

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FILE NUMBER: 100-HO-447251

SECTION: 22

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description - COVER SHEET

Total Deleted Page(s) - 4

Page 208 - b1, b1

Page 209 - b1, b1

Page 210 - b1, b1

Page 213 - Duplicate, Duplicate

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251) DATE: 12/16/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4324)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka - FUGITIVE
I.O. #4239
W.F. #447
EM - BPP
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER AND RAPE AND
ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON (KBE)
OO: SF Re: Rep SA LEO S. BRENNER 11/16/71 at SF.

OK for Category I
11/16/71
max
OK
S.F.S.

Recommend: ARES SI Card changed (specify change only) Subject removed (succinct summary attached)

Name			
Aliases			
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born		Tab Category	
<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Priority I	
<input type="checkbox"/> Alien		<input type="checkbox"/> Priority II	
<input type="checkbox"/> Priority III			
<input type="checkbox"/> ANA	<input type="checkbox"/> BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> PLP
<input type="checkbox"/> AWC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNIST	<input type="checkbox"/> NOX	<input type="checkbox"/> PRN
<input type="checkbox"/> BNT	<input type="checkbox"/> JFC	<input type="checkbox"/> PPA	<input type="checkbox"/> SDS
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (Specify) _____			
<input type="checkbox"/> SNC	<input type="checkbox"/> SWP		
<input type="checkbox"/> SPL	<input type="checkbox"/> WWP		
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Race	Sex
			<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.		Residence Address	
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/11/01 BY 3906/ELW/ML/PA 904397		48 bis Avenue, Clemenceau Algiers, Algeria	
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number		Responsibility	
		DEC 20 1971	

CLEAVER IS ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
58 JAN 10 1972

b7C

EX-117
REC-15/11
P18
RESEARCH SECTION
EXT. INT. SEC.

SF 157-4324
LSE/jr

Subject was member of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party (BPP) holding title of Minister of Information. He is militantly anti-U.S. Government, has called for U.S. soldiers in Vietnam to rebel and turn guns on senior officers. CLEAVER also advocates violence and urban guerrilla warfare. He has split from NEWTON Faction because of their lack of revolutionary direction. CLEAVER participated in shoot-out with Oakland Police Department in April, 1968, and is presently a Federal fugitive for Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement.

Next report will be submitted 2/16/72.

SAC, San Francisco, (88-12329)

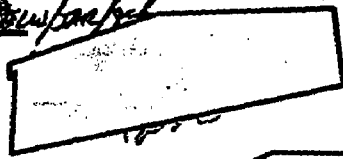
December 14, 1971

Director, FBI (100-447251)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/11/81 BY SP10/BWP/afel

b7C

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAYER
EXTREMIST MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST
(OO:SF)**



the final portion of Madrid

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 10/27/71.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

EX-104

REC-3 100-447251-1019

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Forwarded herewith.

DEC 20 1971

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller (Attn.: Extremist Intelligence Section), sent direct with enclosure.

- Tolson _____
- Felt _____
- Rosen _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Miller, E.S. 1
- Callahan _____
- Cooper _____
- Conrad _____
- Dalbey _____
- Cleveland _____
- Funder _____
- Bales _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Rm. _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

ENCLOSURE

DEC 20 1971

7-92
100-447251-1019
PWP

MTS:pln
(4)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/11/01 BY SP3/BAJ/STP/STP

(continuation)

No Difference Between Imperialism and Zionism

- L'Opinion: We have two common enemies, imperialism and Zionism. Several years ago, Afro-Americans sympathized with Israel because they lived in a society which dominated them and imposed its ideas on them, who accepted them without discussion. Could you tell us what is going on today?

*Eldridge Cleaver: We have noted that very often a distinction is made between imperialism and Zionism. To us, there is no difference. Zionism can be situated from the geographical standpoint; or, to be more precise, it constitutes the extension of a monster whose body is in the United States of America and whose tentacles are called by different names in Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa or Latin America.

The system of exploitation and oppression has an international range. The Tel Aviv regime is one of its components, and we are conscious of the negative impact it has on our own struggle as well as that of others, especially the Middle East and Africa. You are not ignorant of the fact that the Zionists in the United States hold diverse activities of a political nature in order to collect funds for the elimination of the Arab nation. We have often realized that the persons directly involved in the oppression of the American blacks belong to this Zionist system in the U.S.A. Throughout the years, it has been established that the exploitation and the repression of the Afro-Americans, on the one hand, and the prevalent situation in the Middle East, on the other hand, are closely linked.

As far as we are concerned, we have always condemned the activities of the Zionists in the United States, and we carry on campaigns of information within:

TRANSLATED BY: [redacted]

December 9, 1971

b7c

100-44712-1-1019

ENCL [redacted]

the black masses in order to explain to them the
Palestinian drama and the Arab cause which support.
This struggle of the Palestinian people is often given
as an example. Our action could be more effective if
we had the necessary means.

Public opinion exists, and so do persons;
but we are limited financially. If I bring up this
problem, it is in order to offer a friendly criticism
to our Palestinian comrades. Hundreds of millions of
dollars, earmarked to spread knowledge of the Palestinian
struggle in the U.S.A., are handed out every year to
persons who only squander them. These sums of money fall
in the hands of moderate organizations or even reactionary
ones, which obtain very poor results because they do
not know how to arrange a propaganda campaign nor
what circles to reach. This budget could be used in
a more effective manner if it were turned over to more
progressive revolutionary organizations. Certain
organizations, for example, could go a lot farther into
the combat against Zionism if the material means were
better distributed. They constitute a powerful force,
capable of striking real blows against Zionism in the
United States.

A Propaganda to put the Spirits to Sleep

- L'Opinion: Although in the U.S.A. the Afro-Americans
are not always admitted into show places, they are very
prominent on the scene. Sidney Poitier, continues to
triumph in the role of the "good Negro", get an agitation
in the eyes of the white people. Do you think that these
sycophants can be recruited to serve the cause of your
movement?

*Eldridge Cleaver: There is always a number of converts
in the direction of a good cause, but that is a purely
academic view. One could always imagine Johnson as
being an ardent partisan of the Rights of Man and a
sincere friend of the South Vietnamese resisters, but
it should be realized that this transformation is unlikely.

Sidney Poitier and a whole group like him
are consciously opportunists, and they cooperate knowingly
with the scientific creation of images and films, designed
to put the conscience of the people to sleep, to lead them
into error and to stifle the true aspirations of the black people.

In fact, the movies for the most part are used as political instruments of propaganda, in order to plant within the spirit of the masses the points of view of the ruling class by creating models to be imitated and false purposes to be obtained.

The game in which these artists participate is extremely dangerous. They are not the only ones, though; there are also those in the sports world: baseball, basketball, and athletic stars are also exploited. It is true that some of them can be saved, but most are so far gone that they have become criminals, and Sidney Poitier is included in this sad category. They have often talked to him; he has even participated in some moderate activities. However, he continues to feed the propaganda studios. His products cause a devastating effect upon the spirit.

They Wish to Perpetuate Slavery

L' Opinion: You have said on several occasions that you think that many whites are pushed into racism against their better judgement without realizing it. How do explain that?

«Eldridge Cleaver (Sailing): I am asking myself whether I have ever had a similar purpose. Yes, this is truly a problem. I think that, in a general manner, Americans receive a good basic education in the ideas contained in the Declaration of Independence, in the Bill of Rights, which make up the American dream. They are very good universal principles, that is, that all men are equal and deserve equal justice. But all these principles are violated by the conscious manipulation of the fears and dangers which provoke hate. Those who are engaged in propaganda, especially the journalists and movie makers, those who prepare the speeches of politicians, do everything in their power to feed the flames of racial hate. They use subterfuge in order to arrive at their goals. It is a complex reality which has developed from the experience with slavery in the U.S.A.

It often happens that the whites think that they are defending freedom and justice while actually they are being manipulated by other people who are conscious of what they are trying to do. Let me give you an example: During the recent revolt in the Attica prison, the politicians, certain journalists and the authorities contributed towards unleashing a true racist hysteria against the prisoners by declaring that they had killed the hostages. The American people are easily vulnerable to this type of information in view of the old stereotype of armed Negroes, with knives and razors. This was a comedy that professional politicians presented in order to obtain a very well-defined purpose. This is a perfect example of the manner in which the so-called "traditional dangers" are manipulated for specific contemporary goals.

Without Considering Color or Race

- L'Opinion: The Black Panthers state that the Afro-Americans must ally themselves not only to other minorities such as the Puerto Ricans and the Indians but also to a faction of white America which identifies itself with their struggle. How do you see the outcome of this union?

*Eldridge Cleaver: Through the creation of situations of activities of vanguard which force the citizens to take a stand and act. This is how we operate and each new phase meets with a certain opposition even within the progressive circles. But we know that, upon undertaking actions of this nature, we create favorable situations which lead the people to make a choice between abandonment and pursuit of the struggle under new conditions. At the present time, we have arrived at the conclusion that it is time to start and elaborate a continuous armed action. We're engaged at the present time in the creation of that which we consider to be the embryo of the people's army. This decision has met with all sorts of protests. It has even provoked, within our party a certain opposition which has caused a rift within our ranks. This rift became evident at the beginning of the year, but I can assure you that before the end of 1971, events will show we are right; because the movement, in its entirety has understood our point of ~~operation~~ politics (sic).

This is how the struggle develops because we are convinced that this vanguard action remains the only key to the revolution in the U.S.A. and, perhaps, in a general fashion, in the capitalist countries. All this could not have been possible without the right ideological position. During the course of our basic work, we proceeded to a detailed analysis of the classes and expressed our solidarity with the proletariat by struggling by its side against any attempt from the comrades within and outside of our party. We also reject all propaganda from the enemy, designed to obscure our positions. This requires great sacrifices but we can gain the confidence of numerous revolutionaries and the sympathy of other ethnic groups by sticking to our principles. Thus, we have been able to coordinate our efforts and to work together to stifle this racial hate fanned by the authorities for Machiavellian purposes.

By continuing to successfully fight this hostile propaganda, it is possible to achieve a unity of action among different ethnic groups without considering color or race.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

10/27/71

LEGAT, MADRID (157-3) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
EXTREMIST MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST
(OO: SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/11/01 BY SP0132/afp

Remyairtel to Bureau 10/6/71 and Bulet 10/12/71.

On 10/22/71, the enclosed article in the French language containing the text of the interview of subject was received from the Political Section, American Embassy, Rabat, Morocco.

The Bureau is requested to have the enclosed article translated and furnish the results of the translation to San Francisco for their information.

In the event any additional pertinent information is received regarding the subject, the Bureau and San Francisco will be advised.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. - 1)
 - (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
 - (1 - San Francisco, 88-12329, Info.)
- 1 - Madrid
- VVK:eim
- (5)

*File to SF
O'Duffy R. (Plan)
MTS done 10/22/71
7X7 with final
copy of the
Parquet*

*File to San Francisco
in/mala (3) E.O. 12812 (Relat)
11/17/71
MTS: p/nc
Retained for completion
of translation*

*File to SF
in/mala (3) (2 trans, 4/1/71)
12/14/71
MTS: p/nc
File forwarded Rosinsky
final pattern*

FBI

Date: 11/15/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8943)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2248) (P)
SUBJECT: CHANGED

[Redacted] aka

b7C

RM - BPP (ASY BLACK EXTREMIST)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/11/01 BY 3106 [Signature]

20 - Bureau (Enc. 25) (RM)
100-447251 (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER) (RM)

b7C

[Large redacted area]

- 2 - Detroit (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Indianapolis (157-1736) (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)

RWH/nc
(84)

100-447251-
NOT RECORDED
170 NOV 26 1971

SEARCHED INDEXED IN 157-2248

NOV 26 1971

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

LA 157-2248

57 - Los Angeles

(1 - 157-2323) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)

(1 - [REDACTED])

b7C

(1 - 100-78494) (UNITED PRISONERS UNION)

(1 - [REDACTED])
(1 - 157-2220) (STOCKPILING OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION)

(1 - 157-1618) (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

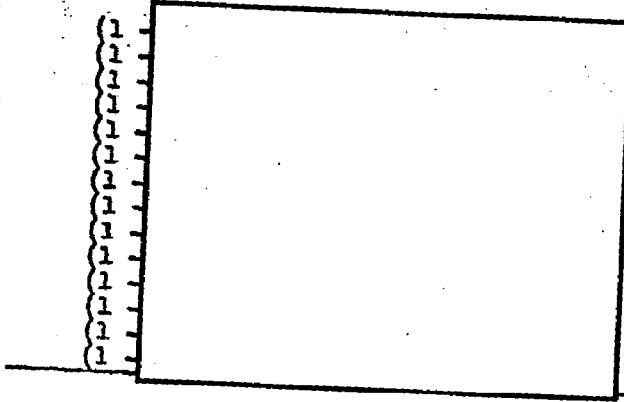
(1 - [REDACTED])

b7C

(1 - 157-6401) (BPP CLEAVER FACTION)

(1 - [REDACTED])

LA 157-2248



b7C

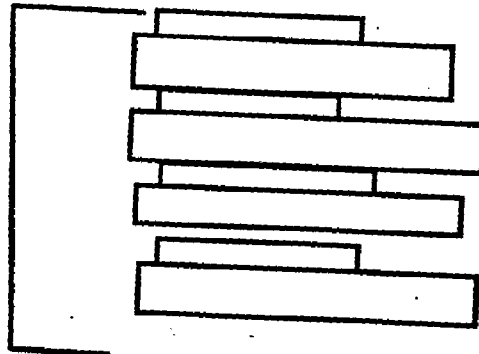
[redacted] Title is marked changed to include the alias of [redacted]
as used by [redacted] in departing Los Angeles on [redacted]

b7C

Re Los Angeles teletype to the Bureau dated 10/27/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 26 copies of a letter-head memorandum (LHM) regarding the captioned individual. Two copies each of the LHM are enclosed for the Detroit, Indianapolis, New York and San Francisco Divisions in view of their investigative interest in this matter.

Sources contained in the enclosed LHM are identified as follows:



b2
b7D

LA 157-2248

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
Set Forth Separately

b2
b7D

[redacted]
Set Forth Separately
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b2
b7D

It is noted that [redacted] has been provided two source numbers in order to further protect this source.

The Los Angeles Division Agents who witnessed [redacted] arrival at Los Angeles on [redacted] were [redacted]
[redacted]

The Special Agents of the Los Angeles Division who observed [redacted] on [redacted] were [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who observed [redacted] on [redacted] was [redacted]

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who observed the [redacted] bearing California license [redacted] on [redacted] was [redacted]

LA 157-2248

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who conducted the pretext telephone call to [redacted] on 10/23/71, was [redacted]

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who observed [redacted] depart the vicinity of 19108 Westwood Avenue, Compton, California, on [redacted] was [redacted]

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who observed [redacted] on [redacted] was [redacted]

b7C

The Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division who observed [redacted] board the Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight departing Los Angeles on [redacted] was [redacted]

b7C

Information furnished by sources contained in this LHM is classified confidential because the unauthorized disclosure of either the information or identity of sources would be detrimental to the national defense.

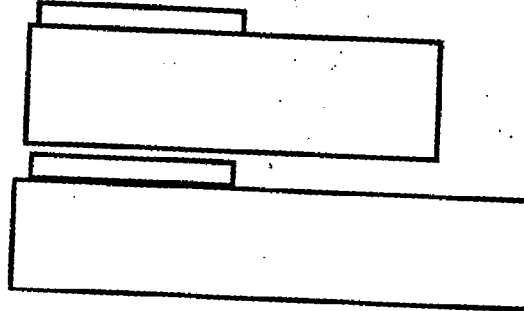
LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will obtain toll charges for the period of [redacted] visit from locations she was known to have visited. Results of toll check will be reported under the case caption of the individual involved.

LA 157-2248

NON-SYMBOLIC SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE



b2
b7C
b7D



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
November 16, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted]

EXTREMIST MATTER -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Sources mentioned herein have furnished reliable information in the past.

Following is a daily review of the activities of
Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, during
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

On [Redacted] advised [Redacted]
telephonically contacted BPP Attorney [Redacted] and
BPP supporter [Redacted] both recent visitors of the
[Redacted] and stated [Redacted]

b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

At approximately 3:05 p.m., Agents of the FBI
observed [Redacted] an unidentified
female Negro arrive at Los Angeles International Airport
on TWA Flight 99 from Washington, D. C. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 3043/200/300/300
ON 1/11/01 104376

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted]

b7C
b7D

On October 19, 1971, an official of TWA, Washington, D. C. advised [Redacted]

The October 17, 1971, issue of the "Herald Examiner", a daily newspaper published at Los Angeles, California, reported Cleaver was traveling with Jessica Scott Weinrich, age 24, of Frankfurt, Germany.

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted] employed as a [Redacted] born [Redacted]
[Redacted] Hollywood, and was charged to Master-
Charge Account Number [Redacted]

b7C
b7D

On [Redacted] advised [Redacted]
[Redacted]

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

b7C
b7D
b2

Source identified the following individuals as being amongst those conferring with and [Redacted]

1. [Redacted] viewed by the [Redacted] as an opportunist who is not completely trustworthy but usable for their purposes in view of his contacts plus monetary and legal support; [Redacted]

b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted]

2. [Redacted] activities in Los Angeles and appears to be completely trusted by the [Redacted]

3. [Redacted] (last name unknown): a female Negro, [Redacted] who is from the United States. Went to school in [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7C

4. [Redacted] An organization designed to train minority unemployables.

[Redacted]

5. [Redacted]

6. [Redacted]

7. [Redacted] (last name unknown): male. Negro. early 20s. 5'6", 150 pounds, [Redacted] may be a student and is friend of [Redacted]

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

8. [redacted] (last name unknown), ex-BPP member
and [redacted]

9. [redacted] (phonetic) (last name unknown):
male, Negro, [redacted] resides at [redacted]
[redacted] telephone
number [redacted]
possibly from BPP.

b7C

b7C

10. [redacted] (last name unknown): male, Negro, in
[redacted] may work at a
[redacted]

11. [redacted] last name unknown, possibly [redacted]
[redacted] last name unknown, who
resides on the [redacted]
in Los Angeles, [redacted] male, Negro, in [redacted]
5'7", 160 pounds, [redacted]
[redacted] may be from BPP.

b7C

Ex-BPP activist [redacted] is known to
have used the alias [redacted]

Source said later in the afternoon [redacted]

[redacted]

Source stated Eldridge Cleaver's [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

Source said [redacted]

[redacted]

On [redacted]

said [redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

The Black Panther Party is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

b7C
b7D
b2

On [Redacted] advised during the

[Redacted]

On [Redacted] said [Redacted]

[Redacted]

said [Redacted]

[Redacted]

stated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OCTOBER 21, 1971

Cleaver appeared live on the 9:00 a.m. "Ralph Story Program", KABC Television, 4151 Prospect, Los Angeles. Cleaver's remarks on this program were taped by a representative of the FBI and a transcription is contained hereafter:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

UNKNOWN MAN:who is in Mrs. CLEAVER's terms on security, meaning that he is guarding you because there have been threats you...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Ah yes, you have to understand uh, that as many people are aware of but that they all clear information that has been a uh, complete division in the offices and members and cadre of the Black Panther Party that goes across the country. Now...

UNKNOWN MAN: You mean a split in the organization.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Exactly, and there was quite a bit of information in the press about this however the uh, members of the uh, what we call the Peralta street gang, under the leadership of uh, NEWTON and SEALE uh, made extreme obscene threats to us in Algeria beginning at that time over the telephone and they had made threats against many of the people that uh, took our side which was the majority of the cadre the real panthers, the revolutionaries and people on their side are mostly people who don't know, who have been threatened into maintaining some type of allegiance to them but unwillingly. And uh it's a very serious concern to the members of uh, party who uh, is in a position uh, that's uh, very precarious after this because you see the people in Oakland and everything, although they did not contribute that much to the building of the mechanism of the party they captured this above ground apparatus and turned it into some type of uh, personal power organization and took

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all that away, the organizational structure, the offices, the funds ect. from the real cadre that had given their lives, given their time, and everything they had toward building up that organization. While NEWTON and SEALE, to some extent, were in jail. And so this left many of the people without any apparatus, without anywhere to go and put us in a precarious exposed situation and therefore all of those who are the real panthers, the people who really built the ground work of the party are in a very dangerous situation.

UNKNOWN MAN: Did your husband go to Algeria because of this split or in fear for his life?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: No, no no. But, when my husband went to Algeria there was no, this was nothing, this was something that developed after NEWTON was released from prison and then...

UNKNOWN MAN: Is that because your husband left...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: And then a peculiar circumstances and uh...

UNKNOWN MAN: Your husband in Algeria then sort of lost control of some of the...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: You might say yes. We lost contact, we lost communication, and we felt that uh, it was because of this that many things happen that could have been avoided. However after investigating the situation, once contact was re-established we found out that the contact that could have been maintained was deliberately blocked by, uh, HILLARD and

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

other of his co-workers, who were attempting to uh, restructure and change the direction of the party in line with something which would be more in harmony with the desires of the pigs. And uh, this created many problems throughtout the party, throughout the country. We in Algeria did not have adequate information to be able to move on this, but we knew that things were very wrong. What brought much of these conditions to a head was the arrest, under very peculiar circumstances, of the Deputy Minister of Defense in Southern California, Brother GERONIMO. You see, he was arrested and we couldn't receive any information on the conditions of this and then three months after he was arrested we were shocked to read in one of the pig sheets that he was purged. This purge of GERONIMO turned many people around the country and around the world to the fact that there was something profoundly wrong going on in this party.

UNKNOWN MAN: Sounds to me, uh KATHLEEN, like you're spending all your time fighting each other.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: No, we are not fighting, each other. We were spending all of our time fighting a revolutionary struggle. And then we were put in a position where the efforts that we were making, and I mean we, I, mean the people who were fighting both inside the United States and struggling outside the United States, the people in the prisons, and the people underground. And all the different revolutionaries that were continuing to implant the principals and practices of the party

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

were put into the position where they were being hamstrung, where they were being blocked, where they were being fed up, where they were being set up, where they were being attacked by these other so-called panthers, who some of them turned out to be agents of the police.

UNKNOWN MAN: Mrs. CLEAVER, what do you think the general public thinks about this uh, interparty struggle?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well I think that they feel that this is extremely unfortunate development. And it has turned them off considerably to the whole idea of the Black Panther Party.

UNKNOWN MAN: Now you're speaking of people who might be in favor of the, I'm speaking of the whole community.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well you see I haven't been in this country and we haven't had that much contact with people in the white community, I'm not sure except for what they bring in the pig media. And uh, they all wanted to say that the Black Panther Party is dead. That the Black Panthers themselves managed to destroy the party where the pigs had failed. And uh, we'd like to make it very clear that, yes the Black Panther Party as it used to exist as a vanguard revolutionary force is very much dead and has been dead for quite some time. Whether the Black Panthers themselves as revolutionaries, as freedom fighters are alive and they are still struggling, those who are not in prison. And the situation for them is very difficult because their being picked up,

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arrested, harassed without the support of any kind of apparatus because this is taken away by these captive revolutionaries. And I think captive revolutionaries because these are people who at one point were with, the revolutionary struggle. They agreed with our principles, they worked with us hand in hand, side by side and there was no indication that we were not believing or doing the same things. But at a certain point in time they changed their minds. Instead of supporting revolution they began to oppose revolution. They went counter to this and they began to do everything they can to stop the revolutionary activities to prevent people from doing this, to prevent people from doing that and everything. Tremendous and countless incidents across the country where positive revolutionary advance suggestions and plans were made and they would disapprove them. And after a long period of time these types of contradictions and these types of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, or you might say good things that people wanted to that were stopped came to a head and the party officially uh, had to make a division. And this is very similar to in many cases the division that came in the black movement between those followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and those followers of MALCOLM X. You might remember that the brother MALCOLM X was a member of the Muslims however he never emphasized the religious aspect. He always emphasized the practical aspect and the revolutionary aspect and many people joined the

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movement to follow his revolutionary line. And this threatened uh, the religious part and the cowardly people and those who wanted just to have a religious organization and they finally expelled him. They proceeded to attack him viciously and they finally were instrumental in his assassination. Now you might look at the relationship between those, uh, members of the so-called Black Panther Party who relate to Reverend PERCY in Oakland as a parallel to these people, they like to relate to some type of (inaudible) religious type of leadership offered by this man, and anything that's really revolutionary that's really dealing with the social conditions they attack and they identify ELDRIDGE as of this element and they attack him and try to degrade him and make people think that he is a horrible person. And I know for a fact that the work that ELDRIDGE has done in this country many people, many brothers clearly know what it is and why he did it and they know that those saying are not true. And we know that many people if that type of leadership that he had provided was still available uh, would never be in the position that they are in now.

UNKNOWN MAN: KATHLEEN what is your life like now in Algeria? Happy, frustrated?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well you must understand that a position of a exile is somewhat similiar to the position of a prisoner. Ah, you are denied access to many areas of the world. Many countries, there are people there without passports. People

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cannot travel into this country without being arrested.

Ah, every one of the brothers there came there to avoid going to jail. And their wives have joined them.

UNKNOWN MAN: Is it a happy community or do you...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: An exile community is impossible to be happy because everyone is divorced from the land.

UNKNOWN MAN: Why did you chose Algeria?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: The Algerian government has a very hospitable, hospitable policy toward revolutionaries. And they allow many liberation movements in Africa, in Latin America, Canada, uh to have representation in Algeria. And this is the one Country-at this point, in the world that is still revolutionary enough in practice to allow other revolutionaires who are not uh, do not have government, has not served their land to openly function and organize there international apparatus countries. There are very few countries that allow that to continue.

UNKNOWN MAN: How did you exist then? I mean how do you get along, where does the money come from?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Ah, wherever we could get it.

UNKNOWN MAN: Okay, you said that your husband was going to be returning soon, are you willing to say when?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: No. I don't know.

UNKNOWN MAN: Well, Mrs. KATHLEEN CLEAVER, thank you. Guerrilla wars are not usually announced in advance, but KATHLEEN CLEAVER has been quoted as saying that her husband... ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I did not say that before...

UNKNOWN MAN: Well, we thought...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I'm sorry go ahead.

UNKNOWN MAN: It's all right go ahead.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: No go ahead.

(LAUGHTER)

UNKNOWN MAN: Well I better not say it if I didn't say it right.

UNKNOWN MAN: Yeah right. Well can I quote directly that you have said your husband will soon return to the United States to help lead a revolution?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: No, I didn't say that.

UNKNOWN MAN: Please make it straight.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: A reporter asked me uh, would my husband come in and give himself up to go back to prison. I said no. And they wanted to know, how would he come in. I said there's only one way that he can come in and that is to come in fighting and join the guerrillas that are here fighting the liberation struggle at this time now.

UNKNOWN MAN: That's the quote and we thank Mrs. KATHLEEN CLEAVER and...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: All power to the people brothers and sisters.

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[REDACTED]

Newton and Reverend Percy are references to BPP Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton.

Bobby Seale is the chairman of the BPP.

David Hilliard is the Minister of Defense of the BPP.

Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the Nation of Islam.

The Nation of Islam is an all-black nationwide organization headquartered at Muhammad's Temple 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, under the guidance of Elijah Muhammad, self-styled "Messenger of Allah" and only divinely appointed leader of the black race in the United States. Its purpose is separation of the black man from the devil (white race) through establishment of a black nation.

Malcolm X is a deceased leader of the Nation of Islam.

Elmer Pratt is known to use the alias of Geronimo.

