD chose to use [redacted]

[redacted], as an example of what
they called "police brutality".

SF T-1, 5/1/67

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A characterization of [redacted] is included
in the characterization of the Oakland Direct
Action Committee (ODAC) found in the appendix pages.

On February 27, 1967, [redacted] Parole and
Community Services Division, Region II, 69 11th
Street, San Francisco, California, advised that

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, better known as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, was received in the California Prison System in 1958, following conviction of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with deadly weapon. He had previously been convicted and served time on a narcotics charge. He was placed on parole December 12, 1966, which will be concluded March 20, 1971.

A mimeographed leaflet captioned "Malcolm X's Ideas Still Live" announced that a memorial tribute on the second anniversary of the assassination of MALCOLM X would be held on February 24, 1967, at the Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California, with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as the main speaker.

SF T-5, 2/23/67

In the latter part of July, 1967, both CLEAVER and [redacted] had broken away from the BPPSD reportedly because of differences with NEWTON and [redacted] on the matters of policies and tactics. [redacted] began devoting his time to attempting to reactivate his organization, ODAC.

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SF T-1, 10/25/67

In addition to the foregoing, a few individuals were given "paper titles" for publicity purposes. These individuals had no significant influence in this organization.

SF T-1, 10/25/67

The July 3, 1967, issue of the "Black Panther - BCNS", on page 4, columns 1 and 2, contains a photograph of AUDRY HUDSON and identified this individual as the secretary of the BPPSD and a member of the Administrative Staff of the newspaper. This article states in part "She has got herself together and enlisted in the struggle of the total liberation of her people. She is a welcomed addition to the swelling ranks of the Vanguard Party for the Black Liberation Struggle."

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The May 11, 1967, issue of the Berkeley Daily Gazette, Page 1, Column 4, in an Article captioned "Black Panthers Hold Forth at Campus Rally", identifies BARBARA AUTHOR as UCS Student and Women's Chairman of the BPPSD. She was the speaker at the May 10, 1967, Rally at UCS to support the BPPSD.

[redacted] was in May, 1967, referred to as the [redacted] of the BPPSD. As a matter of fact, [redacted] served only as [redacted] of the BPPSD.

SF T-1, 7/11/67

As of May, 1967, [redacted] was [redacted] of the Campus Branch of the BPPSD at Merritt College, Oakland, California, and [redacted] was [redacted] of this branch.

SF T-4, 10/20/67

VII. MEMBERSHIP DATA AND MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS

As of April, 1967, the total membership of the BPPSD was somewhere between 40 and 100. An estimated 15 members carried guns openly in public. It was the goal of the organization that each member have his own personally owned weapon for public display. It was recommended that hand weapons be .38 caliber or above, and that shotguns be 12 gauge. Carbines were considered to be satisfactory weapons.

SF T-1, 5/1/67

The BPPSD discouraged dual membership and sought not to be identified with the Communist Party, USA the SWP, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the Communist Party, USA - Marxist-Leninist, or any other organizations having "left wing" tendencies. As of July, 1967, there were no known members of these named organizations who were members of the BPPSD. [redacted] [redacted] was the only non-Negro known to be affiliated with the BPPSD.

SF T-1, 10/25/67

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WJW/rlk

Characterizations of the PLP and Communist Party, USA - Marxist-Leninist, are included in the appendix pages.

At public street meetings held from April, 1967, through June, 1967, in Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Francisco Counties, applications for membership were distributed to the audience and were completed by numerous individuals. It was estimated by leadership of the BPPSD that at least 1,000 paper members had been acquired through this procedure. These membership records were maintained in the personal possession of HUEY PERCY NEWTON. The actual activist membership of the BPPSD averaged between 40 to 50 members, and at no time during the period of its existence did this organization maintain more than 100 of these "activists".

SF T-1, 10/25/67

Membership cards issued by the BPPSD were signed HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense and bore the inscription 'The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology'.

SF T-1, 10/25/67

At membership meeting of the BPPSD held on April 8, 1967, at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, HUEY PERCY NEWTON distributed copies of a leaflet captioned 'Pocket Lawyer of Legal First Aid', and discussed the contents of this leaflet at length.

Item #3 of this leaflet, which contains 14 items, states as follows:

Police have a right to search your car or your home only if they have a search warrant, probable cause, or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search - that is, one for evidence of crime generally

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or for evidence of crimes unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto). You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and state clearly and unequivocally state your lack of consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause.

SF T-7, 4/11/67

On April 22, 1967, a short meeting of the BPPSD was held at headquarters, 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California. At this meeting, it was announced that the fatal shooting of DENZIL DOWELL of North Richmond, California, by a Richmond, California, Police officer following the burglary of a store by DOWELL, was being used as a nucleus for the recruiting of Negroes into the BPPSD. It was announced that a meeting for the recruiting of new members into the BPPSD was scheduled to be held on April 29, 1967, at 2:00 PM at [redacted] [redacted] California, the residence of [redacted]

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SF T-7, 5/3/67

On June 3, 1967, a BPPSD membership meeting was held at headquarters, 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California. At this meeting, HUEY NEWTON spoke on the importance of obtaining firearms and the desirability of each member keeping his own weapon in his home. He also spoke of plans to obtain property for new headquarters in the North Richmond area. Eight Negro males and two Negro females were present at this meeting.

SF T-7, 6/6/67

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On July 1, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-7, 7/12/67

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On July 29, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-7, 8/1/67

In view of the fact that the headquarters office located at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, had been closed, the BPPSD on the night of August 21, 1967, met at the Bosns' Locker, 5817 Shattuck, Oakland, California, with approximately 15 persons in attendance. The meeting had been called by HUEY NEWTON because he was alarmed over the information that the Richmond Branch of the BPPSD, formerly regarded by NEWTON to be a strong-hold of the BPPSD, had not held meetings for approximately three weeks. NEWTON indicated that the activities of the BPPSD were at a low level at that time, due mainly to the fact that some of its membership, including [REDACTED] were incarcerated.

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SF T-1, 8/28/67

The BPPSD ceased to be active as an organization in late August, 1967, but HUEY NEWTON carried on in the name of the organization by making speeches at various locations in the San Francisco Bay Area.

SF T-1, 10/25/67 and
11/7/67

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HJW/rlk

Records of the Sacramento, California, Police Department, disclose that at approximately 12:00 Noon on May 2, 1967, a group of 24 Negro males, identifying themselves as members of the EPPSD, made a protest march and appearance at the California State Capital, Sacramento, California. The purpose of their appearance was to protest an assembly bill being introduced on that date by Assemblyman DONALD MULFORD. The bill being introduced by Assemblyman MULFORD prohibits instruction in the use of firearms for the commission of the crime of riot. It further prohibits the carrying of a loaded firearm on ones person in a public street or within a public place within any city. The legislation provides for specified exclusions, such as police officers, members of the armed forces, and certain guards.

Upon arriving at the capital, one group, composed of approximately 12 men, went to the Assembly Chambers on the second floor of the capital building. This group was armed with rifles, shotguns, and hand guns. The group forced its way past two Sergeants-At-Arms and entered the floor of the Assembly Chamber, which is closed to the public and is so posted. The group was removed from the Assembly Chambers by member of the State Police and Sergeants-At-Arms.

Shortly after leaving the capital building, the entire group congregated at a street corner in Sacramento, California, in possession of loaded weapons and 24 Negro men were arrested by the Sacramento Police Department officers. Twelve firearms, consisting of four hand guns, five rifles, and three shotguns were confiscated.

The group was taken to the Sacramento City Jail and each individual was charged with violation of Section 182.1 of the California Penal Code which is conspiracy, the specific charge in this instance being conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor (disturbing the State Assembly while in session), which is a violation of the California Penal Code.

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On May 2, 1967, a Municipal Court Judge set bond on each individual at \$2,200.00. Two individuals made bond. The rest remained in custody and all were arraigned at Municipal Court on the same date.

The following individuals were arrested and were thus identified as being members of the BPPSD:

[redacted]
date of birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Date of Birth August 31, 1935
Residence: 301 Broadway, San Francisco, California
CII #715185
FBI #214830B

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

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[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted]
CII # [redacted]

BOBBY JAMES HUTTON
Date of Birth April 21, 1950
Residence: 898 56th Street, Oakland, California
CII #3233969

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Richmond, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Berkeley, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

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[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

[redacted]
Born [redacted]
Residence: [redacted], Oakland, California
CII # [redacted]

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Records of the Oakland Police Department, as reviewed on October 20, 1967, and November 3, 1967, disclosed that the following individuals, in addition to those above-mentioned, are suspected members of the BPPSD:

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted] (place not given)
Residence: [redacted], Oakland California

[redacted]
Date of Birth [redacted] (place not given)
CII # [redacted]
FBI # [redacted]

[redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Albany, California
Oakland Police Department (OPD) # [redacted]
Operator's License [redacted]
Social Security Number [redacted]

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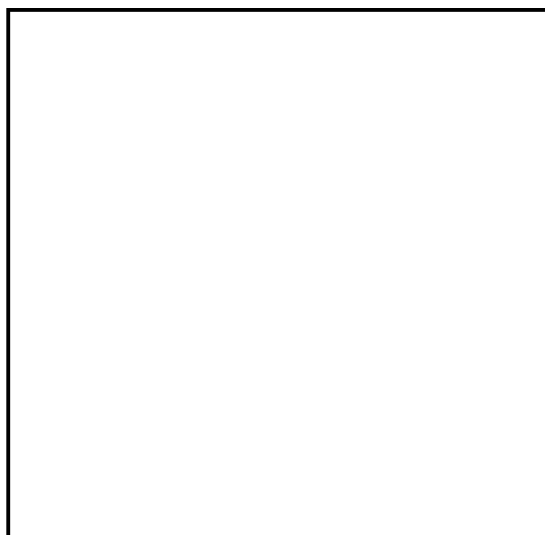
[redacted]
Residence: [redacted] Berkeley, California
CII # [redacted]
Operator's license [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] also known as [redacted] and [redacted] are
suspected members of the BPPSD in the Richmond, California,
area.

SF T-8, 8/3/67

The BPPSD has been accepted as of May 31, 1967, as
an inter-club Council Member at Merritt College, Oakland. Their
faculty advisor is [redacted]. [redacted] is [redacted]
and [redacted] is [redacted]. Meetings are held at 11:00 AM
on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Room B-4. A \$3.00 membership fee
is requested, but persons will be allowed to join for 50¢ if
they do not have the \$3.00.

Persons who signed up as of May 31, 1967, are as
follows:



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VIII. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

In April, 1967 sale of the small red book entitled "Quotations of Chairman MAO Tse-tung" was conducted principally to raise funds for the BPPSD. Copies of this book were purchased from the New China Bookstore in San Francisco. The members do not comprehend the complexities and details of the Maoist philosophy and teachings. Communist or Marxist material and literature was not used at membership meetings for distribution or educational purposes. The BPPSD does not advocate communism or socialism but does oppose the existing social and economic order as it does not live up to their expectations and desires in racial matters.

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The political philosophy of the BPPSD is a synthesis or amalgamation of the ideas and thoughts advanced by such leaders as Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China, MALCOLM X LITTLE, Founder of the OAAU and ROBERT F. WILLIAMS of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), and also well known former militant Negro writers as FRANTZ FANON, MARCUS GARVEY and W. E. B. Du Bois. Only [redacted] HUEY PERCY NEWTON and [redacted] were fully informed on the political philosophies of the organization. With the possible exception of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, San Francisco Branch Captain of BPPSD, none of the other activist members appeared to be knowledgeable of or interested in the political philosophies of the organization as expounded by the top leadership.

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The July 20, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 4, columns 4 and 5 contains an article captioned "Black Panthers and Hunter's Point" by BOBBY SEALE. This article states in part as follows:

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was invited to a local federally funded Poverty Program

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"in Hunter's Point on July 10, 1967 where I addressed some 200 black brothers and sisters ranging in age from 14 to 30 at Fremont Grammar School...

"It was explained to the black youth that we have been miseducated about what politics really is. That politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed, and that our blood is being shed daily simply because black people have certain political desires and needs. Politics is related to the adverse conditions that we are subjected to. I explained to the black brothers and sisters that politics starts with hungry stomachs, dilapidated housing, murder and brutal treatment by racist cops, unfair treatment received in the courts, the way black men are drafted into the military forces and are forced to fight other colored people of the world who, as brother STOKELY CARMICHAEL says, 'have never called us nigger'.

"....and now this racist dog invites, lures, and forces black people to fight in a maiming, murderous, genocidal war against people of the world while the racist police in Hunters Point and in our black communities throughout America are murdering and slaughtering black people.

"....when a black revolutionary starts preparing his people, he must let the people know in what direction they are going.... It was explained to the brothers that they as youth who have been resisting oppression across this country must develop a tactic and unite around something

"practical and that the only practical thing that a people can unite around to seek their liberation is the gun... that the party understands the necessity of uniting around the gun, arming ourselves in self-defense in all areas of racist oppression...

"When black people cause political consequences because we do not receive what we want, then we are dealing in real politics...

"...the only thing that we can do now, brothers and sisters, is to get our guns organized, forget the Ins and shoot it Out. Organize with the tactics to be taught by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense... But our goals...is simply to drive this racist dog, the racist policeman out of our communities...and while we are surviving everyday in our struggle remember when you rip something off, steal from the white man, snatch up whatever you can, you are dealing with real politics...Black people and real political consequences will change this racist decadent system."

IX. SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

A. HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The June 20, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 3, columns 1 through 5 carries an article entitled "In Defense of Self Defense" by HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, which states in part as follows:

"....The black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yolk of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialist war machine are turning,

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"there is no country that can defeat this monster of the west. But black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that is enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both these things at once.

"The slavery of blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world. Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft, we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that once we become dislocated, the functioning of the machinery breaks down."

The July 20, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 3, columns 1 through 5, contains an article captioned "The Correct Handling of a Revolution" by Minister of Defense, HUEY P. NEWTON, which states in part as follows:

"....At this time the black masses are mishandling the resistance in this regard.

"The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand, by the masses...When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers

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"and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example... When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance.

"The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

"...If the Chinese revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses....A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor....it is of prime importance that the vanguard party

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"develop a political organ such as a newspaper produced by the party as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery...

"The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand-grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong".

In early June, 1967 HUEY NEWTON stated that the BPPSD was going to set up a Republic of Free People (ROFP) in North Richmond, California. He said it would be a city within a city and would be more or less of an asylum for people who want to be free within the United States or California. He declared that there would be ROFP sites throughout the United States. That they would protect their own cities and that any police officers in their area would be arrested by the BPPSD. He said they would shoot it out with any police officers that harass our people anywhere near the area of the ROFP. NEWTON stated he was going to Los Angeles, California one weekend in June (1967) to organize another BPPSD.

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The Sunday, August 6, 1967 edition of the New York Times beginning on page 6, contains a feature article captured "The Goal of the Black Panthers" by SOL STERN, Assistant Managing Editor of Ramparts Magazine. This article quotes the leaders of the BPPSD on their philosophies of violence and revolution against the white power structure they charge is suppressing them. This article states in part as follows:

"HUEY NEWTON provided a 15 minute capsule history of the Negro struggle in America, and then begins to relate it to the world revolution and the example of the people of Vietnam..black people can learn lessons from the fight of the Vietnamese, NEWTON continues; Black people in America also must

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"arm themselves for self defense against the same racist army. 'Every time you can execute a white racist gestapo cop you are defending yourself', he concludes."

The aforementioned article on page 4, column 3 continues as follows:

"Following street rally in North Richmond on Saturday afternoon in late June, 1967, NEWTON was asked whether the talk at rallies about killing cops is serious, NEWTON replies it is very serious. Then why, he is asked, stake everything, including the lives of the panthers, on the killing of a couple of cops? 'It won't be just a couple of cops' he says 'when the time comes, it will be part of a whole national coordinated effort.' Is he willing to kill a cop? Yes, he answers, and when the time comes he is willing to die, what does he think is going to happen to him 'I am going to be killed...."

The July 3, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 7, columns 5 and 6 contains the following article:

"GUNS The weapons recommended by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense are as follows:

"GUNS BABY GUNS

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) Army 45 | Army 45 will stop all jive |
| 2) Carbine | |
| 3) 12 guage magnum shotguns with 18" barrell.
Preferably the brand of High Standard | Buckshts will down cops |
| 4) M16 | P38 will open Prison gates |
| 5) 357 Magnum pistols | Carbine will stop a war machine |

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"6) P 38

357 will win us our heaven

And if you don't believe in
lead, you are already dead

"BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P.
NEWTON"

At 3:15 pm on September 4, 1967, HUEY NEWTON as Minister of Defense BPPSD spoke at a session of the Black Action Conference, Ravenswood High School, East Palo Alto, California to a group of about 100. He said that the black man must use whatever means he has for protection; the "honkie" cop must be stopped from going into homes and using brutality on colored people. NEWTON also said "If the situation continues in this country, the Negro will be in revolution with 'honkies'." He said the purpose of the BPPSD is to protect the blacks now in revolution.

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9/5/67

The October 31, 1967 issue of "The Gator", San Francisco State College student newspaper on page 1, columns 1 through 3 contains an article captioned "Panther's Newton Speaks...then" which is set forth as follows:

"by STEVE TOOMAJIAN

"To preserve any culture you have to have strength. You have to have the gun. If you don't, your adversary will bring in his guns and impose his culture on you.

"The police are in the black community only to contain us.

"As long as an act is revolutionary, it cannot be regarded as a crime.

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"No one risks his life if he doesn't need to.

"These are the words of HUEY NEWTON, spoken at SF State a day before he allegedly killed an Oakland policeman Saturday.

"Little is known about the pre-dawn gunfight, other than the most obvious results.

"NEWTON lies wounded and in satisfactory condition in Oakland's Highland Hospital, wounded policeman HERBERT HEANES remains in serious condition in Oakland's Kaiser Hospital, and patrolman JOHN FREY lies dead in an Oakland mortuary.

"It is no secret that Oakland police keep a close watch on NEWTON, the 25-year old minister of defense for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense.

"In NEWTON's Friday Gallery Lounge address before 300 people, the Panther leader expressed the need for black people to defend their own neighborhoods, and to resist by force the authority of police.

"He and nearly 40 other weapon carrying Panthers have sporadically patrolled the Bay Area's black communities, in addition to a foray into the State Legislature.

"The Panthers believe talk has achieved almost nothing for the black man. Physical force, they say, is the only language which can make the white power structure react.

"No one knows for sure whether HUEY NEWTON actually murdered the Oakland policeman Saturday. No one knows if there were any incidents in that particular situation which would have made him want to kill a cop."

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B. BOBBY GEORGE SEALE

The aforementioned New York Times article dated August 6, 1967, on page 13, column 5, states that at a street meeting of the BPPSD at Potrero Hill, San Francisco, on Saturday afternoon at the end of June, 1967, BOBBY SEALE stated in part as follows:

"Black people can't just mass on the streets and riot. They'd just shoot us down. Instead, it is necessary to organize in small groups to 'take care of business'. The 'business' includes among other things 'executing racist cops'."

The September 11, 1967 issue of the Berkeley Daily Gazette on page 1, column 4, contains an article entitled "Black Panthers Hold Forth at Campus Rally" which states in part as follows:

"SEALE said the Panthers 'are not out to kill white people. If I catch a cop in my community brutalizing any of my people, I'm going to kill him. We're gonna wipe such cats out'."

At a BPPSD rally held at Sproul steps, UCB on May 10, 1967, BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPPSD stated in part that the BPPSD was designed to protect black people from racist cops and that if he saw a cop hit one of his black brothers he would kill him.

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X. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. SNCC

A mimeographed leaflet distributed in San Francisco in May, 1967 announced that "The Black Arts Alliance" was on

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Thursday, May 25, 1967 sponsoring a benefit for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense at the Fillmore Auditorium, 1805 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, and that the speakers would be as follows: HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense for BPPSD, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Former Chairman of SNCC and LEROI JONES, black playwright and poet.

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the aforementioned event sponsored by the Black Arts Alliance at 1805 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco on May 25, 1967 which was a fund raising event for the BPPSD. CARMICHAEL spoke on organization as the only means by which the government can be overthrown. He said that in four years several of the major cities in this country will have black majorities in control.

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6/7/67

The July 3, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 7, columns 1 through 5 contains an article captioned "STOKELY Drafted by BPPSD", which states that on June 29, 1967, BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPPSD called a press conference on the steps of the San Francisco Hall of Justice. Standing before the television cameras he unrolled a scroll and began to read. The scroll which he read appears in full on page 6 of this issue and is being set forth verbatim as follows:

"BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

"HEADQUARTERS: OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

"EXECUTIVE MANDATE NO. 2

"So Let This Be Heard...

"Brother Stokely Carmichael:

"Because you have distinguished yourself in the struggle for the total liberation of Black People from oppression in racist white America;

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"Because you have acted courageously and shown great fortitude under the most adverse circumstances;

"Because you have proven yourself as a true revolutionary guided by a great feeling of love for our people;

"Because you have set such a fine example, in the tradition of Brother MALCOLM, of dedicating your entire life to the struggle of Black Liberation, inspiring our youth and providing a model for others to emulate;

"Because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary aggressive war machine, showing that you know who your true friends and enemies are;

"Because of your new endeavor to organize and liberate the Crown Colony of Washington, D.C., you will inevitably be forced to confront, deal with, and conquer the racist Washington Police Department which functions as the protector of the racist dog power structure, occupying the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons that the racist U.S. Armed Forces occupy South Vietnam;

"You are hereby drafted into the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, invested with the rank of Field Marshall, delegated the following authority, power and responsibility:

"To establish revolutionary law, order and justice in the territory lying between the Continental Divide East to the Atlantic Ocean; North of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Canadian Border; South of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico.

"...So Let It Be Done:
June 29, 1967

HWEY P. NEWTON,
Minister of Defense"

B. Communist Party (CP)

On May 7, 1967 ROSCOE PROCTOR attended a meeting of the Northern California District CP (NCD CP) in San Francisco,

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California and at this meeting was elected to serve as Chairman of the Negro Commission of the NCDCC. There was a long discussion of the BPPSD and the controversial activities of that organization. PROCTOR was instructed "to deal with the BPPSD, but not officially" and to report back to the Negro Commission. He further was instructed to inform the BPPSD that with regard to the political charges against them the members of the CP will on an individual basis assist in their defense, but that the CP does not support their program and policies. PROCTOR was further instructed to handle this matter in a manner which would preclude the BPPSD from tying the CP in as supporting the organization in any public announcement. Also PROCTOR was told to inform the BPPSD that any unofficial help would depend on their pledge to desist from creating any further disturbances, referring to the May 2, 1967 "invasion" of the BPPSD of the California State Legislative Assembly, Sacramento, California.

