

FBI

Date: 7/16/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157- [REDACTED]) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

REC-71

4  
5  
10

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES  
FORT BRAGG, N. C.  
RM - BPP

Black Panther Party  
105-165706-8-219

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 6/19/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM in captioned matter, suitable for dissemination. Copies of LHM have been locally disseminated to military intelligence and Secret Service agencies.

The information from Captain HORAN was contained in MIG report furnished Charlotte by the Bureau on 5/26/70.

105-165706-8-196 gen

[REDACTED]

All information in LHM was handled by SA [REDACTED]

2/43

ENCLOSURE

REC-71  
EX-117

105-165706-8-196

2 - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 11)

2 - Charlotte

(1 - 157-7618) (1 - 157-618)

4 JUL 18 1970

RHC: dmm

54 AUG 10 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL [REDACTED]

S8 1240

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MCT-14

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) AND  
DATE [REDACTED]

100-5100  
5/20/70  
100-7618  
100-618  
100-196

Classified by 100-5100  
Exempt from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification  
AGENCY: [REDACTED], SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: ISD, [REDACTED], IDIU, C-D-5100  
HOW FORW: [REDACTED]  
DATE FORW: 7/22/70  
BY: [REDACTED]

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157- [REDACTED]

In view of the fact that the four subjects in this matter are active duty soldiers assigned to Fort Bragg, North Carolina and under the jurisdiction of the military authorities who are aware of their activities and of the information in LHM, no further investigation is being undertaken by the Charlotte Office. Their activities will be followed with military authorities and in the event any pertinent information is received, such information will be furnished the Bureau in appropriate communication.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 16, 1970

X see p. 5 for  
description

[REDACTED]

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES**  
**FORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

---

On May 26, 1970, Captain ROBERT J. HORAN, Security Officer, United States Army, John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance, advised information was received from

[REDACTED]

Captain HORAN stated the information was that on May 6, 1970, [REDACTED] four unidentified Negro soldiers who stated that they were members of the Black Panther Party and did not identify themselves other than that they were from New York and Connecticut. The four alleged Panthers [REDACTED] had received information [REDACTED]

a result of comments made during racial seminars held at Fort Bragg.

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AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED  
OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

105-165706-8-242

ENCLOSURE

RE: JAMES A. GALLOWAY; VERNON C. HARMON;  
PHILLIP MARSHALL HILL; HAROLD COLBY SIMS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES

---

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] The meeting reportedly  
was to induce black soldiers from the 18th Airborne Corps and  
Special Forces to revolt against the army. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The  
Panthers also indicated that unidentified arms were being brought  
into the Fort Bragg, Fayetteville, Spring Lake area. The alleged  
Panthers also indicated that a large rally was being planned  
for the Fayetteville City Park during the first part of June,  
1970, and Panthers from all over the nation were planning to  
attend. The Panthers indicated that their goal was the overthrow  
of Fort Bragg with force and the overthrow of the United  
States Government.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] furnished the following  
information:

During January, 1970, the Department of the Army  
directed Inter-racial Seminars which commenced in the 6th Special  
Forces and other units at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The  
seminars were held at various places on the reservation with  
the approval and knowledge of unit commanders. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

He believes that the primary purpose of the seminars  
was to evoke the grievances in order that solutions could be  
derived, thereby eliminating or minimizing the racial tension in  
the United States Army.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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          105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 3          

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X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The source related to his knowledge there is no Black Panther Party chapter or Black Panther organization in existence in the Fayetteville-Fort Bragg area. The source advised he would define a Black Panther as any Negro who believes in achieving the aims set forth in the Black Panther platform. The symbol of the "black power" evidenced by a clenched fist has been universally adopted by most blacks, and the clenched fist is associated with the Black Panthers. He stated any Negro can proclaim himself to be a Black Panther even though he does not belong to the Black Panther Party.

On May 29, 1970, subject [REDACTED] and subject [REDACTED] were arrested on armed robbery charges by the Sheriff's Office, Cumberland County, North Carolina. On the same evening the

113

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES**

Sheriff's Office raided the trailer at McNeal's Trailer Park, Spring Lake, North Carolina, and arrested [REDACTED] as a material witness and as a deserter from the United States Army. Earlier on May 29, 1970, subject [REDACTED] was arrested by military authorities as a deserter.

On June 17, 1970, [REDACTED], Post Stockade, advised that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were presently in custody at the stockade. On the same date [REDACTED] Cumberland County Sheriff's Office, advised that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had been indicted by the Grand Jury on armed robbery charges and were presently in the Cumberland County Jail.

On June 30, 1970 [REDACTED] 111th Military Intelligence Group, Fayetteville, North Carolina advised that [REDACTED] had been transferred to Vietnam, reporting date being July 22, 1970, at Oakland, California.

[REDACTED]

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105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 6

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina  
July 16, 1970

Title

[REDACTED]  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES  
FORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference Memorandum made at Charlotte, North  
Carolina, dated and captioned as  
above.

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

Contact with source in above referred to communication  
has been insufficient to develop information from which  
a determination of his reliability can be made; however,  
source was in a position to obtain and report reliable  
information as set forth in above referred to communication.

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	

TELETYPE

NRC03 CE PLAIN

240PM URGENT 7-28-70 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8 AND CHICAGO

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS.