At approximately 12:00 p.m., Cleaver held a press conference at the office of Luke Mc Kissack. [REDACTED] provided a taped recording of that conference. A transcription of that tape is contained hereafter:

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LUKE MC KISSICK: I'm LUKE MC KISSICK, attorney for KATHLEEN CLEAVER, and on my right is KATHLEEN CLEAVER who is visiting the United States from Algeria and has a number of projects to accomplish while here. Let me first apologize, there is a tremendous security problem in this case. There has been numerous death threats against KATHLEEN's life and consequently it has been necessary to have a number of people here who otherwise would not be present. Secondly, let me say that we received a call from International News Service, that someone had called in and said that this Press Conference had been switched to Parlor "A" of the Beverly Hilton Hotel in Beverly Hill. Well, that phone call did not emanate from this office or anyone authorized to do so, and therefore, it is quite apparent to me that for some reason, there is an attempt to sabotage the Press Conference and not give KATHLEEN CLEAVER a chance to be heard. Consistent with my position that I think that all people have a right to speak their peace in this society and as a position of a civil libertarian, I want to offer my offices and I would like to have KATHLEEN address you on the reasons for her being here and be free to answer your questions...

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KATHLEEN CLEAVER: In terms of the death threats, which you might be sort of interested in, we're fully aware of the original source of these, because we've received similiar threats over the telephone in Algiers directly from someone

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formerly known as HUEY P. NEWTON, presently we call Reverend PERCY (ph), and the organization of which he has become the head, which bears no relationship to the Black Panther Party (BPP). We refer to them as The Peralta Street Gang. They are hoodlums, mobsters, and all types of disreputable things, and they have effectuated these deaths threats upon many members of the party that refuse to go along with their corrupt and unprinciple practices such as Brother ROBERT WEBB, who was murdered in New York two weeks after he held the Press Conference denouncing HILLIARD, expelling him from the Party and calling for the trial of HUEY P. NEWTON. And such as the Brother FRED BENNETT who was murdered in the Bay Area because of his principle opposition to the types of practices being carried out by these agents and "Lackeys" and misguided people that were formerly considered revolutionaries that obviously have become counter-revolutionaries. There is no question to us exactly the sources and directions of these because they work to some extent we haven't examined. We don't know all the ways in which they work. They work in cooperation with the police forces, especially in hot cases and in arranging for assassinations and things like this. In terms of the timing and the presence of my visit to the United States at this time, there are many things that we fell that are not clear and there are many very crucial issues that are coming up and we feel that we are in a position to be able to contribute something and anything that we can do, anything that

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any of the people we're in contact, or, or can mobilize can do, we're here to be able to bring that to bear on the very crucial situation going on now. We see that the three main focuses of the vanguard of the liberation struggle of the Afro-American People and there are examples of this going on right now in California. The cases of the political prisoners. These political forces, the revolutionaries who have been imprisoned, held in jail to interrupt their political activities. The case of the military prisoners. Those members of the U.S. Armed Forces who are being held in the stockades and given all types of miserable treatment for their so-called acts in opposition to the war, in opposition to the military, and the convicts. The struggle of the convicts, in particular in the California Penitentiaries is one of which ELDRIDGE CLEAVER has been a part of for quite some time, has been going on in a very intense way for the past ten years and has come to the public light by the recent murder of Brother GEORGE JACKSON. These three areas are clearly in the vanguard of the struggle at this time and the case of each one is being carried out in California now. In terms of the Political Prisoners there is a case of Brother GERONIMO, who formerly was the Deputy Defense Minister of Southern California Chapter of the BPP. Presently Brother GERONIMO is one of the leaders of the Afro-American Liberation Army. And the LA 13, who were on trial for the case of developing out of the shootout at Central Avenue back in

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December 1969. In terms of the military prisoners, we have a very clear cut case of U.S. military calling for the death penalty of a black brother in the U.S. Armed Forces for acts he was accused of carrying out in Vietnam. Of fragging of two white officers and he has been held in maximum security at Fort Ord. and they are calling for the death penalty, they want to murder this brother who they forced to go into the army in the first place. In Terms of the convicts, the highlighting case is now in the Bay Area, is the trial of the Soledad Brothers, two of them are still being held in San Quentin. It is very important that these struggles are getting highlighted and carried out in the most intense fashion in California. We look at the position of California in terms of its wealth, in terms of its geography, in terms of its role in the United States economy and political development and its role in the wars in Asia. We see that there's a very direct interrelation between all these struggles, within the military, without the military, within the prisons and without the prisons and within the underground as a linkup and a cycle going on in all of those and it's all one struggle. These are just three different aspects. The reason that is important, we felt that it's important and because of the destruction of the above ground apparatus belonging to the revolutionaries of the BPP who were the ones who initiated and set in motion the BPP but have since all been expelled or otherwise jailed or ignored or murdered or some

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such matter so that the BPP as it exists, the Peralta Street Gang, is completely devoid of any revolutionary members or any revolutionary content or practice. They have made it very difficult for us to continue the above ground activities that are necessary to engage in a defense of our political prisoners, to engage in the maintenance of the consistent activity of the underground. They've caused quite a bit of disorganization, dissension within the movement, and they're continuing in this manner and it's becoming a very deep problem and a deep crisis in the revolutionary forces and the inability of people to examine their act, acts, examine their practice, because of this fear of the intimidation, the threats, the murders carried out to these people, they refuse to take a principle stand. It's just beginning to come out that people are beginning to criticize these people but up until recently there has been a great hostility and reluctance and people just want to overlook it and say, well, you're having a conflict among yourselves, we don't want to touch it. We don't want to have anything to do with it. Furthermore the BPP is a disgrace and we don't want to have anything to do with it, later for the BPP, later for organization. We recognize that as far as a revolutionary organization, that is any type of real force as existed prior to the conviction of HUEY P. NEWTON, that no long exists. It has been totally wiped out by the machinations and the acts of the consistent: carried out development over a

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long period of time, a period of over two years under the direct leadership, for the most part of DAVID HILLIARD, his brother JUNE HILLIARD, and lately following the release of HUEY P. NEWTON from prison in August of 1970 we have seen the most bizarre event in the history of our struggle and that is what we see as the creation of a type of Manchurian candidate to completely disrupt, distort, and twist around the whole nature of the focus of the Black Liberation struggle up until that time. We say this because the information that we have which is quite valid indicates that during the time that HUEY P. NEWTON was in the custody of the California Department of Correction, in the custody of these pigs, that he has been tampered with through the use of drugs and other treatment and psychological undermining and many other peculiar forms of mental and physical distortions were waged upon him and he was released at a very key, crucial time in the history of the development of the things that were being planned in the party at that time and it's a prize move and it's become very clear to us and everyone that had anything to do with the brother, is not no longer the same person. This is not the HUEY P. NEWTON that everyone went out and loved and put their life on the line and struggled so hard to come out of prison. It's not the same person but someone that has been programmed to turn around the party and eliminate the revolutionary element, stifle it, change it's direction. I'm sure that subsequent

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events if anyone has been following the development of the party has proven this and you can see the results for yourself. Therefore the so-called split in the party, this was really the coming to the head of the many contradictions in the internal operations of the BPP that were making it increasingly difficult for the revolutionaries and their supporters to participate and maintain their activities within these opposing forces. The dedicated revolutionaries and their supporters were in opposition to these cowardly Lackeys and these petty minded piggish oriented people who had captured the above ground controls of the Central Committee and refused to give it up over the objections of all members of the leadership and the party over a period of two years. This leadership under the head of DAVID HILLIARD, has forced members out of the party, expelled members for their revolutionary activity, caused them to be arrested. They have consistently altered and twisted the machinery of the party and they have caused a tremendous setback and a dissapointment to the black community and the revolutionary community of struggling people both on the national level and the international level and all of this distortion and distruction has been engineered largely by DAVID HILLIARD and, once HUEY P. NEWTON was released, by his cooperation and queer direction that he took the party off then. And it just so happens that the direction that this was taken in by HUEY P. NEWTON and DAVID HILLIARD was the same direction that

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the pigs in the power structure designed, desired to see the party going. You see the real revolutionaries eliminated, attacked, identified, arrested, coerced, and confined while many unfortunate, innocent people and otherwise just plain hoodlums are propped up as supposed Black Panthers and completely destroy the faith of the people in the community and the faith of revolutionary movement in the BPP so we recognize that that is a fact of the BPP as it existed. It no longer exists.

PRESS: MRS. CLEAVER is there any...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I'm not finished. In terms of the relationship of this to the Afro-American struggle and the relationship of the Afro-American struggle to the international political developments being carried on, the time now is very very crucial. We recognize as being exposed by the relations being developed between the United States of America and the Peoples Republic of China as demonstrated by the approaching visit of NIXON to China that there is a new alignment in the wind of forces that leaves primarily to Africans and the Afro-American's out, and you see people lining up their forces and making deals and -this is gonna happen in Asia and this will go down in Latin America and we see ROGERS and we see SPIRO and we see (inaudible). These prime bootlickers in Africa, all making the little coordinated moves all this year and HUSSEIN, the back stabber of the Palestinian people. Everything is building up to a very,

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not so clear, but direction is very clear, the pattern that the African revolutionary forces and the Afro-American revolutionary forces are being isolated from all other areas of support and forced closer and closer into their support of each other and this is a valid, because it's clear that the source of our problem and the source of their problem is a very complimentary and identical issue and that the two struggles we are waging on both sides of the Atlantic have everything to do with each other. This has been recognized quite some time ago by the United States government and it is because of this recognition and the effort to establish this relationship concretely that the brother MALCOLM X was assassinated shortly after his return from Africa. This now with these alignments going on in which we see the neither of the American people nor the Chinese people are being consulted our surprise move made behind their backs. We know NIXON. We know what they're up to and we know that this stuff means no good for us and every liberation movement and all the revolutionary forces that have not consolidated power are fully aware that this is doing them no good. In terms of the Afro-American it is time, it is high time, we have to intensify our struggle on the political, on the military, on the social level. And if you look at the needs of our struggle at this time and you look at the condition of our struggle you will see through a long process of depression, terror tactics, intimidation.

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isolation or worse, that the morale is low and the organizations are dissipated and that we are in a position that many people think that we are in a weak position but in fact we must look what has forced our struggle to this level and that is the strength that our struggle poses to the power structure and the need they feel to attack it and make us think that they're strong but if they, the repression that we are victims of at this time is purely the product of the intensity of our resistance. In terms of the United States itself, we must recognize that there is in fact warfare going on in the United States, whether we want to recognize it or not. And outside of the daily confrontations or acts of sabotage and sporadic guerrilla events that are happening around the country, we had examples of consistent warfare being waged in the United States. Prime example is the struggle being carried out and the war that's been going on for the past two years in Cairo, (ph), Illinois, in which you have the black community under the leadership of the United Front waging warfare every day, every night, every day against the combined forces of the White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the local police department and the State Troopers, and the government under machine gun fire and tanks and this has been going on for two years. Presently in Wilmington, Delaware, the fascists, or organized fascists have declared open war on the black community. They say we accept your

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challenge to a civil war, we're ready to get it on now, and the black community is under "consistent" attack by these fascists. These communities are very powerfully unified and they're resisting these attacks and we must look to them as a model of the future of what is going down in the black, what will be going down in the black communities around this country and begin to take heed of the future and prepare for the future and recognize those people that are preparing the groundwork and engaging in armed struggle at this present time are those in which our salvation lies and it is key time, it is high time that we recognize this and move to support them because the alternative is very, very, very unpleasant and specifically in relation to Los Angeles. We have to examine that the military and political struggle waged by the BPP which in Los Angeles was organized first under the leadership of BUNCHY CARTER, who is an ex-convict and JOHN HUGGINS, who is an ex-GI, and this party is very strong following the assassination at UCLA by the lackeys of KARENGA. This leadership was transferred to brother GERONIMO. Brother GERONIMO is a veteran of the special forces in Vietnam who is known in Los Angeles for his defense, that he organized of the LA Black Panther Office. In Vietnam, the man was trained, decorated, given purple hearts and considered a hero. He got back to the United States, he takes these skills and dedicates them to the struggle of his people and he is persecuted, jailed, and attempted to

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be killed. We have investigations of the many murky details that have been going on in the BPP in LA and northern California and cover the profound conspiracy to murder GERONIMO that goes from the Central Committee of the BPP up to the other hierarchy of the pigs and involves the LAPD. In fact this pig COTTON, MELVIN SMITH, COTTON, who was testifying against GERONIMO, in fact, was sent down to Dallas, Texas, where GERONIMO was arrested, to murder GERONIMO because he didn't have the nerve to get up the people and go ahead and do it but he has acknowledged this. By the members of the Central Committee of the BPP many of whom we're investigating for their ties with the FBI. Their goal was to destroy the burgeoning cadre leadership of the AALA, the Afro-American Liberation Army, that was being provided by GERONIMO. We have to recognize, whether we like it or not, that what is needed is a people's army to wage the people's war because the warfare is going on. We must face the fact that the intensifying efforts, that the culmination of efforts that the police department and the repressive agencies of the military forces in black communities and revolutionary organizations around the country, has the one culmination and that culmination is outright warfare. They are withdrawing their forces from Asia, they are concentrating other forces in Africa and they are making deals in Latin America but they recognize that the prime confrontations, the serious confrontation, the confrontation that means life or death is here in Babylon, and people have to

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recognize that and have to deal with that. There are people that have done that and these people are laying the foundation for the People's Army. These are the people that are being vilified, ignored and confused and lied upon by the so-called Panthers. The extreme danger that's presented by these traitors PERCY and SEALE, is that they are masquerading as a BPP and making people believe that this represents the BPP. It's very clear that they must understand this is not. In the case of GERONIMO, we've been fully, they have been fully exposed in the way they attempted to first doom to failure his efforts then set him up for capture and then after he was arrested in Dallas, block all information concerning him. And after he was extradited to California, three months later they purged him from the BPP party and have ignored him ever since. The contradictions which led to the so-called split in the BPP was many of which were focused around the treatment of GERONIMO and the many things that were exposed in this thing about GERONIMO. But what we were dealing with is a basic contradiction. A basic contradiction between those who are dedicated to the principles of armed struggle and preparing armed struggle and applying armed struggle and those who are opposed to this and those who believe that it was impossible to continue to cooperate and make deals with the system, to make deals with these monsters who were in control of our destiny and have shown what they are willing to do not only in ATTICA, but in Vietnam, but in Korea,

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but in the Congo. And we can not accept traitors like this as anything, any form of membership in the black liberation struggle of the black community.

PRESS: (inaudible)

CLEAVER: Let me see if I, yes.

PRESS: ... NEWTON or DAVID HILLIARD are agents of the police, is that correct?

CLEAVER: We're not gonna say that they're agents of the police. What we're gonna say is they're outright blatant counterrevolutionaries and the acts that they are engaged in, acts that they are responsible for, the things that they have said, that they have done and that they have caused to come about, are completely in line and in harmony with the desires not only of the police but of the FBI, the CIA, and the highest element in this government.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, anything significant to the fact that you arrived in this country just a few days after HUEY NEWTON came back from Red China?

CLEAVER: I think it is. I think it's very significant that HUEY NEWTON went to Red China in the first place, because he was asked by the members of the International Section immediately upon his release to please come and see us and visit us and come join up with his old comrades and he refused and he said this and he said that and he said the other and he never came and he never showed, then he proceeded to internally do everything

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he could to discredit and destroy the relationship of our comrades with us in the International Section and those in the United States even to the extent of making it cause for expulsion to call or write the International Section of the BPP. And then he goes at some late, later date, shortly in between KISSINGER's two visits, he shows in China with a delegation of about seventy other people and when upon his return, so therefore we recognize that, the fact that he went to China he had to have State Department approval in order to get the passport and get the travel authorization from the United States. It's significant that the same person, ELAINE BROWN, that has been very instrumental in many of the destructive acts that waged through, they were able to readily destroy the apparatus of the LA BPP here in Los Angeles and the destructive acts that led to the capture of GERONIMO and led to the attempted assassination of GERONIMO; ELAINE BROWN was also engaged in. In fact the slanderous attack that was made on myself was made by ELAINE BROWN in an effort to discredit ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in order to lay the foundation for these moves that they are making on the international level to co-opt, for their masters, the genuine contacts built up by the international operations of the party just as their efforts in the national arena had made to co-opt the apparatus built up by genuine revolutionaries with the support of the community for the desires of their masters.

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PRESS: Can you tell us if this party is in such disarray, when will your husband return to straighten it out?

CLEAVER: We're not trying to straighten out the party. As far as we're concerned the party is dead. The party is finished. The party is obsolete. There is no longer any need for an organization such as the BPP within the areas in which it has already been tried, because the many mistakes and failures made in the BPP. We have learned from this and we will build our future structure on the basis of these mistakes.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, will ELDRIDGE CLEAVER return to take over the leadership and give it direction?

CLEAVER: That is really not the issue. We have to work out examples of how this can be carried out but we must lay the foundation so that the operation that we're waging in the United States on this level is not dependent on leadership. It's dependent on cadre.

PRESS: Well, will, will he come back to assume any role in the party. Will he come back to this country.

CLEAVER: Not to, we keep telling you the party is dead. The BPP is through with.

PRESS: Well let me ask you this question.

CLEAVER: The...

PRESS: When will your husband come back to this country.

CLEAVER: I'm sure that if he has any desire for the people to know when he comes back it will be made manifest at that time.

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PRESS: Well, in other words you're saying he's not coming back?

CLEAVER: I said when he comes back and he desires people to know that he is in this country, he has always demonstrated he is quite capable of letting people know what he feels and what he wants them to know.

PRESS: Well has he expressed to you that he plans to come back?

CLEAVER: Yes, he's expressed that to me many times. In fact from the first time that I met him he said he was coming back in six months and this has been extended and extended and extended and when I left he said he would be here shortly.

PRESS: Would you care to comment on your attitude towards the ANGELA DAVIS case?

CLEAVER: Are you referring to some statements that we have made?

PRESS: Well no. Just what's your general attitude towards the murder cases (inaudible).

CLEAVER: That it's a complete and total frame up that completely disregards all efforts of legality and any, any relationship to reality and I think it has backfired on the forces that have captured ANGELA DAVIS because she has become a symbol of the Afro-American Liberation struggle throughout the world and has rallied many thousands of people and many thousands of dollars to her support.

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PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, are you here to make any kind of a deal to assure your husbands safe return when he does come back?

CLEAVER: With who?

PRESS: The establishment?

CLEAVER: Well we don't, we're not on any type of speaking terms. I think you should be aware of that. When I came into this country the person I was traveling with was arrested for being a hijacker on a case of mistaken identity, which I completely informed the FBI that the person they were looking for was in Algiers, I had just seen him before I left. This was not that person and gave them all the information I had on the subject to secure the release of my They refused to listen to me. So if the FBI wouldn't listen to me I'm sure none of the higher-ups would listen.

(TWO OR MORE TALKING AT ONCE)

CLEAVER: Myself? I think I explained that at the beginning. That was the whole original explanation of the press conference, why at this particular time. This time is very crucial. Everyone has to understand that all the powers that be, the revolutionary powers, the counterrevolutionary powers, the reactionary powers, the imperialist powers, the Democrats and Republicans, everybody that has anything to do with the political activities going on in the United States between now and 1972, the elections, are jockeying for power. Everybody is traveling, everybody is moving. Internationally you see a tremendous amount of movement,

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people that've, like HIROHITO who has never in his life gone outside JAPAN is traveling all through Europe. You see that the whole political situation is moving into a new gear. That one era is over and another one is beginning and all people are moving to get themselves in position. The Afro-American revolutionaries must recognize that this is what's happening outside the country and inside the country and if our struggle is to be successful we also must move to get ourselves in position because this time is very crucial and they all know it and this is the way they're moving to prevent us from getting our things together by propping up these masquerading Panthers as some type of, I don't know what, I mean I really find it very difficult to talk about them in any rational terms because I know the work and the bloodshed and the love and the effort that has been put into building the BPP by hundreds and thousands of people around this country, black people, white people, Mexican people, the support that has been gained to the struggle by the efforts of the BPP internationally And when I see one Manchurian candidate who's been tampered with in the California penitentiaries and once sick mind like DAVID HILLIARD, these people do everything they possibly can to destroy this, I mean this is a tremendous blow not only to the people who are working so closely with them but to all people that have anything to do with either building or supporting the BPP and this is a totally intolerable situation.

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PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER you said that the BPP is a viable revolutionary organization, no longer exists in this country. Do you think that it will be possible or impossible for any such revolutionary organization to ...

CLEAVER: No that's not at all true because the foundations of other revolutionary organizations have already been laid. You see that, I'm sure you'll see the coming monthly activities in the development of the Afro-American Liberation Army which would be a more effective revolutionary operation than the BPP be. Efforts are being made throughout the country. The organization of groups to wage and struggle and they're not going out and passing out leaflets and telling you their name and giving you out their platforming program. They're dealing and they're not being caught and they're not being identified, and they're making a political point. We feel that the purpose of the BPP that of elevating the consciousness of the people to the need for this has been dealt with. The people who are engaging in armed struggle and meeting other people who at this time are not, but accepting the reality for that, this purpose has been accomplished, this phase has been accomplished. If it wasn't for the machinations of this clique that it captured the BPP apparatus and distorted it and took all the money then perhaps it would be possible to continue for the party itself to develop in another line. But this is not possible so the Black Panthers

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we say the Black Panthers are alive. The revolutionary forces are much broader and much greater as a result of the existence and the activities of the BPP. But as it stands now that organization bears no resemblance to the BPP. The real BPP is in the jails, underground and in other positions that aren't talking.

(TWO PEOPLE TALKING AT ONCE)

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, is it true that HUEY NEWTON has taken over most of the international support ...

CLEAVER: No, this is not true. He's trying to but he hasn't taken it over because he can not prove, on the basis of activities, there's been a revolutionary content to his organization and to his party. _

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W. del - PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER did the Liberation Forces do all that could have been done to help TIMOTHY LEARY?

CLEAVER: Huh? What'd you say?

PRESS: Did, did the BPP that was, members rather that were in Algiers, do what they could to help TIMOTHY LEARY when he was in trouble there?

CLEAVER: We did everything we possibly could but it was all like, you know, in one ear and out the other.

PRESS: Why? What do you mean?

CLEAVER: Well you see, TIMOTHY LEARY doesn't have any mental functions at all. His whole brain process, his thinking, and remembering, and working has been completely destroyed by the

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excessive use of LSD. He's totally dependent on his wife, even here and they became such a tremendous security risk that we found it necessary to make it very clear to them that they could not continue to behave in the manner that they behaved and we found it necessary to hold them in protective custody until they understood that. Even after that they really didn't understand, they really didn't agree and they took it upon themselves to leave, and unfortunately they were arrested.

PRESS: Are you, did you, earlier you said that your life was in a threat. Is that threat coming from other members of the party or from the police?

CLEAVER: Well, they're working in cahoots so we don't, you know, they're far off, you see 'cause they're in a much better position to infiltrate and know who is who and who lives where and get information that no one would give to the police. The police are completely and fairly discredited. Everyone knows the police is the enemy. They probably need a front man and they use many black agents, individuals, organizations, infiltrate them, set things up and do all types of devious underhanded activities in the black communities and the black revolutionary struggle through these agents. And we don't know all of their names but we can see the results of their activity. So it's very easy for agents to operate in the present structure of the so-called Black Panthers because it's designed to carry out the same kind of activity that they relate to.

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PRESS: Miss KATHLEEN, what was your reaction when you returned and set your foot back on United States soil, did it seem good to be back home?

CLEAVER: This is a very very serious situation. I haven't had time to think about that. I've only had time to find out certain conditions and see what can be done to alleviate those, especially the political prisoners because that's the key situation. The vast majority of the real revolutionary forces of the BPP, the real leadership, is either in prison or in jail, either in prison or in exile or else otherwise dispersed and there is no protective operation above them, you see. And it's a very dangerous situation because in every city people are being picked up left and right because regardless of all this masquerade and carrying on by these people in Oakland, the police forces in every city know who the Panthers are, who the real Panthers are, and that's who they're shooting, that's who they're arresting, that's who they're attacking, that's who they're intimidating because they had defined their enemy as the revolutionaries and they're continuing to move under the revolutionaries whether they call themselves Black Panthers or whether they call themselves JOE BLOW, they still move under the revolutionary.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, will the struggle for liberation go completely underground now that ...

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CLEAVER: No brother. It's impossible for a struggle to go completely underground. You mean certain elements of the struggle are forced underground and other elements of the struggle are forced to take up the work that needs to be done above ground, that are not participating at the present time and other elements are forced to do other things. It's just the struggle is shifting and developing and moving to a higher level and things are changing and the participants in the struggle understand this.

PRESS: Is armed conflict the only resolution to your revolution?

CLEAVER: Well as the history of the Korean war, the history of the Vietnam war, the history of the experience of the black people in the United States indicates armed conflict is the only type of a position that these beasts and these murderers seem to take against any people moving for their freedom, and is not a manner chosen by us. It's a manner that's been forced upon us by our aggressors.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, if armed conflict is the only way to achieve your end, will there be a step up in violence then?

CLEAVER: I mean you are here in this country, you read the newspapers every day, you look at the television, you hear the radio. I don't do that. I'm sure you have more information on the degree and intensity of armed conflict in this country than I do.

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PRESS: Will there be instructions then to the cadre here...

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PRESS: Have you been the target of any overt attempts on your life yet.

CLEAVER: Well, I've been in very close security so far and in very confined quarters.

PRESS: Were you safer over in Algeria though or over here?

CLEAVER: Man there's no safety in this world. Not for people like us.

PRESS: Thank you very much. Mrs. CLEAVER.

CLEAVER: Thank you. I think, is that all the questions?

PRESS: Where will you be travelling?

CLEAVER: Throughout all the United States, but I'll be speaking at UCLA noon Friday.

PRESS: (inaudible)

CLEAVER: And LACC on Tuesday.

PRESS: Mr. MC KISSICK, you said there were forces here that are trying to upset the News Conference that switched to the Beverly Hilton Hotel. My office received some information they wanted me to ask you about this that you were supposedly a member of the CIA and that...

CLEAVER: That's coming from the same sources.

MC KISSICK: That sounds like the same source that said that the Press Conference was being switched. No my only interest here is to give my client a chance to have her views heard and I was in contact with International News or with the City News Service so they pointed out that the Press Conference was gonna be held

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CLEAVER: I'm not involved in instructing the cadre.

PRESS: Who...

CLEAVER: I'm sure if you could look at what's going on, read the newspapers, listen to the radio, you yourself would come to a conclusion as to what's going on. Now, now if you just look at those, ask the police. They know. They're doing a lot of attacking. They're doing a lot of jailing, and I think the incident that took place at Attica indicates the intensity of violence on the part of the aggressor and the intensity of the heroic ability to stand up there on the part of the people.

PRESS: You say the party itself is no longer functional and is now in the hands of the cadre. Who is instructing the cadre?

CLEAVER: To the best of my knowledge, HUEY P. NEWTON, Reverend PERCY. Well, I'm not, I'm not a part of that cadre so I don't have any information. If you want that information you'll have to ask those people.

PRESS: What's to be done about the legal situation that your husband faces, should he return.

CLEAVER: Well, we don't recognize any validity to the legal system of the United States. We recognize that as part of the enemy. Now if it is possible for something to be done legally then we'll accept that but we're not banking on anything done legally and neither is GEORGE JACKSON. And neither is FLEETA DRUMGO or any of the people in the clutches of this legal system. Because we recognize the legal system is only one of the elements

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that is used to depress and murder us.

PRESS: How did this conflict start between HUEY NEWTON and ELDRIDGE.

CLEAVER: Well we feel that it must have been initiated in the penitentiaries when HUEY NEWTON was subjected to all these types of treatments and drugs and all other types of wierd things that we don't have complete information on because he came out of the penitentiary a changed person.

PRESS: Do you have any evidence that he was tampered with in the...

CLEAVER: Yeah. We have evidences from the other people in the penitentiary that saw him.

PRESS: And what did they say happened to him.

CLEAVER: The same things I just got through telling you.

PRESS: Yet KATHLEEN, why did he receive recognition from CHOU EN-LAI and MAO TSE TUNG?

PRESS: Well now you would have to ask them. I'm not into that. I really don't know, but I'm sure it's all part of some type of overwhelming scheme that's designed to do us no good.

PRESS: You say the threats against your life started in Algeria. Were they attempts to keep you from coming to the United States?