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At the May 21, 1967 meeting of the NCDCC Negro Commission held in Berkeley, California, it was stated that though the BPPSD had received no advice from the CP that organization now wanted the CP to help defend it. According to PROCTOR the BPPSD had no money and had not themselves talked to any lawyers about their defense on conspiracy charges arising out of the arrest of members of that organization on May 2, 1967 at Sacramento, California. PROCTOR said that he had personally talked to an attorney about their defense on the political charges of conspiracy. PROCTOR learned that in the opinion of the attorney the case against the BPPSD members would be a long drawn out matter with over \$20,000 in attorney's fees involved.

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5/29/67

The July 20, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 6, column 3 states in part:

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"ROSCOE PROCTOR, the Commissar of the Black ghetto is the Communist Party's number 1 boy in the Bay Area. When he discovered he would not be able to dictate to the Black Panther Party and to turn the party and the Sacramento case into a tool for the CP he began to do everything he could to foul the party up. ROSCOE lives in a palacial mansion in Berkeley, just as many of the fat cats on the left have grown rich off the suffering of the masses, particularly the black masses."

The Black Panthers refused to promise or guarantee that they would make no public trouble until after their case is settled as had been requested by ROSCOE PROCTOR in his contacts with them. The BPPSD also wanted a defense committee in their name to raise money to defend all aspects of their case and to defend them in any future charges which might arise. The CP position as of June 1967 was that the CP would not in any way be involved with the BPPSD. The NCDCC Negro Commission stood between the CP and the dealings with the BPPSD in an effort to afford help on the political charges. The proposition from the Negro Commission was not accepted. Therefore, no money was to be raised for the BPPSD by the CP.

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C. Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The July 20, 1967 issue of the BPPCNS on page 6, column 3, contains an article captioned "White 'Mother Country' Radicals", which states as follows:

"PETE CAMEJO and BOB HIMMEL, the two white men who are in principal control of the Socialist Workers Party in the Bay Area, also tried to threaten the Panthers. They are the first ones to show up at any mass function in the black

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"community. They will place themselves in a conspicuous position, spread out their tables covered with black literature and turn on their brotherly smiles. The truth is they are nothing but pretty bourgeois profiteers. What they want is to drain off money from the black community to help finance their tiddley winks politics in the white community. But from the point of view of the black community, these groups are performing the same function that the landlords and small store owners perform in the black community...They are bloodsuckers".

[redacted] is [redacted] of the San Francisco Branch of the SWP and [redacted]
[redacted] is [redacted] of the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

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D. Black Panther Party of Northern California,
San Francisco (BPPNC)

In April, 1967 members of the BPPSD met with members of the BPPNC, San Francisco to discuss the possible merger of the two organizations. In May, 1967 the BPPNC sent a letter to the BPPSD criticizing that organization for their invasion of the California State Legislative Assembly, Sacramento, on May 2, 1967 and referring to this incident as "adventurism". The BPPSD took offense at this letter and approximately 25 to 30 members of the BPPSD went to San Francisco and attacked members of the BPPNC who were meeting at the "Black House", 1711 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California. Two members of the BPPNC were quite seriously injured on this occasion and there were no additional discussions of merger between these two organizations.

The BPPNC is a militant black nationalist organization which has held meetings at 1211 Scott Street, San Francisco, California and has referred to itself as a cultural organizational rather than a political organization and has designed its program to appeal to the intellectual group of black militants.

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E. Black Panther Party of California, Inc. (BPPC)(Los Angeles)

In the Spring of 1967 [redacted] of the Black Panther Party of California, Inc., also known as Black Panther Party of Los Angeles, visited leaders of the BPPSD in Oakland, California and discussed with them a proposed merger of the BPPC and the BPPSD into a state-wide political organization. This proposal was made by [redacted]. Later HUEY PERCY NEWTON and [redacted] of the BPPSD went to Los Angeles and ascertained that [redacted] had only eight members in the BPPC rather than the 100 membership he claimed. Contact between these two organizations was thereafter terminated.

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The records of the Secretary of State, State of California, Sacramento; California disclose that on or about June 14, 1967 the BPPC filed Articles of Incorporation with the State of California as a non profit corporation. The purpose for which this organization was formed is stated in part as follows:

"B. Develop a political power for the black community held together and reenforced by cultural identity which is enhanced by political successes...

"E. Make political alliances and/or coalitions with groups which tactically and/or strategically can benefit the community in terms of representation and/or power...The principal office for the transaction of the business of this corporation is to be located in the County of Los Angeles, State of California."

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XI. GENERAL ACTIVITIES AND INCIDENTS

A review of some of the Field Contact Reports of the Oakland, California, Police Department disclosing information concerning the activities of leaders and members of the BPPSD during the early stages of the existence of this organization, as set forth as follows:

On December 4, 1966, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, operator's license K 124266: [redacted] and [redacted] were questioned by an officer of the Oakland Police Department at 1912 16th Avenue Oakland, California. NEWTON was driving a 1958 Volkswagen, bearing California license [redacted], registered to [redacted]. At this time NEWTON was carrying a loaded weapon with clip and asserted that he was carrying this weapon. Because of the white beast. NEWTON claimed police harrassment when his identification was requested.

On January 12, 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 881 47th Street; and [redacted] Oakland, California, were observed departing from 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, the headquarters of the BPPSD, carrying a carbine rifle and a .38 caliber pistol. When questioned by an officer of the Oakland Police Department, they identified themselves as members of the BPPSD. No arrest was made because the weapons were carried in plain view.

On March 4, 1967, [redacted] HUEY PERCY NEWTON, and [redacted] Albany, California, were questioned by an officer of the Oakland Police Department, following a minor traffic accident. At this time [redacted] was wearing an automatic pistol slung over his shoulder in a black holster. The Oakland Police Officer indicated at this time NEWTON was very much agitated and attempted to cause trouble.

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The February 25, 1967, issue of the "Berkeley Barb", a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California on page one, column one, carried an article captioned "Armed Panthers Here - Black Power Joins Left", which stated in part that approximately 300 Berkeley High School students attended a rally Tuesday noon (February 21, 1967) and that the rally had been held in spite of police threats to ban the meeting. This article stated further that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Rampart's Staff Writer and Chairman of the Bay Area Afro-American Unity Steering Committee, called for the building of MALCOLM X organizations all over the Black American Ghettos and territory. CLEAVER also reportedly stated "if MALCOLM X can die, we can die. We are proud to be black and we don't hide behind our women. One day it will be Molotov Cocktails; next, hand grenades and bullets. If we can't have our freedom then white America will die".

The aforementioned article continued in part as follows:

As if to underscore this point, the next speaker wore a pistol in holster on his belt. He was HUEY NEWTON of the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self Defense. 'You have allowed yourself to become black people with a white mind' he said. 'Black is right and you can turn this around with this concept'. NEWTON pointed out, patting his pistol, 'we have this, but you can't fight with just guns. The next step is to go out into the black community and organize for your needs. If we don't get them, then we can dissolve this union of America'.

On April 12, 1967, Inspector [redacted] Richmond, California, Police Department advised that representatives of the BPPSD had recently attended a meeting of the Negro activists of the Richmond, California Negro community, and that at this meeting, all agreed that a confrontation with the white population on any issue must be obtained to stimulate enthusiasm on Negro rights matters.

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On April 18, 1967, Inspector [redacted] advised that on April 17, 1967, [redacted] Council of Community Service, Office of Economic Opportunity, 336 6th Street,

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Richmond, requested that Contra Costa County District Attorney JOHN NEJEDLEY meet with him on that date to discuss possible difficulty in connection with racial matters.

Inspector [] made the observation that recently a Negro by the name of DENZIL DOWELL had been shot and killed by a Contra Costa County Deputy Sheriff, while in the act of burglarizing a residence. A coroner's inquest on April 13, 1967, ruled that the deputy's action was justifiable homicide.

According to Inspector [], District Attorney NEJEDLEY met with [] and unannounced there appeared seven representatives of the BPPSD, all armed with firearms, shotguns, rifles, and bandoliers of ammunition. There were no difficulties and NEJEDLEY felt that the purpose of the visit was to flaunt the fact that there was no legal ordinance restricting the carrying of firearms when carried in open view.

On April 19, 1967, Inspector [] advised that on April 18, 1967, representatives of the BPPSD participated in a protest demonstration by Negroes of the Richmond community regarding the spanking of a Negro junior high school student at the Helms Junior High School, Richmond, by a white teacher. One of the leaders, believed to be [], was wearing a pistol in a shoulder holster on this occasion.

On April 21, 1967, Sergeant [], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that early on the night of April 18, 1967, five Negroes, all in their early 20's and all dressed in three quarter length jackets of black leather, purchased a Hi Standard 129 pump riot shotgun, model K 1200L06, from a store in Berkeley, California. The person who took possession of the gun was HUEY PERCY NEWTON, 811 47th Street, Oakland.

Sergeant [] further advised that the records of the Oakland Police Department, Crime Report #18886, disclosed that approximately 9:40 PM, on the same night, April 18, 1967, an officer of the Oakland Police Department, was seated in a

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marked police car at 58th and Dover Street, Oakland, and noticed a 1954, four door white over green Chevrolet sedan, California license LTD 687, as it passed slowly by him. The officer observed two occupants in the front seat and saw that the passenger was holding a shotgun in an upright position. The officer put on his red light and siren, stopped this car, and requested the driver to get out. The driver refused and asked "Am I under arrest?" After the officer responded, "No, not at the moment.", the driver again refused to get out of the car as instructed. When the officer opened the car door, the driver then grabbed the shotgun from the passenger and got out of the car. When the officer asked to be handed the shotgun, the driver refused, stating, "This is my property and I have a right to carry it." The driver then walked over to the south curb and held the gun at port arms and began shouting in a loud voice, "Here is a white bigot, we have the right to bear arms, gather around my people." During this time, the passenger was unloading a .45 caliber automatic, which he had holstered to his right side outside of his clothing.

The aforementioned report further disclosed that after other units of the Oakland Police Department arrived, including a photography-technician, the driver produced identifying data which revealed him to be HUEY NEWTON and the passenger produced identification which disclosed him to be [REDACTED]. An unarmed passenger in the rear seat of the car identified himself as BOBBY HUTTON, age 16, 898 56th Street, Oakland. At the time of this incident, adult classes at nearby Merritt College were letting out and NEWTON shouted to the homeward bound students "We are out here to protect you from the baby killers".

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After talking briefly about how a young Negro had been mortally wounded by a Deputy Sheriff in North Richmond, California, NEWTON invited those assembled to attend the next meeting of the BPPSD on the following Saturday night. He said that he

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would teach them how to use guns so they could kill the fascist police. NEWTON kept asking for someone in the crowd to get ahold of the newspapers and television stations.

The April 30, 1967, issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle on Page 4, Columns 1 through 3, carried an article entitled "The Gun Wearing 'Black Panthers'", with a photograph of BOBBY GEORGE SEALE wearing a holstered pistol outside of his leather jacket and HUEY NEWTON carrying a shotgun at port arms position and wearing a bandolier of shotgun shells. Beneath the photograph appears the statement "They make no bones about being anti-white or about being revolutionary". This article states in part as follows:

"A dozen armed Black Panthers appeared in Martinez a week ago Thursday to protect Contra Costa County Sheriff Walter Young about what they call the "murder" of a young Negro burglar suspect in North Richmond. The confrontation ended with no decision -- and with no guns being fired.

"Yesterday, they held a quiet outdoor meeting in North Richmond to discuss the same shooting.

"Some 150 Negroes listened as leaders of the group stood atop autos to make speeches and armed guards kept away all whites. The speakers reportedly advised the crowd what to do regarding alleged police brutality.

"While Contra Costa County Deputies kept an eye on the gathering from a helicopter, no action was taken on the ground, since a Sheriff's spokesman said 'the Black Panthers broke no laws and displayed their weapons openly.'

The May 2, 1967, invasion of the California State Legislative Assembly by a group of individuals stating themselves to be members of the BPPSD has been set forth in the section of Membership and Meetings, and will not be restated here.

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Records of the Oakland Police Department contain the following information:

ON May 22, 1967, three members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, HUEY P. NEWTON, [redacted] and [redacted] were arrested by the Oakland, California, Police Department. Oakland police officers were investigating a complaint alleging that juveniles were observed with a sawed-off shotgun in North Oakland. Investigating officers located the juveniles reported, who ran into a house upon sighting the police officers. Investigating officers entered and searched the house in order to locate the juveniles and the reported shotgun. While the officers were still investigating the complaint, NEWTON, [redacted] and [redacted] arrived and accosted the officers.

NEWTON had a dagger with a 9 and 1/2 inch blade in his hands which he shook in the face of one of the officers and asserted that the officer's throat was going to be slit. [redacted] was carrying a .45 caliber semi-automatic pistol. HUEY NEWTON was charged with disturbing the peace, displaying a deadly weapon in a threatening manner, possession of a knife with a blade in excess of 3 and 1/2 inches, and use of profanity. [redacted] was charged with disturbing the peace and using profanity. [redacted] was charged with violation of the Oakland Municipal Code - Carrying a Deadly Weapon.

[redacted] and NEWTON were all released on bail on the afternoon of May 22, 1967. The dagger and .45 caliber pistol were seized as evidence. The three members of the BPPSD will be arraigned in Oakland Municipal Court on the morning of May 23, 1967.

On the afternoon of May 22, 1967, members of the BPPSD congregated at the public entrance to the Oakland City Jail on Broadway between Sixth and Seventh Streets. Two members of this group carried firearms consisting of one shotgun and one semi-automatic pistol of small caliber and foreign manufacture. These weapons were taken from the Black Panthers on orders of Deputy Chief of Police BROWN. The weapons were emptied of ammunition and returned to the Black Panther members

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On the morning of May 23, 1967, in the Oakland, California Municipal Court of Judge MARTIN PULICH, HUEY P. NEWTON, [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] appeared for arraignment. These individuals were accompanied by other members of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense who were bearing firearms. Judge PULICH ordered the entire group to leave the courtroom.

After the Black Panther group had departed from the courtroom, Oakland police ascertained that two members of the group were carrying shotguns with barrels of illegal length. [REDACTED] and BOBBY HUTTON were arrested for possession of illegal firearms. Bail was set at \$3,300 for [REDACTED] HUTTON is a juvenile.

At 3:30 AM, May 24, 1967, Officers of the Oakland Police Department arrested [REDACTED] at his residence, [REDACTED] was arrested on authority of a warrant issued by Judge MARTIN PULICH, Oakland Municipal Court. The warrant charges violation of Penal Code, Section 4574, in that he carried a loaded firearm in or about the Oakland City Jail on May 22, 1967. Bail for [REDACTED] has been set at \$3,300.00. He will appear for arraignment in Oakland Municipal Court on May 25, 1967.

On July 6, 1967, Sergeant [REDACTED], Intelligence Unit, Oakland, California Police Department, advised that commencing at 12:30 PM on July 5, 1967, a rally sponsored by the BPPSD was held on the library steps of Merritt College, 5714 Grove Street, Oakland, California, to demand a "black curriculum" at Merritt College and to urge the hiring of additional Negro instructors at that college. Two of the speakers were: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPPSD, and SIDNEY WALTON, Negro counselor at Merritt College, who is the faculty sponsor of the BPPSD on campus and is a member of the BPPSD. HUEY NEWTON made statements to the effect that the Black People of the U.S.A. are enslaved by "White Racism" and WALTON related that Negroes make up 26% of the enrollment at Merritt College and that the administration at that college has not hired Negro instructors in proportion to the Negro enrollment.

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On July 6, 1967, Sergeant [] advised that investigation by the Oakland Police Department disclosed that [] [] age 26, Caucasian student at Merritt College, had heckled the speakers, described himself as a Nazi; referred to the speakers as "niggers" and endeavored to take the microphone away from WALTON. When [] of the BPPSD, tapped him on the shoulder [] took a swing at him and a fracas resulted in which blows were exchanged and [] fled into the college building. While this incident was in progress, a second Caucasian Merritt College student, [] [] age 27, intervened on behalf of [] by holding the arms of one of the members of the BPPSD who was about to strike [] [] also was struck several times by members of the BPPSD and was chased from the scene of the rally.

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XII. FINANCES

On April 1, 1967, a meeting of the BPPSD was held at headquarters, 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, with approximately 16 Negro males in attendance. At this meeting, it was decided that on April 15, 1967, all of the members of the BPPSD would proceed to San Francisco and endeavor to sell copies of the book "Quotations from Chairman, Mao Tse-tung" at the demonstration by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. They hoped to raise approximately \$1,000.00 through the sale of the copies of this book and planned to use the proceeds to purchase guns and ammunition.

SF T-7, 5/29/67

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SF T-15, 11/3/67

The above bank information is not to be made public except through the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

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XIII. HUEY PERCY NEWTON, CHARGED WITH MURDER OF
OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER AND ATTEMPTED MURDER
OF ANOTHER OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER, OCTOBER 28, 1967

On October 28, 1967, Officer [REDACTED], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that at 5:00 AM on that date, Oakland Police Officers JOHN F. FREY, age 23, and [REDACTED], age 24, made a routine traffic violation car stop of the car driven by HUEY PERCY NEWTON at 7th and Willow Streets, Oakland, California. NEWTON got out of the car while officers were waiting results of car registration check by radio. NEWTON had no drivers license in his possession. As officers and NEWTON walked toward NEWTON's car, NEWTON pulled a 9 millimeter pistol from his waistband, fatally shot officer FREY and critically wounded Officer [REDACTED]. NEWTON was also wounded and was placed under guard at Kaiser Hospital, Oakland, where he underwent surgery for gunshot wounds.

Officer [REDACTED] advised that the Oakland Police Department was conducting an intensive investigation to identify and locate the individual who was accompanying NEWTON at the time of this incident on October 28, 1967.

Records of Municipal Court, Oakland, California, disclose that on October 30, 1967, a complaint was filed charging HUEY PERCY NEWTON with murder and assault with intent to commit murder. He was accused of the fatal shooting of Officer JOHN F. FREY and the wounding of Officer [REDACTED].

On October 31, 1967, NEWTON was arraigned before Municipal Judge STAFFORD P. BUCKLEY at his bedside at Highland Hospital, Oakland, California.

On October 28, 1967, Inspector [REDACTED] Homicide Detail, Oakland Police Department made the observation that as of October 28, 1967, the date of the fatal shooting, NEWTON was out on bail on appeal from convictions or charges arising out of incidents on May 22, 1967, and June 4, 1967. NEWTON was

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SF 100-58841
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scheduled to appear in Municipal Court, Oakland, on November 17, 1967, to appeal conviction of charges, making threats with a weapon, possession of illegal knife, using profanity and disturbing the peace on May 22, 1967, in Oakland.

Inspector [redacted] further advised that the automobile driven by NEWTON on the early morning of October 28, 1967, was a Volkswagen sedan bearing California license [redacted], registered to [redacted], [redacted], Oakland, age 22, a [redacted] with the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

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AS of October, 1967, HUEY PERCY NEWTON was living with [redacted], Oakland.

SF T-1, 10/25/67

The November 2, 1967, issue of "The Bird's Word", published by the Associated Students of Merritt College, Oakland, California, in a front page article stated in part as follows:

"Help Huey! Black students, one of our black leaders, Minister of Defense, Huey Percy Newton, needs our black support. Here are four ways to give it: ..."

This article which was signed by CAROLYN SCOTT, under item number 4, stated as follows:

Remember that if anything happens to Huey, it happens to the black community and that the white power student must be made to suffer the political consequences."

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter", San Francisco, California, Negro Community newspaper, on page 13, Columns 1 through 3, contained an article captioned "Fund Drive Opens to Aid Black Panther Minister", which states in part as follows:

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A Negro section of the black community held a meeting on October 30, 1967, in Oakland and formally established the Huey Percy Newton Defense Fund. Machinery was set up to raise money to cover the long and expensive legal battle which all experienced observers know is in the offing.

"SNCC and CORE, through their national offices, have pledged their complete and continuous support, have agreed to help develop branches of the defense fund in local areas across the nation, where they have roots in the community. ..."

"Locally, black and white students on college campuses have set in motion machinery to establish student committees to support Huey P. Newton. At University of California in Berkeley, there is particularly intensive activity by students to rally to Huey's support. They indicate that much of their motivation for doing this grew out of the savage brutality visited upon them by the Oakland cops during the recent demonstrations against the draft at the Oakland Induction Center."

"Everywhere people are discussing this case and there is an unprecedented groundswell of support and it is crystal clear that this is going to be the biggest case to be aired in America since the SCOTTSBORO boy's case in the 30's. People are arranging banquets, house parties, and numerous other events to raise funds for the effort;.

The November 8, 1967, issue of "The Daily Californian" Associated Students newspaper of UCB, on Page 3, Columns 1 through 5, carried an article entitled "Black Student Union Here Finances Rally", which stated in part as follows:

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Members of the Campus Afro-American Student Union (AASU) took possession of Sproul Steps Rally yesterday in spite of a ruling by the University that the rally time was not theirs.

AASU members stressed that they needed the rally time yesterday in conjunction with one today in order to speak on the imprisonment and impending trial of Huey P. Newton, who is accused of killing an Oakland Policeman and wounding another, last week.

"JIM NABORS, Vice Chairman of the AASU said at the rally that members of the Volition had 'made no overt effort to understand our immediate problem or to contact us on a group-to-group basis...."

"On seizing the rally from Volition, Nabors said that 'I've been denied so long that anything I take is right."

"Huey P. Newton was defended at the rally as a man 'whose only crime was to be born in white racist America."

"Nabors said that the AASU would demand that NEWTON be freed from jail before his trial and that he be 'tried before his peers', and not before an all white jury .

"Nabors said Newton 'committed the crime of protecting black women first, black children second, and white policemen last, and any white man who doesn't like it can go take a crap."

"He concluded by saying that 'if you touch any black woman, man or child with the intend to harm, kill or anything, we are going to assert blackness all over you.'"

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WJW/rlk

On November 13, 1967, Officer [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that HUEY PERCY NEWTON had been transferred from the hospital at California State Prison, San Quentin, California, on November 11, 1967, to the Graystone Annex, Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Pleasanton, California.

On November 14, 1967, Officer [redacted] advised that HUEY PERCY NEWTON had on November 13, 1967, been indicted by the Alameda County Grand Jury. A four count indictment was returned accusing NEWTON of murder,, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, kidnaping, and one count of having a prior felony, a 1964 assault conviction for which he received probation. The kidnaping count involved the abduction of [redacted] the driver of a passing automobile commandeered at gunpoint by NEWTON, following the shooting.

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On November 15, 1967, Officer [redacted] advised that on November 16, 1967, NEWTON was scheduled to appear in Superior Court, Alameda County, to hear the reading of the charges against him and to advise him of his rights.

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BAY AREA PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, aka
 Bay Area Progressive Labor Movement,
 Bay Area Progressive Labor,
"Progressive Labor"

The masthead in the February 8, 1965 issue of "Spark" reflects it is published by the Progressive Labor Movement of the Bay Area, P.O. Box 73, Station A, Berkeley...page 4 of this issue of "Spark" carries an article describing MORT SCHEER as the "West Coast organizer" of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM).

A source advised on January 7, 1965, that MORTIMER SCHEER, following a press conference in San Francisco, California, on January 7, 1965, related that he was the West Coast Organizer for the PLM and National Vice Chairman. PLM was started about three years ago as a national organization located mainly in the New York and Buffalo areas, and he has been here since last July striving to organize PLM. He stated PLM has several publications, including "Progressive Labor," a monthly, and the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly."

The April 19, 1965 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a daily San Francisco newspaper, carried an article which related that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was officially formed April 18, 1965, after a four day convention in New York. PLP was formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement and MORT SCHEER was elected as one of the vice presidents of PLP.

A second source advised during May, 1967, that the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) rents an office at 2929 16th Street, San Francisco, California, which is used as a headquarters and mailing address.

1.

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of MIKE LASKY. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under LASKY's leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 5, 1967, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

This same confidential source advised on September 8, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead."

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, 5385 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; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that 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 legal 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.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, 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 program.

OAKLAND DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE, aka
Oakland Direct Action for Freedom Now,
ODAC

On February 9, 1965, a source advised that on that date at Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC) headquarters, 8512 East 14th Street, Oakland, California, MARK EVERETT COMFORT, Chairman of ODAC, held a press conference. COMFORT stated that the objective of ODAC was to organize the Negro community, particularly in the eastern section of Oakland, commonly known as East Oakland. He said that ODAC would make demands for equal housing, equal job opportunities and living conditions, and would educate the Negro community to realize that "things are not as good as they seem." COMFORT said that ODAC, in contrast to existing civil rights organizations, would strongly emphasize police brutality.

The January 25, 1964 issue of the "People's World" (PW), page 3, contains an invitation to the 26th anniversary celebration of the PW to be held on February 1, 1964, in San Francisco, California. This invitation lists MARK COMFORT as one of four special guests to be honored at this celebration.

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

A second source advised that [redacted] attended the National Convention of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) held in New York City April 15 - 18, 1965, as a delegate and was assigned to the "Black Liberation" workshop.

A third source advised that since the beginning of ODAC, [redacted] has been in frequent contact with [redacted] [redacted] the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party, concerning plans and activities of [redacted] in the civil rights movement. This source stated that in November, 1965, [redacted] said he felt that [redacted] was on the side of the PLP.

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APPENDIX

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A fourth source advised that as of April, 1966, ODAC is operating out of [redacted], Oakland, where [redacted] is assisted by [redacted] and a Negro teen-age gang known as the Alm Boy Dukes.

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The fourth source, along with a fifth source, advised in March, 1967, that ODAC has ceased operations. The only member and officer as of this date is [redacted] who uses the title of [redacted] when speaking on behalf of any cause.

APPENDIX

1. ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights", while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

APPENDIX

2.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that [redacted] of the OAAU is [redacted] [redacted] who resides in Harlem, New York.

On May 8, 1967, the first confidential source advised the the headquarters of the OAAU is located at [redacted], New York, New York, which is the [redacted].

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention:

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143:

1. Found to be "a new Communist splinter group." The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC * * * was formed in August 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus.

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U. S. party***.

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who, despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

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

APPENDIX

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

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

APPENDIX

1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

November 18, 1967

100-58841

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-11-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SELF DEFENSE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY -
MISCELLANEOUS

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Reference Report of SA [redacted]
[redacted] 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.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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2/12/68

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AIR MAIL

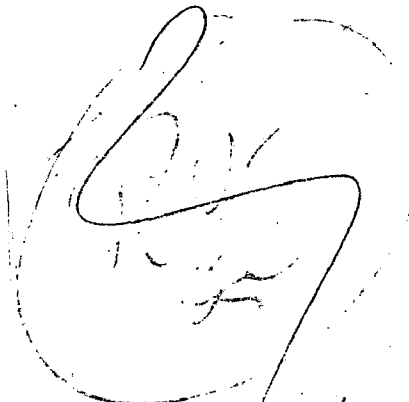
TO : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-58841)
FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-52)(RUC)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SELF-DEFENSE
IS

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On 2/7/68, [redacted] advised that an inmate, [redacted] CSP # [redacted] is presently confined [redacted] and has indicated to [redacted] that he is in a position to furnish information concerning the Black Panthers.

[redacted] interviewed at [redacted] on [redacted] He advised that he has some information concerning the Black Panthers which he is willing to furnish to an FBI agent and feels that if he were on the street, he could develop considerably more pertinent information. He stated that [redacted] he renewed his previous association with [redacted] in the Oakland, California, area. [redacted] was a member of the Black Panthers and [redacted] invited [redacted] to join this group. [redacted] stated that he did not join the group at that time and has not done so since. He stated that in his conversation with

2 - San Francisco (RM)
1 - Sacramento
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SC 157-52

[redacted] that while he was [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] He told [redacted]
that he was proficient in the use of dynamite and various other explosives.

[redacted] stated [redacted] continued to try to influence him to join the Black Panthers but that he never did join. On one occasion, [redacted] stated that this group would like to have him, [redacted] work with them, even though he was not a member. There were no specific acts enumerated and [redacted] does not know exactly what was contemplated. He refused to go along with them.

[redacted] had conversation with [redacted] who is described by [redacted] as a member of the Black Panthers [redacted]
[redacted] In the conversation that ensued [redacted] told [redacted] that he had not made up his mind and that he was not sure whether he wanted to accept the offer.

He stated that since [redacted] he has met [redacted] who is a Black Nationalist. [redacted]
[redacted] In a conversation shortly after [redacted] told [redacted] that they were "getting ready to move." He told him that "the stuff" would be moved in sometime between Sunday, February 11, and the following week. He did not elaborate or explain what he meant by these remarks. He stated that it is his understanding from conversations with members of the Black Panthers that Oakland is a target area and that this confrontation would include members of the "Deacons" from Detroit, New York, and Los Angeles, as well as members of the Black Nationalists, the Muslims, and the Black Panthers.

[redacted] was questioned as to whether he had ever furnished this information to any other official. He stated that he had furnished information to [redacted]
[redacted] Oakland, California, Police

SC 157-52

Department. He stated that when he was [redacted] and requested that these two officers contact him concerning a matter which they had under investigation. [redacted] where these officers contacted him shortly thereafter. He furnished information to these officers in the hopes that they would use their influence with the California Adult Authority in putting him on the street to work with them in their investigation of the Black Panthers.

[redacted] stated that he has not heard from them and that he [redacted] and that since these officers had not been able to help him, he was hopeful that the FBI could exert some influence in affecting his early parole.

[redacted] stated that he had never volunteered any information to the FBI or any other law enforcement agency on any prior occasions. He stated that he is willing to work with the FBI and feels that he can develop valuable information concerning the Black Panthers and these other radical groups.

The above information is furnished for your evaluation and consideration. No investigation is being conducted to identify any of the persons referred to by [redacted] If the information appears to be of any value, Sacramento should be requested to review [redacted] to determine whether he [redacted]

FBI SAC TO

FBI SAN FRAN

9:28 PM PST DEFERRED 4/8/68 WEN

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TO DIRECTOR AND SACRAMENTO.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-59230) /3P/

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY, INFORMATION CONCERNING, BUFILE ONE HUNDRED
DASH FOUR FOUR SEVEN NINE SIX ONE; BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM, BUFILE
ONE ZERO FIVE DASH ONE SIX FIVE SEVEN ZERO SIX.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DATED APRIL EIGHT INSTANT.

FROM NOON TO ONE P. M., APRIL EIGHT INSTANT, MASS RALLY SPONSORED
BY PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND NATIONAL STOP THE DRAFT WEEK WAS HELD
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (UC), BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. FOLLOWING
RALLY APPROXIMATELY FIVE THOUSAND PERSONS LEFT UC, AND MARCHED IN
STREETS, FILLING ONE LANE OF TRAFFIC, TO MUNICIPAL PART IN PROXIMITY
OF ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE, OAKLAND, ARRIVING AT APPROXIMATELY FOUR
THIRTYFIVE P. M. MARCH WAS PUBLICIZED AS A MARCH AGAINST RACISM,
RACIST INSTITUTIONS THAT EXCLUDE BLACKS FROM MEMBERSHIP, RACIST POLICE,
AND FOR FREEING ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS INCLUDING BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP) LEADERS HUEY P. NEWTON AND LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. CLEAVER
WAS ARRESTED BY OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT FOLLOWING SKIRMISH BETWEEN
OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT AND BPP MEMBERS ON NIGHT OF APRIL SIX, LAST,
AND IS PRESENTLY INCARCERATED AT CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL FACILITY,
VACAVILLE.

END OF PAGE ONE.

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PAGE TWO.

SF 100 - 59230.

FOLLOWING MARCH APPROXIMATELY THREE THOUSAND PERSONS ASSEMBLED AT RALLY IN VICINITY OF ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE, OAKLAND, CHANTING "FREE HUEY, FREE HUEY", AND WERE ADDRESSED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND NATIONAL STOP THE DRAFT WEEK, WHO URGED AN END TO RACISM, SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND THE BPP, AND DENOUNCED POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HAD NOTHING GOOD TO SAY ABOUT DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING DURING HIS LIFETIME AND ARE NOW EULOGIZING HIM FOR THEIR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. ROBERT AVAKIAN OF PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY URGED ALL TO REMAIN FOLLOWING RALLY AND SURROUND THE COURT HOUSE "TO LET THE PIG COPS KNOW WE ARE OUT HERE TO FREE HUEY AND TO JAIL THE PIG COPS."

FOLLOWING RALLY APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND PERSONS CONGREGATED ON NORTH SIDE OF COURT HOUSE, TEMPORARILY BLOCKING STREET. THEY WERE PEACEFULLY DISPERSED BY APPROXIMATELY THIRTY ALAMEDA COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE DEPUTIES AND ALL HAD DEPARTED SCENE BY FIVE THIRTY P. M.

MARCH AND RALLIES WERE PEACEFUL AND THERE WERE NO ARRESTS MADE. THERE WERE VERY FEW NEGROES PRESENT.

LEAFLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED DURING MARCH AND RALLIES ANNOUNCING THAT THE STATEWIDE PEACE AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE WERE URGING ATTENDANCE ON THURSDAY, APRIL

END OF PAGE TWO.

PAGE THREE.

SF 100 - 59230.

ELEVEN, NEXT, AT FUNERAL OF BOBBY HUTTON, WHO WAS KILLED BY OAKLAND POLICE DURING THE APRIL SIX LAST SKIRMISH. THESE LEAFLETS ALSO URGED PARTICIPATION IN A CAR CARAVAN TO VACAVILLE, CALIFORNIA, TO SUPPORT CLEAVER'S DEFENSE AND DEMAND HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM CONFINEMENT.

INTELLIGENCE UNIT, OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT, THIS DATE ADVISED THAT FUNERAL SERVICES FOR BOBBY HUTTON WILL BE HELD AT ELEVEN A. M., FRIDAY, APRIL TWELVE NEXT, OAKLAND, AND PRESUMABLY THE CAR CARAVAN TO VACAVILLE WILL FOLLOW ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

LHM WILL FOLLOW.

OTHER STATION NOTIFIED SEPARATELY.

END.

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FBI SAN FRAN

1126AM URGENT 4-12-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR & SACRAMENTO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204) 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RM - BPP

FOR INFO BUREAU AND SACRAMENTO, OAKLAND, CALIF., PD
ADVISES THAT FUNERAL FOR BOBBY HUTTON, SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD BLACK
PANTHER PARTY (BPP) MEMBER KILLED IN POLICE SIEGE OF WEST OAKLAND
HOUSE EARLY MORNING SUNDAY, APRIL SEVEN, LAST, BEING HELD TODAY
ELEVEN A.M., EPHESIAN CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST, ONE SEVEN ZERO NINE
ALCATRAZ AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. BURIAL WILL BE MOUNTAIN
VIEW CEMETARY, OAKLAND.

BPP PLANS MEMORIAL FOR HUTTON ONE THIRTY P.M. MERRITT PARK,
ACROSS FROM ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE. FOLLOWING MEMORIAL,
PROCESSION OF CARS AND BUSES WILL PROCEED TO STATE MEDICAL FACILITY,
VACAVILLE, WHERE BPP MINISTER OF INFORMATION ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, WHO
WAS ARRESTED FOLLOWING SHOOT-OUT IN WEST OAKLAND APRIL SEVEN WHEN
HUTTON KILLED, INCARCERATED.

END PAGE ONE

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PAGE TWO

OAKLAND, BERKELEY AND RICHMOND PDS ALERT FOR ANY TROUBLE
WHICH MAY ARISE AS RESULT OF FUNERAL, MEMORIAL OR PROCESSION TO
VACAVILLE.

CONTACTS BEING MAINTAINED WITH LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT,
INFORMANTS, AND ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP.

END

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DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

6:22PM DEFERRED 4-12-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR, BOSTON, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK & SACRAMENTO
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204) 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RM - BPP

REMYTEL TODAY TO DIRECTOR AND SACRAMENTO.

FUNERAL FOR BOBBY HUTTON, SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD BPP MEMBER
KILLED BY OAKLAND POLICE IN SIEGE EARLY SUNDAY, APRIL SEVEN, LAST,
HELD WITHOUT INCIDENT AT CHURCH IN BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA. ATTENDED
BY APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND PEOPLE. AFTER BURIAL OF BODY MOUNTAIN
VIEW CEMETERY, OAKLAND, MEMORIAL HELD ONE FORTYFIVE TO THREE FORTY-
FIVE P.M. MERRITT PARK, OPPOSITE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
OAKLAND. APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN HUNDRED PRESENT, MOSTLY BLACK. THEME
OF MEMORIAL WAS THAT HUTTON WAS A REVOLUTIONARY AND THE BPP IS A
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ONE OF FEW IN THE COUNTRY. POWER STRUCTURE
MUST BE DEFEATED, POLICE SYSTEM MUST BE CHANED, BLACKS MUST BE ARMED
TO RID THE COMMUNITY OF POLICE SO BLACKS CAN CONTROL THEIR OWN
DESTINY.

END PAGE ONE

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CARAVAN TO CALIFORNIA MEDICAL FACILITY, VACAVILLE, CALLED OFF. THOSE ATTENDING MEMORIAL ENCOURAGED TO ATTEND PRESS CONFERENCE FOUR THIRTY P.M. BPP HEADQUARTERS, FOUR FOUR TWO ONE GROVE ST., OAKLAND, AT WHICH FOLLOWING WERE ANNOUNCED AS PARTICIPATING: CHICO NEBLETT, JAMES FORMAN, MARLON BRANDO AND BOBBY GEORGE SEALE.

[REDACTED] IS ALSO KNOWN AS [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED IN PAST AS [REDACTED] BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

[REDACTED] BPP.

MARLON BRANDO IS MOVIE ACTOR WHO HAS MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF GOALS OF BPP.

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE IS CURRENTLY CHAIRMAN OF BPP.

ANY FURTHER INCIDENT ARISING FROM TODAY'S EVENTS WILL BE FURNISHED THE BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES.

SACRAMENTO ADVISED BY PHONE.

END

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FBI SACTO



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

April 12, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL
ON 09-15-2008

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
also known as
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR
SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)

Reference San Francisco memorandum, dated March 28,
1968.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally
to Army, Air Force, Navy, Secret Service and the United States
Attorney's Office.

The April 7, 1968 edition of the "Oakland Tribune",
Oakland, California newspaper, on page 1, columns 1 and 2,
carried an article captioned, "Oakland's 90-minute War - One
Dead, Four Shot in Battle - Two Panthers and Two Cops Hit in
Siege", which states in part as follows:

"One suspect was killed, two wounded and two Oakland
Police Officers shot and wounded Saturday night (April 6, 1968)
during a 90-minute gun battle and siege in West Oakland.

"The slain suspect, shot as he emerged from a
barricaded house at 1218 - 28th Street was tentatively
identified by police as Bobby Hutton, about 18, a member of the
Black Panthers.

"Another Black Panther member, Minister of Information
Eldridge Cleaver, was wounded in the lower left leg. The other
wounded man was Warren W. Wells, 21, who gave a Richmond
address. Wells was wounded in the left buttock and his
condition was reported to be satisfactory.

"Neither officer was wounded critically. Two other
officers were treated for minor injuries.

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~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

157-52-8

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

"Deputy Police Chief Robert R. Cazadd said the gun battle grew out of a definite attempt to ambush the police.

"Police said the shooting began after a patrol car stopped to question the occupants of three parked cars in the 2900 block of Union Street.

"When Police Officer Richard R. Jensen stepped from the passenger side of the cruiser, police said, he was shot without warning.

"As his patrol partner, Nolan R. Darnell, stepped from the car he was grazed with buck shot.

"Police and firemen quickly sealed off the two-block area and police officers, crouched behind cars, traded shots with the men inside the building. Spotlights gave the scene the eerie appearance of a movie set.

"A man and a woman who occupied the upstairs apartment (1218 - 28th Street, Oakland, California) were allowed to leave the house during the effort to flush the suspects.

"Some twenty minutes later after police gunfire had broken a front window and tear gas had been fired into the front room, the men inside called out that they wanted to surrender.

"A police officer with a bull horn told the barricaded trio to come out with their hands up. The men began to emerge one at a time from the building.

"As the first came out, there was a cry that he had a gun, several shots were fired and the man collapsed and fell to the sidewalk, dead.

"The other two men, their hands above their heads, came out of the building and surrendered."

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The records of the Identification Division, Oakland Police Department, disclosed that the following individuals were arrested and charged with assault with intent to commit murder in connection with the aforementioned incident:

[redacted]
[redacted] Berkeley, California.

Eldridge Cleaver, refused to give residence address.

[redacted]
[redacted] Oakland, California.

[redacted]
[redacted] Oakland, California.

[redacted]
[redacted] San Francisco, California.

[redacted]
[redacted] Oakland, California.

[redacted] address not given.

[redacted] Richmond, California (a non-existent address).

The March 1 through 7, 1968 issue of the "Berkeley Barb", a weekly newspaper published in Berkeley, California, on Page 3, Column 1 and 2, contains an article captioned "Council Bows to Bobby", which quotes Bobby George Seale, Chairman of the BPP, in part as follows:

"It is the actions of the Gestapo pig police that causes riots, not the people. We love ourselves and our blackness."

This article quoted Charles Bursey (not

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

otherwise identified) as telling the council "If any pig cop busts into my house I'll kill him".

On April 10, 1968, Officer [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, advised that investigation by the Oakland Police Department subsequent to April 6, 1968, has disclosed the following facts:

Early on Saturday evening, April 6, 1968, LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, better known as Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party (BPP), gathered members and leaders of the BPP together at BPP Headquarters, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, and told them that he received alarming information from a source considered by him to be reliable and in a position to know. He said he had been told that the Oakland Police Department was planning genocide against the BPP. Then he stated, "We'll take care of that. We'll get them first."

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About fifteen BPP members, including Cleaver and [redacted] [redacted] of the BPP, proceeded in three cars to a house located at 3421 Chestnut, Oakland, California, where they gathered up numerous weapons, including rifles and shotguns. At this location Cleaver stated that they would cruise around North Oakland to look for a policeman to kill.

They then proceeded to North Oakland and spotted two police officers as they were getting out of their patrol car. The BPP members got out of their cars unnoticed by the officers. By jumping fences and going through backyards they endeavored to maneuver themselves into a position to shoot at the officers. Before they could get set up, the officers were back in their car and departed. No shots were fired and the officers never became aware of the presence of the BPP members. The officers had responded to a missing persons complaint and had only remained at the location of the complaint for a short time because they were informed upon arrival that the missing person had returned home.

After previously cruising around North Oakland, the BPP members decided to rendezvous in the vicinity of 30th and

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Union Streets, Oakland. Shortly after they arrived in that location, the aforementioned shooting incident took place.

Investigation by the Oakland Police Department has disclosed that the following individuals are suspected of having been involved in the April 6, 1968 BPP gun battle with the Oakland Police Department:

student at San Francisco State College and suspected of being affiliated with the Black Student Union.



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The April 11, 1968 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco daily newspaper, on page 3, paragraph 5, contains an article captioned "Panthers Plead Not Guilty", which states in part as follows:

"Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver was brought in a heavily-guarded ambulance from the Vacaville Medical Facility to make an Oakland court appearance with six co-defendants yesterday.

"More than one-half of the spectators in court were Black Panthers, and they gave Cleaver and the other defendants the clenched fist salute of the militant Negro organization. Some chanted 'Black Power' at the end of the hearing.

"Cleaver and the others entered pleas of not guilty to charges of assault with intent to commit murder arising from a gun battle in West Oakland last weekend.

"Judge Stafford P. Buckley denied a request by defense attorney Charles Garry for a reduction in Cleaver's bail of \$63,000.00 and the \$40,000.00 bail set for the others.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

"Garry filed five affidavits claiming police mistreatment and harrassment of defendants.

"The judge set April 18th for preliminary hearing.

"One of the defendants Warren Wells, 21, of Richmond, was released when \$40,000.00 was posted.

"After the court hearing, Bobby Seale, the Black Panthers Chairman, said 'Although the bail is atrocious, the black community is responding with contributions. We will bail out all of the defendants in two or three days'".

The same issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" on page 3, columns 1 through 4, contains an article captioned, "Ghetto Tragedy - The Death of a Panther", written by Keith Power, which states in part as follows:

"It is a matter of public record that Bobby Hutton was a black kid who made trouble with the authorities.

"He was born on April 21, 1950 in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and he died last Saturday night, April 6, 1968, in Oakland of what the coroner's report said was 'shock and hemmorage due to gunshot wounds'.

"The manner of his death is on record but disputed.

"The police say they shot him as he dashed from a besieged house apparently carrying a gun. His friends said he came out stripped to the waist with his hands held high".

Leaflets widely distributed throughout Alameda County, California announce that the funeral for Bobby James Hutton will be held at 11:00 a.m., Friday, April 12, 1968, at the Star Bethel Baptist Church, 5812 San Pablo Avenue, Oakland, California and readers are invited to attend these ceremonies. These leaflets also announce that a car caravan to the California State Medical Facility, Vacaville, California, will take place on Friday afternoon, April 12, 1968, to demand the release of Eldridge Cleaver from confinement.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On April 10, 1968, a source advised that several car loads of militant Black Nationalists from the Los Angeles area are expected to attend the funeral ceremonies for Hutton.

On April 11, 1968, a second source advised that it has been rumored that the BPP plans to stage a march from the location of the funeral services to the Oakland Hall of Justice, Oakland, California, to protest the slaying of Bobby Hutton.