CLEAVER: Oh no because they were trying to get me to come to the United States. These same forces that were interested in co-opting and twisting and changing the party, they were trying to get me to come to the United States and all the plans and arrangements had been made at that time. 42

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somewhere else and that of course has not been passed on by this office so I, I have no idea where that came from but I, it's pretty clear that there's an effort to sabotage the hearing.

CLEAVER: Well I have an idea where that came from, that they, Miss ELAINE BROWN has been named the Minister of Information of the Peralta Street Gang and she would be the type of person that would be giving out instructions along these lines. She's very familiar with LA and she has been engaged in many manipulations against us, from her manipulations and setting up G's bust and manipulations in attempting to discredit ELDRIDGE and myself and the activities of the International Section and all types of things and I think that she has something to do with that. If you would go in to interview her and ask her I would be interested in having a reply because we have information on ELAINE BROWN that leads us to believe that she is very, very shady person and doing some very thick double dealings.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER:..

PRESS: Don't you think .. trying to discredit Mr. MC KISSICK then. (inaudible)

CLEAVER: Excuse me.

PRESS: Don't you think that he's trying to discredit Mr. MC KISSICK then?

CLEAVER: Oh yes. Well she has a very intense dislike of Mr. MC KISSICK and this is not the first time that this type of comment has been made about him by her.

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PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, yet you, your baby. The second baby was born in North Korea?

CLEAVER: Yes.

PRESS:and you've gone into Algiers and you've had kind of a, heard MAO TSE TUNG and the rest of the leaders. You've, you've really, been really treated very well.

CLEAVER: Yes we've been treated with great respect. Kindness by the peoples in Asia and Africa where we visited. However when we traveled in Europe, when I traveled in Europe they treat me like I'm some kind of criminal, an agent or some type of force that doesn't deserve any common courtesy and I've been thrown in military jeeps and paddy wagons and kicked out of countries and all of this. So it's very clear.

PRESS: Was ELDRIDGE there, was he ever invited by CHOU EN-lai or MAO TSE TUNG to come to Red China.

CLEAVER: Yes and he has already been in Red China and he has been invited to come back.

PRESS: How long ago?

CLEAVER: This was quite some time ago. It's not important any more.

PRESS: And why did you have your baby in North Korea?

CLEAVER: This is a decision my husband made as a basis of his visit to North Korea to the International Journalists Conference of Anti-Imperialist Journalists that was held in Pyongyang

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in September of 1969. But this is a very beautiful and profoundly dedicated anti-imperialist country. He was extremely impressed by the warmth and the intense dedication and the ideological and military and the social preparedness of the Korean people. And he was very anxious that I have a chance to experience this and he decided that he wanted his next child born in North Korea.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, (inaudible)

CLEAVER: I'm here to do what I can do and in every way that I can. And if that involves staying, I'm staying; if that involves going back to Algeria, I'm going; if it involves, whatever it involves, that I'm capable of doing, it'll be done. Until I'm stopped. And you must recognize that there are many people that are diametrically opposed to everything I'm doing and everything I'm saying and I'm sure that their efforts to stop it will escalate as my efforts to do it.

PRESS: Who do you think will take over the Panther Party?

CLEAVER: The Panther Party, as I informed you, is obsolete and it doesn't exist anymore. The Black Panthers exist, the Black Panthers are taking the Black Panther Party and the ideas and the practices and putting them in new structure and new form, that are consistent with the new level of struggle. So we want to make it very clear that the HUEY NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE, ah,

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DAVID HILLIARD, BIG MAN, etc clique this base in Oakland that is tricking people around this country, and collecting money and being very opportunist and very negative and taking all these positions; like we were wrong to attack the police and we should go back to church; and say we're Marxist-Leninist and then they say we're (inaudible), I mean all this confusion and madness is perpetrated by someone that couldn't be sane. Ah, this doesn't bear any relation to the Black Panther Party and we feel very unfortunate that people continue to refer to them as the Black Panther Party,

PRESS: I'm unclear where you get into the picture then. Why did you come back? What is your purpose here?

CLEAVER: Because I know what the Black Panther Party is. I was there when the Black Panther Party was a few, a handful of people. And from the time the Black Panther Party was a handful of people in Oakland till the Black Panther Party was a national, international organization. I know that, you see, all this time HUEY NEWTON was in jail and DAVID HILLIARD was more or less on the sidelines. He came into prominence after ah, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER left, and he became in complete control of the party after BOBBY SEALE was arrested and blocked all efforts to reorganize the central committee and deal with the process of developing a regional control and a more revolutionary direction to the party. And he blocked everything that indicated to put him out of a position of power and

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advance the revolutionary position of the party. And I know this and many people know that I know this and I know that they want this information and all efforts that we've made to send information in every other form to this country, whether by mail, whether by video-tape, whether by personnel, whether by establishing a newspaper, whatever, it has been blocked. It has not been effective. And the time is so short, so crucial and so many people's lives are involved and there's so much bloodshed to let this slide. Just like to many people in this country just letting it slide and overlooking it and say later for the Black Panther Party. And we know that the Black Panther Party played a very significant role in the history and development of our struggle and we know that it's very valid, the contribution it's made and we don't want that confused with that stuff they've got going calling they're phonies, they're fakes, they're masqueraders, and they're agents, and they're everything that's disreputable and everything the Black Panther Party is opposed to. So we don't want people to think that that is the Black Panther Party and we feel that you should know, if you're newsmen, and you follow developments, you should know that I would know that and I have no reason to lie to you about that because everything I'm saying can be verified.

PRESS: What I'm trying to get at though, you've come back now, what are you going to do. You've got to get into something to make ah,

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CLEAVER: Oh, myself personally, I'll be engaged in organizing the Revolutionary People's Communication Network. And I've been, the foundations for that have been made. This is what we have developed to replace and elevate the functions formerly carried out by the Ministry of Information of the Black Panther Party. This is no longer necessary and the struggle is on international proportions. It is much the base of our support, is much broader and we feel that there is a lack of communication, a lack of information going back and forth, and that this will intensify as Fascism intensifies in this country, because this is one of the first things they do when they take power, is to clamp down on all sources of information and give out state controlled police news. The people only know one side and then they think only what the pigs want them to think and we know that this is coming, this has happened in every other situation and we see that its very relevent that we have the revolutionary people have access to their own sources of news about revolutionary activities, not only in this country, with each other, but around the world. So the revolutionary forces will know and will be able to inform other people of the true strengths and the true weaknesses of the revolutionary movement, so that we may build on the basis of correct information and advance our struggle on the basis of real facts.

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PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER

PRESS: You've noted that, you've pointed that the number of international leaders (inaudible).

CLEAVER: It's true.

PRESS: Now, what do you see as the reason behind this?

CLEAVER: Everybodys getting in a position to intensify what they want to do. The Japanese want to do one thing; the Chinese want to do another thing; the American Imperialists want to control everything and direct everything. You see in Africa, where we live, we see, we see one design cropping up that they intend to have as such, that Israel remain a state. That the Palestinian Liberation forces are liquidated. You see, the initiation of this in the so-called Rogers Peace plan that meant the Jordanian Army attacked the Palestinian guerrillas and attacked their camps, you see. In South Africa, they have (inaudible) set up to call for a dialogue of South Africa. Well none of the states want to dialogue with South Africa, they want South Africa eliminated. And so he's a spokesman for that position and you see, that the South African liberation struggle is intensifying the incident of bombing and the incident of guerrilla confrontation rising up: and there you find the racist the white racist states in Southern Africa of Rhodesia, Southern Africa and Southwest Africa are making a coalition so that they can keep an armed

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repression on these liberation forces down. Because they have made coalitions with each other. And you see that there's some effort being made in many quarters to compromise with the people who are fighting in the Portuguese colonies who have successfully liberated the bulk of their territory. So it's clear that they want to ah, make a compromise in ah, they don't want to oppose us at this time. They've um, what they want to maintain is you know, they want to maintain South Africa and they want definitely to surpress the revolutionary base of power that is being built up in the People's Republic of the Congo and Brazzaville. At this time mercenaries are being mounted on the borders and attack provocateurs both armed personnel on the ground and by air, are being waged and the people there on the border are mobilized every 24 hours to defend their country and they recognize that they have to be in position to ah, defend themselves and wage people's war at any moment, at this time.

PRESS: Mrs. CLEAVER, since the Black Panther Party is dead, GERONIMO is in jail, would there be anybody in Southern California or California, who will be recognized as directing the (inaudible). Any one person.

CLEAVER: I'm not involved in that and I can't give you any information on that. We've restructured things in the

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political and the mil..., the information, the aspects in organizational aspects, military aspects, are all separate. So that when the repression falls, it can only fall in one. It can't fall in all of them and this is the experience we had in the Black Panther Party and we found that unitary organization that had everything in one is non-effective, to combat the repression that we suffer in the United States.

PRESS: Why does ELDRIDGE want to come back?

CLEAVER: Because ELDRIDGE is an Afro-American, an Afro American Revolutionary and he is dedicated to winning victory for the Afro-American Liberation Struggle and we recognize that that can only be done through participating in the struggle on this land. We can contribute to the struggle, we can aid the struggle, we can abet the struggle, we can do many things to contribute to the elevation of the struggle, from another country. But we can not directly fight in this struggle on this land unless we are in this country.

PRESS: Excuse me, ah, you seem to speak with such surety about ah, China's position. Ah, don't you feel that China is dealing from a position of power?

CLEAVER: Yes, they're obviously dealing from a position of power. (press talking but inaudible). I don't know what they're doing. I know that they're not asking us or telling us or taking our needs or our desires into consideration. So therefore, we know that that is an indication that ah, help that people might have looked to in the past is not there anymore. Therefore,

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we have to do much more intensely on our own. We cannot look outside for support. We have to move on our own right now.

PRESS: Do you really have enough information?

CLEAVER: No, we don't. But we can see that, we know, we have enough information on NIXON. We have enough information on HAILE SELASSIE, we have enough information on HUEY NEWTON, and we see all the, and KESSINGER. We see them going (press talking but inaudible) to China, well, we know that ah, something is up. That's no good for us.

PRESS: Yet, they gave prestige to HUEY NEWTON before the President of the United States to come to Red China.

CLEAVER: Well, look at HUEY NEWTON.

PRESS: Beg pardon.

CLEAVER: Look what HUEY NEWTON is, a Manchurian Candidate.

PRESS: Don't you believe anymore in the MAO TSE TUNG thought?

CLEAVER: MAO TSE TUNG's thought didn't ask KESSINGER. KESSINGER went over there in a U. S. Army airplane. You know.

PRESS: What was your reaction, Mrs. CLEAVER, when you found out that President NIXON was going to Peking.

CLEAVER: It was very disturbing. Just as the reaction of everybody else, if they'd be honest, that is engaged in revolutionary struggle. And I wish you would stop asking me so much about that because I think, well you know, we don't have no inside information. We can only take

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position on what's happened and that's not my purpose for being in this country to explain NIXON's visit to China, but to talk about the trialing, and the sabotaging and carrying things off on another level.

PRESS: Thank you. Thanks.

PRESS: You will be speaking at UCLA at noon tomorrow?

CLEAVER: Yes. All things being equal.

PRESS: Two talking. Have they told you when yet.

(TALKING IN BACKGROUND)

CLEAVER: I don't know yet. But I can leave that information with ah, LUKE MC KISSICK's Office once I have all that information and if anyone wants any further information on that itinerary, they can contact LOUISE MONACO.

PRESS: When will you be leaving town, honestly.

CLEAVER: I'm not, ah, I can't, ah, I don't know that.

PRESS: You don't know yet, okay.

PRESS: In the true sense of the word, a Manchurian Candidate is an assassin. Who was assassinated.

CLEAVER: The Black Panther Party, the Afro-American... Liberation Struggle, that's what he's assassinated, is the Black Panther Party.

PRESS: (inaudible)

Oh, he's assassinated quite a few individuals too

PRESS: Ah, will, ELDRIDGE becoming back?

CLEAVER: Yes. He has stated over and over again that his intentions to return to the United States and you must under-

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stand that the spirit and the contradictions that came about in the party had much to do with hampering that and prolonging his absence in, from the United States. But now that we've proceeded to resolve those contradictions and elevate the structure of our organization on a higher level, that this will become a possibility.

PRESS: How will he be able to come back?

CLEAVER: He'll be able to come back similar to the way he came in.

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KATHLEEN NEAL CLEAVER

Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were leaders of the Los Angeles BPP killed at the University of California at Los Angeles in January 1969, by members of a rival militant organization.

Ronald Mc Kinley Everett, also known as Ron Karenga, is the founder of US, Inc.

"US" is a Los Angeles Black Militant Organization. The founder and leader of "US" is Ron Karenga.

[redacted] is an ex-BPP activist in Los Angeles.

Elaine Brown is the BPP Minister of Information.

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Angela Davis is a self-espoused member of the Communist Party presently incarcerated at Marin County, California, on charges stemming from the murder of a judge in August 1970.

Timothy Leary is the well known advocate of drug usage currently a fugitive from justice.

Fleeta Drungo is one of the Soledad Brothers.

[redacted] is a BPP activist in San Francisco.

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[redacted] advised that at the conference, Cleaver said following her Los Angeles visit, she planned a tour of the country, including a visit to Detroit, Michigan, where she would appear on radio station WIIS.

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[REDACTED]

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On [REDACTED] advised after
the press conference. Cleaver [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The
[REDACTED] said [REDACTED]
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At approximately 5:15 p.m., a representative of the FBI taped the Radio KMET presentation of the program featuring the Cleavers. A transcription of that tape is contained hereafter:

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NARRATOR: On Wednesday, October 20, with the assistance of KATHLEEN CLEAVER, KMET news spoke by telephone with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers. On Thursday, October 21, KMET news interviewed KATHLEEN CLEAVER. What you're about to hear are the major portions of those conversations. On the phone with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER are KEN KELLY, social and political critic formerly of the White Panther Party and LARRY YURDEN (Phonetic) and JUDY GOLDBERG of KMET news.

JUDY GOLDBERG: I like to start off with one question and that is we have word that you are gonna come back in this country, is that true, and if so why?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I think that any word that you might have to that effect absolutely is true and why is because it happens to be the country of my birth, it happens to be the country where my family, my children, uh, my mother, my sisters and brothers, my people, my struggle, my everything happens to be there. So that I think that I'm the one who should be surprised if anyone who should find that I should want to come back to all of that you see.

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JUDY GOLDBERG: Considering the conditions that you would have to face when you come back . . .

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well it's not a question of uh coming back and uh offer myself to go to jail, that's out of the question. The point is that uh we either have to face the (inaudible) that we're confronting and to deal with them in a manner that they have to be dealt with or we just have to just cave in and uh let those uh giving a miserable life and treatment to the (inaudible) get away free without any kind of opposition whatsoever. I think that it's possible uh for people to take a stand against the way that the country is being run, the way that the affairs of the (inaudible) all over the world. I think that it's possible for people uh to organize in such a way and to take such actions to put an end to all of that and to create a society where people can be happy and live a good life.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: He'd like to come back under the conditions and uh, such as, that he left. And he'd have to come back on clandestine level and uh he'd have to pursue to uh struggle and the underground liberation struggle is going on at this present time. Whether you like it or not this is what's happening in, this country's in war and uh anyone that comes back as being

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identified as a revolutionary, identified as a designated political prisoner would have to be in this type of a activity in order to survive, further that's the type of activity that he has been directed all his energy and all his struggles toward since he's been in the penitentiary and elevating the Afro-American liberation struggles to the point where the people can be able to move for, seriously for their freedom. We have to recognize this, you know their alternatives in this country.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: The reason that that's possible uh it's the only (inaudible) was to being willing to move on that and uh I'm happy to be one that relates to doing that.

UNKNOWN MALE: Do you plan to uh engage any kind of ^K of armed propaganda such as the Weatherman in the United States have set up?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I wouldn't want to be involved in what the Weathermen have been doing in the past. But I think that there are many revolutionary forces inside the United States that over the last three years have become very sophisticated, they've developed their clandestine apparatus and they understand the past that we have before them so that uh what I, what I want to see is the development of a real serious peoples army inside the United States for the purpose of carrying out a peoples' war against the fascist ruling circles, those who control and govern and form the policies that are oppressing all of us. And I think that uh the revolutionary forces that exist in fact form the nucleus of what will

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come of the peoples army and I want to be a part of that, I want to contribute to that because I see that as being the most uh valid and profound contribution that we can make in our time. So that I don't see any reason for doing something else (inaudible).

UNKNOWN MALE: In the few days that you've been back in this country have you seen anything to make you hopeful about the development of the struggle?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Oh I think that the people in the revolutionary forces have every reason to be highly positive and very hopeful if you look over a long term period on the higher level on which the struggle is being carried out at this point. I mean the high level of the political consciousness among the general people, and opposition to the war and in opposition to the government, in opposition to the police, in opposition to the uh wage price freeze, opposition to all of these types of things that are going down. The society is being forced more and more to expose itself. Things have raised into a climax where their only alternative is either a revolutionary socialist system or a fascist system and it's pretty clear that there's one group of people, who are a small group of people really but they have the support of many of the uh oppressed and racist oriented uh population in this country, uh towards fascism and the only alternative to that is the alternative of a "revolutionary socialism" and there's going to be and there

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is in progress now, there opening stages of civil war and uh that question is gonna have to be resolved by warfare as all ultimate questions in the social system have to be. However we can be very hopeful because this question has been resolved time and time and again in many countries, at many times, and in many different conditions and then general forces around the world are leaning toward resolving these types of contradictions that (inaudible) key struggle that, as everyone knows and understands, is inside the United States. Because until this situation is dealt with in the United States you still have the headquarters of the henchmen and all around the world being able to subvert and attack and destroy all the peoples struggle for any type of real liberation. So until the United States is thrown into a situation of internal chaos and warfare then the other revolution have forces around the world not only have to fight their own opposition but fight the opposition as supported by the United States so we find the United States government perpetrating this stuff around the world.

UNKNOWN MALE: Are you not concerned that the forces allied against oppression are yet too fragmented among themselves to effectively resist (inaudible) of fascism?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: We're very concerned about that because at the same time the fascists are secretly and underhandedly plotting and on the underground side building up their stashes,

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building up their armed forces, building up their capability, and they have access to the entire military and undercover agencies in the United States. The revolutionary voices are dependent on the people. We do not have access to these resources and this type of information and this is why it is very necessary for us to be able to mobilize, explain, organize and educate the people in this country to know which side in this conflict has their interest at heart and which side they can expect some type of hope for because the situation is very very crucial. But uh I think the revolutionary forces have every reason to be very hopeful and also very proud of the work that's being done but they have no reason to fear that they've done anything anywhere near relating to final point and that the only thing to do is work harder and be more dedicated and among the people I've had an opportunity to talk to this is the case, that people recognize this need and go on about it in the best way they can and are lacking much of the support that they should have among the so called progressives, the so called revolutionary forces, in particular in the mother country, in the white movement.

UNKNOWN MALE: I want to ask you about the conditions that your presently undergoing in Algeria? Do you have the liberty to function as effectively in that context as you'd want to?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well we have the liberty to function but we are limited from a financial point of view. Uh many people

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believe that uh we receive uh contributions and support from I don't know who, uh MAO Tse-tung or somebody you know. But uh we're in the position where we have an opportunity to really do something which would be helpful to the struggle of the American people, and uh it's a very large country, it's a very large struggle because it's a struggle against a very large and international system, an empire that has billions and billions of dollars at its disposal. And uh our biggest problem is money because uh all of the other uh blockings that we're confronted with always boils down to not being able to move because we can't get the tools that we need to move with. So that uh I boil all of our problems down to not having the material, not having the wherewithal to do exactly the amount we would want to do you see.

JUDY GOLDBERG: From what you've heard about TACKWOOD uh do you have any comments to make?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I haven't really heard enough about him to really know uh just what he's coming from because uh it's been my experience that the Pigs uh be coming from all kind of funny, different directions, uh they could have you thinking uh that they're doing one thing when actually they're setting you up for something else. So that a Pig starts off with two strikes against him as far as I'm concerned and TACKWOOD would have to uh merely make a positive contribution to the people by informing them much more about uh what's going on inside of those circles that he has been travelling in for so long and the (inaudible) as I understand he's

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throwing out quite a bit but it would have to be subject to a little more analysis, much more information, and then we would have to see how that squared with subsequent events.

NARRATOR: Back to Babylon. Conversations with ELDRIDGE and KATHLEEN CLEAVER.

UNKNOWN MALE: Do you think that the kind of split that you mentioned before within the members of the Black Panther Party sets up a situation where the police agents can then, uh by manipulating one side against the other, end up killing a lot of people and getting a way with it, make it look like one side versus another. Don't you think that the kind of uh press statements that have come out from both sides, from your side and also from HUEY NEWTON's side tend to contribute to a situation like that?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well if there's definitely a bad situation uh you know from history that this situation has occurred time and time again and that in fact the enemy always takes advantage of any decisions because he thrives on divide and conquer. Now we know this and it just so happens when you're confronted with a situation like that uh being that possibility of the Pig taking advantage of the situation has become another problem that you have to deal with because uh the Pig's moving against you (Inaudible) really a new factor in your life because they've been moving against you all along. But this just provides them with another card to play but uh

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we still cannot back away from the game and allow all of those things to, you know, going on in the Party that we protested against. We either had to deal with it and deal with and deal with it forthrightly and openly or we had to just let it a cancerous situation kill off all lives related to the Black Panther Party.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: This is why we bring out this whole thing about NEWTON being the Manchurian candidate. See NEWTON went to China and then he came back and he made a statement like he petitioned Chairman MAO to negotiate with President NIXON for the freedom and liberation of oppressed people of the world. In short, he came out with an endorsement of NIXON going to China and a whitewash in the terms of what they would be dealing with. Now anyone knows and everyone knows in this country that NIXON can serve no concern for the liberation and freedom of oppressed people of the world. NIXON came on to office law and order like HITLER and never changed that and everybody knows where NIXON is coming from. It's just the question of that's where you relate to or you relate to something else. But NIXON makes himself very clear so if you have someone like NEWTON who has been identified as the founder of the Revolutionary Party coming out uh three, four five years later, endorsing NIXON in this way. You see that something has been going on and what we say is that the new HUEY NEWTON is in fact the Manchurian candidate, that he, during the time he was in the California penitentiary, that he was

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subjected to all types of peculiar drugs and other type of undermining, psychological tactics. We don't know all the things but if you know anything about VACAVILLE or ATASCADERO and the type of activities that go in there and try to destroy the minds and twist the brains of the Black convicts and in particular once they got someone like NEWTON and they know exactly who he is and what he is all about they gave him the white glove treatment. It was like "yes sir Mr. NEWTON, no sir Mr. NEWTON", and it's very clear that whatever they did resulted in completely twisting the man's mind around. He came out of the penitentiary very heavily addicted to all types of drugs, came out completely incapable of doing even the most simple things for himself like writing down phone numbers, he came out of the penitentiary incapable of even talking in any reasonable manner and with all types of wierd psychological twists to him that were not in any way apparent before he went in and they have twisted this man and then they built all this uh stabilization of his organization and you see all this building up and propping up, uh NEWTON this and NEWTON that and this solidification of that apparatus and the example we announced that the Black Panther was moving it's headquarters to Atlanta, being welcomed by the Chief of Police of Atlanta. So uh this is a very very profound deal that's going down and they have gotten these people in some manner in some shape or form to go along in the vanguard of destroying and coopting the

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• liberation struggle. Now the Black community is not going for this but these people are armed and are intimidating people and they're threatening people and there's suppressing principle argument and they're doing all types of devious things in the movement and in the Black community, they're coming out like black Mafia, uh they're off into all types of things, they are no relationship to any type of revolutionary organization and this is known in the Bay area and this is why they're planning to move their headquarters to Atlanta because they're finished in the Bay area. The people are hip to them. They see what they're doing, HUEY NEWTON has bought a nightclub, Uh HUEY NEWTON drives an El Dorado, HUEY NEWTON has been seen gambling thousands of dollars at Lake Tahoe and all types of things like this and then HUEY NEWTON signs the order doing this, HUEY NEWTON signs the orders that GERONIMO is purged, uh HUEY NEWTON this, HUEY NEWTON that. Now uh you tell me what's going on? We say he's the Manchurian candidate.

UNKNOWN MALE: Isn't there any kind of remedy to that in terms of just the uh vitriol that has existed between yourself and HUEY NEWTON in terms of alleviating the kind of tension, isn't there something that can be done that would present uh less of a uh an antagonistic front?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well first of all uh I don't know which information uh you've been checking out that we've been putting out. But from the very beginning what we did was to set forth a political analysis of the situation that existed

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inside the Black Panther Party and we did that in form of a report to the central committee of the Black Panther Party and if you look over all of the information that has come out since then you will find that we have uh been very restrained in terms of uh vitriolic attacks. Of course we've uh done things that were harsh because the situation is a harsh situation but our whole uh analysis has not been based upon uh the kind of mud slinging that they've been indulging in, this kind of irrelevant slander (inaudible). As a matter of fact if you go back and look at the facts and look at what has happened you will find that they in fact dispatched uh gunmen to New York uh to kill Brother ROBERT WEBB and this is the first antagonistic act to go down following the split. They shot the brother down in cold blood because he was the one who uh announced the position of the New York Black Panther Party on the issues involved in split. So that uh when that happened I don't think that anybody in their right mind was against it we just let it go by and still tried to uh negotiate the situation or to merge differences because they have stilled some members of the Black Panther Party, they have caused members of the Black Panther Party to be arrested, they have viciously destroyed a lot of

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very important and pain stakingly constructed political machinery. In fact we feel that they have committed high treason against the Black Liberation struggle. And it is based upon that uh, we have uh, no kind word for them and we don't think that you can equate uh what we are saying uh and where we are coming from with the kind of drizzles that they have been spewing forth. So we don't look at that as being the thing.

UNKNOWN MALE: Do you look upon your return to the United States as anyway uh being able to be complicated by the position that HUEY P. NEWTON has taken on you?

E. CLEAVER: No, I don't think that it will be complicated at all, because I'm not connected with him in any fashion and he has no influence over the people that I am related to and from what I understand is that it is becoming more and more of a little cult, something reminiscent of the type of operation that was run by RON KARENKA which is a direct lineal descendent from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and DANNY GRAVES and all of those supreme beings and religious thinkers. Uh, what HUEY P. NEWTON is doing is creating a kind of religious cult. It is not even a political cult. And the people that believe in that are not the kind of people that I want anything to do with.

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UNKNOWN MALE: What did you learn on your trip to Congo-Brazzaville? Was your feeling that uh, there is a lot of international support for the kind of struggle that you are talking about engaging in the United States?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Evidentially we found out that there were people down there who understood that but most important point uh, that I think can be gained was to really shed some light on the friends we've had in the United States for the past five years, helped us understand more clearly some of the mistakes we had made, and also to show us an example of how something really beautiful can be put together on classical lines that are very functional in our day and time. We found that the people in the Congo were very anxious for their independence, they overthrew the Government of puppets that was put over them by the French Colonialists when they were leaving the Congo and we found that they have consolidated a very (inaudible) people's army. They have a Socialist Workers Party, and they have mobilized the people and they are claiming their full rights and they are fighting for their rights and they are not backing up. And this is something that puts them in the cards of the struggle against the new forms of colonialism what they call the neo-colonialism. For example, the kind of colonialism you find in Southwest Africa, or in the Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau

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where you have an outside aggressor occupying the territory. Something like the U.S. is doing in South Vietnam. These people have already gone beyond that just as most of Africa has gone from that form of colonialism but they find that they are now confronted with a new and more insidious form of manipulation and control which they call neo-colonialism because it is done indirectly. It is done through the control of their economy, and it is done through puppets and lackeys and it is very very deadly and dangerous and the people of the Congo have organized and mobilized against this form of neo-colonialism and they recognize that the concrete, uh, the backbone of the opposition to them is the United States, which is backing up all the puppets and all the reactionary regimes in the world. Definitely supporting Portugal and South Africa by channeling food and arms to them through NATO. That the people realize that they have to deal with the United States. Once they realize that then they look at what is going on inside the United States and they recognize that their black brother inside the United States are also fighting against the same system. So this provides quite a bit of common ground, quite a bit of preparedness to unite, and they have the same ideological positions that we have in terms of working with other people. They don't relate on the basis of say a narrow racist kind

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of nationalism, but they relate on the basis of class and they recognize that all the people of the world who are oppressed and who truly care enough about struggles against the oppressor are their comrades and we feel that same way. That's what we feel is needed to carry out the struggle inside the United States and, as I said earlier, it helps to resolve some of the silly contradictions that we've had inside the Black Liberation Struggle, principally the alienation between the revolutionaries who had some ideology and those we call cultural nationalists, who only want to relate to African culture, and to change the name to an African name, but not relate to the real revolutionary struggle that is right there before their very eyes. So that some of these and many more things we confronted in the Congo and I think that it has helped up out quite abit.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: It is coming to light that there is a realignment of the forces in the wind and that many things that could be anticipated in the past are clearly not going to be anticipated in the future. And you see, especially in Africa, a move to isolate the liberation struggles that are the most difficult in the sense of the people struggling in South Africa, Rhodesia, in Palestine, and in the Peoples Republic in the Congo, and make deals and rearrange the

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world balance of power, you might say, to suit the retreat that the imperialists are making at this time. They are retreating and they are just trying to set up certain structures that would hold their retreat down a little bit. But in terms of the Africans and the Afro-Americans its pretty clear that we've been left out of all of this. No one is consulting the Afro-American liberation fighters, and it is very clear to us and to many of them that we are struggling on the same issues on two different sides of the Atlantic Ocean and that our struggles are very definitely linked, and uh, that we need to recognize that and go about dealing with the conditions of our struggle. You see, because everyone else is sort of like ignoring us.

JUDY GOLDBERG: After the revolution in Algeria, the women there put their veils back on. Because of this many American women in the women's movement here do not regard Algeria as a revolutionary country. How do you see it?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I think that the American Women have the freedom to pick and choose and decide which country they like and which ones they don't, and which one is revolutionary and which one is not. I would like to ask them to tell me which revolutionary country they would arrange for me to go to, and for all liberation movements over here, where can we go? And I think that because it is mere fact that Algeria

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allows us, and other liberation movements to function here, and to help us help ourselves, indicate some of their politics. Now, there are some problems which have carried over from the past, problems which were perpetuated by the vicious method and technique of colonial rule which the French inflicted upon these people and they have only been free for about eight years and they haven't had a chance to deal with all the problems that they are confronted with. And I think that the specific problem that you mentioned is just one of the problems and you can't generalize uh, about that because everybody over here doesn't wear it, do you understand. It's mostly something to do with the generation thing. Just like some of the American women who complain about that and go around wearing mini skirts when they look at their own skirt they find them wearing the little old lady skirt, you know. It's just a question of where you are and what you are into, and where your head is, and it is not something that we regard as our major problem. You dig this?

GOLDBERG: How are the schools dealing with the problems?

Do you think that there are some advances made say like in China dealing with this and other problems and in the culture?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I think that in every country that you can go to, this day and time, those particular countries that you mentioned, you'll find a very high awareness of this.

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particular problem, just as the women inside the United States don't relate to being oppressed. Women all over the world don't relate to (inaudible). It's just that the (inaudible) inside the United States who give lip service to women's liberation and whose fate they are in favor of but they continue to carry out male chauvinist practices. You find the same thing in other places. I think that on this particular subject, men are pretty hypocritical. But it is not something that is just limited to other countries. It is a universal problem. I think that we as yet do not have any country in the world that has reason to point the cessation of the oppression of women that would cause women to say "right on" to this. So, it....not even in Ceylon where they have a woman for a Premier I don't think it has ended there yet either.

GOLDBERG: Would you say that the brothers inside the Black Panther Party are dealing with their male chauvinism?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well, since there's been an uneven development, because of some of the internal history of the Black Panther Party we had to confront this problem on a very serious level much earlier than a lot of other groups had to deal with this. I think it goes back to about 1968 if I'm not mistaken, or 1967, I mean the problem emerged immediately because we always had practiced democracy

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within the Party and we voted on a lot of things, and a point was reached when the question arose as to whether or not women had the same rights as the men had in the Party, So that we had to start dealing with that earlier and we have tried to deal with it, we made a lot of mistakes and our practice has been uneven. There has been incidents of backsliding and hypocrisy, but I think that we have tried to deal with this. Some of us have....and there is disagreement about that both ways. But certainly the Party I think had a great part in bringing the whole question to the forefront and in forcing people to confront it. Because I can remember the time when members of the Black Panther Party talked about this issue, when not even women were not willing to come forward and talk about it. You know?

UNKNOWN MALE: Would you be able to tell me what were the conditions under which TIMOTHY LEARY left Algiers?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well, he left like a thief in the night, I would say. He left in a condition under cover of darkness. Now what he was running away from, why he was sneaking out, I can't really say, because I don't know what was going on in his scrambled brain. But I can only say he left without letting any of his friends know that he was leaving. Matter of fact he lied to some people about what he was doing, and he had made some arrangements with other people who assured him that he could get political asylum in Switzerland.

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I'm sorry if any of TIMOTHY LEARY's friends might hear this and not like it, but the man I think was the (inaudible) kind of race streak because what he basically was up tight about that he could not relate was that he could not take orders from Niggers. That's all it was. So he got his white self in the wind and went over there with a lot of other white people where I guess he felt more comfortable. It boils down to something like that because uh, it reminds me of what's been said about that has been grossly distorted, etc., and LEARY never received any harsh treatment from anyone over here, no one has ever done him any harm. What we did was to try to get him to relate to reality, specifically in terms of advising people to use LSD when we had enough of an opportunity to observe the effects that the too frequent and wrongful use of that drug have on the brains of people. We saw it on the brains of many people that we have known over periods of time. We also saw it in terms of the brain of TIMOTHY LEARY and in terms of the brain of ROSEMARY LEARY. So, that we went through some struggle with him over his position on acid and over the whole question of him turning the use of drugs for religion with himself as some kind of a high priest. We could not believe where he was coming from was those issues. I think that one of the things that really made us understand that it was impossible for LEARY to understand where we were coming from

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and for us to relate to him is when he suggested to us that we start building him up as the Aristotle of the American Revolution or the JEAN PAUL SARTRE of the American Revolution.

Our position was that he was a TIMOTHY LEARY of the American Revolution, just another one of the problems that we had to deal with. He was not Aristotle, he was not JEAN PAUL SARTRE, and he got a little bit peeved and upset about that. He thought it was not fair or something. I don't know.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: LEARY, very clearly is someone whose mental process has been wiped out by excessive use of LSD. He can't remember anything, he can't do too much. He doesn't have any kind of discipline. He won't work. And he is a complete security risk, he runs off at the mouth all the time, And we tried everything we could to find a way of incorporating him into the activities that we were engaged in but it became thoroughly impossible and his racism came out and his inability to work in any kind of collective fashion, and there were just so many problems, so many things that he brought to bear on us, that we had to take some very strong measures to make him understand what kind of position he was in and what kind of harm he would be doing himself and the people that were responsible for giving him some kind of help. And he felt that it was necessary for him to do some

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very underhanded things and attack us and slander us in an underhanded way. And he just really totally is useless and quite a hazzard to us.

UNKNOWN MALE: Do you consider the use of such drugs counter-revolutionary?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. I certainly feel that the ways that these drugs are being used in Babylon over say the last ten year period, I think that it is definitely now for some time has become a negative aspect. You have to look at it in terms of time and in terms of a dialectical progressive because there was a time when the whole thing about the drug culture was a positive form of the rebellion against the straight, alcoholic, bourgeois culture that existed in the Babylon's whole fiber of morality that people were subjected to. The drug culture was a valid form of rebellion against us. But I think, that like many things, after a while it became very stylized, very bureaucratic, and it had a whole hierarchy of processes that developed and they had a vested interest in seeing it continue. And I think that people like TIMOTHY LEARY, JERRY RUBIN, STEW ALBERT, ABBY HOFFMAN, a lot of people felt that the whole invalid form of rebellion and turned it into a business, turned it into their thing, literally turned it into an obstacle that was in the way of further progress. A question of something dying and becoming petrified and ossified that has to be swept away because you cannot deal with the fascist pigs

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the way that they massacred people, the way that they have plotted against people, the way that they are moving on the global level to execute a global design of carving up the world, and instituting a new world order based upon their fascist right wing ideas. And I think that this is something that people have to be very sober to understand, very sober to follow and watch and keep careful note of, and very sober to not forget it. It is very bad, it's very dangerous, and to that extent is counterrevolutionary to squander the resources of the revolution. And each human being is in fact not some kind of private property that he has really to destroy or dispose of as he sees fit, but he is part of a human family, part of a unit, and he has a responsibility to do his duty by confronting the task of our time.

UNKNOWN MALE: You don't deny that LSD in a....among revolutionaries, taken by revolutionaries, not in excess, can increase the desire to fight however, but the abuse of it is what has led to the destructive nature of what the drug culture has become.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: I'm really concerned with the abuse of it. I'm not interested in blocking any scene that is founded in terms of medicine or science or anything like that. So if they have found a way of using it then I'm not opposed to it but I do know that the way that it is being thrown around in Babylon where you have High School children and a whole bunch

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of people who's lives are based on that thing as tripping, tripping, tripping, definitely that should be stopped.

GOLDBERG: Culture in the white communities or that white radicals should be all in factory organizing?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well, I think that you should organize people wherever they are. Like if the people are in the factories they have to be organized there. But there are many people in white community who have what we call a lumpen relationship to the institution, to the society, to the means of production. It means that they are also structured out of the system. That there is no channel constructed to allow them to fulfill their life needs and their ambitions, hopes and dreams and all of that. So that many people are blocked by the way that the system is now constructed and functioning. And these people are definitely are amongst those who are alienated and feel cut off and who have a spark of rebellion in them and that spark is the soundest part of the revolutionary frame and it must be organized and herded and we would not be in favor of leaving the people on the streets in order to go into the factories. Because, in the first place, there is a whole question of the political spectrum within the proletariat. It was those people who do not own the resources of the society, who do not own the corporations. It seems to me that you can find the spectrum from left to right even among the proletariat and you'll find that on the right

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there are people that have good jobs, with a lot of job security, might end up being friends with GEORGE MEANY or being part of his criminal process. So it means that all those people are definitely are kind of right wingish in terms of the proletariat. In the working class itself there is a right wing, there is a left wing. The people who feel the pressure of the system, those who are structured out of the system, those who have no job security, those who have no jobs, those who have no future provided for them by the system, those are the ones who are most likely to rebel, including all the people in the prisons who have been sinners to an alienated life. Those in the (inaudible) direct connection between people being sentenced to prison and people being sentenced to the military because in both cases, people will end up in the military or prison by edict of the law. We find that these are the places where people, through legal process, are being messed over. These are the areas where the rebellion is the strongest. I think that we have a few cases that brings this out crystal clear, like the case of Brother GERONIMO, who is in jail in Los Angeles, who was the Deputy Minister of Defense for the Southern California Branch of the Black Panther Party, is now in jail in Los Angeles County. He was formerly a soldier in Vietnam, and, supposedly over there fighting for freedom and democracy, and all that, And he had to come back and fight for his own people.

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KATHLEEN CLEAVER: The primary reason for my being in the Los Angeles area at this time is to all of of our concern for the conditions, the state, the trial of GERONIMO and the LA 13 who are being tried at the present time, without attorney, without support, in the old county jail because of the contradiction that was raised in the Party, vicious machinations that the Peralta street group have done to GERONIMO in terms of setting him up, arranging for him to be arrested and captured and extradited to California, purging about him, and really completely going to all the machinations to really destroy the above ground apparatus the Party had going and to destroy the faith of the people in the Party. And there were many reasons for this and the people need to be presented with a clear cut picture so that they will be able to make distinctions and be able to understand that although the Party, as a revolutionary organization, no longer exists and the organization manipulated by the Manchurian Candidate, HUEY P. NEWTON, someone who had been tampered with while he was in the hands of the pigs, in a direct effort to destroy the Black Panther Party, at the same time they were moving into very vicious repressive outside by the pig forces to violently attack the Party, destroy the Party, and moving internally through agents and informants to set people up. We see that the case of GERONIMO has gotten lost in the shuffle, and this is a very treacherous move on their part,

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And it goes right in line with the desires of the power structure because they recognize and we recognize as one of the key leaders in the development of the liberation armed forces, because in time GERONIMO and his cadre (Inaudible) the Afro-American Liberation Army. He is in jail, he is on trial for his life, he has quite a combination of cases and we must be able to eliminate all the doubt and confusion and this information threatens an intimidation that has been brought about by the contradiction in the Party and within the Party so that we can do something about the case of GERONIMO and the LA 13, who among those who have been abandoned like many others across the country, by these traitors and the people who completely destroyed and distorted what the Black Panther Party is all about.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: The other case is the case of BILLY DEAN SMITH who is now at Fort Ord. BILLY DEAN SMITH is from Watts, California, and he finds himself on trial for his life for some activity allegedly carried out in Vietnam where he was sent over there to fight against the Vietnamese people. So, when you have situations like this where people are being forced by the law to do things that they don't want to do, to go to jail, to fight people that they don't want to fight against you're going to find a very strong rebellion

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in these people and they are part of the vast mass of people inside the United States who will make the revolution. Now, I don't have any doubt about that. I think that those who have doubt that this is going to happen inside the United States, those who can't see it already happening have a tendency to inaudible the people of their humanity in their judgment because it is only human way of reacting when you move to stop those who are killing your people, who are inflicting pain upon you and your generation, and who have been doing it for hundreds of years and seems fully adamant and determined to carry it out until the end of time.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: At this point, considering separation from the situation here and considering experiences in the Black Panther Party and knowledge of the explosive and essential position of the lumpen proletariat in the street, the armed forces, and in the penitentiary, and noticing the focal point of the liberation struggle at this point where the most intent revolutionary activity is being carried out. At this point and time we still see that the most powerful force against the pigs per se, a direct line of confrontation has been drawn between the pigs whether they are in the penitentiary or in the military, or in the streets, and the lumpen proletariat because we, the people who are forced into penitentiaries,

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forced into military, and forced in the streets. We recognize that the lumpen are so far, at this point, in the vanguard of the struggle and are still conscious of the need to organize and mobilize among the lumpen because the lumpen will fight, regardless, the lumpen are the fighters at this point. I'm just saying that at this point and time this is what we are doing, this is the close experience that we have. We've never taken any dogmatic stand on this.

UNKNOWN MALE: Do you think Babylon, the Government of Babylon, is essentially cutting its own throat by training black soldiers in the use of guns and then when they send them back to the United States fully trained, do you think that the returning GI's are going to play an important part in the Black Liberation Army?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Well I think that it's been true all down through history that when you look at the aftermath of every war that the United States has been involved, in uh, the returning soldiers have always presented something of a domestic crisis. And this was true in the Civil War, the Spanish American War, it was true following World War I, it was true following the Second World World, it was true following the Korean War. We can remember particularly the 2nd World War and the Korean War when they had to enact the GI Bill of Rights to siphon these effects of the war and plug them into the system. Now, this was possible because the

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demands that the people came back with were demands that were reformists, they wanted more of this and more of that. It was something that the system could produce. But the demands that the people are coming back with from Vietnam, from IndoChina today, are demands that the system cannot meet through any reform means because what they are demanding is justice, they are demanding retribution because of their friends who have been just slaughtered over there by the tens of thousands and demanding retribution for themselves who have been maimed and and crippled for life. They are demanding that the evil men who formulate those policies, who perpetuate that, be brought to justice. In short they demand justice, and when you demand justice it is always a revolutionary demand. And for this reason, I think that the soldiers returning from IndoChina will present the United States with an unprecedented practice because it will be a revolutionary confrontation. And it will not be just the returning black GI's that will be involved in it, because they have a lot of white GI's over there that are also pushed off and they can't say that they are ripped off because they are black but they are still ripped off and they have to look at that too and I think that they will get to the point also where they will join into the ranks of the revolutionary people and these people being the heart if not the whole of the backbone of the people's army. A part of which will be the Afro-American Peoples Liberation Army.

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UNKNOWN MALE: Do you think it was reactionary of the Chinese to invite NIXON to their country?

E. CLEAVER: I think, definitely without a doubt it was a reactionary step to take and you can see the harmful effect that it has already had. There is no way that it can possibly justify on the basis of principle, setting up and scheming with this pig NIXON. In the first place what is going on in Asia is a question of the occupation by the forces of the U.S. military who out of the Second World War, they moved in after the Second World War and occupied the Empire left behind by Japan which had been defeated. And they maintain the same forms of oppression over those people and even instituted some of the same laws and regulations over the people particularly in South Korea where they just, General MAC ARTHUR issued an edict in that those same laws that the Japanese had were in effect. So those people want an end to that. The people in Vietnam want an end to the War. But I don't think that it is proper to go off into a game of power politics and be wheeling and dealing on an international level with bearded wolves preparing to battle, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and other imperialist wolves that are threats to the security of China. I think that it is a big mistake when you abandon your principles and try to beat them at their

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own game. CHINA has now in fact, done what is very seriously criticized the Soviet Union for having done under KHRUSHCHEV. CHINA has become a revisionist state. It is playing the same game of power politics that the Soviet Union is playing and this means that they are sacrificing principles and when you sacrifice principles you sell a lot of people out cause a lot of people who are still oppressed and the only thing that they have to hang on to are those principles because they know that by hanging on to those principles they will eventually fight their way to freedom. And I think that China has left a lot of people high and dry and disappointed a lot of people, and forced a lot of people to face a painful reality just as we had to face it when the Soviet Union copped out on us.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: We know what kind of person NIXON is. We know what kind of government NIXON represents. We know what kind of activities NIXON is engaged in against us and against many other people. And for NIXON to be allowed the privilege of going to the People's Republic of China indicates that a whole lot of stuff has already been set in motion and it is clear that power politics are what's happening and revolutionary principles are being pushed aside.

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GOLDBERG: Would you like to make a statement to all oppressed people of the United States?

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: Yes, (inaudible)...to all the oppressed people inside the United States, to all of the people who have any regard for humanity, for all the people who want to see the dreadful conditions that have to be brought to a halt, that this is the time that we must look at the very basic principles and take very fundamental and basic actions to stop the rampage that the rulers of America are carrying out, principally by force through their police department, national guard, and even with the Green Berets and the regular army. That the people have a right and this right is enshrined in the Bill of Rights, in Article II, of the Bill of Rights. It says that the people have a right to bear arms and to form a militia to guarantee their security. It is absolutely necessary in order to avoid confusion and in order to keep things on a legitimate basis, and in order so that people can function as human beings to form throughout the United States a peoples' militia that would be organized on a community wide basis. There would be organized instructors from house, and block by block until the whole community is covered and city by city and state by state until it is nation-wide.

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So, I mean that talk about machinery to secure the community against the fascist storm trooper police is just the people. This is the basic fundamental requirement if we are going to have any success at all in putting an end to all the madness that is now being perpetrated by the rulers of America. If we don't take this fundamental step by arming the people into a peoples' militia that would have the interest of the community at heart, if we don't do that there is little chance, little opportunity of stopping the onward march of the fascism that we all see staring us in the face, and we all see murdered people left in the night. That it is necessary to do that and I think that it would be very good if the American People would in fact form a peoples' militia and base it on the fundamental principles that we all know and work to eliminate all those elements within the environment that are causing the misery and spreading the misery throughout the world and is robbing us all of a good life. I think that that is what we must all do. Stand up, organize, oppose those who would just tread upon our human rights. That's what they are doing. We have to oppose them at all costs no matter what they say, no matter what they think, and we can't be destroyed because there are more of us than there are of them. They are just better organized than we are. All Power to the People.

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[REDACTED]

The White Panther Party was based in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and espoused the philosophy of the BPP.

Weatherman, formerly a faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) controlled the SDS National Office from June 1969, until its closing in February 1970. Weatherman then entered an underground status and adopted a tactic of "strategic sabotage", with police and military installations designated as primary targets.

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[REDACTED] is a self-espoused ex-informant of the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Jerry Rubin was a defendant in the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial.

[REDACTED] is a New Left activist.

Abbey Hoffman was a defendant in the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial.

[REDACTED] is a member of the United States Army [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

At approximately 5:16 p.m., Special Agents of the FBI observed Cleaver exit 6430 Sunset Boulevard and proceed to the home of BPP sympathizer [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] California.

[REDACTED] advised that Cleaver, [REDACTED] who is presently active with the United Prisoners Union (UPU), an unidentified male Negro representative of the UPU, and an obese white male, apparently associated with the UPU. Cleaver wanted the UPU

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[redacted]

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to publicly support the LA 13 but, though leaning toward the Cleaver ideology, the UPU did not want to be identified with either the Cleaver or Newton Factions at this time.

[redacted] Source said an unidentified male, Negro, known as another representative of the UPU, called Cleaver and indicated he had known Eldridge.

[redacted] of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, came to the

[redacted]

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Both [redacted] voiced personal support for Cleaver's movement.

The UPU is a Los Angeles based organization supporting prison reform.

[redacted] is presently incarcerated at [redacted] on charges stemming from the same incident in which [redacted] was involved.

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[redacted] said [redacted] a UPU activist.

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At approximately 7:58 p.m., Agents of the FBI observed Cleaver depart [redacted] and proceed to 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood.

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On [redacted] advised [redacted] met with Cleaver, [redacted] a [redacted] identified as [redacted] and other unidentified individuals at [redacted] regarding [redacted] alleged affiliation with law enforcement.

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[Redacted]

On [Redacted] advised Cleaver b2
 returned to [Redacted] and at approximately 9:00 b7D
 p.m. [Redacted] and two unidentified
 Caucasian reporters arrived. Amongst other individuals
 identified at this meeting were [Redacted]
 [Redacted] who was found dead of gunshot wounds in
 Lynwood, California, on November 5, 1971, [Redacted]
 [Redacted] (last name unknown), an ex-member of the
 Newton Faction of the BPP, who had an [Redacted] taken from him
 by [Redacted] members and now allegedly relates to the
 Cleaver Faction. Source described [Redacted] as a male, [Redacted]
 [Redacted] and a curly
 [Redacted]

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The source said Cleaver's meeting with [Redacted]
 was arranged by [Redacted] had volunteered

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[Redacted]

The source stated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Source stated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[redacted]
The source said after the meeting with [redacted]
Cleaver, [redacted]
[redacted] (last name unknown) and [redacted] (last name unknown) met
[redacted]

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OCTOBER 22, 1971

At approximately 9:42 a.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver and an unidentified Negro male and female arrive at 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, in the 1972 Chevrolet leased to [redacted]

At approximately 10:18 a.m., the same Special Agent observed the above individuals and an unidentified male Caucasian enter the Chevrolet and travel to the Hall of Justice, 211 Temple, Los Angeles.

[redacted] advised at approximately 10:45 a.m. Cleaver, [redacted] Texas. Passport Number [redacted] California, California Driver's License Number [redacted] described as a male, Caucasian, born [redacted]

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and displaying a valid California State [redacted] and a male Negro named [redacted] not further identified entered Department 101 at the Hall of Justice, where the trial of the LA 13 was taking place. Source said the presiding judge recessed the trial upon Cleaver's arrival.

At approximately 11:20 a.m., the same Special Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver and the same three associates enter the 1972 Chevrolet and return to 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood.

[redacted] advised Cleaver spoke at Royce Hall on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) at approximately 12:15 p.m. Source advised [redacted]

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The Black Student Union is a student based
black nationalist organization.

[REDACTED] said the crowd of approximately 1200
people dwindled to around 400 by the time Cleaver's speech
ended. Source [REDACTED] Cleaver's speech
at UCLA and a [REDACTED] is contained here-
after:

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GABRIEL: Good afternoon. My name is GABRIEL ICE (phonetic) and as chairman of the Speakers Program I would like to welcome you to our third of the Fall Quarter. Today we have with us KATHLEEN CLEAVER, who has just recently returned from Algeria. Her topic for today will be black revolution in the United States and will be followed by questions and answer period. At this point I would like to introduce PAUL WILLIAMS, chairman of the BSU at UCLA for a few short remarks followed by Mrs. CLEAVERS address.

PAUL WILLIAMS: Uh, thank you. The Black Student Union feels, in this situation that we have the opportunity to give you the pleasure of meeting a beautiful black woman. The Black Student Union in the past has made it a point to give a cross section of political thought for black students on this campus to have a clear understanding of what our struggle means. I'm not going to go into no long speech, I'm just going to make it clear that this is the point of the Black Student Union here on this campus. Under the auspices of AS UCLA Speakers Program and with the support of the Black Student Union, I introduce KATHLEEN CLEAVER.

Applause

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Wow, all power to the people brothers and sisters, right on. You have to excuse us for being late we were sort of blocked by LAPD white cars. I don't know CCS, CCI, which ever one and we got tied up trying to get down to

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the court for GERONIMO's trial. And further more we received information that uh, that the FBI, they didn't say who, but you know these pigs are they might anticipate an incident and if anything is provoked they wanted to be able to call this special act so they could be able to bring the LAPD down here in force. So uh, you know, how they do these things. . . If everybody be cool then, we know who the pigs are. Cause we know they're in here, see. They running this. Uh, in terms of political situation it's very clearly delineated in California especially in terms of the concrete development of the fascist state which is at it's most advance stage in California and uh really very highly concentrated in the urban fashion in Los Angeles. In terms of the key issue, the central issue in the liberation struggle at this particular time, I'm sure you're all aware of it, it's the key issue of the political prisoner. The vanguard force in the liberation struggle at this present time is the imprisoned population. And there are specific prison population that are very keen. We have the political prisoners, those of the revolutionary forces, the political activist, and those who are being imprisoned to prevent them from carrying out their political activities. A very classic example of this is the case of the LA Thirteen and in particular Brother GERONIMO, formerly Deputy Defense Minister of the Southern California chapter of the Black Panther Party, presently on trial now. I think all of you could recall the LA shot out in December.

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And that event and what that is about and that trial is presently going on really in obscurity. There is the issue of the military prisoner and I don't mean just the soldier and the army, who is a prisoner of the military machine, but the military prisoner the political prisoner, within the stockade of the military and in the state of California in the stockade of Fort Ord held in maximum security at the present time is the black brother from Watts whose return from Vietnam and being held on charges of fraging, killing some white officers and uh the military is calling for the death penalty. Now the thing that makes this case very classic is the fact that never in the history of the United States have they ever called for the death penalty of a soldier in the U.S. army and they choose this black soldier to call the death penalty upon Brother BILLY DEAN SMITH. At the same time they let Lieutenant CALLEY parade around in some type of national hero. You see he's a hero. You see he's a hero to the fascists. And the fascists are supporting him and this is why he can carry on like this. Then you come to the key imprisoned population. The real base of this liberation struggle and where you find the most profoundly dedicated forces in the liberation struggle in California, in particular and that is convict population, the black convict population in these prisons. An example that brings that to your mind is the assassination of Brother GEORGE JACKSON. But the trial of the other two the Soledad Brothers is going on now in San Francisco and you have to understand there is a definite inter-relationship between the struggle of the

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revolutionaries, the forces within the prisons and without the prisons. Within the military and without the military. Within the political organization and without the political organizations. And it all links up in the relationship of the underground. Because you see there's a cycle in this uh, revolutionary momentum, in this phase of the development of the struggle at the present time. Whether you come from the prison or from the military or whether you come from the streets, you get the choice of going either to the military or to jail. Whether you come from the above ground and are forced underground or to jail you see the same people moving around in this cycle of revolutionary action. Especially in California it's very clear in California. We're very concerned about uh, the issue here because I'm sure you know that it was here in California that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense was originated and that the Black Panther Party got it's birth and uh, proceeded to develop the Afro-American Liberation struggle. And it must be very clearly understood by everybody, because apparently great confusion has been caused by some so-called Panthers and some so-called revolutionaries during the past two years, that the Black Panther Party had something to do with creating the Afro-American Liberation struggle when in fact it's the other way around. The Afro-American Liberation struggle produced the Black Panther Party as a vehicle of it's advancement. And as long as that instrument is advancing the struggle then it's revolutionary and vanguard. And the minute it stops doing that,

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it's blocking, it's retarding, it is not a vanguard, it is not a relevant organization. At the present time the present structure, the present operation being carried out by these masqueraders these phonies, these fakes and they're very well known to the real Panthers who are also well known by the real police, and who are also still being persecuted, tortured, arrested, killed and shot throughout this country without your knowledge, because of the complicity of this so-called Panther Party with these forces of oppression to make a compromise to get the heat off of them, you see. So this is why we say that the Black Panther Party as any type of revolutionary force is dead. The Black Panthers, however, are alive. The Black Panthers are in jail, the Black Panthers are running, the Black Panthers are starving. And we cannot sit here passively and look at these ego-maniacs or whatever they want to call themselves go around and parade as if the Black Panther Party belongs to them. Because we know across this country there are hundreds, hundreds, hundreds, thousands, thousands, thousands of black people, poor people, white people all kinds of people who are dedicating something to building the Black Panther Party. The base of that party was Afro-American Black lumpen proletariat in the cities, in the ghettos throughout this country, in California, in the mid-west, in the east coast and now in the south. This is the Black Panther Party. Not this apparatus that parades around and passes out this disgusting newspaper and it's nothing, it's just a haven for police informants at this point. It's absurd.