On April 10, 1968, the second source advised that [redacted] of San Francisco, California, is now in charge of the BPP, but has not been given an official title. [redacted] reportedly is [redacted] at San Francisco State College and is [redacted] at that college.

Characterization of the BPPSD is attached hereto.

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Also attached are copies of photographs furnished by the Oakland Police Department on April 11, 1968. These photographs are of the following:

1. The gun battle scene at 1218 - 28th Street, Oakland, California.
2. The Oakland, California Police Department cruiser of officers [redacted] and [redacted]
3. One of the BPP automobiles involved in the April 6, 1968, incident.
4. Arsenal of BPP weapons confiscated by Oakland Police Department April 6, 1968.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, [redacted] NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

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[redacted] was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

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APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

April 12, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), also
 known as BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)

Character

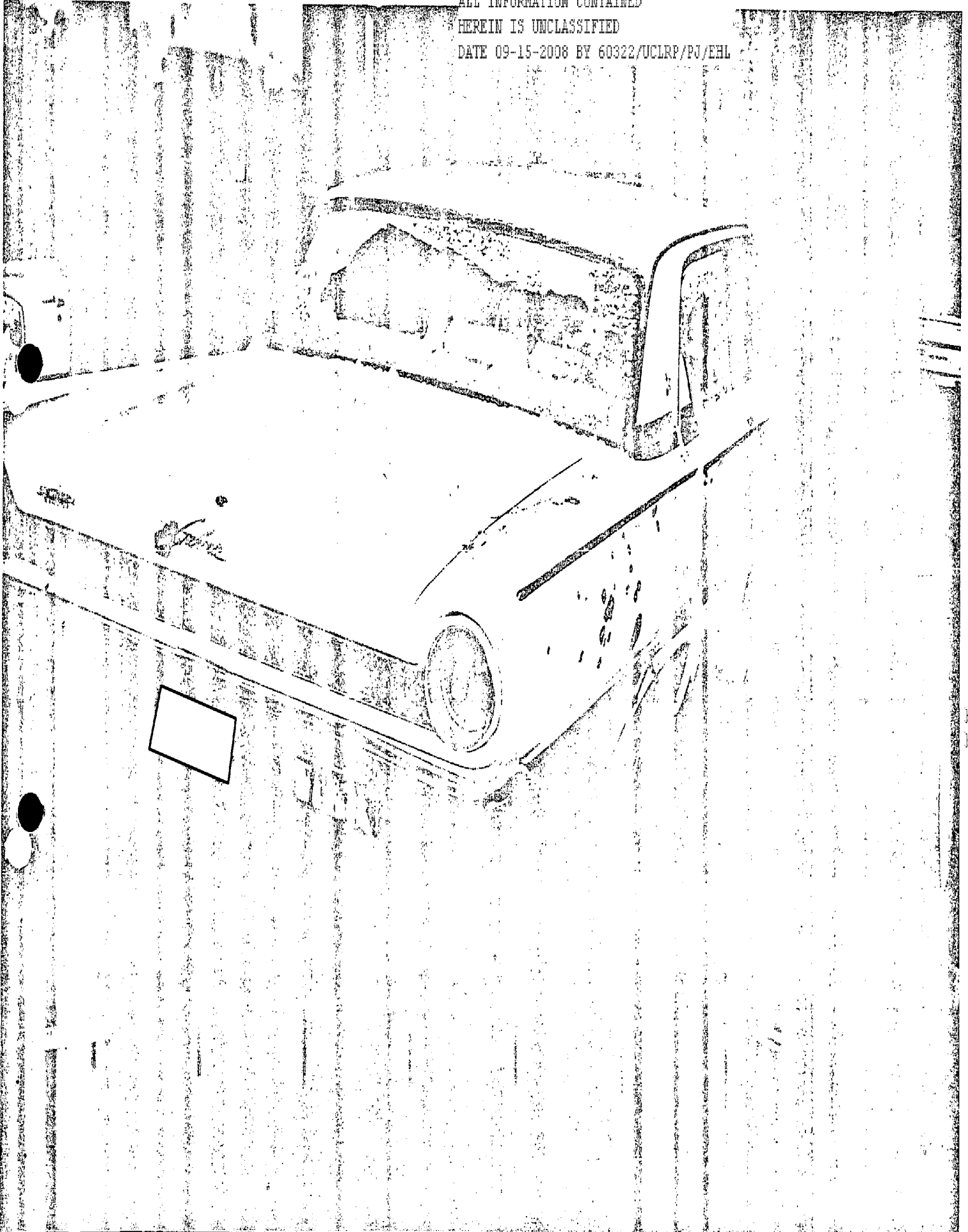
Reference San Francisco memorandum,
 dated and captioned as above

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

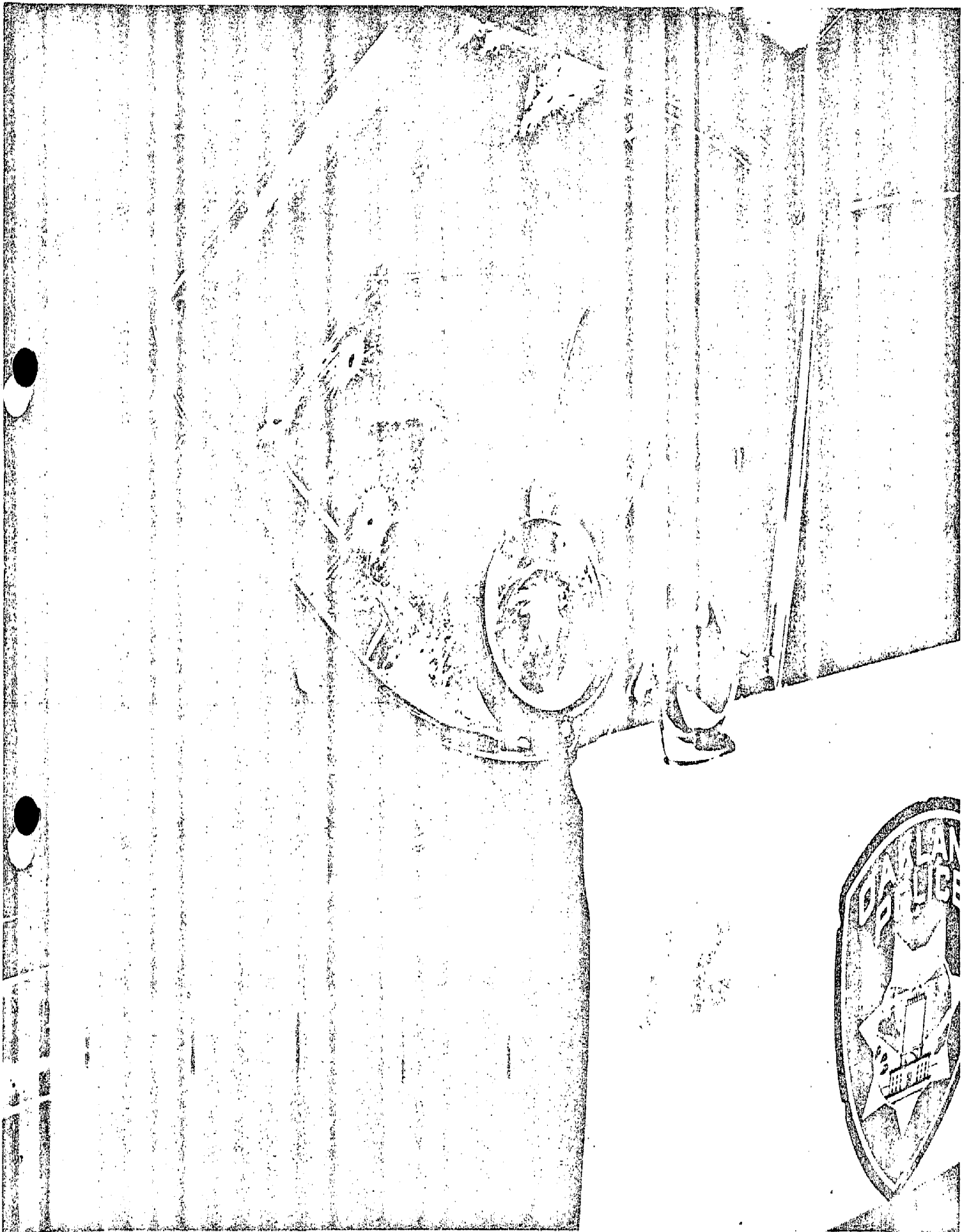
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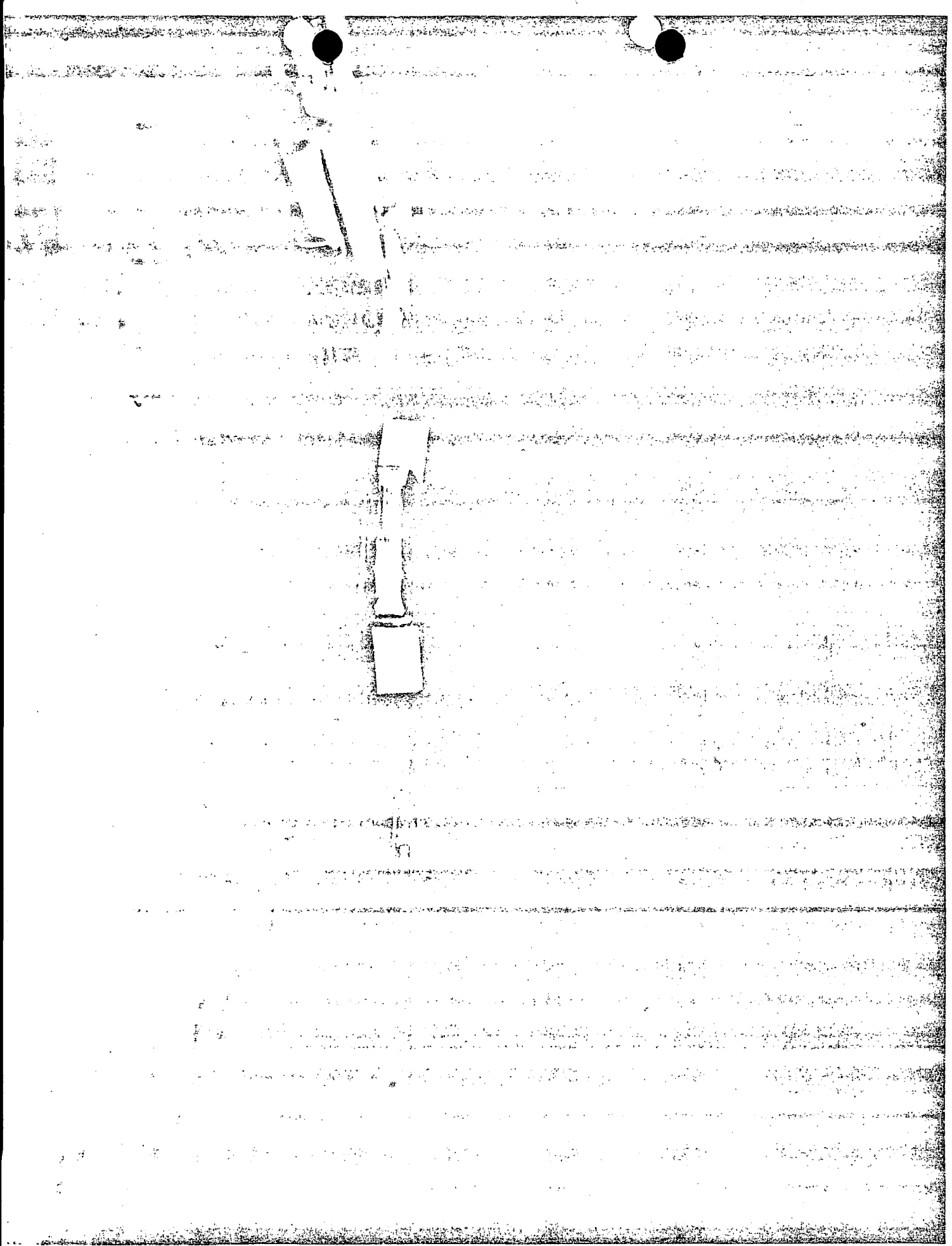
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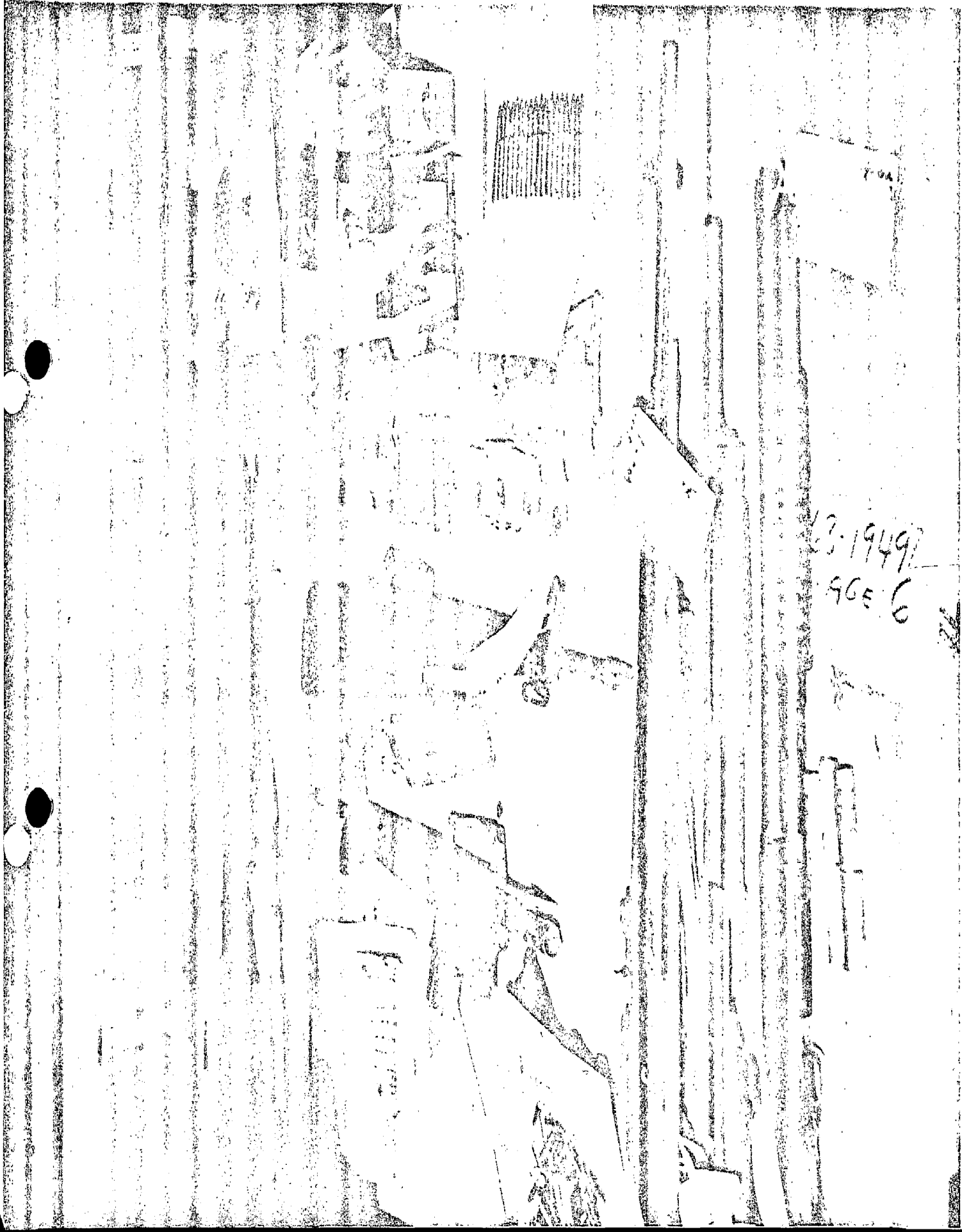
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F B I

Date: 4/12/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), aka
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR
SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)
RACIAL MATTERS - BPP

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, dated 4/7/68.

Enclosed to the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM and one
copy each of LHM enclosed to Los Angeles and Sacramento Offices.

Copy of this LHM has been furnished to the Los Angeles
Office because it contains information concerning activities of

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)(RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1)(Info.)(RM)
- ① - Sacramento (Enc. 1)(Info.)(RM)
- 14 - San Francisco
 - (2 - 157-1204)
 - (1 - 157-1199) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 100-55520) (LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 100-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-1229) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 100-53950) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-266) (RACIAL MATTERS - OAKLAND)
 - (1 - 157-400) (RACIAL MATTERS - SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION)

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b7c

157-52-9

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - SACRAMENTO	

WJW:mb
(19)

SF 157-1204
WJW:mb

individuals located in that division.

The sources utilized in this LHM are as follows:

Source one is [redacted]

b2
b7D

Source two is a confidential source [redacted]
[redacted] (concealed by
request).

This LHM has been classified confidential inasmuch as it contains information furnished by the second source requesting that the information furnished be confidential.

The following individuals mentioned in this LHM are included on the Security Index: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [redacted]
[redacted] and BOBBY JAMES HUTTON.

By separate communication the Bureau will be requested to delete the name of BOBBY JAMES HUTTON, deceased, from the Security Index.

Files are being opened for active investigation under the 157 classification on all individuals mentioned in this LHM as being affiliated with the BPP.

b6
b7C

On 4/10/68, Officer [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland, Calif. Police Department, confidentially advised that some of the BPP members arrested in connection with the shooting incident against the Oakland PD on 4/6/68, have been interviewed and have furnished the following information to the Oakland PD:

On Saturday afternoon, 4/6/68, [redacted] representing himself to be a San Francisco Police officer, off duty, presented himself at the BPP Headquarters, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, Calif., accompanied by [redacted]. He displayed a badge which was purported to be a San Francisco police badge and stated that he wanted to be a "pipeline" for the BPP and indicated that he had good sources of information in the San Francisco PD. It was apparent that this individual had been drinking.

SF 157-1204
WJW:mb

He told ELDRIDGE CLEAVER that the Oakland Police Department was planning to start genocide on the BPP.

CLEAVER immediately became aroused and said, "We'll take care of that, we'll get them first". CLEAVER gathered 14 members of the BPP, including [redacted] of the BPP, together at the headquarters for a brief meeting, before setting forth on the cruise to find an Oakland police officer to kill.

The following is a physical description of the individual who represented himself to be a San Francisco Police Department officer:

Race
Sex
Age
Height
Complexion
Hair
Distinctive characteristics
Wearing apparel

[redacted] was described as follows:

Race
Age
Complexion
Hair
Wearing apparel

Officer [redacted] requested that this information concerning the individual who represented himself to be a San Francisco Police Department officer not be disseminated at this time, inasmuch as the Oakland and San Francisco Police Departments are conducting an active investigation in an effort to identify this individual and they desire to take all precautions to safeguard the confidential nature of this investigation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

4/25/68

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE DEFERRED

[REDACTED]

BPP, REPORTEDLY

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165706), NEWARK AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

RE: BPP MASSIVE PROTEST AROUND TRIAL OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BPP, SCHEDULED FOR MAY TWO THROUGH FOURTEEN, NEXT. PLANS FOR THE "INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF BLACK REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST" INCLUDE GENERAL BOYCOTT OF OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, STORES, CARAVAN TO SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, TO COMMEMORATE THE MAY TWO, SIXTYSEVEN BPP ARMED INVASION OF CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, TEACH-INS, AND MASSIVE MARCH AND DEMONSTRATION AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE, OAKLAND, MAY SIX, NEXT, THE DAY NEWTON'S TRIAL ON MURDER CHARGES BEGINS. BPP WILL DEMAND NEWTON MUST HAVE PUBLIC TRIAL AND THAT HE BE SET FREE BY MAY FOURTEEN.

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DEFENSE (BPPSD). RM.

[REDACTED]

BPP MASSIVE PROTEST AROUND TRIAL OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BPP, SCHEDULED FOR MAY TWO THROUGH FOURTEEN, NEXT. PLANS FOR THE "INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF BLACK REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST" INCLUDE GENERAL BOYCOTT OF OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, STORES, CARAVAN TO SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, TO COMMEMORATE THE MAY TWO, SIXTYSEVEN BPP ARMED INVASION OF CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, TEACH-INS, AND MASSIVE MARCH AND DEMONSTRATION AT ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE, OAKLAND, MAY SIX, NEXT, THE DAY NEWTON'S TRIAL ON MURDER CHARGES BEGINS. BPP WILL DEMAND NEWTON MUST HAVE PUBLIC TRIAL AND THAT HE BE SET FREE BY MAY FOURTEEN.

END PAGE ONE

1 - Los Angeles (AM)
1 - Sacramento (AM)
WJW/jr
(3)

~~SECRET~~
4/25/68

157-52-10

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 27 1968	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

SF 157-1204
WJW/jr
PAGE TWO

[REDACTED], BPP, REPORTEDLY NOW IN NEW YORK CITY TO ENLIST REPRESENTATION BY SNCC LEADERS AT THIS EVENT, AND POSSIBLY MAKE APPEARANCE WITH ACTOR MARLON BRANDO AND BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BPP, ON LES CRANE TELEVISION SHOW, NEW YORK CITY.

[REDACTED] OF US, LOS ANGELES, AND A CONTINGENT ARE EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE.

[REDACTED] BLACK STUDENT UNION, SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE, SAN FRANCISCO, HAS ARRANGED FOR [REDACTED] [REDACTED] OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, TO MAKE PERSONAL APPEARANCE SAN FRANCISCO APRIL TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO NEW YORK, APRIL TWENTYFOUR, LAST, CAPTIONED [REDACTED] RM.

LOS ANGELES AND SACRAMENTO ADVISED AIR MAIL.

LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS.

END.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Sacramento, California

May 3, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), also known as
BPP FOR SELF-DEFENSE

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Army, Air Force, Navy and Secret Service, San Francisco and Sacramento, and the U. S. Attorney, San Francisco and Sacramento.

On May 2, 1968, Lieutenant [redacted] Intelligence Unit, Sacramento Police Department, advised that approximately 40 members of the BPP arrived at the State Capitol Building, Sacramento, at 12:45 P.M. May 2, 1968, in two chartered buses. They were met and interviewed by the news media on the west steps of the Capitol Building where several members answered questions relating to Eldridge Cleaver, BPP leader in State custody in Vacaville, California, and Huey P. Newton, in custody awaiting trial in Alameda County. They did not enter the the State Capitol Building.

Following a press conference, they walked to State Building Number 1 approximately one block away in which are located the offices of the State Parol Board. On the steps of State Building Number 1, they were again met and interviewed by the news media and repeated substantially the same remarks as at the Capitol Building. They did not enter State Building Number 1.