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Applause

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And this is why it has become necessary for us to uh, in the international section, to uh move in this matter to clear up all these contradictions and confusions about the Black Panther Party that you are being subjected to and are using it as an excuse not to do anything and not to relate because of the case of GERONIMO in Los Angeles, the case of LANDON and RORY in New Haven, the case of the brothers in jail in New Orleans, all these brothers these revolutionaries have been abandoned and are left at the mercy of the power structure. And these are the people that move the party, move the struggle and these are the revolutionary forces that the pigs want. They don't care about that other stuff. We feel from the information that we have received that the present status of HUEY P. NEWTON, I'm sure that many of you are aware of this and maybe many of you are not, is that a Manchurian candidate, that the man was a revolutionary who was arrested and taken into the California Department of Corrections Penal System. He was released in the surprise move at a particular time that was somewhat crucial. And when he was released he was no longer the same person. And during this period of time he had been subjected and programmed to many types of drug treatments and uh, distortions, and psycho-therapeutic arrangements in these brain twisting people-killing centers that are run by the Department of Corrections in the state of California in Atascadero and Vacaville and CMCE. And those names might not mean anything to you but you

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remember them because you might find yourself in those same institutions. And don't you believe it's not possible. This so-called split that many people have made so much ado about is not a split, it's a development and is a transition so that the revolutionary forces that were organized at one time through the party, many of whom after a certain period in time went on to organize other organizations and participate in another level because they could not participate in revolutionary activity with this apparatus. This so-called split has been the coming to head of internal contradictions within the party since its foundation. But as the party grew and developed a uh, how would you say, resolving of contradictions that finally came out in open break. And these contradictions that existed as a legitimate phase of the development of the liberation forces and the development of ideology through practice and theory and practice and theory are also picked up on by the police forces, in particular the LAPD Criminal Conspiracy Section and the FBI in working out of LA and manipulated upon and played upon through whisper campaigns and he said this and he did that, it's false information. And all of these tricky tactics that they use to confuse people and distort them and make them paranoid and withdraw and all these types of things. So you have to look at the situation and look what has been done to the Black Panther Party primarily through three forces. You have the outright blatant police attacks. Then you have

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the police infiltration. And this infiltration is on many levels, don't you think it's not, from Washington D.C., the Pentagon, the FBI, the CCI, IDA, all of them I don't even know their names and it's not relevant, because it's all different levels and different aspects of pigs of enemies. Alright, that have brought about this split throughout the country. And there is, I mean there are many splits in the party that have carried on without your knowledge and nobody jumped up and said anything about it until the International Section made public the fact that they no longer went along with it and this is the point at which the whole party had already left and there wasn't too much left except young, innocent lackeys, terrorized, intimidated people and some police informants and so-called Central Committee. But what has happened to the party and the final outcome of this has created a tremendous setback and a disappointment to the community of black people, to the community of revolutionaries, to the people who look to that for some type of leadership and direction. And to the international revolutionary movement because whether or not you know it, the Black Panther Party was recognized as a vanguard force, not only in this country but throughout the world, especially in Africa. And the destruction of the Black Panther Party by these combined forces of agents, of pigs, of jailings, or prisons, or brutalities, of murders. I'm sure your fully aware of many of these murders. One in particular, but this has really destroyed the Black Panther Party and they have been

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cooperated as process has been collaborated upon by the counter-revolutionary revisionism, and this is what it is. Leadership offered by DAVID HILLARD, JUNE HILLARD (inaudible) and we say this because this is exactly what it is. We are not calling names. And if we want to get into a question and answer session we can get into details about this. We know you don't know these things, it was none of your business, you see. We hoped to be resolved of these things entirely but it became impossible but everybody needs to understand this stuff so they don't be lost in a maze of confusion and they don't allow this and these contradictions in the way they affected things in Los Angeles are very, very pertinent to the fact that this brother GERONIMO and these brothers who defended this central office during the shoot out are up in the county jail and sitting in that court room and nobody's outside there relating to it, you see, and this is exactly what they want. They think they got a clear cut railroad and this is their final coup of destroying the Black Panther Party and the Black Panther Party is a name that's irrelevant, you see. And that's why we say that's dead forget about that, later for it. Destroying these revolutionary forces that were organized, coordinated and moving in the LA area against these police forces and they know it and they don't tell you. Because what's been going on across this country is a direct confrontation between the revolutionary in the Panther Party, the military and the political revolutionaries in the party and the police department. Whether you know it or not that line of demarcation

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has been drawn and that war had been initiated. Specifically in relation to UCLA I cannot come on to this campus without a very profound sorrow. Because one of the original forces of this revolutionary action in the state of California, person who came out of the prison in California, whose active in the struggle, liberation struggle going on within the prison, continued to be active in the liberation struggle within the streets, continued to be active in using the Black Panther Party as a vehicle to advance his struggle was murdered in cold blood on this very campus. And I'm talking about someone that you have all heard of BUNCHY, ALPRENTICE BUNCHY CARTER and that name might not mean nothing in this audience but that means something outside, alright, and you better believe it. That was a black convict coming out here to deal with this and the brother that was with him Brother JOHN HUGGINS, that was a black GI who had came out of the military to deal with this. And when those two beautiful brothers were eliminated by who, who were they eliminated by brothers and sisters? Who? Name um. No the two brothers that he sent, name them, right on brother, STINER. Right here on campus with guns and the blood was shed. And they went down here. That was the vicious attack on our forces of liberation, engineered by the LAPD and carried out by their black lackeys. The STINER brothers members of the US organization and don't you think that organization isn't engaging same type of activity. After that murder the leadership or the direction of the party fell on the shoulders of brother GERONIMO. Brother GERONIMO came out of the US military out of the special

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forces, out of the Green Berets in Vietnam with purple hearts and medals. Out of that battle field into this. And everything that he learned and everything that he suffered he brought those fields back to the struggling people in this country. Back to his brothers and sisters in the streets. Back to the victims of fascism LA style, and attempted to deal with it. And there's been a consistent attempt to move against him and eliminate him throughout the LA police forces, many cases. The US organization was instrumental in that. The LA raid was a part of that. But they finally caught up with G through a little cotton pickin informant named COTTON, MELVIN SMITH. And you have to be aware of these things. Maybe you don't realize that but this is what their doing in this community around you. Paying and buying little petty minded lackeys to go out and destroy forces that are fighting for your liberation. Going out and selling blood money, giving blood money to these who allow fascism to get much colder and leave you to deal with it. Now can you deal with it? Or can you deal with helping somebody that is equipped to deal with it, and trained to deal with it, and willing to deal with it, survive. And that's the decision that you have to make. And this contradiction in the Black Panther Party, this split in the Black Panther Party exploded over the arrest of GERONIMO because the man was betrayed. He was set up and he was arrested in Dallas, Texas through the collaboration of HILLARD, and NEWTON and ELAINE BROWN and MASAI HEWITT clique, financed by tax money,

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you know, FBI, CIA this, and don't think I'm just throwing this out, you see. He was arrested held in Texas for three months and there was no word on this. And if any of you read this rag sheet, I don't know how many people in here read that shit. They purged the man as soon as he was extradicted to California and told all kinds of lies about him, etc. And behind this purge they blocked any type of apparatus of support for this case, not only of GERONIMO but of the LA Thirteen. Meanwhile in between this arrest and the LA shoot out all the little lackeys have done everything they possible could to dissipate the support of the people. And this is how they operate. - They operate this everywhere and this is why this whole so-called movement is in this present state because they've terrorized, arrested, convicted and done all these things that demoralize and have people isolated and confused. And this is just a tactic, it's a tactic called for by the NIXON administration just as the assassination of BUNCH CARTER and JOHN HUGGINS on this campus was a tactic implemented by the NIXON administration. And this so-called NIXON Administration is the same one that's having all these people look, oh NIXON's going to China, now what do you think he's going to China for, to help you? Cause he wants to end the war in Vietnam, he don't have to go over there to do it. Whatever he is going over there for you can believe it is against your interest. What you have to realize, because you're in it too, all of you are in it whether

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you like it or not, that there is a vice being created by a new alignment of great power throughout the world. And you think you know who the great powers are, and they're the US Imperialists and their henchmen. In Africa and Asia and Latin American are rearranging the manner in which they relate to each other, the manner in which they relate to each other, the manner in which they move so they will be able to better deal with the situation on the defenses. Because you have to realize that these pigs, these imperialist aggressors, these vicious, murderous, barbarous beasts that cause murder, suffering and torturing to the peoples of the world in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, everywhere and here this is the headquarters. These people are making a strategic retreat... And they're withdrawing from Asia and they've made certain arrangements to deal with Latin America. And they have a certain concentration that their moving on next. And whether you know it or not, brothers and sisters you need to, you need to, it is Africa. And you look at the situation and see where it's at. They want to maintain Israel as a state of their, how would you say, their colony in the northern half. And Southern Africa in the southern part, South Africa's racist governments, fascist, the South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Southwest Africa are making a coordination among themselves, so that they will be able to deal economically and politically with the revolutionary forces, with the guerrilla forces that are moving in their territory. I don't know if you've heard about the

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bombing within Southern Africa, I don't know if you've heard about the guerilla attacks in South Africa? And Prime Ministers say, well we're not going to run across the borders after these guemillas, we're not going to do that. No they're going to make arrangements with Southern Rhodesia so that they get them, you see. And there are liberation forces fighting on the ground in Africa and have been fighting an armed struggle for quite some time. And it should be clear. It is very clear that if these forces that are left out of these negotiations and these deals and these great power discussions, you see, it's these forces right here that have to take what they can get and it's us over here that ain't nobody consulting us about nothing, nothing you see. Not even the LAPD and what they're running down on this court house, what they're running down throughout this city and you need to investigate that. You call yourselves students, well study that, study reality, study what's outside of there you see, study something that will help people to deal with this situation instead of some trip. Well you can trip on into a concentration camp, baby.

Applause

We have to recognize that the time is now to intensify our efforts politically, militarily, socially and at the present time you see people retreating and de-emphasizing. They're going in the opposite direction; you're going in the direction that these pigs want you to go in, and giving them a break. While they get this other stuff in order, while NIXON goes to China and AGNEW goes to Greece. and HIROHITO goes to

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Brussels. And HUFWAY BOINE (Phonetic) calls for a less dialogue with South Africa and the CIA mercenaries and Angola plot on how to destroy the government of the People's Republic of the Congo, the only Marxist-Leninist state in black Africa, population one million, with the people's army, with the political, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in power in control of the government with the president of the country and the president of the Central Committee of their party one in the same person. With MOBUTU, now if you know anything about black Africa and the political development there, you know who MOBUTU is. And you know who LAMUMBA is and you know MOBUTU was among that clique that murdered LAMUMBA. And I think you know how the Afro-American people feel about PATRICE LAMUMBA. And I think you ought to know how the African people feel about PATRICE LAMUMBA and I think you need to know that's on the ground, that's against these forces of repression and aggression and murder that are racist, fascist, imperialist beasts. Now that might sound striking to you but this is exactly what they are and exactly what they're doing, what they're doing in Vietnam, what they're doing in Korea, what they've done in the Congo, and what they're doing in Los Angeles. And you have to recognize that as a reality, whether you recognize it or not that's an objective condition. Whether you call them beasts now or you wait twenty years later. And you say oh, children. they were some real beasts. I'm sorry I didn't deal with it then,

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you know. I mean their ain't nobody waiting on you. I'm just telling you, you see, that there is a very crucial time right now when a lot of realignments and reshiftings are being made. And people that are concerned about the revolutionary struggle in this country recognize that and are moving to do what they can to strengthen this shit because we see as a result of all the activities of the past ten years, the riots and rebellions of acts of people's warfare throughout the past ten years our base is very strong. There's no need for this intimidation and paranoia. Do you know why they run all this Pan African madness through these campuses? So you sit up and trip on all this Pan Africanism and won't think about what's going on in Cairo, Illinois. And do you know what's going on in Cairo, Illinois? What? For two years the people in that community had been engaged in armed confrontation every night with the fascist forces of the Police Department, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi party, the state troopers, fighting with tanks and machine guns directed toward the black community. You have a division there, three thousand black people against three thousand white people and they're fighting. And they have been fighting for two years and there ain't nobody giving details on how many is dead and wounded on either side, but it's not very many. And you have to recognize the situation in Wilmington, North Carolina, where the fascists have said, well were ready for civil war, we accept your challenge, you know. Lets deal with it, lets get it on. And you have to realize that the fascists are preparing this type of thing under

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your noses. They don't give you any information on what their doing, you turn up one morning and look around and say, oh you think you're going to the election, you might be going off into a concentration camp. These communities inside the United States represent the model of the future. And we have to recognize in our cities, in our ghettos, in our things that we will be encircled, we will be surrounded. We have to develop tactics and practices that will enable us to survive this stage of warfare. We have to be in a position to prepare ourselves now to endure the conditions of war that we will be, that will be visited upon us. The reason I keep bringing up to you the conditions of the LA Thirteen and Brother GERONIMO is because of the way it reveals the profound conspiracy over months and months and months hatched by the, all the agencies of the Los Angeles Police Department and the FBI in coordination with the headquarters in Washington and the Pentagon etc., to destroy a hand full of black Afro-American revolutionaries, or fighters, or a lumpen proletariat beginning to develop an ideology in the heart of Los Angeles. They went all through these changes to do that. You have to recognize what kind of power that represents and why they have to deal with all these changes is to deal with this small group and what it is that threatens them. And how do they work and how do they operate and investigate that, you see. And get those details and bring them out and go and take them out to the black community where people care about this stuff, you understand me? Or do you

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care? Because the efforts on the part of these police goes to destroy the burgeoning directions, the burgeoning cadre of the liberation forces. These people have destroyed liberation forces, have destroyed struggles, have destroyed undergrounds, parties, revolutions around the world, over the past twenty-five years. You could take Indonesia, you could take Turkey, and when you talk about Vietnam and Korea and these places, you talk about the struggles that have transcended all of their efforts to destroy them. So we can't believe that just because a revolution is on the ground it's automatically going to be successful, that is not the case and you're dealing with the masters of destruction. You have to face up to the fact that there's the inevitable combination of all the attacks, the repression and the aggressive acts being perpetrated in the black community by the organized armed forces of repression. It is the police, the courts, or whatever have one culmination. That culmination is war. And that is what we are confronting. In terms of the confrontation represented by these brothers that are in the old county jail presently, and receiving no support, no money, court appointed attorneys, the whole thing, a very lackadaisical and the pigs think they have it all sewed up. You have to realize that this is a position, it's a matter of principle, it's a reality, it's a situation and when those people who stood up for the validity of the principle of not only the right of Afro-American people, of black people, of oppressed people to wage armed struggles

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and self defense, but who actually engaged in this on this defense of this gestapo raid in the black community on the Central Avenue Headquarters of the Black Panther Party. They expose a very basic contradiction that is apparent not only in the operation they call the Black Panther Party but throughout the so-called movement throughout this country. The principle whether armed struggle is or is not possible, valid, and whatever and there are a lot of people that go around talking this talk. But when it comes down to it they turn around and let you deal with, nine of you go to deal with it and one of you ends up with all the pigs, you see. And that's the situation that's been our fate for so long. We got to recognize that and stop repeating ourselves and raise the thing to a higher level because that's where they're going around the country and around the world. The opposition, the enemy, the power structure is raising theirs to a higher level to be better prepared to deal with what they have forseen in the period of the sixties and early seventies.

I would ask you and I know that maybe one or two. So I'm not, I'm just asking you, if you will, if you are concerned students, especially black students, take it upon yourselves to go down to the old county court house, old county jail and investigate that. Take it upon yourselves to listen about what's being said about the LAPD, and investigate that. And take it upon yourself to relate to the need and the practical present uh, how would you say, program that we can apply to forward the Afro-American Liberation struggle. The one thing that we are interested in carrying out at this present time is, development

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of what we call the Revolutionary People's Communication Network, which is a apparatus which will link up the information facilities that are available to us so that information such as this. So that the case of the LA Thirteen does not go down the drain for lack of information. So that the situation of the contradictions within the party so, so that the situation, where there's a split within the league of black workers in the international, I'm sorry, the League of Black Workers and the International Black Workers Congress does not go, ignored. So the situation within the Republic of New Africa and their split does not go ignored because a split is just a process of transformation ingrowth within a political apparatus and the whole thing twenty years later will culminate in some apparatus that all of this is the groundwork for. You have to recognize the struggles develop in phases on levels and that you people here who are capable of doing certain things. You shouldn't be so slack, you see what I'm saying? If there is a lot that can be done that does not call that much from you, if it's nothing more than passing out a leaflet or helping put out a newspaper or getting on the radio or going down to a court room. But if you show some concern you see, because what we're talking about and what we've always talked about is the power of the people, you see. The people have this power to defeat this. It has been demonstrated in Cairo, the power of the people united around their own desire to survive and defeat this attack that they can survive. It has been demonstrated over twenty five years

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in Vietnam. The tremendous, irresistable power of the people, once properly organized, properly directed, educated and continually elevated to a higher and higher level of struggle. And we have to recognize these dialectics and recognize these phases and identify these things and find out how we ourselves can apply these principles to the situations of Afro-American people. And this is what the contradiction the Black Panther Party came about in the first place basically of how we apply the principle of armed struggle, the principle of educating the masses, the principle of organizing the people, the principle of many other things. If you want, if you really want to know, you can check out the red book they are all outlined there cause NIXON's going over there doesn't change it, it's valid. You see what I'm saying. So basically were coming from the same point that all the members of LA Thirteen, the victims of this police conspiracy on a city, state and national and international level, right here in your backyard, downtown LA, are victims of. And we're coming from the same principle that they came from that has proven to be successful and that is dare to struggle dare to win. All power to the people, brothers and sisters.

Applause

Wait a minute, alright. To deal with these things, whether you want to deal with them we have to deal with them and we relate to some financial support to deal with these cases and to deal

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with these issues and to mobilize these things and to pay for gas, etc, we're asking you to make a small contribution out of your pockets to us whose pockets are empty and there will be some sisters passing out buckets around here. Yes and now we have the time, we can take questions now.

UNKNOWN MAN: I have a question for you.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yes brother.

UNKNOWN MAN: In the course of your speech you mentioned uh, international section, transition and uh, these words brought something to my mind. On January 25, 1970 in the Black Panther Paper HUEY P. NEWTON ran down a program on intercommunal solidarity. I'm wondering what is your attitude, what do you think about intercommunal solidarity?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well I think if you would...

UNKNOWN MAN: Is it viable?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Uh, the word is not the issue, it's the practice, you see. And the practice of what HUEY NEWTON has so called defined as inter-communal as something that has been practiced by the revolutionary countries of the socialist nations for quite some time, but under another title for internationalism. And this is the principle upon which the international section has been based in the Black Panther Party. And when HUEY NEWTON, unbeknownst to us, the other types of things he was engaged in and all the bags he was coming out came-up with this inter-communalism. Although we could see that the name itself were

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intended toward confusion because it was not aligned to any clear cut principle ideology we still adopted that name and went along with that, you see. And we were ridiculed and criticized and many other things, but we defended this during the absence of much information of being able to explain intercommunalism, because intercommunalism is just words. You see there is practice involved and international solidarity in establishing relationships and exchanging information in all this type of thing into nationalism or in, it has to be practically applied. So when you have someone advance a theory of intercommunalism and then expell the international section, I mean where are they coming from, you dig it? So you have to recognize that this is a base of the theory of cooperation and the withering away of the state and all this type of stuff. You have to recognize that HUEY NEWTON is just full of words and ideas and they've run out and they can't be applied and it's a phenomeon that is characteristic of people that are heavily drugged, which he has been for quite some time inside these penitentiaries. He's been subjected to all types of drug treatments and he came out of the penitentiaries, it's a very shocking example of the heights and the depths and the insidious ways that these pigs will use to corrupt and destroy and distort and twist and trick people that are engaged in Afro-American Liberation struggle. You have to recognize the depths that they will go to, to deal with this and you have to recognize that the power

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you have and move with that. Yeah, be implemented. I mean I say it's your practice that's important, not your name. Now if your practice is correct and it's effective and you get results and you elevate things and you promote consciousness and you can come up with some concrete results that benefit not only the liberation forces but the advancement of the struggle and I'm not too concerned about your name. But you have to recognize who and what forces promoting intercommunalism and look at all the other things they do that are designed not to advance but to retard. Not to produce results but to dissipate energy. Not to inform the people but to deceive the people, you see. And you need to check your sources and then check on what's happening and uh I would recommend that you examine that very carefully because you don't know what else is behind there, you see.

UNKNOWN MAN: You mentioned about retarding, about, I'm a student, I'm an old timer, I'm not young any more, I done had the lumps and bumps you know. I; you mentioned about political prisoners, you failed to mention about the prisoner of the brain washed, you know like the negro.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yes brother.

UNKNOWN MAN: You know about campuses you've been there...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: You mean like MELVIN COTTON SMITH.

UNKNOWN MAN: Let me finish this. ---

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah.

UNKNOWN MAN: Now there is a program going, dig this, there's a program going here and I'd tried to wake these brothers and

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sisters up. They got to psych things, you talk about psych or about brain washing or drugs, you know. They got a psych program going here run by, I hate to say but I got Latin American blood in me, I'm Puerto Rican, you know. Alright there's a Mexican running one department and there's a caucasian running, but their psych majors. I heard a psychiatrist get up on a stage and use the term minority, a psychiatrist in a University, you hear what I'm saying? Alright now uh, they giving these kids psychic test without telling them to consult their parents, you know and it's annoying to me to see it, you know. They excuse me because I got past experience in that way, you know. And when I go to NOMO (phonetic) the Afro-American thing these Negros, these Negros mind you are too busy worrying about their status or their positions in this fad chasing, this education that you know that we think we got to have, you know. Would you make comment about the uh; as far as dreaming goes. Would you make comment about waking up ANGELA DAVIS. That kind of dreaming I'm talking about, you know. She was a fool until he kicked that lawyer and called her lawyer, well you should comment about that kind of drudgery you know. That they're going to the black ghetto and go leave, well you comment about that. Some of these liberals are dreaming and...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah I agree brother, but there's a whole lot of people especially the students that they sent up into this brainwash center that you have, I'm sure you know is a direct

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integral part of this so-called military-industrial complex, the all the factories, all the military apparatuses all the what you call armed forces, you know California is strewn up and down with bases and defense industries. And so you find the University, a big huge, wealthy university controlled by the state of California, what it, UCLA, University of California in LA, The high level, you see this is for the bourgeoisie, you see. This is to train all their civil servants and you create the apparatus, and now they have to recognize this shit, this stuff that they've got to deal with it going to implement fascism, so they got to, you know make sure that there is only very narrow slots that they can deal with. That's why they got to kick ANGELA DAVIS out of here, cause she was talking about Marxist-Leninism and dealing with the real issues and things. They don't want that here, you see. And it's a trick, you see. This is the main thing that's been hanging black people up ever since. It's a trick, this psych game. And like especially what you mentioned about like the minority. We are minority, where, in whose mind, I don't consider myself a minority, you dig it. How do we got to be a minority, you got two eyes, two legs, two hands, now what kind of minority is that?

Applause.

Alright, so you're an Afro-American so what kind of minority is that, you dig it how do they define a minority, in whose terms. If you look at the world situation, I mean all of you know who the minority is and so do they, so we not going to even get off

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into that it's a number game and it's a trick! And it ain't the issue. I mean there is never any type of armed force, any type of political force, any type of governing body it's the minority that runs this country a minority. But they don't tell them, because you're minority you can't run the country, you see. The ruling class is a minority and let's focus in on that.

UNKNOWN MAN: Inaudible.

Laughter

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Far out. Right on brother but don't worry they'll be calling on you from every side. You just meet it, sure you don't call sides before you, cause you going to be getting calls from everywhere, alright.

UNKNOWN MAN: KATHLEEN CLEAVER, what I wanted to ask you, is that from ELDRIDGE, to BUNCHY and to BUSTER we all were in San Quentin together...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Right on.

UNKNOWN MAN: We all helped build a basis for coming out here fighting.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Right on brother.

UNKNOWN MAN: Now, all of us set up some type of a network where we could come out here and function. Now I don't want to go all off into that cause I'm leary of these campuses. But what I want to ask you is, is it any validity to BUSTER, CLINTON SMITH, about him getting ripped off in Algeria? I wanted to know.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I'll tell you this brother. That information

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was put out in this country by ELAINE BROWN, right. And ELAINE BROWN is a FBI agent, I don't know where she got this information. I ain't ever talked to her, and as far as I know, no there is no validity to that.

UNKNOWN MAN: Is the brother breathing?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: The brother left Algiers, was expelled from the international section along with all the other members some time in February or January of 1970 and since that time I have no information on any of them. And I don't, you know.

UNKNOWN MAN: Okay, groovy that's all I wanted to know.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Right on brother.

UNKNOWN MAN: If you are, over here, if you are uh do you line yourself at all with parties such as uh, the Rainbow Coalition, the Weathermen, May Day collective, and if in what way do you uh, work with them, if you do?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well you have to understand where we're coming from at the present phase, what's missing is the communication network because you have all these groups in isolation working scared, paranoid, don't want to talk to nobody and it's very, very negative and it's a phase of retardation of withdrawal and for many objective reasons. . But where we're coming from is to say that we link up on the information level, we link up on the propaganda, on the activities that can be dealt with through gathering information and putting out information and then you know the unit that you need to do this and all the facilities that people have and we can work together along those lines, you see?

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UNKNOWN MAN: You do wish to work with them.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Pardon.

UNKNOWN MAN: Do you wish to work with them as far...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well I mean, we wish to work with everybody that's wishing to work with us, with the exception of the police you see, and the Peralta streets.

UNKNOWN MAN: Okay, far out.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: We wish to work with the people, and we wish the people to work with us and the basic distinction in this country between the country and the pigs. Now the line of demarcation in the situation of war in the state of California is first between the people and the pigs, you see. Little initial shock tactics. And then between the Panthers and the Pigs. And then they deal with that and it's between the convicts and the Pigs. And it's going to be between the military brothers and the Pigs and this is something that uh they don't want to relate to because they have put them brothers over there to deal in the most devastating attack on human beings in the history of mankind in Vietnam. And they have all of these people black, white, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, Panamanian, and anything else they can draft off of them forces; coming back in a so-called withdrawal, with that skill. And US government has not found a program for these people other than Police Department, you see. So the situation is very, very, critical and the people who relate to this, people who recognize this, and the brothers themselves recognize they're coming up with a program. You see what I'm saying?