The leaders of the group were [redacted]

[redacted] of the BPP, and [redacted]
[redacted]

- 8 - Bureau
- 6 - San Francisco
- 1 - USA, Sacramento
- 1 - SS, Sacramento
- 1 - OSI, Travis
- 1 - ONI, San Francisco
- 1 - MI Group, Sacramento
- 2 - Sacramento
- PCF/il (21)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

157-52-1
SEARCHED INDEXED
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2 4 8
EPP, also known as
EPP FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The group departed from Sacramento by chartered buses at approximately 2:30 P.M. There is no indication they stopped at Vacaville, California, en route back to Oakland as previously planned.

Lieutenant [redacted] advised there were no incidents during the time the EPP was in Sacramento. No arrests were made and the group was orderly. They attracted an audience of approximately 300 people most of whom were State employees going to and from lunch!

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The following articles appeared in the May 3, 1968, issue of the "BEE", a Sacramento daily newspaper, Page A-8:

Black Power Movement Grows Since Armed Struggle in '68

By Peter Wasser

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... gathered.

... the past and many ...
... many more ...

... the Capitol a band of armed ...
... black bars ...

... way into the Assem-
... building.

... with loaded shotguns,
... and pistols almost ...

... of the Black Panther
... Party, ...

... arrived to protest a
... the ...

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... by Panthers seeking to ob-
... of one of their ...

... What has happened since that
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Panthers 1968 Protest Has No Guns

In a gunless repeat of last year's May 2 Black Panther visit to the Capitol, a busload of about 50 members of the black paramilitary group from Oakland today staged a noon demonstration before the Capitol.

Bobby Seale, present leader of the Panthers, condemned the suspension of the parole of one of the best-known Panthers, writer Eldridge Cleaver.

Seale repeated accusations made last May 2 by Huey P. Newton, Panther minister of defense, that "black people are disarmed and powerless" while America fights a "racist war of genocide in Vietnam."

Cleaver's wife, Kathleen, delivered a plea for the release of her writer-husband and condemned, as did Seale, what they termed a "racist conspiracy" to decimate the Black Panther Party.

Asked why the Panthers brought no weapons, Seale replied there is no need, that the militance of the Panthers is known.

"We're saying like Malcolm X did: either the ballot or the bullet," said Seale, now a candidate for an Oakland Assembly district seat.

Tight security prevailed in the Capitol today. Gov. Ronald Reagan was in his office when the Panthers arrived via bus shortly after noon today. Numerous uniformed and plainclothes police were on duty.

Seale said "definitely" when asked if the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had prompted membership in the Black Panther party to climb.

He said every time the "power structure," provokes a incident concerning the party or its members, the membership increases.

DECODED COPY

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DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Radio

URGENT

Teletype

5/1/68

TO SACRAMENTO AND SAN FRANCISCO
FROM DIRECTOR

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS.

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF FOR
INTELLIGENCE, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, THAT BLACK PANTHER PARTY
MEMBERS PLAN TO REVISIT CALIFORNIA STATE CAPITOL MAY TWO, NEXT,
IN COMMEMORATION OF MAY TWO, LAST, ARMED DEMONSTRATION IN STATE
ASSEMBLY CHAMBERS. PLANS INCLUDE STOP OVER AT VACAVILLE TO VISIT
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BLACK PANTHER LEADER. SOURCE SHOWN AS
CALIFORNIA ARMY NATIONAL GUARD AS FURNISHED TO ONE HUNDRED
ONE FIVE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE GROUP, SACRAMENTO. NO INDICATION
OF DISSEMINATION TO FBI LOCALLY.

b6
b7c

IF NOT ALREADY DONE, SACRAMENTO NOTIFY APPROPRIATE STATE AND
LOCAL OFFICIALS. SAN FRANCISCO CONTACT SOURCES FOR VERIFICATION

AND ADVISE SACRAMENTO.

SUPR. [] ADVISED
TELEPHONE CALL 9:30 PM
5/1/68 JEM

Sacramento PD
State Police
CHP
Noted 8:00 AM
U 5/2/68

TOA: 8:17PM
DECODED: jem

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MAY 1 1968	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

157-52-11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

5/8/68

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-52) (RUC)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), aka
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau teletype to Sacramento and San Francisco, 5/1/68; and San Francisco airtel and LHM, 4/29/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of a letterhead memorandum. Six (6) copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 6) (RM)
 - 1 - 157-1204
 - 1 - USA, San Francisco
 - 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco
- 2 - Sacramento

PCF/11 #4

(7)

Encls. sent unphilited

5/8/68

157-52-13
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

FBI

4/29/68

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), aka
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR
SELF DEFENSE (BPPSD)
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 4/12/68,
and San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 4/25/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM
and one copy each of LHM to Newark, New York, Los Angeles
and Sacramento Offices. Copies of this LHM have been

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- ① - Sacramento (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- San Francisco
 - (2 - 157-1204)
 - (1 - 157-1057) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-1199) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 100-55520) LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 100-) ([redacted])
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted]) 1 - 157-266)
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted]) (RACIAL MATTERS-
OAKLAND)
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted]) 1 - 157-400
 - (1 - 157-) ([redacted]) (RACIAL MATTERS-
SF Division)
 - (1 - 157-1229) ([redacted]) 100-56678
 - (1 - 100-53950) ([redacted])

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b7c

WJW:bj
(24)

157-52-114

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1968	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

SF 157-1204

WJW:bjj

furnished to the Newark, New York, Los Angeles and Sacramento Offices because it contains information re activities of individuals located in that division.

The source utilized in the LHM is a confidential source [redacted] (concealed by request), which is not available for recontact or for the purpose of furnishing testimony.

b7D

This LHM has been classified confidential inasmuch as it contains information furnished by the aforementioned source.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Panthers featured at Friday afternoon Peace and Freedom rally

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1 and 4
Bakersfield
News Bullentin,
Bakersfield,
California

Date: 4/28/68
Edition:
Author:
Editor: JUDY CLAUSEN
Title: Black Panther
Party

Character: SM-
or
Classification: 100-
Submitting Office: SC
 Being Investigated

157-57-15
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 1 1968
FBI - SACRAMENTO
187

The seemingly incongruous coalition of the militant Black Panther party and the Peace and Freedom party statewide came to Bakersfield Friday when a Peace and Freedom party rally at California Avenue park featured three Black Panther leaders, including Southern California Chairman Stormont Banks.

Although the Panthers insisted they are "non-violent" and believe only in self-defense, they were frank in admitting they have declared war on police who are not from within their own communities".

Banks and Panthers Larry Powell and Robert Lawrence, arrayed in their black berets and black coats adorned with political buttons, took turns at the microphone to call for support of their movement and their party's 10-point program,

which demands, among other things;

- "that Black men be exempt from military service;

- "the immediate withdrawal of police from the Black community;

- "that the Black people have the power to determine their own destiny;

- "full employment;

- "decent housing

- "an education that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society and a history that will tell our role in the present day society;

- "freedom for Black men held in federal, state, county, city prisons and jails; and

- "that all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black community..."

Although the Panthers in-

*Put on index card
All with
Black
Panther
Party*

*cc'd [unclear]
pages 1 + 2
[unclear]*

sisted they are "non-violent", Lawrence said, "Our freedom must be obtained by any means necessary . . . it's up to you, and you, and you. If a guy confronts you with a gun and you blow him away . . . is that violence or is it self-defense?"

The "police", who were consistently referred to as "pigs" are the Panthers' most hated targets. Powell called for an end to "police brutality" and "murder of Black people" and Lawrence said, "You've got to stop it now because we are rapidly approaching genocide."

Lawrence pointed to Huey Newton, the Panthers' Minister of Defense, who is jailed in Oakland charged with attempted murder and kidnapping.

Lawrence said the only thing the white man in this country

respects is violence and he urged, "You've got to take up your gun. You've got to defend yourself. You've got to show that you are tired and will not stand for any more."

Although the Panthers were applauded on several occasions, not everyone in the audience agreed with their formula for success. One elderly Negro man said, "I'm a Black man and I have no complaint against the white man."

Powell answered with, "We're not talking to you. You're satisfied. I'm talking to the black people who are not satisfied. I'm speaking to the white people who are not satisfied."

A young man in the audience disagreed with Lawrence's diatribe against the police, saying they are only representative of the "white power structure".

Said Lawrence, "We don't believe in going out in the white community indiscriminately. We don't believe in attacking people. We believe in defending ourselves from attacks of the racist pig cops in our communities. We want him out of here, because we want to determine the destiny of our community."

He went on to charge the police are "tools of the white power structure to keep you down."

In a Black Panther party pamphlet made available to the group, it states the Panthers believe they "can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending the community from racist police oppression and brutality."

Banks confined his remarks

(continued on page 4)

Miss Dunn also charged, "The Black Panthers have been ludicrously distorted in the press as a militaristic violent group out to take over the white community. They want control of the Black community. They want control of their own institutions and they want freedom from intimidation from police harrassment and the Peace and Freedom party supports this."

The stated purpose of the rally was to support the "student Strike against the war in Viet Nam, the draft and racial injustice".

Black Panthers

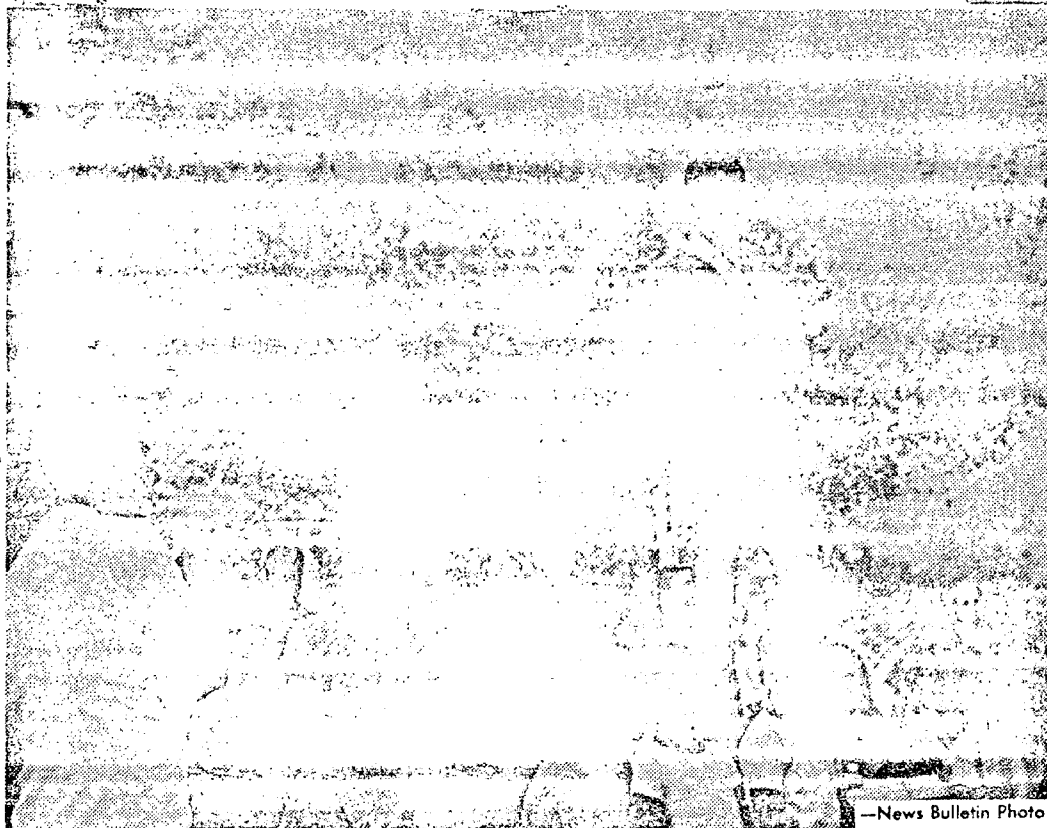
(Continued from Page 1)

to a plea for support from Bakersfield residents, noting there is no Black Panther party in this city.

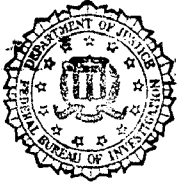
Miss Peggy Dunn, a co-chairman of the Peace and Freedom party in Kern County explained the Black Panther-Peace and Freedom coalition with: "The Black Panther party is primarily aimed at the self defense of the Black community. It is not involved in any attack on the white community. They are defending themselves under their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. The Peace and Freedom party supports their right to self defense."

RE: Black Panther Part,

100-



SHERMONT BANKS, head of the Black Panther party in Southern California, spoke at a Peace and Freedom party rally in California Avenue park Friday afternoon, staged in support of the Student Strike against "the war in Viet Nam, the draft and racial injustice." Banks, and two fellow Black Panthers—Larry Powell and Robert Lawrence, explained their party's 10-point program, which includes organization of armed groups for defense purposes.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

San Francisco, California

DECLASSIFIED BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL April 29, 1968
ON 09-15-2008

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
also known as
BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR
SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

Reference San Francisco memorandum dated April 12,
1968.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished
locally to Army, Air Force, Navy, Secret Service and the
United States Attorney's Office.

The April 25, 1968 issue of the "Oakland Tribune",
Oakland, California daily newspaper, on page one, columns
one and two, contained articles captioned, "Gain: Panthers
Are a 'Threat'" - "Chief Issues Warning" - "Shootout Result:
8 Indicted" which stated in part as follows:

"Oakland Police Chief Charles Gain
charged today that the Black Panther Party
'is a threat to the peaceful persons, both
black and white, in this community.'

" ' Their irrational statements regard-
ing the police, calling the police murder-
ers and demanding that they do not police
the minority community, are both ridiculous
and irrational.'

Then, sitting very straight at a long
table surrounded by reporters and camera -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification~~

157-52-16

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1968	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

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agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

men, the chief warned:

" 'All reasonable persons, both black and white, in this city should recognize them for what they are and let them know that their irrationality will not be tolerated.'

The chief also attacked press statements by Charles Garry, a Panther defense attorney, calling them 'a serious disservice to the people of this community.'

" 'Regarding the vicious allegations made against the police: since the shooting incident there has been a great deal of sounding off in the press and TV by Mr. Charles Garry, attorney for the Black Panthers, to the effect that the police are murderers.

" 'His intemperate and false statements have appeared to be designed to agitate and spread false propaganda,' the chief said.

"The Alameda County Grand Jury exonerated Oakland police in the shoot-out death of Black Panther Party treasurer Bobby Hutton, revealing that he had been nabbed by officers and was shot when he broke and ran from them.

"A formal statement of vindication from the jury accompanied the attempted murder indictment voted against eight Panthers arrested in connection with the April 6 West Oakland gunfight.

"The jury statement said:

" 'We find that the police conduct

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

in the death of Robert Hutton was lawful.'

The eight, including Eldridge Cleaver, 32, party information minister, appeared for arraignment today before Superior Court Judge Redmond C. Staats on charges of attempted murder and assault against police officers.

"Judge Staats continued the hearing until 10 a.m. May 16 to allow defense lawyers time for legal pleas including a motion for reduction of bail.

"All are held in lieu of \$50,000 bail, except Cleaver, whose bail is \$75,000. A bid for immediate reduction of bail was denied by Judge Staats.

"Besides Cleaver, those indicted were Charles Bursey, 21; Terry Cotton, 21; David Hilliard, 25; Donnell Lankford, 18; John L. Scott, 17; Wendell Wade, 23, and Warren Wells, 21."

The April 23, 1968 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco, California daily newspaper, on page three, columns one and two, contained an article captioned, "Panthers' Suit Against Police" which states in part as follows:

"The Black Panthers went to Federal court here yesterday to stop Oakland and Alameda County from harrassing and prosecuting them and all black persons.

"Judge William T. Sweigert set May 2 for a court hearing on an injunction sought by the Panthers.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

"That is just four days before the Oakland trial of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense for the Panthers, on a charge of murder. And the Federal suit asks that that trial be halted.

"In addition to injunctions against harassment and prosecutions, the Panthers are asking the courts to declare certain parts of the California Penal Code unconstitutional.

"These sections include charges lodged against various members of the Panthers, and include murder, kidnapping assault with a deadly weapon, plus sections dealing with selection of a grand jury, indictment by that jury and prosecution after such an indictment.

"Their suit is aimed, said Panther attorney Charles Garry, at preventing 'the chaos which exists in the ghettos of Oakland' because of alleged police harassment.

"The suit, which charges Oakland with violating the rights of Panthers under the First and 14th Amendments, states the Oakland police, 'motivated by white racism,' have 'undertaken to destroy the Black Panthers.'

"Police there, the suit said, harass Panthers 'to kill, to maim and to wound' them. "

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On April 25, 1968, a source advised that the BPP plans a massive protest around trial of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BPP, during the period of May 2-14, 1968, to be known as the "International Days Of Black Revolutionary Protest." Plans reportedly include general boycott of Oakland, California stores, caravan to Sacramento, California to commemorate the May 2, 1967 BPP armed invasion of the California Legislative Assembly, teach-ins and massive march and demonstration at the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, on May 6, 1968, the day Newton's trial on murder charges was scheduled to begin. BPP will demand that Newton must have public trial and that he be set free by May 14, 1968.

A leaflet widely distributed throughout the San Francisco Bay Area captioned, "May 2 - Black Panther Day", lists the schedule of events for that date as follows:

9:00 A.M.:

Support Bobby Seale at
Alameda County Courthouse
(Oakland, California)

Immediately Following:

Caravan to Sacramento, California,
return to State Capitol, Support
Eldridge Cleaver, demonstration at
Parole Board

10:00 A.M.:

San Francisco, Federal Building
450 Golden Gate, hearing on Panther
injunction against Oakland

2:00 P.M.:

Free Black People Rally

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

De Fremery Park, 18th and
Adeline, Oakland.

This leaflet also announced that a massive march and demonstration to free Huey (Huey P. Newton) will be held at the Alameda County Courthouse at a date to be announced.

Also distributed in the San Francisco Bay Area was a mimeographed leaflet of the Peace and Freedom Movement announcing a "Free Huey Workshop" to be held on May 2 at 8:00 P.M. at the Jefferson School Auditorium, Berkeley, California. The announced purpose of this workshop was to hear discussions on "The Facts and General Conditions Surrounding the Case of Huey. P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, and candidate for the Congress of the United States."

On April 25, 1968, the aforementioned source advised that [redacted] of US, Los Angeles, and a contingent of the US organization of Los Angeles were expected to participate in the "International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest" at Oakland, California beginning May 2, 1968.

US is a militant black nationalist organization having headquarters in Los Angeles, California.

This source also advised that [redacted] Black Student Union (BSU), San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, had arranged for [redacted] [redacted] of Newark, New Jersey to make personal appearance at San Francisco, California April 28, 1968. [redacted] indicated that [redacted] would be available for participation in the BPP "International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest."

The BSU of San Francisco State College is a militant black nationalist organization which is recognized by the Administration of that college as a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

student organization.

This same source advised that [redacted] [redacted], BPP, had indicated that she planned to travel to New York City on or about April 24, 1968 for the purpose of enlisting support and a personal appearance with certain leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at the BPP event scheduled for May 2-14, 1968.

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the Appendix.

On April 29, 1968, this source advised that [redacted] had found it necessary to cancel her trip to New York City in order to attend a two-day meeting of the BPP at Oakland, California which was called for the purpose of developing new leadership to replace those BPP leaders who were incarcerated or were busily engaged in speaking engagements for BPP.

A characterization of the BPPSD is contained in the Appendix.

On April 29, 1968, Sergeant [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that Huey P. Newton is scheduled to make an appearance before Judge Monroe Friedman, Superior Court of Alameda County, Oakland, California on April 30, 1968 for continuation of hearings on motions of discovery of the prosecution witness list. Sergeant White stated that there are strong indications that the trial of Newton on murder charges scheduled for May 6, 1968 will be postponed to May 16, 1968.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

San Francisco, California

April 29, 1968

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	San Francisco memorandum 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.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

4/22/68

b6
b7c

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-53841)
FROM: SAC, LAS VEGAS (157-130) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SWIF-DEFENSE (DEP3D)
RM - DEPSD

Re San Francisco airtel to Director, dated 3/15/68.

On 3/20/68, [redacted]

[redacted] Reno, Nevada, was contacted by SA [redacted] and advised that any further purchases of guns by the individuals mentioned in referenced airtel would be immediately reported to the Reno SA. On 3/22/68, Inspector [redacted] Pawn Shop Squad, Reno PD, who has been completely cooperative with the Reno Resident Agency in the past, advised that no local law enforcement agency in the Reno area obtains lists of new gun purchases. He stated that the only list obtained is the pawnlog of guns. [redacted] stated that if he obtains any information concerning a large purchase of guns by questionable individuals, he would advise the Reno SA of same.

On 4/17/68, [redacted] was recontacted by SA [redacted] and advised that the following are guns he has sold to Negroes since prior contact.

On 3/23/68, he sold two "26", .38 caliber, special revolvers, serial numbers [redacted] and [redacted]; one Rossi, .38 caliber special revolver, serial number [redacted] and one Browning millimeter automatic, serial number [redacted], to [redacted] listing a residence of [redacted].

- 4 - San Francisco (3 - 100-53841)
(1 - 100-56678) (RM)
- 2 - Sacramento (157-232) (RM)
- 3 - Las Vegas (3 - 157-130)
(1 - 157-130) [redacted]

TGD:kml
(9)

file in 157-52

157-52-24
157-232-3

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 22 1968	
FBI - SACRAMENTO	

LV 157-130

San Francisco, California. [] exhibited his draft card when purchasing the guns.

On 3/23/68, he sold three Browning "FN", 8 millimeter automatic pistols, made in Belgium, bearing serial numbers [] to [] listing an address of [] Oakland, California, who exhibited his draft card.

On 4/3/68, he sold three .38 caliber revolvers, "Charter Arms" make, bearing serial numbers [] and []; one Browning 8 millimeter automatic pistol, bearing serial number []; and one Astra brand .25 caliber automatic, bearing serial number [], to [] listing an address of [], San Francisco, California. The above address was taken from a California driver's license No. [] exhibited by []. All the above three individuals were young Negro males who had the same type of bushy style haircut.

[] on 3/22/68, sold one "EG-10", .22 caliber pistol, serial number [], to [] [], San Francisco, California. [] was an older Negro male and [] employed by [] in San Francisco. He did not appear to be similar in any way to the other three individuals listed above.

For the information of Sacramento, in referenced communication, San Francisco set forth information concerning the recent purchase and possession of weapons by members of the BPPSD. Investigation disclosed since 10/21/67, 64 hand guns had been purchased for cash by four individuals believed to be members or connected with the BPPSD, from [] Reno, Nevada.

Individuals purchasing same listed California addresses.

For the information of San Francisco, by airtel dated 4/6/68, captioned "Sales of Machine Guns and Other Weapons by [], Reno, Nevada to Negroes in California", Sacramento Division advised as follows:

LV 157-130

A California Highway Patrol officer, Sacramento, related that he had been told that [redacted] of a local shop selling guns, Reno, recently dragged to one [redacted] Negro, male, [redacted] [redacted] Reno, that he, [redacted], was making a killing selling various types of weapons including machine guns of the type used in Viet Nam, to Negroes from California.

[redacted] Las Vegas is in the process of interviewing [redacted] and [redacted] (LV file 157-139).

LAS VEGAS:

AT RENO, NEVADA:

Will maintain contact with [redacted]

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

FBI

Date: 2/17/77

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: Records Management Division
Freedom of Information -
Privacy Act Unit

FROM: ADIC, LOS ANGELES (190-NEW) (1) (P)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE [redacted] CLEAVER
V. CLARENCE M. KELLEY
ET AL
(U.S.D.C., D.C.)
CIVIL ACTION NUMBER 76-795
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
ACT (FOIA) MATTER
Buded 2/18/77

b6
b7C

Re Bureau telephone calls to Los Angeles, 2/14/77
and 2/15/77, and Bureau teletype to Los Angeles dated 2/15/77.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of all
serials from main files identifiable with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,
[redacted] and the Black Panther Party (BPP) concerning
the information between the dates of 8/1/67 - 4/30/68. Also
enclosed are two copies each of all serials from references to
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and [redacted] between the dated 8/1/67
4/30/68. E

The results of the indices search at Los Angeles
indicate the following main files or references were located:

ENCLOSURE IN BLACK BODIES

E. Bulky
ENCLOSURE

ST-113

3 - Bureau (Enc.)
1 - Los Angeles

REC 67 100-447251-1396x2
190-2546-11

RAS/dw
(4)

24 FEB 21 1977

FIGURA

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

70 APR 22 1977

LA 190-NEW

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

100-70073-503,505
(Peace and Freedom Party, California State
Convention, Richmond, California)

100-70038-142,143
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

157-2323*
(LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP)

157-1618-60,61
(BPP)

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]

157-2248*
[REDACTED] RM-BPPSD)

b6
b7C

157-1618-59
(BPP, aka BPP for Self Defense)

BPP

157-2268*
(Peace and Freedom Party and BPP Sponsored Rally,
Sunset and Vine, Los Angeles, California, 4/16/68)

157-1618*
(BPP, IS-MISCELLANEOUS)

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- Airtel

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- E F T O
- CLEAR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Date 2/17/77

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 (ATTENTION: RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION,
 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY ACTS BRANCH)

Handwritten initials/signature

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (66-4556)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE [REDACTED] CLEAVER V.
 CLARENCE M. KELLEY, ET AL.,
 (U.S.D.C., D.C.)
 CIVIL ACTION NO. 76-795
 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) MATTER
 BUDED FEBRUARY 18, 1977

b6
b7c

Re Bureau teletype to San Francisco and other offices dated 2/15/77.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one Xerox copy of all Serials pertaining to main files and references related to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED], and the Black Panther Party as requested in referenced teletype.

Also enclosed for the Bureau are 2 Xerox copies of Form FD-160 which are indices search slips revealing the files located in the San Francisco Office.

100-447251-1396x3

For assistance of the Bureau, the indices search slips are attached to the packages containing the Xerox pages, extracted from the files which fall within the August 1, 1967 through April 30, 1968 period of time, and are separated by rubber bands to correspond with the FD-160 for the pertinent period.

REC-60 190-2546-12

The enclosed Serials represent all of the records contained in the San Francisco files for the above period, even those records which had been previously forwarded to the Bureau at the time of the investigation. Packages also include 1A exhibit envelopes and bulky exhibits records for that period.

- ③ - Bureau (1 package)
- 3 - San Francisco
- TJAH/cea
- (6)

24 FEB 19 1977
7-26-77

ENCLOSURE IN BULKY ROOM

70 MAY 20 1977

Approved: _____ Transmitted _____ Per _____

(Number) (Time)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68137)

DATE: 4/10/68

FROM: SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SM-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	General information re: [redacted] [redacted] 3/21/68.	3/28/68	Writer	[redacted]

b2
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b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"Canoga Park
March 28, 1968

"The following information was learned during a conversation with [redacted] on March 21, 1968.

b6
b7C

[redacted] was very disappointed in the Peace and Freedom Party's failure to nominate [redacted] as its Vice Presidential candidate in Richmond, California recently. He claims that he will work for ROBERT F. KENNEDY's election if Peace and Freedom doesn't nominate a real revolutionary as its Presidential candidate at their National Convention.

CC: 1 - ALBUQUERQUE (REGISTERED)
100- [redacted]

b2
b7D

- 100-70073 (FPF)
- 100-61558 [redacted] (SI)
- 100- [redacted] (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)
- 157-1503 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
- 100-41391 [redacted]
- 100-66686 [redacted]

GCB:LAL
(9) Read by [signature]

157-1503-1
15-3-68
157 DEAD
ee cleaver
cleaver

157-1503-1

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 10 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

b6
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100-447251 1396X3
190-2540

LA 100-68137

' [] said he was invited to help organize support for KENNEDY in the ghetto.

' [] said that [] didn't attend the Richmond convention because he was back East organizing for the Peace and Freedom Party.

' [] said that [] CLEAVER of the Black Panther Party had nominated [] for [] candidate at the P & F Convention.

' [] said that [] has announced that he will run for District Attorney in L.A. [] will work on [] fund raising committee.

"According to [], [] will do the following if elected:

"1. Indict Chief REDDIN for his department's action at Century Plaza June 23, 1968.

"2. Investigate the corrupt L.A. Police Department.

"3. Prosecute policemen guilty of malpractice.

"4. Legalize marijuana."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

b6
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FBI

Date: 2/17/77

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L _____
(Precedence)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Stg

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: RECORDS MANAGEMENT DIVISION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION-PRIVACY
ACTS BRANCH

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (190-3)

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE [REDACTED] CLEAVER
VS
CLARENCE M. KELLY;
ET AL
(U.S.D.C., D.C.)
CIVIL ACTION NUMBER 76-795
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA)
MATTER

2

b6
b7C

Re Bureau teletype dated 2/15/77.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight (8) xeroxed copies of documents.

Indices for San Diego were searched for all main files identifiable with LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [REDACTED] and the Black Panther Party (BPP). Indices were also checked for all references on ELDRIDGE [REDACTED] CLEAVER. These files were reviewed for

*4 ENCL PROCESSED
4/22/77
/18*

*REC-26
4-10
SI-126
100-447251-1396x4*

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 8)
- 1 - San Diego

JRRmlr
(3)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

56 MAY 9 1977

SD 190-3

information concerning these individuals for a period of 8/1/67 through 4/30/68. No information was identifiable with either CLEAVER.

The enclosed documents were extracted from San Diego File 100-13978 entitled "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM - BPP."

Indices reveal under Black Panther Party a main file (SD 44-428) which has not been located to date. Date on index card is shown as July, 1969.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b6
b7c

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-13978)(C)

DATE: 4/16/68

FROM : SA [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

SUBJECT: Black Panther Party
RM

Photographs of [redacted]
FBI # [redacted] head Black Panther
Party, Oakland Calif and Eldridge Cleaver
FBI # 214 530 B have been placed in
this file.

Cleaver is close associate of
[redacted]

EMS: Enf
(1)

100-13978-5
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 16 1968
FBI - SAN DIEGO

FBI SANDIEGO

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FBI SAN FRAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

1230 PM URGENT 4-19-68 TRB
TO LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AKA BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE; RM-BPP.

INFORMATION RECEIVED TODAY FROM [REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE UNIT,
OAKLAND PD, THAT [REDACTED] BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP), ALONG WITH UNKNOWN NEGRO WOMAN [REDACTED] LEFT THE SAN FRANCISCO
BAY AREA WEDNESDAY AND IS BELIEVED TO BE IN LOS ANGELES. ALSO, THAT
[REDACTED] BPP, AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BPP, LEFT SAN FRANCISCO AREA
APPROXIMATELY SAME TIME AND IS IN SAN DIEGO.

[REDACTED] DESCRIBED NEGRO MALE, BORN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] FIVE FEET TEN, ONE FIVE FIVE POUNDS, SLENDER,
BLACK HAIR, WORN NORMAL NOT NATURAL, BROWN EYES, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], NO MOUSTACHE.

[REDACTED] DESCRIBED [REDACTED] FIVE FEET FIVE TO FIVE FEET SIX,
MEDIUM BUILD, ONE TWO FIVE POUNDS, MEDIUM-DARK COMPLEXION, HAIR
NATURAL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DESCRIBED AS NEGRO, TWENTYTHREE, FIVE FEET SIX,
SLENDER, LIGHT BROWN COMPLEXION, BROWN HAIR WORN NATURAL, STANDS
OUT, FEATURES - FINE, ATTRACTIVE.

FOR INFORMATION.

END

OTHER OFFICE ADVISED

WAC

FBI SANDIEGO

P

44-13975-11
APR 19 1968
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (1

DATE: 5/2/68

b6
b7C

FROM : SA [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY ✓
RM

Attached pamphlet re Black Panther Party furnished by
[redacted] on 5/1/68.

b2
b7D

For file only.

EMP:emp
(1)

✓

[redacted] *WJ*

[redacted] *PAT*

INDEXED	<i>✓</i>
SERIALIZED	<i>✓</i>
MAY 13 1968	
FBI - SAN DIEGO	

b6
b7C

100-447251-1396x4

~~790-2546-4~~ ~~100-13975-8~~

BOBBY HUTTON

murdered

Malcolm X was *murdered*.

Martin Luther King was *murdered*.

Both were 39; both were ministers, one Baptist, one Muslim. *Both were unarmed.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton was shot by Oakland pigs attempting to murder him. He is charged with murder and attempted murder, facing a death sentence.

Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver was shot by Oakland pigs attempting to murder him. He is charge with 3 counts of attempted murder, and now that his parole has been revoked, faces life imprisonment.

Brother Malcolm, Dr. King, Huey P. Newton, and Eldridge Cleaver all laid their lives on the line for BOBBY HUTTON. Brother Bobby is dead, murdered by an Oakland pig. *He died fighting for our freedom.*

FUNERAL AT STAR BETHEL CHURCH
Stanford and San Pablo, Oakland
11:15 Friday, April 12

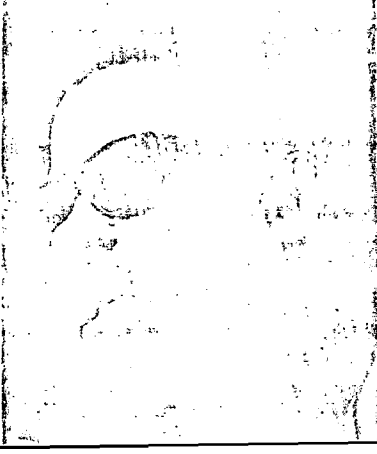
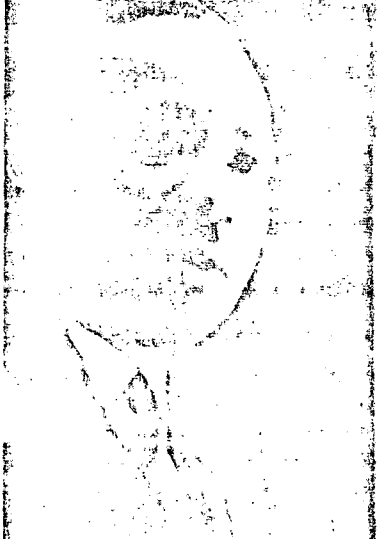
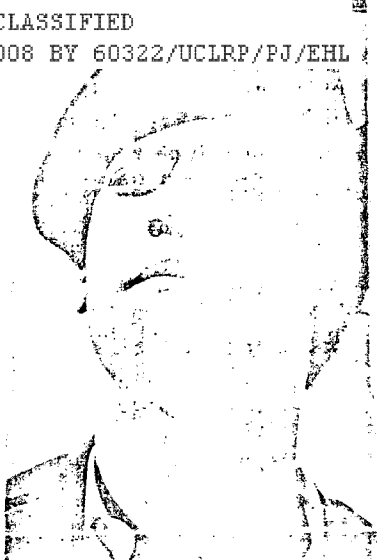
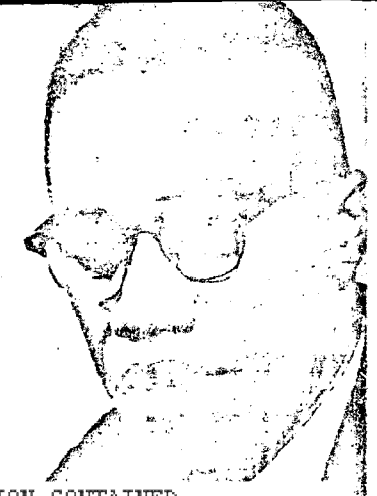
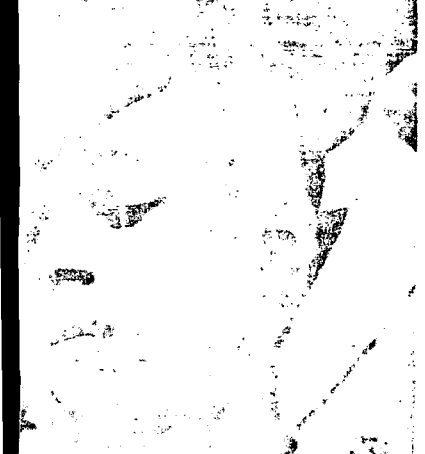
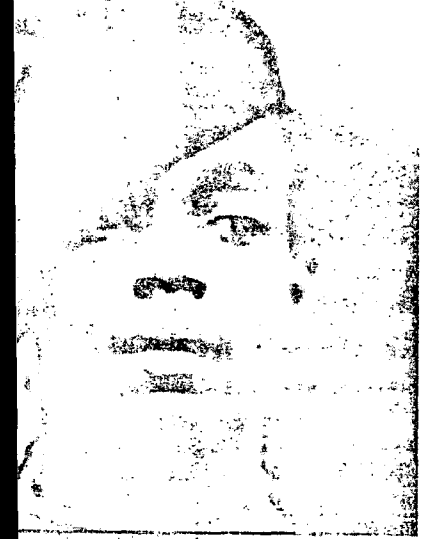
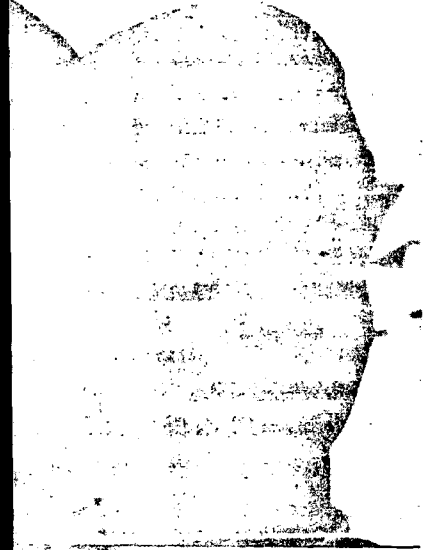
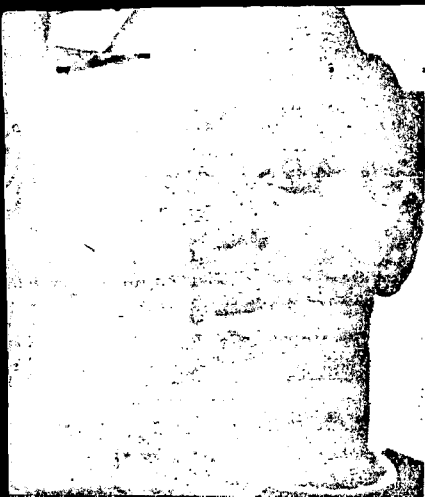
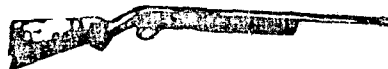
MEMORIAL AT MERRITT PARK 1:30 pm
(across the street from Alameda
County Courthouse)

PROCESSION TO JAIL for

**Eldridge
Cleaver**

following memorial

BODY IN STATE at Fouchette-Hudson
Funeral Home, 37th and Telegraph
Oakland



SAC, SAN DIEGO (157-

5/9/68

SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

[redacted]

RACIAL MATTERS

INFORMATION USED FROM THIS MEMO SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED
TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

On [redacted] was
contacted by SA [redacted] at which time he furnished
information which is filed as [redacted] Informant advised
he had no further information in his possession at this
time.

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b7C
b7D

RECOMMENDATION: All necessary action, as indicated by the
contents of this memo, has been taken by the
writer.

157-
cc:

READ BY _____

[redacted]
100-13978 (Black Panther Party)

b2
b7D

EMP: jkw
(2) jkw

100-13978-12

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 10 1968	
FBI - SAN DIEGO	

EP

100-447251-1396x4

~~190-2516~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 1/5/23/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/16 - 5/20/68
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka Black Panther Party For Self-Defense		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY j
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM	

REFERENCE: Report of SA , dated November 16, 1967, at San Francisco.

-p*-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-15-2008 BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

Copies of this report have been designated for Atlanta, Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Portland, San Diego, Seattle, Sacramento, Washington Field, and New York for information inasmuch as this report contains ramifications of specific interest to those offices.

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SF 157-1204
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This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ because it contains information furnished by SF T-1 which, if disclosed, could possibly result in the loss of an informant of continuing value.

Case files have been opened for active investigation on those persons mentioned in this report as being affiliated with the Subject organization.

The bank information set forth in this report has been summarized for the sake of brevity. The FD 302's covering the monitoring of the HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund checking account at the 8th and Broadway Branch, Bank of America, Oakland, California, and the Black Panther Party Commercial Association Checking Account at the Emeryville Branch, Wells Fargo Bank, Emeryville, California, are filed in the main case file on this organization.

Agents who attended the HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund Rally held on February 17, 1968, at the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California are SA [redacted]

[redacted], SA [redacted] and SA [redacted]

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On April 12, 1968, Agent [redacted] observed the BOBBY JAMES HUTTON Memorial gathering at the Oakland Museum Park, Oakland, California, and heard JAMES FORMAN, leader of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) give a speech eulogizing the deceased.

This report is for the most part the summary of information previously furnished by LHM to the Bureau and to interested offices and agencies.

The firearms weapons mentioned in this report as having been confiscated from Black Panther Party members or purchased by Black Panther Party members have been checked through NCIC. The identifying data concerning these weapons has been recorded in this case file.

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LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will through informants and established sources continue to follow the activities of this organization and submit a report within 90 days.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of:

[REDACTED]

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

5/23/68

Field Office File #:

157-1204

Bureau File #:

105-165706

Title:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DECLASSIFIED BY 60322/UCLRP/PJ/EHL
ON 09-15-2008

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

The name of Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD) changed to Black Panther Party (BPP) March, 1968. National headquarters located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California. During 1968, general membership meetings of the BPP were held at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, Downs Memorial Methodist Church, and St. Philip's Community Church, Oakland, California. Merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) announced at February 17, 1968, HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Rally, Oakland, California; H. RAPP BROWN named as Minister of Justice, BPP; JAMES FORMAN as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL as Prime Minister of Afro-America. HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, BPP, incarcerated Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer. The "International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest" June 5 - June 15, 1968, are focused on NEWTON's trial, scheduled for June 10, 1968. The BPP has entered into narrow coalition with Peace and Freedom Party (PFP). The following BPP leaders announced candidates for political office on the PFP ballot in the 1968 elections: BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, for Assemblyman, 17th California State Assembly District; LEROY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP 1~~~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification~~

declassified per
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ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information (incarcerated at California State Medical Facility, Vacaville, California) for President of the United States of America; HUEY P. NEWTON as Congressman, 7th U.S. Congressional District. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] On April 6, 1968, several members of the BPP including CLEAVER and [REDACTED] were involved in "shoot-out" with Oakland police officers, Oakland, California, which resulted in death of BOBBY JAMES HUTTON, age 17, a BPP member and injury to two police officers and two BPP members; arsenal of BPP weapons confiscated. On April 12, 1968, JAMES FORMAN, Minister of Foreign Affairs, BPP, spoke at memorial gathering for HUTTON at Oakland, California. Twenty thousand copies of May 4, 1968 issue of "Black Panther Party-Black Community News Service" official news publication of BPP ordered for sale to public at 25 cents per copy.

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DETAILS:

I. CHANGE OF NAME OF ORGANIZATION

At press conference held on March 7, 1968, at the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party (BPP) stated that the words "self-defense" had been deleted from the official name of the organization because "people seem to misinterpret the definition of what self-defense is all about".

II. LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The new national headquarters for the BPP and the HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund is located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, telephone number 654-2003. It is situated on the ground floor level of a commercial store front building in a semi-commercial, predominantly Negro district of North Oakland.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The planned organizational structure of the BPP as of April, 1968, included the following chain of command:

Minister of Defense
Chairman
Minister of Information
National Headquarters Captain
Minister of Education
Captains
Sub Captains
Section Leaders
Sub Section Leaders
Block Leaders
The People

SF T-1
4/8/68

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At a general membership meeting of the BPP held on April 13, 1968, at the Downs Memorial Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets, Oakland, attended by approximately 110 members, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman and GEORGE MASON MURRAY, Minister of Education, BPP, discussed the "10-10-10 Program" for the organizational structure of the BPP, in connection with the revolutionary warfare tactics against the "white establishment" in Oakland, California. MURRAY announced that the program included plans for dividing the "Black Belt" of the city of Oakland into ten sections, those sections into ten subsections, and those subsections into blocks to educate the black community of Oakland in revolutionary warfare methods and tactics.

SF T-1
4/15/68

In early May, 1968, it was indicated that the BPP had plans to expand and open branches of the BPP in the major West Coast cities.

SF T-2
5/8/68

IV. OFFICERS

As of May 1, 1968, the officers of the BPP consisted of the following:

INDEX

HUEY PERCY NEWTON	Minister of Defense
BOBBY GEORGE SEALE	Chairman
LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	
(better known as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)	Minister of Information
DAVID HILLIARD	National Headquarters Captain
GEORGE MASON MURRAY	Minister of Education
H. RAPP BROWN	Minister of Justice
JAMES FORMAN	Minister of Foreign Affairs
AUDREY HUDSON	Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER	Communications Secretary
EMORY DOUGLAS	Revolutionary Artist
EVELYN C. PROCTOR	Finance Manager

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V. MEMBERSHIP

As of May 1, 1968, the BPP had an estimated activist membership of approximately 125 persons in Northern California. Several hundred others have completed applications for membership in the BPP or have indicated sympathetic affiliation with the BPP.

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Membership in the BPP is restricted to non-Caucasians after being oriented, members are expected to possess their own firearms weapons. The prescribed wearing apparel for the BPP members are black berets, black leather jackets, black trousers, powder blue shirts and black ties.