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But the people are in the majority. The pigs is uptight and they ain't got the people tricked and deprived of many material necessities and this is why we have to start right here and the people who have these certain material things, we just share them, you see. Cause we all need them. And the certain issues that are key and got to the heart of the problem if you deal with that you bring a whole lot of other things to light that can be dealt with on a broader and broader and higher level, if you understand me. Do you understand me? Am I making myself clear? Alright then.

UNKNOWN MAN: Uh, Mrs. CLEAVER, I have two questions. Is the collection for Sickel Cell Anemia by the Black Panthers going...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I have told you that that's no, no, no, no. The collection is for the defense of the LA Thirteen.

UNKNOWN MAN: Well now they were on campus a couple of days ago.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I'm sure they were, they're probably still here.

UNKNOWN MAN: Well they're collecting specifically for Sickel Cell Anemia research.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well there's all kinds of people into this, you see. It's a very opportunistic thing because the people who are suffering from Sickel Cell Anemia, and they have been for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years. It's a very old disease and people in the United States, Africa and India and other areas have suffered from Sickel Cell Anemia. Now you have to recognize why is it at this time a concerted effort to raise funds and channel research into Sickel Cell Anemia when you look at the other and their doing all this underhanded

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chemical research in terms of what kinds of chemicals will react on what type of ethnic groups and where do you think their getting this research and why do you think their so concerned with the internal cells of blood structure of Afro-American people, now you think about that, alright.

Applause

UNKNOWN MAN: We have a question here. Now what do you think of Senator MC GOVERNS candiacy. Is he a honky, is he a fascist...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I'm not even related with that, I don't know.

Applause

UNKNOWN MAN: Mrs. CLEAVER, does the fact that your husband has taken refuge in Algeria, a Moslem country, show his rapport and empathy for the homeless Palestinian refugees?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: The Moslem country showed their empathy for the homeless Palestinian refugees and I think any valid revolutionary Afro-American or otherwise living in Algeria or otherwise has to recognize the validity of the Palastein liberation struggle. And we have shown this in many ways. We have participated in their conferences, we have made a position statement on that, if you'd like to have a copy on that you could write to BP118, Grandpost, Algiers, Algeria and ask for a copy of that statement. Or you can get a copy of 'Right On' that run it, but those copies are hard to come by. And uh...

UNKNOWN WOMAN: Thank you.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Your welcome. And uh, as we are solidarity with all the struggling people because they're fighting against

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the zionist lackeys of the US Imperialist and that might sound like rhetoric to you but to them it's God's truth and it's life or death.

Applause

UNKNOWN WOMAN: Mrs. CLEAVER, I attend the trial of the Thirteen once a week, one of my friends RENE MOORE, the coordinator of the Breakfast Program, is one of the Thirteen, PEACHES, yeah. These people haven't got enough to eat. I'm conducting at the moment...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Exactly.

UNKNOWN WOMAN: A groceries gathering for her, address is 922 East Adams Apt. #3. For those of you have three squares, would you please cut out one square and take it down to PEACHES. Her family is hungry and she is five months pregnant.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Excuse, we have to make some clarification on that.

UNKNOWN MAN: First of all you're relating to uh the LA Thirteen, you know this is what we talking about. Now what you got to remember there was eighteen people arrested in that raid, you dig. And there's a clear line of demarcation uh, around the other five. The other five are not revolutionaries, the ones in jail is who we want you to deal with. Take that money down there and put it on their books. Get them some lawyers, take your butt in that court room and tell that bastard ass jerk to turn them lose. The others is on the streets.

UNKNOWN MAN: Sister CLEAVER, my name is CHAPES and I, it seems

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like that everything is moving in the direction of power, you know...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Right on.

UNKNOWN MAN: That's the value.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah look who ain't got it.

UNKNOWN MAN: And it seems that the various organizations like, well when I first started it was the Muslims that are idols went along with them. And then it became the Black Panthers and now the Panthers are losing their influence. But it seems like it, each time it was the power itself that it advocates...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Comes up in an other form, right?

UNKNOWN MAN: It's turned on the people themselves that use it. In other words, the power that the Black Panthers have been advocating to take over the system itself...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Right.

UNKNOWN MAN: Is now destroying the Black Panther Party.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: And this is the whole phenomenon of revisionism and counter-revolutionaries and pig agents and reactions on cowardly people to repression that has been cooked up throughout this country to destroy the Black Panther Party, and what I'm trying to tell you is the Black Panther Party that you're talking about is dead and gone forever and representatives of that Black Panther Party in Los Angeles if you care about the Black Panther Party are up there in the county jail, you see. So the Black Panther Party is being transformed into another form through the jails, through this warfare into a whole other level

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of the resistance and as we understand repression breeds resistance and resistance breeds repression. And you have to look at the transformation of the force, the principles and the people that went up to make the Black Panther Party and see where they're at and stop getting hung up on this pig plot to make you think that this stuff that they've got going they call the Black Panther Party and see which has been thoroughly and totally co-opted and is practically run by the Police Department. This is what I've been trying to get through your head brother. When you talk about the Black Panther Party refer to that, you talking about one arm of this obscuring structure run by the Police Department, financed by the Police Department and sent out here to trick you.

UNKNOWN MAN: Yeah well see...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: And you don't want to believe it but I'm telling you the truth.

UNKNOWN MAN: Yeah, I want to bring out a fact. You know EARL ANTHONY:

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah, I know him..

UNKNOWN MAN: The brother he was a Black Panther...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah, I know him very well, where is he?

UNKNOWN MAN: And he wrote a book... Where is he, I don't know.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Yeah I don't know where he is, he's up in San Francisco.

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UNKNOWN MAN: But anyways...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: He done write some of those confusing articles on Pan-Africanism, you know.

UNKNOWN MAN: No, he was in an incident with the Black Panthers. Uh, a year or so ago, I don't know how long exactly but it was with BUNCHY and uh the thing was he was at the time I believe he was an officer and BUNCHY at the time was under him. And...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Uh, I think you might be talking about the time, the so-called Minister of Information. BUNCHY has never been under him. He'd turn over in his grave if he heard him say that.

UNKNOWN MAN: Well anyway it was, it came out to an incident where uh, BUNCHY and four other guys held some type of court they called and put him out. See what I'm saying? And the thing was, it the issue was that uh, let's see, let me try and remember. He...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: What's your question brother.

UNKNOWN MAN: No he was, he was uh, he related as being a situation where BUNCHY wanted to move him out because he wanted a position where he could control. Now this was the impression that he gave in his book. Okay now the thing was...

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Hey wait a minute, wait a minute see we're running out of time. And you want to get into a discussion. We can deal with that a little bit later but I think if anybody has a serious question concerning information going have to take that. And I think it has to be the last, right. Yeah were going to have to deal with that last cause we deal with that on the

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side, brother.

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UNKNOWN MAN: Okay. Right on.

UNKNOWN MAN: We are here I think talking about a Black report and I, all the black people are all the same, I think no matter whether they are here or in Africa. I come from Africa particularly. And I think (inaudible) information during the speech one aspect of this and this is the place of the Black Muslims. Uh, down where I came from I have got my own god in which I believe. You know the gods of my ancestors. And it sort of annoys me when I come over here to feel alienated, to feel that I can't take part in the Black struggle, simply because I'm not a Muslim. This is the impression I am being given by the Black Muslims. Would you like to comment on that?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Which Black Muslims are you talking about brother? Where are these Muslims that make you feel like you can't participate...

UNKNOWN MAN: They are here on the campus every day you know passing down pamphlets and things like that.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER. Well brother you got to realize that Afro-American is one of the most ideologically divided communities on the face of the earth and you find everything. But don't let that bother you brother. The people in general are all trying to get it together and you just been hung up with the wrong people, you know it. Come over here with us, you can help us.

Applause

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I think that's all. All power to the people.

Applause

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[redacted]

[redacted] are BPP
activists from the Connecticut area.

[redacted] were members of
US, Inc. implicated in the murder of
Carter and Huggins at UCLA in January 1969.

Clinton Smith was a BPP activist allegedly
killed by Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria.

b7C

The May Day Collective is publicly
identified as a faction of militants
attached to the Peoples Coalition for
Peace and Justice which participated
in demonstrations held in Washington,
D. C. during early May 1971.

The Peoples Coalition for Peace and
Justice in a press release dated March 1,
1971, described itself as being head-
quartered in Washington, D. C. and
consisting of over 100 organizations
implying massive civil disobedience to
combat the issues of war, racism, poverty
and repression.

[redacted] is a member of the
LA 13.

[redacted] is an ex-activist of the BPP.

On [redacted] stated following
the UCLA speech Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted]
advised [redacted] was most responsive to Cleaver's speech
and philosophy.

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[redacted]

The source stated [redacted] an ex-BPP activist in Los Angeles, presently employed at [redacted] visited Cleaver [redacted] at the [redacted] b7C
[redacted] The source said [redacted] b7D
[redacted] wanted to explain to Cleaver the [redacted]

[redacted] said Cleaver received [redacted] at UCLA.

At approximately 2:30 p.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed the leased 1972 Chevrolet and a 1971 Chevrolet bearing California License 891 CAC registered to Have-A-Car Rental, 8752 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California, depart UCLA and proceed to 6430 Sunset, Hollywood.

b7C

On [redacted] supra, advised the 1971 Chevrolet bearing California license 891 CAC was leased by [redacted] the same date she leased the 1972 Chevrolet bearing California license 453 DUW. b7C b7D

On [redacted] said the 1971 Chevrolet bearing California license plate 891 CAC was leased by [redacted] for Cleaver's visit and was driven by [redacted] and [redacted] the source stated [redacted]

Source stated a Volkswagen bearing California license [redacted] was also used by Cleaver associates that day.

Contact with the California Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) revealed the aforementioned Volkswagen is registered to [redacted] Los Angeles.

Source stated [redacted] the LA 13 trial for Elmer Pratt and could be reached at home telephone number [redacted] and at work, telephone number [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] The source said Cleaver gave [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted] said that evening Cleaver, [redacted]

[redacted] (last name unknown) who drove [redacted] a [redacted] bearing California license [redacted] and [redacted] last [redacted] (name unknown) went to [redacted]

The source said a female Negro named [redacted] from San Francisco, b7C b7D b2 who was in Los Angeles to [redacted]

Contact with the California Department of Motor Vehicles reflects California License Number [redacted] was registered to [redacted] Los Angeles.

OCTOBER 23, 1971

b7C

On [redacted] advised during the afternoon, Cleaver met [redacted] and was visited by the following individuals:

1. [redacted] (last name unknown) male Negro early

[redacted]

b7C b7D

2. [redacted] (last name unknown) [redacted] female approximately [redacted] brownish hair [redacted]

3. [redacted] last name unknown [redacted] resident of Pasadena, spoke like she had Los Angeles [redacted]

At 11:10 a.m., a Special Agent of the FBI using a suitable pretext telephonically interviewed [redacted] [redacted] furnished the following information:

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[redacted]

While in the United States, Cleaver would be giving speeches and attempting to develop information regarding the state of various organizations and individuals. In view of

[redacted]

[redacted]

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b7D

The International Section of the BPP hoped to establish a revolutionary peoples communication network outlet in California to increase the breadth of the communication network. The International Section currently is publishing a newspaper and a weekly bulletin from Algiers.

[redacted] said that evening Cleaver, [redacted] (last name unknown), [redacted] (last name unknown) went to the home of [redacted] Compton. Source said [redacted] Cleaver and [redacted] (last name unknown) [redacted]

At approximately 11:00 p.m., an Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver enter the residence of [redacted]

OCTOBER 24, 1971

b7C

At approximately 10:30 a.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver and an unidentified male Negro depart the vicinity of [redacted] California, and proceed to the residence of [redacted] Los Angeles. At approximately 11:30 a.m., the same Special Agent observed Cleaver and the unidentified male Negro depart

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[redacted]

[redacted] and proceed to 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood.

At approximately 12:15 p.m., the same Special Agent observed Cleaver, the unidentified male Negro and an unidentified male Caucasian depart 6430 Sunset Boulevard and proceed to the Hall of Justice, 211 Temple, Los Angeles.

b7C

Following Cleaver's entry into 211 Temple, authorities of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office advised Cleaver and [redacted] 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, visited Elmer Pratt and ex-BPP activist [redacted]

b7C

At approximately 3:00 p.m., the same Special Agent observed the same Cleaver party depart 211 Temple and proceed to 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood.

At approximately 4:00 p.m., the same Special Agent observed Cleaver and the unidentified male Negro depart 6430 Sunset Boulevard and proceed to the home of [redacted] California.

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[redacted] advised during the evening of [redacted] Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] advised Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted] advised Cleaver met at [redacted] Compton, with the following individuals the evening of [redacted]

1. [redacted] occupant

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[redacted]

2. [redacted]

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[redacted]

3. [redacted] female, Negro, in early [redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

4. [redacted] (last name unknown).

5. [redacted] (last name unknown) had something to do

[redacted]

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Source said [redacted] explained to Cleaver the

[redacted]

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[redacted] advised [redacted] (last name unknown), [redacted]
[redacted] and Cleaver spent the night at
[redacted] residence.

OCTOBER 25, 1971

At approximately 9:10 a.m., Cleaver appeared live on the "Morning Show", Channel Nine, KHJ TV, 5515 Melrose, Los Angeles. A representative of the FBI taped Cleaver's remarks and a transcription of the tape follows:

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Interview With
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

TED: ...then returned to begin a speaking tour for the Afro-American Liberation Army. Were happy to have Mrs. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, KATHLEEN CLEAVER with us this morning. FERNANDO...

FERNANDO: Mrs. CLEAVER at this time why did you return to the United States?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well first I would like to correct something that was said that was mistaken. This was one of the distortions of the many that come across in the press. I have never stated and I have no intention, I'm not making a speaking tour for the Afro-American Liberation Army. Uh, in fact, the political arm of the Afro-American Liberation Army is presently being held in jail. Some of the key leaders are in the old county jail in Los Angeles in the ranks of the LA Thirteen. Among them, GERONIMO, RONALD FREEMAN and many of the other brothers that are being held up there. And I'd just like to correct their mistaken press quote that you made.

FERNANDO: Well then what is your return, why are you here in the United States at this time?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well I'm here to uh, proceed to make a national speaking tour. The work that I would be engaged in is laying the foundations for the Revolutionary People's Communications Network. Uh, a form of linking up the uh, information apparatuses available to revolutionary people. So that we could be able to

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find out exactly what is going on in this country and go on, through the fascist blocking in the news media which is becoming more and more intense. And we recognize that as time goes by and the struggle intensifies in this country it would be practically impossible to get reliable information on what the people are doing, on what type of revolutionary events are taking place as has happened in every other state approaching and enjoying a fascist take over. The news media is completely controlled by the state and the only information that gets out is that which the fascist's approve of.

FERNANDO: Mrs. Cleaver I would like to quote something from the newspaper. You said that Mr. HUEY NEWTON, who is also a member and a former associate, that he was aiding in the FBI. Do you have any evidence to prove this?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well we have in our membership and people who form the Black Panther Party, people who are those who struggled to build the Black Panther Party during the time which Mr. Newton was in prison. You have to recognize when he went to prison he left maybe ten or fifteen people in the Black Panther Party. And, in fact, it was the Black Panther Party for self defense. The organization known across the country, across the world as the Black Panther Party was built up while he was in prison, and he doesn't really seem to understand what was done nor go along with it. Now in the period of repression that the party suffered in 1969, beginning in 1969, and that has tapered off to some extent.

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Now because the party has effectively been destroyed and infiltrated and it's no longer the organization that was founded to advance the uh, revolutionary struggle of black people in the United States, uh, we see that the entire policy, the entire ideological base, the programs, the principles, and the personnel, and the mode of living and the means of operation are entirely different now than they were when the Black Panthers, the real Black Panthers, were in that party. You have to understand that most of the Panthers are no longer in the party. Many of them are in jail, some are dead, and others are just diffused throughout the community. I wanted to mention this because the police forces in all of the cities that we have operated in are fully aware, who are the Panthers, who are the real Panthers and who aren't, and they continue to persecute and attack these people and attempt to kill them. Just as they did before. But the same is not true of this organization we call the Peralta Street gang, which has been completely co-opted and infiltrated and taken over and misdirected and the entire real function of the Black Panther Party have been completely eliminated from this organization. This is why we say that the Black Panther Party is a reality that people relate it to. The black people support it and the entire movement looked up to. This is dead and there's no question about it. Anyone can tell you that. And uh even the pigs themselves. You recognize that in 1969 they put in the newspaper, the Black Panther Party poses the number one threat to uh, internal security in the United States. That was in 1969. Then in 71 they say the Black Panther Party no

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longer poses any real threat. So it's clear that the intentions they had of destroying the party as far as they were concerned was successful.

FERNANDO: Mrs. CLEAVER, how much support does your husband, you and your husband have in the United States?

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: Well you see you have to stop relating to me and my husband and it's a mediator that tries to make individuals, like some type of spokesman or some type of target or something alienated or apart from the organization. During the time that we uh worked in the Black Panther Party, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was the Minister of Information and I was working with him as the Communications Secretary. And the work that had been done in that party we feel through our own experience and through things that people have told us was very much supported especially after we left the country. Uh, in this country when there's been a tremendous and profound amount of support in this country, throughout the movement, throughout many different communities and throughout the world for the revolutionary organization that was called the Black Panther Party. You can see this by the, what would you say, the duplication of structure and the duplication of similar vanguard type of organizations in the white radical, in the Chinese, and the Puerto Rican community.

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[redacted]

[redacted] is an ex-BPP activist in
Los Angeles.

On [redacted] advised

[redacted]

[redacted] advised at approximately 1:00 p.m.,
Cleaver, [redacted] Berkeley,
California; [redacted]
Berkeley, California; and [redacted] arrived at the

[redacted]

On [redacted] said that a
female Negro named [redacted] (LNU) also visited [redacted] The
source identified [redacted] as being nearly

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and resided in the San Francisco Bay area. The source

[redacted]

[redacted] advised later that afternoon Cleaver

[redacted]

The International Black Workers Congress (IBWC)
was described in a document announcing its formation
as "an organization of black workers and students
to further the revolutionary struggle in the United
States and other parts of the world to consolidate
many existing organizations, and to build unity among
the third world force".

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[Redacted]

The source said Cleaver was impressed with

[Redacted]

Source stated a male Negro named

[Redacted]

At approximately 4:53 p.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver enter 6430 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood.

On [Redacted] advised while at [Redacted] that afternoon a male Caucasian

[Redacted]

At approximately 7:22 p.m., the same Special Agent observed Cleaver depart 6430 Sunset and proceed to [Redacted] Los Angeles, the home of [Redacted]

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[Redacted] identified the following individuals as present at the [Redacted] residence:

(1) [Redacted] An ex-BPP member who seemed interested in

[Redacted]

(2) [Redacted]

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[redacted]

(3)

Male Negro: [redacted]

[redacted] not known to be involved in extremist activities.

(4)

Male Negro: [redacted]

[redacted] also not known to be involved in extremist activities.

(5)

Male Negro: [redacted]

[redacted] not a militant type but relates to challenging laws in court b2 b7C 7D

[redacted] said [redacted]

On [redacted]

advised Cleaver, stayed

at [redacted] that night.

October 26, 1971

[redacted] advised Cleaver spoke at Los Angeles City College at approximately 12:30 p.m. and received [redacted]

[redacted] Cleaver's remarks, a transcription of which is contained hereafter:

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KATHLEEN: All power to the people brothers and sisters. I haven't seen so many black people in one place for so long. I just want to look for a while, that's all right. But uh we really don't have that kind of luxury, you know, because uh as everybody knows uh this, a country formerly referred to as Red China, is now China. China has been admitted into the UN now uh if it were up to the people that were in the UN, if there was some type of democracy and majority rule, ever since many of the African countries and Asian countries started being admitted into the UN, China would have been into the UN many many years ago. The only reason they're in now is because the United States and all of its uh lackeys have agreed to uh go along with this. So when you know, when you see that China, Red China, has a seat in the UN that should be a signal to you. That's a signal to let you know a deal has gone down. NIXON is going to China. The last word I got on that off the television was that he had to go before Thanksgiving so it would still be possible. Because if you've been following a lot of strange things have been happening in China and it's pretty clear that everyone is not exactly overjoyed that NIXON is coming to China. Uh the International Set, what we see around the world is truly an international, white racist, imperialist conspiracy. And the two major powers in this conspiracy are the Soviet Union and the United States.

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The United States has its lackeys its puppets, it's government, and it's firms and it's armies, it NATO, its THIENS, its its Chaing Kai-shek that, who they cast aside as he's no longer serving a purpose, the MOBUTUS, the HUFWAY BOINE (phonetic). And the Soviets they have their groups, uh the Eastern European countries. But I think it's very relevant to note that in the white areas you have peace. NIXON just made a statement the other day saying that uh he's making a bid for peace, that he's traveling, (inaudible) making a great hope for world peace. Uh well in Asia war has been raging all of your life, as long as anyone in this room has been alive, practically there's been war in Asia, in Korea, Japan, in the Philippines, China, Vietnam, against the whole combination of the Western Imperialist powers or against the Japanese Imperialist in coalition with them. At the present time in Asia you have a war going on in Pakistan, a vicious struggle of genocide against the colored people of East Pakistan. And who is supporting West Pakistan? Among other cowards, Red China. So you see that there are areas, when NIXON goes to China, goes to Asia after all of this war, after these years and years and years of aggression and plunder and murder and get the most fantastic criminal deeds you can conceivably imagine, to say he's going there for peace. That's not what he's going there for. He has been driven out Asia by the struggling peoples of Asia and he can no longer

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stay there. And he is going to make arrangements as to how that's going to be resolved as he leaves, as the U.S. imperialist leave Asia. But you have to look and see where is the war going on now. You see the Middle East, it's very very vicious struggle going on in the Middle East and there you see the whole apparatus of the Soviet and the U.S. involved in supporting governments in society lines and making alliances. But the Palestinians, who are struggling for their land and for their liberation, uh they're the ones that are doing the fighting, they're the ones being defeated, killed and napalmed by their former friend, the government of Jordan which has allowed the Palestinian refugees to live in peace in their country and then after ROGERS make a tour in that area, turns around and shoots him in the back, bombs their uh refugee camps. So uh what kind of stuff is this? Then you have to look at Africa. Africa is the main colonial territory still being disputed and chopped up and (inaudible) over and the powers mostly engaged in that are not the original colonials, France, Britain, England, no, their days are over. But the United States, the Soviet Union, and China and with all their interlocking or opposing agencies, armies and infiltrations etc. In Ethiopia, there's a war going on in Ethiopia. The Eritrean liberation struggles has been going for seven some years. A vicious struggle, the people have liberated the majority of their

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territory and their fighting against the troops of Haile Selasse and the Ethiopians, backed up by the Israelis in the United States. One of the main communications centers for the U.S. military forces is in Ethiopia. And you look up and see how Haile Selasse welcomed in China. Throughout the southern part of Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Southwest Africa, there are wars going on. So when NIXON says he's going to the Soviet Union, he's going to Moscow, and he's going to Peking for peace, he's going for whose peace? And if you look at it carefully he's going for peace for the imperialists. There'll be peace among the imperialists. But for the people who have no government, for the people who are still struggling for their sovereignty, for people who in this day and age are still fighting Portuguese colonialism, there is no peace for the people who are fighting white racist, fascist state of Rhodesia, the white racist, fascist government of South Africa, there's no peace. And for the Afro-American people struggling within the confines in this country not only is there no more peace but there's an escalation of war against us. To see that in the U.S. papers, for which so long carried nothing on China and when they ever did it was hysterical accounts of Red China, and to see them now relating to China in this way and see the Chinese moving in the way they're moving, it should signal to you that this is the end of an era. A very definite end, and it's over with. You have to look at our own struggle

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in terms of where it's coming from, where it's going and how we can elevate that, how we can strengthen that. Because if you thought that there was some support outside and you thought that was support was represented in its highest form by revolutionary governments and revolutionary ideology and revolutionary society, well. I think the uh actions of the Peoples Republic of China should, because it gives everyone else that has looked at them for a highly principle stand, give you a great feeling of disappointment and isolation. I know this is true among the struggling people and their representatives in Africa and I know this is true among many of the struggling people in Afro-America. The reason I mention Africa because it is Africa that has been the greatest influence on the Afro-American liberation struggle. If you go back to 1956 with the independence of Ghana, with the emergence of independent black states in Africa. This was the true initial point when the Afro-American struggle began to elevate. And from that period to the present period has elevated consistently. One problem many people were not informed deliberately as to what exactly the so called independence was, because the independence granted black African states under the uh British and French rule, it was about as much independence as black slaves received by the emancipation proclamation. You got a piece of paper that says you were free. And here we are a hundred years later.