SF T-1

5/3/68

In a press conference in San Francisco, California, on April 11, 1968, as reported in the "San Francisco Chronicle" of April 12, 1968, and also on KTVU Channel 2 television, Oakland, HARRY THOMAS EDWARDS, Associate Professor of Sociology at San Jose State College, San Jose, California, announced that he had decided to join the BPP. EDWARDS urged other Negroes who had achieved social standing to also join the BPP to serve notice on society that "you can no longer ignore the Black Panthers". He proclaimed that he personally encouraged violence because "non-violence essentially has not worked".

HARRY THOMAS EDWARDS has gained nation-wide prominence through his promotion of a boycott by Negro athletes of the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico City, Mexico. He has been publicly identified as a leader of the Black Students Union (BSU) at San Jose State College, which is a militant black nationalist organization recognized by San Jose State College administration as a student organization.

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VI. MEETINGS AND TEACHINGS

From January to May, 1968, weekly general membership meetings of the BPP were held in Oakland, California, at St. Philips Community Church, 42nd and Grove Streets, or Downs Memorial Methodist Church, 61st and Idaho Streets or St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, 27th and West Streets. Attendance at these meetings ranged from twenty to 110.

SF T-1
from 1/15/68 through 5/20/68

At meetings of the BPP held in January and February, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, in the capacity of Minister of Information, BPP, distributed copies of "The Catechism of the Revolutionist" which set forth an introduction by the Minister of Information which is quoted in part as follows:

"The Catechism of the Revolutionist,
by Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin, is one of the most important formulations of principles in the entire history of revolution. A contemporary Marxist, Bakunin was the epitome of the activist and his deeds spoke louder than his words...

"The history of revolutionary movements all over the world attest to the fact that Bakunin's message must be unearthed and scrutinized by a new generation faced with a new tyranny..."

SF T-1 on 2/16/68

At one of the meetings held on January 14, 1968, at St. Philips Community Church, Oakland, one of the members stated that the BPP had plans to request Negro businessmen to contribute \$10 per month for support of their organization. These contributors would be provided a sticker for the front windows of their stores to identify them as contributors. Those who refused to contribute would be told "we are not responsible if a brother happens to burn your place down".

SF T-1
on 1/15/68

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At another of these general membership meetings of the BPP held on January 21, 1968, at the same location, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER gave a twenty minute talk in which he announced that his book "Soul On Ice" would soon be available. CLEAVER stressed the importance of the BPP raising funds for the Defense of HUEY P. NEWTON stating that the success of the BPP as an organization rested on the matter of NEWTON being freed of charges of murdering an Oakland police officer. CLEAVER further stated that the BPP members "should feel justified to rob, steal and if necessary, to kill in order to get what they needed for the support of their organization." He also indicated that "some of the brothers have been sharing with the organization the loot taken from their robberies and burglaries."

SF T-1
on 1/22/68

On March 30, 1968, approximately 65 to 70 Negroes attended a meeting of the BPP at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, 27th and West Streets, Oakland. At this meeting BOBBY GEORGE SEALE spoke on the importance of dividing the white community and commented that one way to accomplish this is to have the BPP work through the PFP. At this meeting SEALE stressed that there will be "no spontaneous rioting, only organized". A map of the city of Oakland, California, was placed on the wall and the city was divided into sections and subsections. A leader was assigned to each section and was issued the instructions "you will not walk in groups of less than four nor more than five". Those in attendance were divided into two workshop groups representing Oakland and Berkeley, California, to continue instructions on guerrilla warfare tactics to be used in their respective areas.

SF T-1
April 3, 1968

SF 157-1204

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At still another of these meetings held on May 8, 1968, at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, Oakland, with approximately 55 persons in attendance, GEORGE MASON MURRAY in the capacity of Minister of Education asked the BPP members present to volunteer the use of their apartments and homes for educational classes in revolutionary tactics. He specified that groups of five or six persons would be expected to attend these classes to be held at various locations in the San Francisco Bay area and that the material for these classes would be taken from the red book "Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse Tung", and publications of other leading revolutionaries. MURRAY stressed the importance of attendance at these classes stating that there was need for preparations for defense against confinement in the concentration camps now being planned for militant Negroes and that time was running out. MURRAY concluded by stating "the spirit with guns will enable use to win this revolutionary struggle against white oppression".

VII. FINANCES

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The above bank information can only be made public through the issuance of subpoena duces tecum directed to the manager where the account is located or his designated representative.

reportedly had a couple of BPP members beaten up on or about March 17, 1968, for "dipping into the till" of the HUEY P. NEWTON Defense Fund.

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SF T-4
4/11/68

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The above bank information can only be made public through the issuance of subpoena duces tecum directed to the manager where the account is located or his designated representative.

The accredited speakers of the BPP as of May, 1968, were KATHLEEN CLEAVER, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, BOBBY GEORGE SEALE. They indicated that they expected fees ranging from \$300 to \$500 for speaking before church and civic groups for each appearance.

SF T-2
5/7/68

VIII. OFFICIAL PUBLICATION "BLACK PANTHER PARTY-BLACK COMMUNITY
NEWS SERVICE (BPP-BCNS)

On May 10, 1968, [redacted] Publishing Company, San Francisco, California, advised that representatives of the BPP had ordered and paid for 20,000 copies of the May 4, 1968, issue of the BPP-BCNS at a cost of \$35.00 per thousand. This official publication of the BPP sells at 25 cents per copy.

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An excerpt from an article appearing in the May 4, 1968, issue of the BPP-BCNS on Page 6, Columns 1 through 4, entitled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution" by the Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, is quoted in part as follows:

"Most human behavior is learned behavior...
At this time the Black masses are handling
the resistance incorrectly...

"The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses...
When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced,

the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize 30 million black people in primary groups of twos and threes, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution..."

An article entitled "Dig This-Credo for Rioters and Looters" on Page 4, Column 3 and 4 of the same issue of the BPP-BCNS quoted in full as follows:

"An anonymous cop in an anonymous city shoots to death an anonymous black youth suspected of stealing a car, and riots, on the heels of the news, sweep the nation. Widespread looting is reported in a dozen cities. Roving bands of black youths set buildings on fire. Snipers, firing on policemen and firemen, are reported in several cities. In two or three places, the National Guard is called out to restore order. 'Responsible Negro Leaders', given prime time on radio and TV, appeal for calm; 'Cool it, Baby,' enjoin, but Baby isn't listening to them. Strangely, demonic, maniacal black demagogues raise their voices above the crescendo of chaos and madness, urging the marauders to burn America to the ground.

"Before the last flames die down, a Blue Ribbon Commission, established by Presidential Decree, is instructed to investigate the cause of the disorders. Distinguished Congressmen, with the insight of their racism, already know the cause of the disorders and waste no time announcing it to an uneasy nation: Stokely Carmichael! Rap Brown! SNCC! Leroi Jones! The Black Panthers! -- these apostles of violence are to blame!

"Upwards of 20,000,000 black people, knowing you for the rotten, racist, murdering nation of white thievish hypocrites that you are, are no longer interested in explaining anything to you, America. Indeed, we understand that you already know all about it. We know that your investigations into the disorders are just a bunch of bullshit maneuvers designed to buy you time while you multiply and perfect your machinery of repression which you have already unleashed upon us. In fact, your investigators themselves are amongst your chief and shrewdest criminals.

"Black people have already judged you, America, and have condemned you to death. And we also know that history has selected us, your slaves and chief victims, to be your executioner, the instrument of your destruction.

"What a laugh! America the beautiful. Home of the brave. Friend of the underdog. You once had a beautiful dream -- but even then, while you dreamed that dream, you were foul and corrupt and rotten in your heart, but you were a minor league brigand then and when you compared yourself to the other tyrannies in the world, you looked innocent by contrast to their greater evil. The innocent blood they had shed was a vast and ancient ocean, and yours was a fresh new stream. But now your little stream has become vaster than the sky and your evil dwarfs everything that has gone before. Now you stand naked before the world, before yourself, a predatory, genocidal Dorian Grey, stripped of all egalitarian democratic makeup.

"Is it any wonder that we burn you, that we loot you -- you who have burned and looted the world? Who are you to judge? You have no say in the matter. In the councils of the oppressed, the oppressor has no vote. The oppressor has no right which the oppressed are bound to respect.

"America, you will be cleansed by fire, by blood, by death. We who perform your ablution must step up our burning -- bigger and better fires, one flame for all America, an all-American flame; we must step up our looting--loot, until we storm your last hoarding place, till we trample your last stolen jewel into your ashes beneath our naked black feet; we must step up our sniping--until the last pig is dead, shot to death with his own gun and the bullets in his guts that he had meant for the people.

"We are not blind fools, America, we are not petty and greedy like you. You have seen to that. You kept us from becoming like you. We are not even part of you. We are not of you or in you and you are not in us. We stand clear of you. And we are not unjust, as you are. We know that there are those amongst your people who are innocent, those who have had no part in your decisions, those who were brainwashed and manipulated out of their own humanity, out of their minds, out of their lives. We know who these are. These will help us burn you. These will help us loot you. These will help us kill you, so that humanity might breathe a new air and bask in sunlight that will not warm your grave.

"Establish a Blue Ribbon Commission to investigate that!"

IX. PROGRAM OF THE BPP

Mimeographed leaflets widely distributed throughout the San Francisco Bay Area, California, during April, 1968, carried the program of the BPP under two headings, "What We Want", and "What We Believe".

The ten points itemized under the heading "What We Want" are being set forth as follows:

- " 1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."

X. DEMONSTRATIONS, RALLIES AND A COURT ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH HUEY P. NEWTON TRIAL

The January 29, 1968, issue of the "Daily Californian" student newspaper, University of California, Berkeley, on Page 1 Columns 1 and 2, contained an article captioned "Newton Before Court; 300 Protest Outside" which stated in part as follows:

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"Black Panther Huey P. Newton made his first appearance in court Friday, when arraignment proceedings began over his indictment for the alleged murder of an Oakland policeman in October, 1967.

"During the hearing, Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry contested his client's indictment and requested that the case be dismissed on grounds that the Grand Jury which indicted Newton was illegitimate (illegally constituted).

"The Constitution stated that a Grand Jury must be composed of one's peers and Garry argued that the Grand Jury which indicted Newton was unlawful since its members were primarily upper class whites and not Newton's peers...

"Chanting, 'Free Huey Now' and carrying signs reading 'Free The 7' the demonstrators circled the front of the courthouse and filled the fifth floor hall outside the room where Newton was being arraigned."

The records of the Clerk of the Superior Court, Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, California, under Action Number 41266, disclosed that the arraignment for HUEY P. NEWTON, under indictment for murder, originally set for November 16, 1967, was on four separate occasions continued and Newton was ultimately arraigned on January 16, 1968.

On May 20, 1968, Sergeant [redacted], Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, advised that the trial of NEWTON which had been set for May 6, 1968, has been postponed to June 10, 1968, in Superior Court of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California.

The April 23, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" on Page 3, Columns 1 and 2, contained an article entitled "Panthers Suit Against Police" which states in part as follows:

"The Black Panthers went to Federal Court here yesterday to stop Oakland and Alameda County from harrassing and prosecuting them and all black persons.

"Judge William T. Sweigert set May 2 for a court hearing on an injunction sought by the Panthers... In addition to injunctions against harrassment and prosecution, the Panthers are asking the courts to declare certain parts of the California Penal Code unConstitutional...

"Their suit is aimed, said Panther attorney Charles Garry, at preventing 'the chaos which exists in the ghettos of Oakland' because of alleged police harrassment."

The records of the U.S. District Court, San Francisco, California, disclosed that the above mentioned court hearing on injunction sought by the BPP has been scheduled for May 21, 1968, at San Francisco, California.

In latter April and early May, 1968, a mimeographed leaflet of the BPP announced that the "International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest" including a massive march and demonstration to "free Huey" would be held from June 5 - 15, 1968, and that the focal point of this activity would be the trial of HUEY P. NEWTON on June 10, 1968, Alameda County Courthouse, 12th and Fallon Streets, Oakland, California.

The May 10 - 16, 1968, issue of the "Berkeley Barb" on Page 3, Columns 4 and 5, contained an article captioned "Panthers To Stop Oakland". This article stated in part as follows:

"The Black Panthers will try to stop Oakland early next month.

"'We will deliver an ultimatum to the white power structure to free Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, and all black political prisoners -- or the sky's the limit,' Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale told BARB.

"As Seale sat in the Panther office mapping out plans for the International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest, a young woman at a desk in the background was phoning the United Nations in New York.

"'We're inviting representatives from delegations of all Afro-Asian nations in the United Nations,' Seale explained, 'and from North Vietnam and Red China.'

"The form of the Panther wrench in Oakland's gears will be massive boycotts and city-wide marches. Seale said he anticipates that about 50,000 black people from throughout the USA and other countries will take part in the June 5-15 actions.

"Huey Newton's trial begins June 10. On that day simultaneous marches from the outskirts of Oakland will converge along a dozen streets onto the Alameda County Courthouse.

"'We're going to apply for permits,' Seale told BARB, 'but if we don't get the permits, we're going to march anyway, because we have a right to assemble for redress of grievances.'

"The ultimatum will demand the release of all black political prisoners, and that all Oakland businesses inform the Panthers of how many immediate job openings they have for black people.

"'Businesses that don't respond will be hit with a total boycott,' Seale said, 'and those that give a satisfactory reply will be given signs for their windows: Don't Boycott This Store.'"

XI. COLLECTION OF GUNS AND GUN-CARRYING INCIDENTS

Records of the Berkeley Police Department disclose that on February 25, 1968, [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] Berkeley, were charged with Violation 12020, Penal Code (PC)(Possession of Illegal Firearm) and 12090 PC (Obliterating Identifying Marks on a Pistol). Four of their associates were each charged with two violations, violation of 12025 PC (Concealed Weapon in Automobile) and 12031 PC (Carrying a Loaded Firearm In Vehicle in Public Place or Street Within City of Berkeley).

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All six persons pled not guilty and were free on bail.

The "Berkeley Daily Gazette" issue of February 26, 1968, carried an article concerning the February 25, 1968, arrests and stated in part as follows:

"Charles Garry, Defense Attorney for Black Panther Huey P. Newton...will represent Seale. He called the arrest 'atrotious act by a law enforcement agency' and 'trumped-up phoney charges'. Garry said the Berkeley arrest of the Seales depletes the Huey Newton Defense Fund further..."

On February 27, 1968, Captain BRUCE BAKER, Acting Chief of Police, Berkeley, California, advised that on that evening a group of approximately 300 persons led by [redacted] of the BPP, attended the Berkeley City Council meeting commencing at 7:00 p.m. He said that [redacted] and others representing the BPP and the PFP took control of the council meeting from about 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Mayor WALLACE JOHNSON of Berkeley, Chairman of the City Council, reseized the meeting and requested that Captain [redacted] have the police clear the council chambers. Captain [redacted] requested assistance from the Alameda County Sheriff's Office, the California Highway Patrol and the Oakland Police Department. He described the scene as "potentially riotous".

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The April 7, 1968, edition of the "Oakland Tribune", Oakland, California newspaper, on Page 1, Columns 1 and 2, carried an article captioned "Oakland's 90-Minute War -- One Dead, Four Shot in Battle -- Two Panthers and Two Cops Hit in Siege", which states in part as follows"

"One suspect was killed, two wounded and two Oakland Police Officers shot and wounded Saturday night, April 6, 1968, during a 90-minute gun battle and siege in West Oakland.

"The slain suspect, shot as he emerged from a barricaded house at 1218 - 28th Street, was tentatively identified by police as Bobby Hutton, about 18, a member of the Black Panthers..."

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"Deputy Police Chief Robert R. Cazadd said the gun battle grew out of a definite attempt to ambush the police.

"Police said the shooting began after a patrol car stopped to question the occupants of three parked cars in the 2900 block of Union Street."

The records of the Identification Division, Oakland Police Department disclosed that the following individuals were arrested and charged with assault with intent to commit murder in connection with the April 6, 1968, incident, Oakland, California:

[REDACTED]

Berkeley, California

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
850 Oak Street
San Francisco, California

[REDACTED]

Oakland, California

[REDACTED]

Oakland, California

[REDACTED]

San Francisco, California

[REDACTED]

Oakland, California

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[REDACTED]

Address Not Given

[REDACTED]

San Francisco, California

On April 10, 1968, Officer [REDACTED], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California, advised that investigation by the Oakland Police Department subsequent to April 6, 1968, has disclosed the following facts:

Early on Saturday evening, April 6, 1968, LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, better known as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, gathered members and leaders of the BPP together at BPP Headquarters, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, and told them that he received alarming information from a source considered by him to be reliable and in a position to know. He said he had been told that the Oakland Police Department was planning genocide against the BPP. Then he stated, "We'll take care of that. We'll get them first."

About fifteen BPP members, including CLEAVER and [REDACTED] of the BPP, proceeded in three cars to a house located at 3421 Chestnut, Oakland, California, where they gathered up numerous weapons, including rifles and shotguns. At this location CLEAVER stated that they would cruise around North Oakland to look for a policeman to kill.

They then proceeded to North Oakland and spotted two police officers as they were getting out of their patrol car. The BPP members got out of their cars unnoticed by the officers. By jumping fences and going through backyards they endeavored to maneuver themselves into a position to shoot at the officers. Before they could get set up, the officers were back in their car and departed. No shots were fired and the officers never became aware of the presence of the BPP members. The officers had responded to a missing persons complaint and had only remained at the location of the complaint for a short time because they were informed upon arrival that the missing person had returned home.

After previously cruising around North Oakland, the BPP members decided to rendezvous in the vicinity of 30th and Union Streets, Oakland. Shortly after they arrived in that location, the aforementioned shooting incident took place.

Investigation by the Oakland Police Department has disclosed that the following individuals are suspected of having been involved in the April 6, 1968, BPP gun battle with the Oakland Police Department:

[redacted] student at San Francisco State College and suspected of being affiliated with the Black Student Union.



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The April 11, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", San Francisco daily newspaper, on Page 3, paragraph 5, contains an article captioned "Panthers Plead Not Guilty", which states in part as follows:

"Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver was brought in a heavily-guarded ambulance from the Vacaville Medical Facility to make an Oakland court appearance with six co-defendants yesterday...

"More than one-half of the spectators in court were Black Panthers, and they gave Cleaver and the other defendants the clenched fist salute of the militant Negro organization. Some chanted 'Black Power' at the end of the hearing.

"Cleaver and the others entered pleas of not guilty to charges of assault with intent to commit murder arising from a gun battle in West Oakland last weekend...

"Judge Stafford P. Buckley denied a request by defense attorney Charles Garry for a reduction in Cleaver's bail of \$63,000.00 and the \$40,000.00 bail set for the others."

The April 25, 1968, issue of "San Francisco Examiner" on Page 1, Columns 1 through 3, contained an article captioned "Panthers Sought Battle, Jury Told," which stated in part as follows:

"The Grand Jury transcript today disclosed statements from Black Panthers that an armed group of them went looking for 'some shooting' with police the night of the April 6 gun battle in West Oakland.

"The statements were presented to the Alameda County Grand Jury yesterday as part of the evidence on which eight of the Panthers were indicted and police were exonerated in the killing of one Panther, Bobby Hutton, 17.

"The Panthers had charged that Hutton was shot down as he fled from the house clad only in shorts. The evidence showed he was fully clothed.

"One of the Panther statements given to the jury was made by Wendell Wade who said 10 to 15 'brothers' had gathered at the house, on the corner of Chestnut and 27th Streets, the night of the fight.

"GUNS ON FLOOR

"'All the guns were just lying around on the floor of the front room,' it read. 'There were rifles, carbines, shotguns and handguns of all types. There was also all kinds of ammunition.

"'Everyone picked out a weapon of his own choosing. I took an Astra automatic and three clips of ammunition. Eldridge Cleaver was acting as captain and he had an AR-15 rifle. I'm not sure how the organization got all these weapons. I don't know if any were stolen.'"

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On May 29, 1968, Sergeant [redacted], Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, advised that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is incarcerated at the California Medical Facility, Vacaville, California, for violation of his parole by participating in the April 6, 1968, BPP incident; [redacted] is free on \$40,000.00 bail; and the others arrested in connection with this incident are incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial.

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The May 17, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" on Page 26, Columns 5 and 6, contained an article "Panthers Win Delay" which announced that the arraignment of seven Black Panthers of charges stemming from the April 6, Oakland shoot-out was postponed there yesterday until June 20, at the request of Panther Lawyer CHARLES R. GARRY. This article also stated:

"The postponement was granted after Garry requested the delay in an attempt to quash the original secret Grand Jury indictment charging the seven with attempted murder and lesser crimes..."

On May 7, 1968, Officer [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that the Oakland Police Department had confiscated four handguns, 13 rifles and four shotguns from the BPP participants in the April 6, 1968, shoot-out with the Oakland Police.

The April 25, 1968, issue of the "Oakland Tribune" on Page 1, carried an article entitled "Shoot-out Result: 8 Indicted" which stated in part:

"The Alameda County Grand Jury exonerated Oakland Police in the shoot-out death of Black Panther Treasurer Bobby Hutton revealing that he had been nabbed by officers and was shot when he broke and ran from them.

"A formal statement of vindication from the jury accompanied the attempted murder indictment voted against eight Panthers arrested in connection with the April 6 West Oakland gun fight."

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The May 13, 1968 issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" on Page 16, Columns 1 and 2, contained an article captioned "Slain Panther's Kin Sue for 2.5 Million" which states in part as follows:

"The parents of Bobbie James Hutton, slain in Oakland April 6, files a \$2.5 million damage suit in federal court today, naming Oakland's chief of police and six officers as defendants.

"Mr. and Mrs. John D. Hutton charged in their action that the defendants 'deliberately, wilfully, maliciously and without justification, and knowing they had no justification,' shot and killed their son, thus 'depriving him of his life without due process.'

Hutton 18, treasurer of the Black Panther Party, was killed in the shooting, and two other Panthers and two policeman were wounded.

"The action named Oakland Police Chief Charles R. Gain, Captain 'John Doe' McCarthy; Sgt. 'John Doe' Howerton; and Patrolmen Robert Fredericks, Robert A. Coffman and John R. Schlim of Oakland and Owen C. Brown of Emeryville.

"It asked \$500,000 in damages, and the balance of the amount was sought as a punitive measure. . The suit was filed by attorneys Clinton W. White, Donald Warden and Henry Ramsey, Jr."

On the afternoon of April 12, 1968, an Agent of the FBI observed approximately 2,500 persons predominantly Caucasian as they assembled at the Oakland Museum Park, Oakland, California in connection with the Black Panther Party memorial Gathering for BOBBY JAMES HUTTON. One of the main speakers at this event was JAMES FORMAN.

May 17, 1968, Sergeant [redacted], Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California, made available a copy of a transcript of a recording made of the speech of JAMES FORMAN who was introduced as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the BPP.