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and we realize that we are not free and that we are not emancipated and that we are not citizens and that we are some type of trick to the advantage of the people who held us in slavery just as the people, the brothers and sisters who are fighting in Africa, look upon those independence declarations and those flags and those titles and those governments that were established when they received independence, is some type of trick. Because they see that all of that is still tied to serving the interests of the people who so gave in their so called freedom and they referred to that as formal independence. And the struggle in Africa now is for genuine independence. We have to look again into Africa because it was the slavery of Africans, the capture, the kidnap, the torture, the transportation to the New World, to Latin America, the Islands, Central America, North America, of millions and millions and millions and millions and millions of black people, Africans, and the institution of slavery instituted here that created the wealth, that created the base that enabled the European settlers in this country and the Europeans in Europe, of whom they weren't colonies, but later became independent enabled them to have that wealth to build up a base on which they could develop capitalism and industrialism. And move on to use this base and attack the countries in Africa capture them en toto make them colonies and continue to drain the wealth

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so they could move into the phase of imperialism, and with it they could base of wealth once they captured it, once they prevented the people that they captured it from, from making any efforts whatsoever in any realistic sense to regain their wealth, because this is the struggle that is going on in Africa, the wealth is the power that incarcerated by the French, by the British, by the Belgians, by the United States, And it is this wealth that is being used against these people to hold them down, these resources. And so the struggle is going on and Africa is very obscure and deliberately obscure to black people in this country and the information that you receive about Africa is in fact calculated and directed to give you the wrong idea. And the same is going on in Africa about us. With the exception of the information that was received about the Black Panther Party because it was to distort that. There are other areas of struggle, closer at hand that are also very very much distorted in this country. That is the struggle going against the fascist state of Mexico and the struggle going on in the colony of Puerto Rico. And the reason that he does get any type of information, any valid information, any real information, is because these people, the Afro-Americans, the Chicanos, and the Puerto Ricans are also engaged in a liberation struggle here. We recognized, we say that this is fascist state that we're dealing with a police state, that we're struggling against fascism in the United States. But the model upon which this fascism here

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is being constructed has two bases one domestic and the other's international. The domestic model of fascism in this country has been slavery and the police apparatus, the control apparatus, the repressive apparatus, the indoctrination apparatus that was developed throughout centuries in this country to hold the slaves down, to hold the Afro-Americans down. Now why did they need an apparatus to hold you down unless you are moving for your freedom. And this contemporary apparatus has been patterned upon the repression and the infiltration and the cooptation and all the, all the devious, underhanded, vicious, calculating, aggressive acts that have been done by this United States government in Asia, and in Latin America, and in Africa, to coopt government, to infiltrate government, to pass out false ideology to nations, to murder leaders, to prevent education from reaching the people. And I think you can all look upon the murder of PATRICE LUMUMBA as an example of that And don't think those tactics, those practices and those problems are not being used here. Because you can look at the murder of PATRICE LUMUMBA and you can look at the murder of MALCOLM X, and you can see that they're two deliberate acts on the same level by the same forces for the same end, and that is to subvert and arrest the struggles of Afro-Americans and ask them for their liberation. Because you know how Afro-American people here related to PATRICE LUMUMBA and you know how African people there related to PATRICE LUMUMBA and

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you know what happened in the Congo after he was killed. And you know I don't have to go over what happened after the murder of MALCOLM X. But in Los Angeles you have to recognize that pattern, that pattern has not been thrown out, it's still being used and you can look at the murder of ALPRENTICE BUNCHY CARTER and JOHN HUGGINS on the campus of UCLA, January 17, 1969, as part of that same practice, for the same reason, and by the same forces. So when we look up in the newspaper, of course, struggling people, poor people, oppressed people, ordinary, we're not consulted in these moves. So we look in the newspaper and read that HUEY P. NEWTON has gone to China, okay. But then when he comes back and what does he tell us, he says that he went to ask MAO to ask NIXON to uh negotiate for the peace and the liberation of oppressed people in the world. I mean this is nothing more than to have this puppet, NEWTON, come over here and give out a prepared statement to say that I endorse NIXON's going to China when there is nobody in their right mind in this country or in China or in Africa or in Latin America that endorses that shit. There are some people that are using that to serve their purposes, but they're not consulting the people, they're playing power politics, they've abandoned principles and they're going because they can, above their heads to people, behind their backs to the people, and carrying out treacherous deeds in the dark. Because if that was not the case why did this foul kissenger have ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to sneak off into China, why can't it be open, and why do all of these people sneak off to China, and why aren't people

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told about this. You see in the Afro-American liberation struggle we have the level of armed struggle and this is not no secret to anyone, the pig, or the people, it's sporadic at this time, but it's on that level, that's the highest level of our struggle at this time. And the elevation from there is the elevation to continue with armed struggles. And that elevation has been attained in certain areas, primarily in Cairo, Illinois, where the people have been waging an armed struggle against the combined forces of the police, the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Party, the state troopers, and the uh all the other lackeys that support them for two years. And the people have survived, without a survival program. The people have survived through armed struggle and the political and social and economic organization that they have done to sustain this. At this time we can look at our struggle and see that it has a class basis and that there are classes in the vanguard at this time, and out of these vanguard classes are coming the most powerful political and uh military leadership of our struggle. And those classes are the most oppressed of the black community, because the black community, the Afro-American people are the most oppressed in this country. But within that, the most oppressed segment are the prisoners, those incarcerated victims of the most the most inconceivable forms of fascist cruelty and barbarism, the prisoners and the G.I.s, those who are the victims and the pawns of the U.S. military machines, those actual people who were sent to these countries

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to wage these atrocious acts of war. The black G.I.s, in particular in Germany and all around wherever they're stationed, are becoming very very uh conscious and very anxious to do something to destroy this military and to elevate this struggle of the Afro-American people. In the state of California this is most apparent in the move to suppress the black convict throughout the country and we see that the prisoner, whether it's a political prisoner or a military prisoner or a prisoner who has become political, it is a prisoner that is the focal-point of the struggle and the focal point of the repression because that was black prisoners that were murdered in Attica. We have to be conscious at the level of repression in this country is determined by the level of resistance and the level of resistance is approaching a mass level. And at this point the same pattern that the U.S. has applied throughout the world, that of establishing lackeys and puppets, using criminals and corrupt traitors to do their work, whereas they can't come out in the open and do it, it's becoming even more escalated here. Whereas they have uh MOBUTU and TSHOMBE murder they have the Muslims murder uh MALCOLM X, they have some KARENGATANGS murder BUNCHY and JOHN ... RON STINER, all right, and his brother. And they have other more devious lackeys murder GEORGE JACKSON. And that is the story brothers and sisters you ought to keep your ears open for because there wasn't no, it wasn't what you think it might be and it wasn't what it looked

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like. And at the present time you can look within the revolutionary forces in this country, those that have been exposed, and look at the attempts they made to murder Brother GERONIMO, The attempts they made to murder Brother GERONIMO, some of which have been ineffective, there have been many attempts he has been confronted with one of his assassins and said brother I don't have the heart to murder you. I've been sent here to murder you. He has had people tell him so and so told me to poison you and I can't do it And these are so called Panthers, these are people who have been infiltrated and put on the guise of the Panthers that work for the Pig, like the majority of the people that are still in that apparatus. And now they've turned him over to the state and let the state go ahead and murder him if they can. Because the Black Panther Party which is now dead, and we say has been dead for some time, but we have to say that so that you can understand that the contradictions, the lies, the distortions, and all this coming forth from the Black Panther Party to contribute to the murder of GERONIMO, are deliberate. And I could go into that in more detail later. You have to recognize that the form of destruction employed by our oppressors at this stage they use, they like to use the conspiracy, the big lie. They arrest a bunch of people and charge them with conspiracy to do this, conspiracy to do that, and conspiracy to do the other after these Pigs

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have sent four, five, six, seven and eight months planning the conspiracy to get them in that place and know what they're gonna do and then they arrest them and charge them with conspiracy and the true conspirators are those running around in the L.A.P.D., in the U.S. Department of Justice, in the FBI, in the CIA, in the U.S. Army, and in all of the walks of the government. Because the conspiracy that they throwing on GERONIMO and the L.A. 13, the conspiracy they threw on the New Haven 14, the conspiracy they threw on the New York 21, these are petty conspiracies brothers and sisters. These are little mop up operations that they're using that define the level that they recognize our struggle to be on. They feel that this is all they need at this time. But look at the international conspiracy, the whole conspiracy to control the world. Did you hear about the international zionist conspiracy? Well that might sound like something funny to us until you talk to Pa^lestinians and they explain that. And the conspiracy to devide Africa, the conspiracy to snuff out every progressive regime that comes to face in Africa, going up to the latest coup of MILTON OBOTE in Uganda, to destroy that regional unity between three African states that had been established. Now you tell me where the conspiracy lies and how can they run that trick on us, how can they have anybody sitting up here going for this so called conspiracy? And have you actually believe that some people sitting

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in a Black Panther office attacked, surrounded by the swat Pigs, these what are they called, uh these CCS Pigs, the detective Pigs, they're a whole new coordinated group that they pulled together. Now how are they gonna call people who defend themselves conspirators, these brothers and sisters were warriors defending their lives, happened to be caught on the front line at that time. I have to deal with the so called split, this is what they like to call it. There was never a split. What you have is a revolutionary organization in which contradictions come up, contradictions as to what the principles that we're operating on. Do we relate to armed struggle, or do we not relate to armed struggle. How do we go about do this, how do we go about doing that. In any type of struggling organization, a revolutionary organization, there are always contradictions. And the so called contradictions that were reflected in the Black Panther Party were contradictions that have been reflected throughout the revolutionary struggle in the United States and throughout revolutionary organizations and fighting people everywhere. They had splits, deviations, regrouping, etc. among the Palestinians, among the uh ZIMBABWEI fighters, among the South Africans, among the MOZAMBIQUE and ANGOLANS, among everyone everyone, the white movement, the SDS and the uh the Black movement, the International Congress of Black Workers,

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everyone has had a split in the contradictions, you see. And they usually resolve and people move on to a higher level. but it seems to be to the advantage of the Pigs to make people believe the Black Panther Party has split apart to create a lot of confusion and in the way that these uh people would put lies in the paper. These lies being written by people who had infiltrated the Party specifically to destroy it. And we'd know this from reviewing the past history that we've had because the original line of attack against the Party was that of an attack from the outside. An armed attack mounted by the police forces from the outside and they found that that did not work, you see. If the Panthers would shoot at them the Panthers would defend themselves, the Panthers would chase them everywhere and try and deal with them, That wasn't getting it. So they had to change their tactics and go into a conspiracy bag and conspire on how they would get cooperation from the inside to destroy this Party because it was clear it could not be done from the outside. And this is pattern, this is what I'm telling you is exposed not only in in the United States, not only in the Black Panther Party, but it's an international pattern. Why there uh this puppet, what's his name uh PARK CHUNG HEE, in Korea. I mean who put him in office? Why is there so much confusion about these elections? Why is it THIEU's in South Vietnam? Why is MOBUTU in the Congo? Why are all these lackeys and bootlickers

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who do not represent the people, who did not advance the peoples needs? Why are they there? Because they are put there, they are paid for, and they are supported by the U.S. imperialist, the Pigs, all right. And they serve their desires and needs. And the same pattern they have applied to another enemy that they've found, an enemy, the Black Panther Party, and they stuck their agents and lackeys and stoges in there and they puppetize the people and they have the true faith, the true belief, the true courage that was shown by the Black Panthers. Well you know what these people did with Black Panthers, they expelled them, they scandalized them, they ran them away, they tortured them, and if there wasn't anything else they could do they killed them. And this is done and this can be documented and you tell me that they're not working with the Pigs. They aren't the Pig, they act the same way. They have brutalized people, tortured people, harassed people and do all the types of things that the Pigs have done. And don't you tell me that it is possible, it is not possible for this U.S. Pig, these white racist, dogs, these savage beasts that live out here to come in our community and do these type of things because they know what kind of fate is awaiting them. So they have to pay somebody and find somebody that the people will even look at and talk to to do that. And without these lackeys, without

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this kind of cooperation, brothers and sisters our struggle would have been won. And so they use that to create division, to create suspicion, to create hostility. And they use this hand and glove with their repression, their outside military attack, that are planned and coordinated just as carefully as their attacks on Vietnam. They are urban attacks, they use a smaller number of personnel but they use the same language and the same practice and the same tactics. You read a police manual and you read an army manual and you can see they're talking the same talk about the same thing. It's just that the beliefs, and the reason is so clear is because in Los Angeles this is where they have the most advanced fascist police force in this country. This is the urban army of occupation and if you don't know it then you're blind. And one of the reasons they have this is because the black people in Los Angeles, the people who made Watts, the people who made the revolutionary brothers and sisters outside this country call August 18, Afro-America Day. And they start the beginning of our war of liberation with the Watts rebellion. Because anybody can look at and see that was an act of war, anybody could see that was an insurgency. And they come down with the Los Angeles Police Department, with this experience that they have in dealing with the black struggle on that level, and they take that and

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they use that to deal with the Black Panther-Party, because this is the essence and the elevation to an organized form of this same revolutionary upsurge manifested en mass. Because we have to recognize that the Black Panther Party, as much as some people may say you know, did not create the Afro-American liberation struggle. This is a mass movement with a long history. It goes way back before NAT TURNER and DENMARK VESSEY. It goes back to the shores of Africa, brothers and sisters, when the boat came to take the sisters and brothers in slavery. That's where the war began. And that's where the war is going on now, right on the coast of Africa, right in the heartland, that same war, it's been going on for four and five hundred years. So we look at the struggle and we have no reason to be afraid and feel intimidated and think about this repression. You think this repression is something? What about that repression, what about that repression in the Atlantic Ocean of 50,000,000 black bodies in the Atlantic Ocean. And we have, and when they killed 30 brothers in Attica and it's a world wide upsurge that's just because they're beginning to find something out. And the times are right for there to be an outcry because we've heard a lot about genocide in Germany, but the genocide of the Afro-American people, the genocide of the African people is not even

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talked about. But it is known and it is among those many things that are known that form our causes, that form our knowledge and form the ways in which we resist.

The reason that it was so important for GERONIMO to be purged, well there was two reasons, he was arrested about three months prior to his purge in Texas. He was betrayed, set up and captured and turned over to the Pig. And he was only purged when he was brought to L.A. and people would know that he was in jail and therefore have noticed purge in him (inaudible) say that he was a pig and this and that and the other, so that the people would understand why he was held in isolation why there was no support, why there was no lawyer, why there was no money, why there was no one going to see him. But that was some time ago. And it was that purge for anyone who still had any doubts, anyone who really didn't know completely, this is what brought The head the so called split in the Black Panther Party. Because at this point the contradiction between those who related to armed struggle and those who opposed armed struggle those who related to revolutionary principles and organizations to elevate the struggle to a higher level on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism or whatever you want to call it, of revolutionary theory, that have been tried and practiced throughout the world, and those who are diametrically

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opposed to these principles and wanted to withdraw and wanted to hide and wanted to stop all kind of activity. That's the basic form of the contradiction between the cowards and the courageous, that's all. Between those that wanted to fight and those who preferred to die or take payoffs you see. Those who jump under the bed and hide during the shoot out and those who fire. That's what the contradiction was. And uh when the time came to purge GERONIMO uh everybody, not only in the international section but brothers and sisters in Germany, in the U.S. Armed Forces, and everybody said ah ah this ain't right, what is this, what is going on? So when we come down here and see the trials, the courtroom is empty, and nobody goes to see the man, and he doesn't have a lawyer. We say what is this, what is this? A revolutionary comrade that is one of the best people, a brother that came out of the special forces in Vietnam, trained at Fort Bragg, came back from Vietnam with purple hearts and medals, and turned this skill and this training over to the black community and proceed to give us what the Pig gave him. As long as he gives it to the Vietnamese he's a hero, but the minute he turns around and gives it to us and puts it at our disposal, he's a criminal, and hunted and hounded and tortured and they want to kill him in that jail. So that's uh pretty clear. So it became clear we have to uh send somebody to deal with this because one of the key things in this contradiction is to perpetuate confusion, to make

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people uncertain, to create uh suspicion, to keep people in isolation, to keep people drawn back, and this when you go up to the courtroom the Pigs are there to search you and take your name and throw you off in a corner, and so that you won't feel comfortable coming into the trial. And they have the audacity to say this is the people against the defendants and the contradiction, the split goes even further, because in the trial of the L.A. 13, well the shoot out was in '69, this was in '71, and their members who relate to the Pig party, the Pig Panthers, and there are members who relate to the Peoples Panthers who have uh, we don't need that name we don't need that type of an organization it served its purpose, it's obsolete. But these people are there and they have no apparatus of support. The judge is a zionist and he appointed a zionist friend of his to be G's attorney. Now what kind of stuff is that? But we're not too concerned about that because, we see we know what the Pigs are afraid of. It wasn't the shoot out they were afraid of. They knew there was gonna be a shoot out. They in fact helped put the guns in the office, helped build the office to uh have it that way you see. So uh that's not what they were afraid of. What scared them, brothers and sisters, was them ten thousand people that showed up on the courthouse steps the next day. What is this?...The masses. The mass struggle. The same people that burned down Watts. The same people

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that after 400 years of brutality, barbarism, terrorism, and you name it, are still fighting and still obtaining victories and whenever there's a victory for us do you read about it in the newspaper? Where do you read about it? You don't. You know why? Because if you know you'll act on the basis of your knowledge, but if you don't know you will be wandering around in darkness, divided isolated and controlled. Because it's pretty clear after all of this struggle against Africa, against Afro-Americans you have not been conquered so it's not a question of divide and conquer. It might be a question of divide and rule, divide and control, divide and distort, kill and murder. But it's not conquer and as long as they can believe that they can take revolutionary people who went out on the front line and exemplify in an organize and coordinated and consistent form, the desires expressed by the people in general who understood this and understood many other things and attempted to build a type of organization, a type of cadre, a type of tools that we need to advance our struggle, as long as they can take these people who go out in the front, and pull them back and hold them and isolate them and use them to frighten you, and you sit back and just watch it, and you don't do anything, they think they've got you under control. And as long as they think they've got you under control they will act as if there is no threat to them in

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America. And that is the biggest farce because their whole international policy, all the international policies of the United States, are directed at lying and preventing the activities of Afro-American people in the struggling revolutionary forces in this country, from being known. You see I don't know if they put all of this in the paper, we got an article, one of the um, uh one of the, MARTHA MITCHELL one of the ruling class wives runs off at the mouth a lot, said that there wasn't nothing wrong with NIXON going to Red China because Red China wasn't their enemy, they had worse enemies among the revolutionaries in the United States, black and white. These were their enemies. And so you see when this Pig, this NIXON, this war mongering beast talked about peace, he's just talking about what he needs on the outside to get down with the war. "Because you know where the war is, and it's right here and the brothers from Nam are coming here, the brothers out the penitentiary they're coming out here, the brothers in Germany are coming here, everybody is coming here, you see. And uh G. is coming here and a lot of other people." And uh I'd just like to ask you, don't take my word for it, you know more about it than I do, I'm just as surprised that this stuff is happening here you know. Go down to that courtroom and look and see what's happening. "Because I went down there and I'm just one person, I went down there with a couple of friends and they stopped the trial." And they

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ran out and had to talk about whether I had to be put out
the court and I'm just one person, one nigger you know. (Laughter)
So it's clear where the fear is. Brothers and sisters there's
no reason for no fear, no isolation, because if you look at
the whole thing from beginning to end, look at what we've
done, look at what has to be done, we should feel proud,
we should feel strong, and we know that we can go even
further cause we've gotten this far. We ain't no question
about how we're gonna survive, we done survived this long
so that's not the issue. The issue is how we're gonna win.
How are we going to win because so far we haven't won.
We have fought, we have died, we have risen up against this,
we have fought, we have died, but we just haven't won. It's
still going on a higher and higher level. And this is
why you find, especially on the campuses, all these efforts
to come in here and tell you all these trips to take on.
you know, Like Pan-Africanism, you know, which doesn't bear
no relation to what Pan-Africanism is for, Pan-Africanism
is exemplified in the efforts of the vanguard forces in
Africa, they establish some type of unity, and they
try to come up with the OAU, the Organization of
Afro-American Unity. But look what was done to it, every
government that was a member of that has been distorted,
has been corrupted, has been coup'd out, overtaken, and is
just a puppet. They have puppets all over Africa, they
have this HUFWAY BOINE (phonetic) talking about they want to dialogue

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with South Africa. And you know how Africans want dialogue with South Africa. It's them white racist that want a dialogue with them Imperialist and NIXON. And they get a little HURWY BOINE (phonetic) to say it. And since a moderate people can't read, they don't know what he's saying you know, it doesn't really make that much difference. Um you have to look again, and I keep gonna refer to you to Africa because the international situation is shifting. And that in Africa is the only continent that does not have at it's disposal any type of nuclear facility. They are in Asia, they are in Europe, they are in the United States, and they are in Latin America, there are none in Africa. With the exception of Israel to the North, South Africa to the West, I mean to the South. And uh you can have questions and uh do whatever you want to do, but I think you have to look at the whole pattern, the whole situation and if there's something that you can do about it right here, some way that you can relate to that because it's coming down everywhere at the same time because they have that type of apparatus. And it's a criminal conspiracy against the people, whether you talk about Los Angeles or Saigon or Peking or wherever, there's a conspiracy being run now. And excuse me for leaving out a lot of things that a lot of people wanted to hear, you can ask questions that will bring them out. I just wanted to get that point across. And I want people to uh relate to the

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trial of the L.A. 13, physically, because I know where people are coming from, we know how you feel about it that was clear during the shoot out. A lot of mystification confusion has been brought to bear about that, a lot of uh bad things have been said and done so that you won't relate to it. And uh we like to ask people to make some type of contribution to the defense of the L.A. 13 and the brothers up there because they represent something that you should support, the something that supported you, the something that uh was relating to what was needed and dealt with it. And we'd also like you to come down with us today to the courtroom, I think it's Department 101 in the old County Court, and check that out because there's some people down there that would really be happy to see you and there's some others that would really be uptight. You want to deal with questions? (Long pause). Brother I know you don't have no question.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well because they came from the international section I was trying to get some information about what's true in Africa knowing that a lot of funny things is said about Africa and a lot of people are tripping out about Africa, you see and tripping out about Africa so they won't relate to right here. And that's why I was giving such information

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about Africa, you see. Because I've been there and I've seen it and I could give you a lot more and that's the only reason, you know. Because I heard about how you've been tripped out behind Pan-Africanism by a man that ain't related to nowhere in Africa. Yeah and I left a lot of things out because I was talking to students you see, and I understand the students think about things and they study things and they relate to things and students, you know, like be relating on that level. That's why, you know, I confine myself to that type of stuff. We can get into anything else.

(Question inaudible) -

KATHLEEN: Yes brother, the common thing that we need is principles, you're right. We need to share some common principles. If we could come to agreement on certain basic principles that we all accepted, that had some validity to our experience and to our need, and had some validity in the terms to the fact that it had been tried and worked, that we could all come to agreement on that, then we could have what is called principle unity. But you see, at this point, you have a lot of uh division and subdivision, it's really like things are transforming, you know, everything that used to be an organization, everything that use to be a structure is sort of falling apart because it's sort of obsolete, and it doesn't really deal with the issue. And like what you have to see is where people will come up and build in the way a new way that's

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needed. But at this time I know a lot of people are not going to relate to anything called organization. We say that action is a vanguard. People relate to action. And their ways of coordinating action through small groups, through small units that know each other that have a face to face relationship where they know they're not dealing with Pigs, they're dealing with people they've known all of their lives and worked with all their lives, they share common principles and common goals, and they can carry that out. And we have to relate to a form that's, how would you say, a form of organization that's consistent with uh conditions now. And if we think that's consistent with what's happening, and at a later date these small groups that are experience together, known together, trusted together, can link up and form larger units and they can resolve their problems and resolve their differences through a principled discussion until you have something that has a base of strength, and then you have something big. But to try and start out with something that is going to relate to everyone and include everyone when everyone doesn't even know what they think, or know what they should do, that means you need to have a lot more uh clear cut thinking and principles, explanations, principle study, principle political education, and principle political activity, instead of all these opportunist running around here tricking people. You have to expose what's going down and understand that

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clearly, you see. Because just about anything is out there in a strong way, and it's fucked up I mean ain't that true?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well I haven't heard China's position towards black people.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: And I ain't heard that but I just keep my eyes open and see that this clearly, there are these, look you can't have no Kissinger go flying from Washington, D.C., all up around Afghanistan and Pakistan and sneak off into China secretly and come back after three or four days and then show up and say I've been in China, without some kind of arrangements being made that aren't out in the open. This is why I say there's evidence that there's some kind of deal in the working, some kind of agreements have been made to enable this to happen, some kind of agreements have been made in order for Red China to get in the U.N. and Nationalist China to get kicked out of the U.N., after the United States government has been supporting Chiang Kai-shek and his regime for practically 25 years. You just don't do that without prior discussion and prior arrangement and compromise and all of this. And this HUEY P. NEWTON who's on trial, just doesn't pick up and go with an American passport that has written on it this document is not valid for travel through North Korea, China, uh mainland China, uh North Vietnam or Cuba unless special authorization is made from

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the State Department. He can't do that from Oakland go all the way to Peking you see without having some type of arrangements. Because he's traveling on the kind of a passport. And if he don't, even if you know, I mean it's all kind of things to indicate something's going on that we don't know. That's why I say there's a deal, I mean I'm just being realistic about it. Is that unclear? You see I'll give you another example about this China, talking about people traveling to China, uh ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and a delegation went through those-same-uh North-Korea, China, North Vietnam and the whole delegation came back and they helped get their passports and everything and then the State Department came out and said ELDRIDGE CLEAVER you're declared a citizen of North Korea, China and North Vietnam, and therefore under the training with the enemy act you can't have no money out of the United States. You're going to keep it all here. So they make a decision, just like they make a selected decision in a conspiracy case, uh who they're going to cut loose to appease the community, who they gonna get cooperation from to convict somebody else, and who they want to kill. That's why they arrest all them people so they can manipulate among them and in the case of the L.A. 13, with the L.A. 9 and the L.A. 4 uh there's a lot of manipulation that's gonna go down but everything that has come out here is clear who they want to kill, who they want to drop that death penalty on. And what

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people need to understand is how the manipulation is going down and how that could be messed up by some form, some show of support. You see where I'm coming from?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I don't know who I was sponsored by. You'd have to ask the sponsors.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: That, no no don't believe that, no it's just falling apart everywhere, no no. If you believe they got your shit together then uh uh that's exactly what he wants you to believe.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well who's he talking for? Who's he talking for? who's paying him?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well listen see I'm gonna give you an example. Like when NIXON, NIXON can't come in the black community and say nothing right? So he's gotta choose somebody that you might listen to and put them in the black community because you will listen to what he say. I know a nigger don't even listen to the man, don't look at him, don't even know what he might say and don't care. So they've got to find somebody to come and tell you in the way that you might relate to it because of what he's suppose to be, what he wants you to know. And don't you think that's not happening and don't you think it's not somebody

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you've listened to very very closely for some time.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Why don't you go ask him?

Unknown Male: I don't have to ask him, you tell me.

KATHLEEN: Yea ELDRIDGE sent me brother, all right. Right on.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well they ain't paid me shit, see.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well I'll give you my pocketbook.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Well okay, right on, right on.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Hey brother now wait a minute, I'll tell you.

They decided why they couldn't form a coalition. There's a brother over here that wrote a statement on why and he talked about operational unity as opposed to principle unity and how operational unity was a trick to confuse issues and principle unity was something that would advance issues and he called for an alliance with the black students and the black workers so they could relate to solving the problems, and that's why.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Okay well let's go on to another question because I really didn't come here to argue. I came here to hear what people had to say, to give them some information, and to get

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some information. Hey brother.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: This money is going for brother GERONIMO and the L.A. 13, all right.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Wait a minute, wait a minute, this brother had a question here.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Uh could you be more specific in your question?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Oh oh well I see like you look at the black community and look at the white community and there's a whole historical difference in first of all how we came to this country and what we've done since we've been in this country. So like the issues that are felt in the white community and the issues that are felt in the black community, whereas you find women oppressed in both are very different. And the position of the black woman ever since slavery has been one of uh a bread winner, you go out there and you do this sister cause we gonna haul this nigger down. We ain't gonna let this nigger get shit. And they tried to destroy the black man and they tried to fuck the woman off on him. But women wasn't going for it they just took this shit and used it to help the man but it created a whole psychology over a long period of time in the relationship between black

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man and black women. And if there's any struggle, I mean, where the women are coming from now is like, let's unite and men, with the men and work together. You know we're not gonna want to have all this conflict and all this fight and all this confusion but we recognize that we both want to do the same thing and we wanted to do it together, because that is our true strength and our true unity, right there. Whereas, you see, I, I might, that uh white, when the white community the liberation of women is very unclear to me, because so many of the things I read uh, they're strange. So I don't have too, such good information but it seems that some element is that we don't want to have nothing to do with these men. These men they're this they're that, they're male chauvinists, but we want to have something apart from them and like that basic thing the thing that's separating from the men and going ahead with women and in the black community thing of linking up with the men and going ahead together that's a very basic difference you see. So when you talk about women's lib I always say you want to relate to women's liberation in the black community relate to women liberated, you know. Relate to what the women and relate to what liberation is doing and that's where women liberation is coming from, yo. know.

Unknown Male: What about ANGELA DAVIS?

KATHLEEN: ANGELA DAVIS is a woman liberator, right on.

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(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Right on, I say I haven't said too much about many things. Uh ANGELA DAVIS is a victim of one of these conspiracies. By many of these same, so called, uh these Pigs, these lackeys these infiltrators, that come in and focus on who they want to uh capture, uh who they want to destroy, and they take one person and set them up. And now ANGELA DAVIS is a victim of that and I think everybody knows that.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I left because my husband was away, and that's the only reason, to join him.

(Question inaudible).

KATHLEEN: Pardon?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: We not trying to get no people overseas, many you see, at the time in which my husband left, myself left, it was really if you had an alternative of going underground or going to prison, and who you had to depend on to sustain you and those. (inaudible). There was very few people that you could relate to for that that you could trust and be guaranteed that your life would be secure and you could continue to struggle. There was a decision that had to be made and there was an alternative program that I don't want to go into here that, I've talked to many people about it, and that alternative was turned down by none other than

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HUEY P. NEWTON, you see. And, that, wait a minute, and that alternative was a much more revolutionary uh thrust. But now in terms of uh leaving the country, there's a lot of people these days who don't want to go to prison who spend sometime underground, who split, and a lot of them are over there in the international section and everybody uh like uh still relating home.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I've never said a white man per se, don't confuse me.

(Question inaudible) -

KATHLEEN: No I am not. But I think it's capable, wait a minute, well then I hope ELIJAH MUHAMMAD will find it, cooperate with us, but what I would like to ...

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: Listen brother I don't like anything you're saying because you're saying things I'm supposed to have said, and I ain't had never said nothing that you said I said and I want to know what you're trying to get at and what you're trying to do?

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: No that is not true don't get (inaudible, one one, that's like one God, one Son, one Father.

(Question inaudible)

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KATHLEEN: Okay, we're going into the next question okay.

Excuse me, we have somebody back here that had a question for a long time and we don't have but a few minutes so you had a long time brother, let your sister speak.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I said it was a so-called split, I think split, I say it's a basic contradictions in what people believe and who they are working for and what they want to see is the final results. I had reused the term contradiction so you won't think it's some little old simple thing like they try to protect it. It's not a so called split, if you want to know truly about the split, the party was split way way before then and had been splitten and splitten and splitten all across this country for many, all along these same lines. The people who saw that revolutionary worked and membership in the Black Panther Party didn't go together and they left the Party, you see.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: No and I don't know where you ever heard any such thing, that's the first time I ever heard it. How is

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER gonna take anything belong to HUEY NEWTON.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: No that's not true.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I am talking about the version of Pan-Africanism

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brought over here and indoctrinated into students here, that has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism or armed struggle.

(Question inaudible)

KATHLEEN: I never said that, I just never said that. in the terms of the Congo they relate to Pan-Africanism via the principles of Marxist-Leninist practice. They have a Congolese Workers Party that's the head of the state they have a National's Peoples Army ...

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[redacted]

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[redacted] advised at approximately 3:00 p.m., Cleaver entered the trial of the "IA 13", at Division 101, Hall of Justice, 211 Temple Street, Los Angeles.

On [redacted] said Cleaver, [redacted] and numerous students from Los Angeles City College had visited the IA 13 trial.

[redacted] advised Cleaver was to speak that evening to the National Lawyers Guild, a communist front organization of lawyers and law students, at the home of [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] Cleaver, and ex-BPP [redacted] met [redacted]

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The source said the telephone number at the residence where the meeting took place was [redacted]. The source said [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted] advised the subscriber to Los Angeles telephone number [redacted] Venice, California.

[redacted] said after the meeting with the National Lawyers Guild, Cleaver [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] said Cleaver [redacted] residence.

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[redacted]

[redacted] said Cleaver and [redacted]

At approximately 9:00 a.m., a Special Agent of the FBI observed Cleaver and an unidentified female Negro board TWA Flight 904 for New York. TWA authorities advised Cleaver paid cash for one-way tickets to New York in the names [redacted]

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[redacted]

On [redacted] advised, at this point, there is no formal organizational structure through which those individuals loyal to Eldridge Cleaver function. The source said part of the reason for Cleaver's visit was to begin formal organizing. Currently arrangements for Cleaver's travel are made in New York, though Los Angeles is considered a key city in their plans.

As means of communication, Cleavers use regular mail, tapes, personal couriers, the telephone, and a teletype system from Algiers.

The primary purposes for Cleaver's visit were fund raising and the establishment of a Revolutionary People's Communication Network (RPCN). The RPCN intends to publish a newspaper in New York entitled "Babylon" though Eldridge Cleaver preferred the use of the name "Grapevine".

[redacted] volunteered to approach BPP [redacted] regarding his changing allegiance to Cleaver from Huey Newton. Cleaver also hopes to eventually gain access to office space presently used by the Angela Davis Defense Committee. It is Cleaver's hope to use these facilities when they begin to function openly.

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The only time Cleaver was known to mention

[redacted]

On several occasions, Cleaver voiced approval of the "military tactics" employed by the Weatherman.

The October 31, 1971 issue of the "Los Angeles Free Press", an underground newspaper published in Los Angeles, contained the following article:

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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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Rapping with Kathleen Cleaver

EARL OFARI - (The following discussion with Kathleen Cleaver was conducted jointly by a small group of representatives from the various underground media, including the Free Press. For convenience, I have indicated with my initials the questions and comments which I personally posed during the session.)

I was not entirely satisfied with some of the responses which Kathleen gave to the questions. I feel it necessary to make some critical comments on the Panthers. This will be presented on page 27.)

EO: I want to get into some theoretical points with you. I noticed in the latest edition of *Right On* (the Cleaver publication) that there is a series on revolutionary nationalism. Is this the direction in which the International section is moving?

KC: Well you have to understand that the Afro-American Liberation Struggle is still not co-ordinated in terms of every organization taking a clear-cut Marxist-Leninist position. Marxism-Leninism has to be adopted to the conditions of the United States, and the conditions that face black people. Everybody hasn't really evolved a clear-cut theory of that and the ideological development is still in process.

Revolutionary nationalism was something that was very basic in the formative stages of the party. Many people have gone beyond that and some people have not. *Right On* was started immediately after the split to project the positions of the split and to explain the contradictions and the development of the party. *Right On* is published in New York and New York is one of the bastions of black nationalism whether its revolutionary or otherwise. These articles that are appearing in the paper reflect the currents that are active in the New York Black Panthers.

EO: I also noticed that there was no emphasis on the black working class. The Black Workers Congress holds that the main emphasis should

be on factory and plant organizing at the point of production; and the setting up of separate structural units for black workers. With this, do you still feel that the vanguard of the revolutionary movement will be the lumpenproletariat as opposed to the black workers?

KC: At this point considering our separation from the situation here and considering our experiences in the Black Panther Party, the lumpen is still in the central position in the streets, the armed forces, and the

penitentiaries. We see that the lumpen is the most powerful force against the pigs; a direct line of confrontation has been drawn between them and the pigs.

We have put out some material

from the political commissar of The Peoples' Army (Ange Diawara) in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. This gives a very excellent analysis of the role of the black lumpenproletariat in the building of a peoples' army. Since they have had longer experiences than the mem-

bers of the party in building a political-military cadre and the waging of peoples' war, we published this information and showed the relationship between the lumpen, the workers and the army. We have been able to draw from these new ideas. We still recognize that the lumpen is in the vanguard of the struggle and we're still conscious of the need to organize and mobilize among the lumpen because they will fight regardless. The front-line fighters are the lumpen.

EO: So the International Section does not plan to change its ideological direction?

KC: No, I won't say that! We never take any dogmatic stand. I think that to deal with it more effectively you'd be better off calling Eldridge. Because he's more into the ideological development of the Party.

EO: Why are you in L.A.?

KC: Out of our concern for the trial of Geronimo and the L.A. 13 who are on trial at the present time without attorneys or support. They are in the old county jail because of the contradictions that were raised in the party and the vicious machinations of Newton's clique.

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

Page 7 Los Angeles
Free Press
Los Angeles, Calif.

Date: 10/30/71
Edition: Saturday
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Los Angeles
 Being Investigated

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 31 1971	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

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Geronimo was set-up for arrest and capture. After extradition to California they purged him and then fed about him. They tried to destroy the above ground apparatus of the party.

There are many reasons for this and the people need to be presented with a clear-cut picture so they'll be able to make distinctions and understand that the party as a revolutionary organization no longer exists. It is manipulated by the Manchurian Candidate, Huey Newton, someone who was tampered with while he was in the hands of the pigs.

We see that the case of Geronimo has gotten lost in the shuffle and this is a very treacherous move on their part. This goes right in line with the designs of the power structure because they recognize, as we recognize, Geronimo as one of the key leaders of the liberation armed forces.

Further, we are concerned about the case of Billy Dean Smith in the military. The death penalty is being asked for him. This is an historic case, because this is the first time in the history of the United States that a black soldier has been brought to trial on the soil of the U.S. and the death penalty being demanded for some frapping incident. Meanwhile, this Calley character who's been convicted of murder is allowed to parade around as some type of hero.

The movement in the prisons is also very key, especially in California where the struggle is highlighted by the case of the Soledad Brothers and the murder of George Jackson. EO: You mentioned Billy Dean Smith. How were you received by the black G.I.'s when you spoke in Germany? Are they beginning to develop a light movement there?

KC: The brothers there are ready to get down, it's beautiful. The same fervor that we found among brothers in the street when we started to organize the party, we find the same organization among the brothers in Germany.

is Eldridge coming back?

KC: Eldridge has said many times that he would be coming back. Under what conditions?

KC: He'd have to come back under the conditions that he left. It would have to be on a clandestine level. He'd have to become a part of the underground liberation struggle that's going on now.

Have you seen anything in this country in the few days that you've been back to make you hopeful about the development of the struggle?

KC: I think that revolutionaries have every reason to be highly positive and very hopeful. The high level of consciousness is manifested in opposition to the war, the government, the police, the wage-price-freeze. The only alternatives are a revolutionary socialist system or a fascist system.

It's pretty clear that a small group of people want to push it in the direction of fascism. The opening stage of the civil war is in progress now. This question will have to be resolved by warfare as all ultimate questions of social systems are.

Until the U.S. is thrown into a situation of internal chaos and warfare then the other revolutionary forces around the world not only have to fight their own opposition but the opposition supported by this country.

Are you concerned about the fragmenting of progressive forces in this country?

KC: We're very concerned about that because the fascists are secretly plotting, building up their stashes, their capability, their armed forces, etc. They have access through the entire military and undercover agencies. The revolutionary forces are wholly dependent on the people. This is why it is necessary to educate the people as to which side has their interests at heart.

There have been allusions in the recent interviews with Eldridge that the whole Third World concept has evaporated with Nixon's invitation to visit China, could you elaborate on that?

KC: Well I never got it that the Third World concept had evaporated. What has happened is that there is a realignment of forces in the wind. Many things that could be anticipated in the past are not going to be able to be anticipated in the future. We see especially in Africa a move to isolate the liberation struggles: The people struggling in South Africa, Rhodesia, Palestine, and the People's Republic of the Congo.

They are attempting to rearrange the world balance of power to suit the retreat that the imperialists are making at this time. They are trying to set up certain structures that would slow down their retreat. In terms of the Africans and the Afro-Americans it's pretty clear that we have been left out of this. No one is consulting the African liberation fighters or the Afro-American liberation fighters.

We understand that we are struggling on the same issue on two different sides of the Atlantic Ocean and that our struggles are definitely linked.

How did you react when you got word of Nixon's visit to China?

KC: We reacted like any other people who are struggling for liberation. We were disappointed and shocked because we know what kind of person Nixon is, we know what kind of government Nixon represents, and what kind of activities Nixon's engaged in against us.

For Nixon to be allowed the privilege of going to the People's Republic of China indicates that a whole lot of stuff has been set in motion. It's clear that power politics is what's happening and revolutionary principles are being pushed aside.

EO: Have there been any concrete ties established with the guerrilla movement in Guinea-Bissau?

KC: I don't know if you can print what's happening with that. It's some deep shit. I just can't talk about that right now.

Was Stokely in Algiers?

KC: He's been there quite a few times.

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Has there been any kind of rapport between Stokely and Eldridge?

KC: Well, Stokely resigned from the party in 1969 and everybody was very delighted and pleased. He wasn't participating or agreeing. In fact he resigned at the same time as the McClellan hearings and repeated their accusations. The man took a position in opposition to us and has never changed it. So Stokely is just one man, so what! Do you see anything hopeful about the white radical movement in this country?

KC: We see the Weathermen as being very positive—the Weather underground.

What went down between the Panthers and Leary?

KC: Leary is someone whose mental processes have been wiped out by the excessive use of LSD. He can't remember anything. He has no discipline, he won't work, he's a complete security risk. He runs off at the mouth all the time.

We tried everything we could to find a way of incorporating him into the activities we were engaged in but it just became totally impossible. A lot of his racism came out. He couldn't work in a collective fashion. So we had to take some strong measures to make him understand what kind of a position he was in and what kind of harm he could do. He felt that it was necessary to slander us in a very underhanded way.

He was really a hazard.
EO: I know that Eldridge worked hard to build the coalition with the Peace & Freedom Party....

KC: He did and after he left it started falling apart. It's going to have to be established on a different level.

EO: I'm just wondering though from what I've read of Eldridge if that's what the group is all about now, I mean does the group still feel it desirable to have coalitions with whites or are you putting stress on developing a black organizational base?

KC: Well you see many white soldiers and convicts are up against the same type of oppression that the blacks are. Once they recognize this they have the same type of response. So the coalition will have to be on a different level. It will have to be on a class basis. The principle

is correct but if it's so shaky that it depends on one figure or leader to hold it together than something is missing and that's probably the class basis.

EO: There seem to be so many types of white radicals floating around....

KC: Yes. When you take the movement among white G.I.s and white convicts, for example, the United Prisoners Union, you get a more dedicated and committed white revolutionary. We recognize that there will be units of the people's army that are white. It's really on the shoulders of the white radicals to organize among themselves. The best thing that we have seen happen is to the Weathermen and they're doing some right on things.

Has there been correspondence between black prisoners and Eldridge?

KC: You have to remember that Eldridge spent ten years in the California prisons; so that's the base.

Is he corresponding with Angela Davis?

KC: He's corresponding with people that are hooked into the Communist Party. We've received some letters from them in terms of anything directly from Angela, no.

Do you intend to see Angela?

KC: Yes I do.

What do you intend to tell her?

KC: After I tell her, then I'll tell you.

EO: Don't forget Brother Russell Magee, like others have!

KC: No question about that.

Are you satisfied with the kind of press coverage you've been getting?

KC: The press, you know, relates to sensationalism. I think that they have given tremendous coverage only because it's something that is newsworthy. I did notice when I arrived in Boston that the press was much more sympathetic towards what I had to say and they were very antagonistic toward the F.B.I. I took that as an indication that maybe they're becoming a little more conscious of what's going on. The same type of questions that they asked me when I was here before indicated that they didn't think I really believed

what I was talking about. They were skeptical and would always bring up what the pigs said. This time they didn't do that.

What's caused the dissipation in the party in L.A.?

KC: We feel it was caused by the manipulation of people who are being exposed as agents of the F.B.I. and the police placed in the party. Can you name some of them?

KC: Cotton Smith, and a lot of evidence is turning up on Elaine Brown's doorstep.

Any comment on Tackwood?

KC: We'd like to get more information on that. You have to be skeptical when someone who's worked for the pigs ten years says that because they tapped his phone he's going to give up that information. There has to be something else involved.

How are you going to take steps to keep informers out?

KC: That's a practical problem of practical organizing.

Since the indictments of those officials in Chicago involved in the Panther raid in 1969, many are now saying that the system is fair and that even Panthers can get justice....

KC: Let's take the example of the New Haven bust with Bobby and Ericka and fourteen other Panthers indicted for murder. Now everybody has been acquitted of this and they're out with the exception of Lonnie McClucas who's serving thirteen years. Now they have Landon Williams and Rory Hiltz in jail in New Haven on the same charges that they've already acquitted everyone else on and they're proceeding to bring them to trial.

So it's clear that all kinds of funny things and deals are being made. It's a very selective type of repression where decisions are made about who's going to be convicted and who's not.

You're saying that Newton's faction is going to be treated leniently?

KC: The evidence points that way. Anybody that's shown that they are real revolutionaries are not getting out. They're not getting bail for trials and all this. I'm sure you, as a representative of the press, had occasion to record things that Bobby Seale said prior to his arrest, and maybe you've recorded things he's said since he's been released. Just compare them.

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EO: I think we should realize that police repression is only one aspect of it. We also must be aware of the way the ruling class is moving in the black community to cool out the militancy of the people and to subvert the struggle. There is a definite process of co-optation going on. They are using issues such as black capitalism and groups such as Operation Breadbasket. The recent Black Expo (a giant black business fair) in Chicago, is a good example. They push people like Leroi Jones and Jessie Jackson, who's been on the cover of Time, Life, etc., as leaders. They attempt to channel the movement in a safe direction. So it's not just the police. In fact, I see a more devious plot in these other things.

KC: This is why we call Newton the Manchurian Candidate.

EO: That black capitalism he's pushing....

KC: Not only that....

EO: But that's important.

KC: You know Newton went to China, came back and made a statement that he petitioned Chairman Mao to negotiate with President Nixon for the freedom and liberation of oppressed people of the world; in short he endorsed Nixon's going to China and a whitewash of what they would be dealing with.

Now everyone knows that Nixon has no concern for oppressed people. He came into office talking about law and order like Hitler and it's never changed. So you have

someone like Newton who's been identified as the founder of a revolutionary party coming out three or four years later endorsing Nixon this way.

We say that Huey while in prison was subjected to all types of peculiar drugs, and in other ways undermined psychologically. They gave him the white glove treatment. "Yes sir," "No sir," Mr. Newton. They turned his mind around.

He came out heavily addicted to all types of drugs. He was completely incapable of doing even the most simple things for himself. He couldn't talk in a reasonable manner. These things were not apparent before he went in.

When he announced that he was moving the party headquarters to Atlanta he was welcomed by the police chief there. So a profound deal has gone down. Now the black community is not going for this, but these people around Newton are armed and suppressing people. They are like a black Mafia. This is known in the Bay Area and this is why they are planning to move because they are finished there. The people are hip to him. Huey Newton has bought a night club, drives an Eldorado, he's been seen gambling thousands of dollars at Lake Tahoe.

EO: This seemed to be the same pattern of Robert Williams when he came back from China. He dropped out of the Republic of New Africa; now works in the Asian Institute at the University of Michigan which is nothing but a CIA funded operation....

KC: You see we're dealing with an apparatus that has all the material and money to co-opt anything that comes out above ground. What we have to do is to relate to those forces they can't co-opt. They're in the prisons, the military, etc. In the future organizing we're planning we're not basing things on noted leaders or structural units above ground because it's too easy to move in and infiltrate them. They have a whole range of tactics they fall on. So the people we have to relate to are those on death row, because once you're there they can't co-opt you.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 12/17/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -
FUGITIVE
IO 4239
WF 447
EM - BPP;
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT
TO COMMIT MURDER;
THREAT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
OO: San Francisco

Re Bureau teletype to Cleveland Et Al dated 11/16/71.

Inasmuch as all necessary investigation in this matter has been conducted, the case is being RUC'd to the office of origin.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/11/01 BY 3908 JEL/SM/PL

EX-104

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REC-48

3 DEC 22 1971

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles



DEC 1972
(5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

9 Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 12/20/71

FROM : LEGAT, MADRID (157-3) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
EXTREMIST MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
KEY BLACK EXTREMIST
(OO: SF)

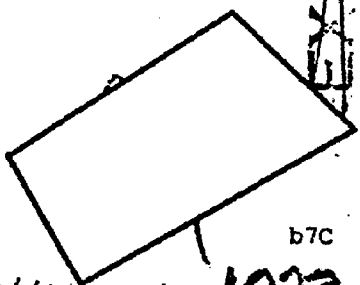
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 21 1971
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO
390656/1023

Reylet to Bureau 10/27/71.

During a regular liaison visit to Casablanca and Rabat, Morocco, on 12/13-14/71, subject was discussed with U. S. Consular and Embassy officials, as well as with the Moroccan police and security authorities. No new information could be developed regarding subject, except that, according to both U. S. and Moroccan officials, subject was still believed to be residing in Algiers and that he probably would not take a chance and come to Morocco where he might be arrested.

Our sources are aware of our interest in the subject and in the event any pertinent information is developed, the Bureau and San Francisco will be advised.

- 4 - Bureau
 - (1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
 - (1 - San Francisco, 88-12329, Info.)
- 1 - Madrid
- VVK:eim
- (5)



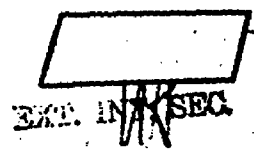
b7C

1023

REC-23

DEC 20 1971

b7C



EXC. IN SEC

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SENT BY TELECOPIER

URGENT

TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-66570)

1-11-72

SACRAMENTO

FROM: FBI, NCIC 100-446997 348 73

NCIC MATTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/1/01 BY 3902/ew/afp

REBUAIRTEL ALBANY 6-15-71, AND SAN FRANCISCO AIRTEL 6-29-71.

AT 1628 EST, 1-11-72, DOJ SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA MADE FOLLOWING
INQUIRY:

I W111 DONISDOJ134705.ZW.CA0349400.NAM/CLEAVER, LEROY. DOB/083135

AND RECEIVED FOLLOWING RESPONSE:

NCIC RECORDS NIC/W010636986 AND NIC/W010938395

b7C

SUBJECT OF ABOVE INQUIRY MAY BE IDENTICAL WITH STOP
PLACED ON LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. SAN FRANCISCO WILL DETERMINE IF
ANY ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION IS NECESSARY.

INDIVIDUAL IS AFFILIATED WITH A GROUP HAVING KNOWN
PROPENSITY FOR VIOLENCE AND MAY BE ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
NATL. CRIME INFO. CENTER
JAN 11 1972

TELETYPE

ATTN

61 JAN 20 1972

NR 016 SC PLAIN

10:00PM NITEL 1/11/72 MCH

TO DIRECTOR (ATTENTION NCIC)
SAN FRANCISCO
FROM SACRAMENTO

b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Frazier	_____
Mr. Gandy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Lester	_____
Mr. Quinn	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE BUREAU FACSIMILE JANUARY ELEVEN INSTANT RE NCIC INQUIRY
BY DOJ SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA AT ONE SIX TWO EIGHT EST JANUARY ELEVEN INSTANT.

[REDACTED] COMMAND CENTER, CALIFORNIA DOJ, CII, ADVISED LETTERS
ZW INDICATES TEST MESSAGE AND NO BASIS FOR INQUIRY.

b7C

[REDACTED] WAS TACTFULLY REQUESTED TO INSTRUCT CII PERSONNEL TO DISCONTINUE USE OF CLEAVER NAME AND DOB FOR TEST INQUIRIES.

E N D.

WJM FBI WA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/11/01 BY 5908 [signature]

REC-21

11/1/72 1025

EXT. INT. SEC.

JAN 16 1972

57 JAN 20 1972

CODE

~~TELETYPE~~

PRIORITY

1/18/72

b7C

TO DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

1
1

b1

~~SECRET~~

(S)

111111
39063 ELW/STW/STW
914394

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, EXTREMIST MATTERS -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ON JANUARY SEVENTEEN LAST SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN PAST LEARNED ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HEAD
OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY INTERNATIONAL SECTION, ALGIERS,
ALGERIA, WILL STEP DOWN AND BE REPLACED BY FUGITIVE PETE
O'NEAL (FELIX LINDSAY O'NEAL, MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL
SECTION FROM KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI). ADDITIONAL DETAILS
NOT AVAILABLE TO SOURCE EXCEPT CLEAVER IS REPORTEDLY
RELINQUISHING LEADERSHIP POSITION TO ASSUME OTHER UNSPECIFIED
DUTIES.

EX-104

REC-6

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ERS:fb
(4)

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Felt _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Bishop _____
- Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. Dalbey _____
- Mr. Cleveland _____
- Mr. Ponder _____
- Mr. Bates _____
- Mr. Walters _____
- Mr. Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

61 JAN 25 1972

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

b7C

~~SECRET~~

b1

TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

~~SECRET~~

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
100-447251

IN VIEW OF PRIOR INFORMATION RECEIVED INDICATING
SUBJECT PLANNED CLANDESTINE RETURN TO UNITED STATES TO
ENGAGE IN URBAN GUERRILLA STRUGGLE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE
CLOSEST POSSIBLE COVERAGE OF CLEAVER'S MOVEMENTS AND
ACTIVITIES ABROAD AND PROMPT NOTIFICATION OF ALL
SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS.

GP-1

END

NOTE:

Above information was obtained by [redacted]
from [redacted]
Cleaver faction.

b2
b7D
b7C

b1

~~SECRET~~

2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 12 1972

NR 002 PD PLAIN

5:15 PM NITEL 1-12-72 AJW

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251), ATTN: NCIC

SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM: PORTLAND (88-5874)

sw

*WF 447
504 4289
BEP ADD*

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA - FUGITIVE, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO SAN FRANCISCO.

*know M... & R...
learn...*

RE FBI, NCIC TELETYPE, JANUARY TWELVE SEVENTYTWO.

DISCREET INQUIRY, KLAMATH FALLS, OREGON POLICE DEPARTMENT, REVEALED IT HAD HELD TRAINING CLASS EARLY EVENING JANUARY ELEVEN SEVENTYTWO. NCIC INQUIRIES WERE DISCUSSED AND TEST INQUIRY USING CLEAVER'S NAME WAS ENTERED AS A TRAINING EXERCISE. NO INFORMATION CLEAVER IS IN PORTLAND TERRITORY.

END

REC-115 100-447251-1028

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/10/01 BY 3903

[Handwritten signature]

EXHIBIT. SEC.

61 JAN 25 1972

cc - Mr. Miller

~~SECRET~~

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Casper
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Miller
- 1 - Mr. Cleveland
- 1 - Fugitive Supervisor

2/4/72

Airtel

11/1/01
 CLASSIFIED BY NLS/STP/0267-~~888~~
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X
 714387

To: SAC, Albany
 From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

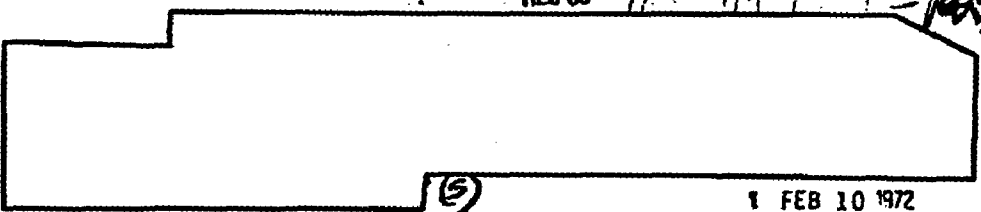
LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka
 FUGITIVE
 I.O.# 4239
 W.F.# 447
 RM - BPP
 UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO
 COMMIT MURDER; THREAT AGAINST
 THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
 OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany and all other
 offices dated 1/13/70 and captioned as above with reference
 to coverage of all ports of entry, border crossing points,
 or international nonstop air flight terminals where
 applicable concerning Cleaver's possible return to the
 United States.

8 172

REC-53 100-447251-1029



b1

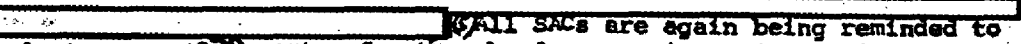
FEB 10 1972

All offices insure appropriate sources are alert
 to Cleaver's possible return.

2 - All Other Offices

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Felt _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Bishop _____
- Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. Dalbey _____
- Mr. Cleveland _____
- Mr. Frazier _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Walker _____
- Mr. Walters _____
- Mr. Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

NOTE: Although there have been a number of rumors in the past
 indicating Cleaver would make an attempt to re-enter the
 United States in disguise and all sources have been previously
 alerted to the possibility of Cleaver's return, such has not
 yet materialized.



All SACs are again being reminded to
 insure appropriate sources are alert to Cleaver's possible return
 to Cleaver's possible return at all ports of entry, border crossing points and airports
 and international non-stop air flight termination within their
 territories.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT JRF:egm (127) b1

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

1/31/72

TO SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

1
1
1
1

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, EXTREMIST MATTERS.

AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "PANTHER REFORM" APPEARING IN THE
 JANUARY THIRTY-ONE INSTANT EDITION OF "THE WASHINGTON POST"
 NEWSPAPER INDICATED HUEY P. NEWTON STATED IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW
 THAT THE BPP HAS PUT DOWN ITS GUNS AND IS WORKING WITHIN THE
 SYSTEM. ACCORDING TO NEWS ARTICLE, NEWTON GAVE INTERVIEW YESTERDAY,
 DATE NOT FURNISHED, FROM HIS SIX HUNDRED FIFTY DOLLAR-PER-MONTH
 OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, APARTMENT. NEWTON REPORTEDLY COMMENTED THE
 PANTHERS HAVE REJECTED THE "PICK-UP-THE-GUN-NOW" PHILOSOPHY OF A
 RIVAL FACTION HEADED BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WHOM NEWTON CALLED A
 "RENEGADE SCAB TRAITOR."

462
b7C

PROMPTLY FURNISH ALL PERTINENT DATA REGARDING THIS INTERVIEW
 BY NEWTON IN FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION.

- 105-165429 (Huey P. Newton)
- ① - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 4/1/01 BY SP6 [signature]

LGB:aso (8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

100-447251

NOT RECORDED
 15 FEB 2 1972

HEX

57 FEB 7 1972

215

TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
105-165706

NOTE:

Bureau is not in possession of information concerning interview by Newton as contained on Page A-4 of the 1/31/72 edition of "The Washington Post." San Francisco being instructed to promptly submit pertinent data in order that we can appropriately disseminate. San Francisco should be in possession of details relating to this interview as we have sensitive source coverage on Newton's apartment.