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An excerpt from this transcript is being quoted as follows:

"The memorial for Bobby Hutton, what can we say about Bobby Hutton? We can say that, first of all, he was born a revolutionary. Bobby Hutton was born a revolutionary. All black people are born revolutionary. They're born revolutionaries because they're born in a white racist society, a society which its racism permeates every level, permeates all of its economic structure, permeates all of its cultural and social activity. And that's a problem that all black people face who are born revolutionaries, and all of them are born revolutionaries, is whether or not they can keep the revolutionary birthright which they were born with. And when we look at Bobby Hutton, seventeen years old, seventeen years old, the first Panther, the first Panther, seventeen years old and the first Panther assassinated, slaughtered, shot down in the streets of Oakland we have to say that he died as a revolutionary. He was born a black revolutionary and he died a black revolutionary. For how many people seventeen years old are juvenile delinquents? How many people in the white community are hippies? They're not born revolutionaries * * *

"I know this is a dangerous territory to be talking about the hippies but that's a fact. The reason, the reason that weak people can escape into the hippie bag is because the revolutionary fever, which is the birthright of all black people, does not exist. Bobby Hutton lived as a revolutionary, he came into the Panther Party, he responded to the call of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale who said we must defend our communities; he was the first Panther -- this must be understood, he was the first Panther. All the Panthers that you see, including me, we came after the brother -- after him, he was the first Panther. At fifteen years old, or fourteen and a half, he said, 'I am prepared to pick up the gun and defend my community.' How many of us, who are even Panthers, were doing that at fourteen? He was the first Panther so he lived as a revolutionary. He was born a revolutionary because he was born black. He kept his revolutionary birthright by picking up the gun at fourteen and defending black people. He died a revolutionary at the age of seventeen in Oakland. And he died not only for black people but for the cause of all oppressed people around the world. And why did he have to pick up the gun, why did he have to become a revolutionary? Brother Bobby has explained it to you, he had to become a revolutionary because the hog is in the stream, the hog is in the stream, the hog is in the stream. The hog has been in the stream for some four, five, six hundred years. I'm talking about decadent western white civilization, that is the hog, that is the hog and what are the characteristics of a hog? It is an exploiting hog, it has to make money. Some call it capitalism, some call it imperialism, but damn it, it exploits black people. It raped Africa, it raped Asia, that is the hog. And what is the stream? The stream is humanity. Western civilization is blocking up humanity today, that's why the brothers said, Ho Chi Min, Castro, in their own way are fighting to get rid of the hog because he's jamming the stream of humanity. And Bobby Hutton understood that and anybody who

has read the ten points of the Black Panther Party understands that this a a revolutionary party which is out to jam up the hog's lust and kill him. And if necessary to take a butcher knife and slit his throat and let the blood run down into the stream. We understand that and we understand that sometimes when you kill hogs -- those of you know anything about killing them -- you've got to fatten them up first so he can't move too fast, and that's what has happened in this country. It's the fattest, richest country on the face of the earth but because this fat hog is ready for slaying, and it will be slain, that is a fact. That's a fact. That's a fact. It ain't written in the stars, it's written in the blood of oppressed people and black people in this country. Ain't no stars here, baby, we have been suffering, it's written in our veins, it's in our birthright. You digging it? All right, brother. I'm not attacking the stars but that's the reality, baby, * * *

"Now, what must we do to slay the hog? And that's when we're talking about we can not purify him. You cannot purify a hog, he is corrupt. You cannot give him any doses. That's what the Open Housing Bill is attempting to do, is to purify the hog but you can't. The hog is filthy all through and he's cancerous. And in order to get rid of the hog, we must rise up and seize and hold power. That's an important concept. Black people in this country must seize and hold power; must understand that the slogan is no longer Black Power but we must seize and hold power. And that's what's happening all around this country and in Tuskegee. The students locked up General Lucius Clay for fifteen hours along with the other board of directors. They used to have those Founders Day in Tuskegee where the white folks would come from New York and parade. Ellison wrote about it in The Invisible Man. But in 1968 the student body seized the campus and they held it -- doesn't matter they didn't hold it all that time. It's what's happening in Howard at

Howard Univerisity, North Carolina AMP, that's what's happening in our inner-cities or the ghettos. We are committed to seizing and holding power. And that's what's happening around the world and we all know that if we do not seize and hold power we cannot get rid of the pig. And the pig is not the correct description because the pig may be a cop in Oakland or a cop in Tallahassee or a cop in Selma or a cop in Memphis, but the pig comes from the hog. And the hog is white western civilization.

"Now, what is the Black Panther Party? It is a party committed to seizing and holding power. It is a revolutionary party, it is a revolutionary party. And the death of one of its members, the death of its first member -- and I say this to my brothers in the party and my sisters in the party -- we cannot cry any longer for Bobby Hutton. We have shed our last tear for that brother, nobody must weep any more for Bobby Hutton. Bobby is dead, he is in the ground and were he alive or at least could see -- you know, I don't believe in no Heaven-- but if he could understand what's happening here he would say, 'Don't cry for me. Weep no more for me. Go about taking care of business and organizing and getting more Panthers.'" And all of you black people who are out there who are not FBI agents, all of you who are out there who are not FBI agents and who do not join the party -- because the FBI agents going to join or we're going to have to purge them -- but all of those who are not FBI agents must join the Panther Party. Otherwise you're sitting out here being entertained. We are not here to entertain you. Our brothers are dying all over this world and in this country. Bobby is just one, he's just one but he was important because he was the first Panther and it was from him that all other things began to flow. And you must join the Panther Party if you are serious, if you're committed, if you share the sorrow of the other Panthers."

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On April 17, 1968, [redacted]
[redacted] Reno, Nevada, advised that on
March 28, 1968, he sold two "R.G." .38 caliber special revolvers,
Serial Numbers [redacted] and [redacted]; one Rossi .38 caliber special
revolver, Serial Number [redacted] and one Browning Automatic, Serial
Number [redacted] to [redacted] listing a residence of [redacted]
[redacted], San Francisco, California.

[redacted] may be identical to
[redacted], San Francisco,
California, who is a Section
Captain of the BPP.

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[redacted] also advised that on March 23, 1968, he sold three
Browning "F.N.", 9mm automatic pistols, made in Belgium, bearing
Serial Numbers [redacted] and [redacted] to [redacted] listing
an address of [redacted], Oakland, California.

As of April, 1968, [redacted]
was an activist member of the BPP.

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XII. BPP MERGER WITH
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

A characterization of the SNCC
is found in the appendix pages.

At the February 17, 1968, HUEY P. NEWTON Defense
Fund rally, Oakland Municipal Auditorium, Oakland, California,
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, BPP, introduced
H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC and announced that a merger
of the BPPSD and SNCC had taken place. CLEAVER said that BROWN
had been made the Minister of Justice, BPP. CLEAVER also intro-
duced JAMES FORMAN as the "International Director of SNCC"
and said that through the process of the merger FORMAN became
the Minister of Foreign Affairs, BPPSD. Also at this meeting,
CLEAVER bestowed upon STOKELY CARMICHAEL (former Chairman of

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SNCC) the title of Minister of Afro-America.

Agents of the FBI
2/17/68.

Excerpts from a transcript of a taped recording of the aforementioned rally as furnished by SF T-6 are set forth as follows:

JAMES FORMAN:

"-----I know the assassination plots on Brother CARMICHAEL and Brother BROWN and that we went up there to see Brother NEWTON in that jail and I say here as we have said before that we must pledge ourselves that if any of these men are assassinated that we will deal instant retribution and protracted retribution.

"Now let us be specific, let us be specific, we must talk about destroying some war factories if they are assassinated. (Applause). We must blow up some police stations if they are assassinated. (Applause) We must destroy some power plants if they are assassinated. (Applause) We must have a protracted retribution of some governors in this country and some mayors. (Applause) And above all we must have protracted retribution on these white piggish cops that occupy communities. (Applause)"

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman - BPP:

"-----Every black man in this house should be against the war in Vietnam, he's got to be against the war in Vietnam because they are killing our brothers over there ----.

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"Now look, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is a revolutionary party. Revolution means to get down to the nitty-gritty and change this situation----"

"-----When we organize in fashion right there in our homes, we're talking about power in our communities to control our communities, you know and, once we let the man know, say look, we (are) armed from block to block and we (are) gonna patrol you from our windows, and we (are) not going to have no brutalizing our people in the streets. Do you realize what kind of power black people have then? Because you begin to neutralize that police force because them cops (are) gonna start riding shaky and scared. In fact, we (are) in a position then to demand that they withdraw from our community because they occupy our community just like a foreign troop occupies territories."

H. RAPP BROWN:

"-----The only thing that's going to free you is gun powder. Black powder. (Applause) HUEY NEWTON is the only living revolutionary in this country today. He has paid his dues, he paid his dues. How many white folks you killed today? We're true revolutionaries. You're revolutionaries. CHE GUEVERA said, 'there is only two ways to leave the battle field, victorious or dead'. HUEY's in jail. That's no victory, that's concession. When black people become serious about the revolutionary struggle that they are caught up in, whether

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they recognize it or not, when they begin to go down and knock off people who are oppressing them and again to render these people impotent that's when the revolutionary struggle unfolds, not until--- (Applause)".

"Well, if you are revolutionaries, you must assume the revolutionary posture. Chairman MAO says power comes from the barrel of a gun. (Applause) Yes, politics is war without bloodshed and war is an extension of those politics. But, there is no politics in this country that is relevant to us, the black people ----.

"-----There is no such thing as a middle class. The man does not beat your head because you get a Cadillac or because you got a Ford. He beats you because you're black. Class structures are a luxury that we cannot afford. They cannot divide us by saying that you are middle-class or you're lower-class. He kills you because your black. The concentration camps, they got 37 in this country and me and CARMICHAEL can't fill all of them. They got to take somebody else. (Applause)-----"

"-----In terms of the revolution, I believe the revolution will be a revolution of dispossessed people in this country. That's the Mexican-American, the Puerto Rican-American, the American Indian, and black people. We happen to be the vanguard of that revolutionary struggle because we are the most dispossessed.-----"

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STOKELY CARMICHAEL:

"One of the ways of bringing our people home is by using patience, love, brotherhood, and unity, not force. Love, patience, brotherhood, and unity. We try, and we try, and we try. If they become a threat, we off them. (Applause) But we must begin to understand that in a concept of forming inside our community a united front, a black united front, which engulfs every sector, every facet, and every person inside our community working for the benefit of black people. And, that is for each other's survival. A lot of people in the bourgeoisie tell me that they don't like RAP BROWN when he says 'I'm going to burn the country down,' they get a poverty program. A lot of people say to me, we don't like the Black Panthers for Self Defense walking around with guns. I'll tell you now, if the hunkies in San Francisco take off the fighters who happen to represent the Black Panthers for Self Defense, ain't nobody in this community prepared to fight right now.

"Everybody gets offed, everybody gets offed. We need each other, we have to have each other for our survival, we have to have each other. From the revolutionaries to the conservatives, a black united front is what we're about.

"Wipe out of your minds the question of minority, wipe out of your minds the questions of technology, technology never decides a war. It is the will of a

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people that decides a war. It is the will of a people. (Applause) Wipe out of your mind the fact that we do not have guns. The Vietnamese didn't have it when they started, now they got American guns, American tanks, American everything. (Applause)

"If they come to get us they got to bring some to get some, we gonna take it and the guns, and the guns, and the guns. (Applause)

"And, unless we raise our minds to the level of consciousness where we have an undying love for our people, where we're willing to shed our blood like HUEY NEWTON did for our people, we will not survive. Now, there are many people who know that. All of the brothers sitting on the stage, all of the brothers around here. We all know that when something goes down, we are the first ones on. There's no question in any of our minds, only things gonna stop us today is a bullet, and we're spitting them back.

"But, the question is not whether or not we can move, how this entire black community moves for survival in a world that's clearly heading for a color clash. That is what we must ask ourselves. That is the only question. We can only do that by organizing our people, and orienting them toward an African ideology which speaks to our blackness. Nothing else. It's not a question right or left. It's a question black. You dig where we coming colored from, we coming from a black thing, that's where we're coming from. Because we can begin

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to pick up the threads of resistance that our ancestors laid down for us. And, unless we begin to understand our people as a people, we will not do that, because they will split us and divide us. That means consciously we have to begin to organize our people, organize our people, organize our people, organize our people, nothing else, organize our people. (Applause)

"We have no time for them, all our sweat, all our blood, even our life must go to our people. (Applause) We have to understand this consciously. Our youth must be organized with a revolutionary perspective.

"A revolutionary perspective says that we're fighting a war of liberation. In order to fight a war of liberation, you need an ideology of nationalism. We do not have this country. The nationalism can be nothing but black nationalism. It is insane to think of anything else. Black nationalism has to begin to be our ideology. While blackness is necessary, it is not sufficient, so we have to move on. We move on then to consciously organize in our community. And, we recognize today why we are organizing. We do not have the money to feed our people, so there's no use to say organize, we can get you a job. We can't get them. They control them. That is a fact. That isn't a reason for you to sit down, it is only more of a reason for you to fight, to think that you can't give your people a job. That's more than inspiration to fight, so can give them a job, rather than to sit down and say the hunkies got us on every end. They are not God. We are a

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beautiful race of people, we can do anything we want to do, all we got to do is get up, get up, get up. (Applause)

"Now then, we have to discuss very cold, the question of rebellion. It is a fact that they're prepared to meet rebellions anywhere in the cities. Now what is going to happen if one of our brothers get offed? What happens if they go ahead and off HUEY NEWTON? We must develop tactics where we do the maximum damage to them with minor damage to us. (Applause) And, when we move into that arena that means that this black community must be organized. So, if HUEY NEWTON goes and ten hunky cops goes, won't a black man in this community get up and open his mouth, 'cause if he does, he goes too. (Applause) That means that in organizing for the maximum damage against them, and the minor damage against us, we must be consciously aware of the fact that there will be people in our community that will be going around doing just that. In our community we see nothing, we hear nothing, we know nothing.

"We have to understand the politics of those hunkies in our community. They are there to patrol and to control it, that is all. We are going to do the patrolling, we are going to do the controlling. We are building a concept of peoplehood. We do not care about hunkies, but if in building that concept of peoplehood, the hunkies get in our way, they got to go, there is no question about it, no question about it. (Applause)

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"We are not concerned with their way of life, we are concerned with our people. We want to give our people the dignity and humanity that we know as our people. And, if they get in our way, they going to get offed. We're not concerned with their system. Let them have it. We want our way of life, and we're going to get it. We're going to get it or no body's going to have any peace on this earth."

XIII COALITION OF BPP AND
PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY (PFP)

The December 22 through 28, 1967 issue of the "Berkeley Barb" published in Berkeley, California on Page 1, columns 1 through 3, carried an article entitled, "Common Cause" which stated in part as follows:

"The most militant Black organization in California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, this week made common cause with the Peace and Freedom Party.-----

"The Black Panther's cooperation with the Peace and Freedom Party is based on the PFP stand on NEWTON's trial, according to the Panther's Minister of Information."

This article quotes the Minister of Information as stating in part as follows:

"We are joining with them because they are helping us on this issue. We feel that we have nothing to lose by supporting an element that supports a fair trial for HUEY NEWTON.

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"The fundamental principle we are working with is STOKELY CARMICHAEL's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes. We feel that this fits neatly into that framework."

In January 19 through 26, 1968, issue of the "Berkeley Barb" on Page 7, columns 1 through 3, carried an article entitled, "Panthers and Radicals" which states in part as follows:

"-----The Peace & Freedom-Panther alliance is tentative: that was clear from the beginning. Panthers, including BOBBY SEALE, do not consider themselves "members" of the PFP. Rather, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is a "fraternal party" to PFP."

A mimeographed pamphlet of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense entitled, "Ministry of Information -- Black Paper" sets forth the position of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense on the 7th Congressional District election in Alameda County and the candidacy of JOHN GEORGE in the Democratic Party as presented to the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party meeting, Berkeley, California, January 31, 1968, by KATHLEEN CLEAVER, Communications Secretary.

This leaflet states in part as follows:

"As a political party dedicated to resisting all forms of exploitation and aggression imposed upon the black community, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense views electoral politics as one tool that can be used for the benefit of the black community -- if it is not tied to the aims of the power structure. The formation of the Peace and Freedom Party in direct opposition to the Democratic Party, based primarily on the general inability of the people involved to support the war policy of LBJ and to tolerate the continued

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oppression of black people, as well as a rejection of the general cynicism, hypocrisy, and decadence of the existing political structures, indicates a healthy break on the part of the white community with the power structure. At this point it is merely a beginning and its future is not clear; however, on the basis of this break and on the basis of supporting HUEY P. NEWTON, we have formed a coalition for specific political purposes. By supporting HUEY NEWTON and recognizing him as a victim... the political Freedom Party has been able to focus attention upon the interrelationship of black liberation and peace in Vietnam in a concrete way. So far, the focus of the Peace and Freedom Party has been on concepts instead of candidates. The Seventh Congressional District election offers the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party the opportunity to combine concept with candidate in running HUEY P. NEWTON for Congress.---

"-----If for no other reason, running HUEY P. NEWTON for Congress would be a direct effort on the part of the Peace and Freedom Party to save HUEY's life and would be recognized and appreciated by the black community as such. "

SF T-7
3/25/68.

At the March 16, 1968, session of the Peace and Freedom Party State Convention, Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, BPP, gave a speech in which he read from a document entitled, "Black People--Revolution In The White Mother Country and National Liberation In The Black Colony." Excerpts from his speech are set forth as follows:

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"The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of Showdown - between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperial Power Structure. The era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiters have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

"We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition, our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony....

"Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able to, guided by revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, move in two directions at the same time....

"The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area (San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties, California) have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and always been,

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the case of HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, Creator and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications....

"We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense HUEY P. NEWTON, as a candidate for the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, and we have offered our Chairman, BOBBY SEALE, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our communications secretary, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting HUEY P. NEWTON free."

SF T-6 in 3/25/68

Handbills widely distributed in the San Francisco Bay Area, California, (Alameda, Contra Costa and San Francisco Counties) in April, 1968, announced the candidacy of HUEY P. NEWTON for U.S. Congress from the Seventh Congressional District and BOBBY SEALE for California State Assembly from the 17th Assembly District as Black Panther Party write-in candidates in ballot slots offered by the Peace and Freedom Party. These leaflets indicate that the PFP supports the 10 point program of the BPP and demands that HUEY P. NEWTON be set free.

SF T-6
5/7/68.

The May 14, 1968 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" on Page 7, Columns 1 through 4 contains an article captioned "Prison Decision--CLEAVER Running For President", which states in part as follows:

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"ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, the imprisoned Black Panther leader announced his candidacy yesterday for the Presidency of the United States. CLEAVER will run against comedian DICK GREGORY for nomination next July of the Peace and Freedom Party-----".

"KATHLEEN CLEAVER in announcing the candidacy of her husband read from a long statement which stated in part, 'If white people as well as black can accept the national leadership of a black revolutionary, then a margin of possibility remains, however, slim, that America may avert the impending holocaust.'"

XIV CONNECTIONS WITH THE
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION
MOVEMENT:

A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) is contained in the appendix.

Four Negro males, all wearing beards, reportedly from the San Francisco, California area and associated with the BPPSD within that area arrived in New York City area reportedly about March 16, 1968. The names of these four individuals reportedly were ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, [redacted], [redacted]. These individuals attended a benefit rally to provide funds for bail for [redacted] a reported leader of RAM currently in jail in Queens, New York, on March 17, 1968. The rally was held at the Renaissance Ballroom, Harlem, New York City.

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SF T-8
3/22/68.

[redacted] was as of March, 1968, reported to be affiliated with the Black Student Union (BSU), San Francisco State College (SFSC) which is recognized by the Administration of SFSC as a student organization.

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The transcript of the taped recording provided by SF T-6 in connection with the speeches made at the HUEY P. NEWTON Defense rally, February 17, 1968, Oakland, California, contains a speech given by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, BPP, who acted as master of ceremonies at this event. An excerpt from CLEAVER's speech is quoted as follows:

"----To see from your own experience from the fears that we have known in our hearts, we know how hard it is to take that step to face that pig with his gun. But there are blackmen rising up today who are willing to do that, who are not afraid to do that.

"Brother ROBERT WILLIAMS did it. But he didn't have us stay together, so he had to leave. The brother is in exile and we say that we respect that brother and that we want to bring him home. We want to bring him home. (Applause) And I say to you that we will not be free, we will not have any liberty until we can put brother ROBERT WILLIAMS on the stage. We gotta be able to do that. (Applause) And we declare that it is one of the primary goals of the BPPSD to bring brother ROBERT WILLIAMS home. We're gonna do that. (Applause)"

A characterization of ROBERT WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of RAM.

XV CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK STUDENT UNION (BSU), SFSC, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:

On March 15, 1968, Inspector [redacted] Office of the District Attorney, Alameda County, California, Oakland, advised that during the period of October 21, 1967 to February 15, 1968, [redacted]

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[redacted] and [redacted] of SFSC of San Francisco, California, had purchased 64 hand guns from [redacted] Reno, Nevada. Two of these weapons were confiscated on February 25, 1968 by the Berkeley Police Department, Berkeley, California, in the arrest of [redacted] and his wife [redacted] [redacted] and four of their associates.

On March 15, 1968, Officer [redacted] [redacted], Intelligence Unit, Oakland Police Department, advised that [redacted] and [redacted] were reported to be affiliated with the Black Student Union, SFSC, San Francisco, California.

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XVI CONNECTION WITH THE AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENTS UNION

The November 6, 1967 issue of "The Daily Californian" student newspaper, University of California, Berkeley, on Page 10, Column 1, contained an article "Rally Topics: War Resister, Black Panther", which states in part as follows:

"-----JIM NABORS, Vice Chairman of the Afro-American Students Union on campus-----made a plea for money to support NEWTON's upcoming defense.

"NABORS told the crowd that NEWTON's only crime was "being born black". He called the dead policeman, JOHN F. FREY, a "brute" who beat black people in the ghettos and whites at the Oakland Induction Center.

"-----Appealing for funds, NABORS told the crowd ' there is more money on this campus than there is in the whole black

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ghetto. We want some of the money
our forefathers made for you. It's
our baby. Give it back.'

The Afro-American Students
Union is recognized by the
Administration, University
of California, Berkeley, as
a student organization.

A characterization of the BPP
is contained in the Appendix.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it will most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

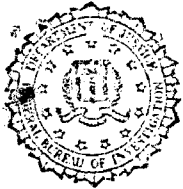
A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

SF 157-1204

May 23, 1968

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
 Black Panther Party for
 Self-Defense

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Report of
 dated and captioned as above at
 San Francisco, California.

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

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