ON JULY TWENTY-EIGHT INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A GREEN CHEVROLET STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND AN OLDSMOBILE STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] ARRIVED AT WINSTON SALEM, N. C., BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS, ONE SIX ZERO TWO EAST FOURTEENTH ST., AT APPROXIMATELY NINE THIRTY TO TEN A.M. EIGHT OR NINE NEGROES, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, WERE IN EACH CAR. NONE WERE IDENTIFIED AS BEING LOCAL INDIVIDUALS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHICAGO IDENTIFY ABOVE ILLINOIS LICENSES DETERMINING OWNERS CONNECTIONS WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND CONTACT APPROPRIATE SOURCES TO DETERMINE REASON ANY INDIVIDUALS IN YOUR AREA WOULD TRAVEL TO WINSTON SALEM, N. C., REGARDING BLACK PANTHER PARTY MATTERS.

END PAGE ONE

EX 105 REC 37

105-165706-8-242

9 JUL 30 1970

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

CHARLOTTE CONTACTING APPROPRIATE SOURCES.

END

WJM FBI WA AND HOLD

CC 12-17-71  
JACK 723 022

---

F B I

Date: 7/27/70

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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re New Haven airtel to Bureau dated 7/17/70.

Referenced airtel sets forth information from [REDACTED] (NH T-12) that on 7/9/70 [REDACTED], BPP, New Haven, was in contact with [REDACTED] re the NCCF, Winston-Salem, N. C. [REDACTED] indicated he had talked with [REDACTED] (phonetic) and reached an understanding.

It is noted that [REDACTED] has reported that [REDACTED] was in Winston-Salem, N. C., on 7/9/70 and 7/10/70 accompanied by unidentified individuals. These individuals were not known to be members of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C.; and the name [REDACTED] has not been reported as being a member at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LEADS:

EX 105 REC-87 105-165706-8-241

NEW HAVEN AND SAN FRANCISCO

Review information available from informants and advise the identity of the [REDACTED] mentioned by [REDACTED] as reported by [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - New Haven (RM)
  - (2 - [REDACTED])
  - (1 - [REDACTED])
- 2 - San Francisco (RM) (157-1204)
- 3 - Charlotte
  - (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)
  - (1 - [REDACTED])

12 JUL 28 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

KTHG:rep

(10)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

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CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will maintain contact with appropriate sources to determine if, in fact, a [REDACTED] (phonetic) is active in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area.

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR002 CE PLAIN

JUL 2 1970

649PM NITEL 7-26-70 JMC

TELETYPE

Mr. [redacted]  
Mr. [redacted]  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. [redacted]  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CHARLOTTE (157-7710)

PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY, HIGH POINT, N. C., FIVE  
P. M., JULY TWENTYSIX, SEVENTY, BPP- RM.

RALLY TO ORGANIZE HIGH POINT CHAPTER OF BPP SCHEDULED FOR  
TODAY WAS CANCELLED DUE TO PENDING TRIAL OF ALLEGED BPP MEMBER,

NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS

JTJ FBI WASH DC

ST-106

REC-84

105-165706-8-240

JUL 28 1970

53 JUL 4 1970

COPY SENT

IDIU

FBI

Date: 7/7/70

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Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY  
RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/5/70.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed  
by [REDACTED] and observation by  
Special Agents of the FBI during June, 1970.

Organization and Status

National Committee to Combat Fascism  
1602 East 14th St.  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Members

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>
12	0	0	12*

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)  
2-Charlotte

THG:cvs  
(6)

REC-57

105-165706-8-239

EX 106

18 JUL 9 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

55 JUL 30 1970



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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

\*This includes KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS from the west coast and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA from New Haven who are temporarily assigned at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LeadersCentral Staff

LARRY DONELL LITTLE  
Captain of Defense

WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE  
Lieutenant in Charge of BPP Newspaper  
Distribution

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.  
Field Lieutenant

TERESA THOMAS, aka Slack Thomas  
Lieutenant in Charge of Finance

DAVID BOWMAN  
In Charge of Headquarters and appears to be  
permanent Officer of the Day

JULIUS CORNELL  
In Charge of Panthers in Training

BPP Pads, Charlotte Division

1602 East 14th St.  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
(Panther headquarters, however, members reside  
there 24 hours per day).

940 Cleveland Ave.  
(Apartment of WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE and visiting  
Panthers reside with him).

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

**Public Appearances of BPP  
Members Within the Charlotte Division**

There were no public appearances of BPP members noted within the Charlotte Division during the month of June, 1970.

**PART II**

The following is a summary of BPP activities within the Charlotte Division during June, 1970:

The group at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to regularly receive the BPP Newspaper which they sell on the street at Winston-Salem, N. C. Numerous articles have appeared in the BPP Newspaper referring to various situations at Winston-Salem and are critical of the local city administration, PD, etc.

The split within the group, which occurred during the last of May, has taken away some of the leadership and financial capacity of the group. According to one source, financial problems are so great that the full-time Panthers started eating only one meal per day. This has caused some members to become dissatisfied over the lack of food, clothing and rigorous discipline and drop-out.

One night a week the group has "political education classes," wherein non-members are invited. The breakfast program has been discontinued, however, Panthers are attempting to get children in the area of headquarters to play at the headquarters which they call a liberation school.

3

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
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CE 157-6171

KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, both on assignment to Winston-Salem from other areas, have not emerged to a strong position of leadership and their exact functions have not been determined. HARRIS has reportedly been transferred to New York or New Jersey, but is still in Winston-Salem.

MIRANDA has been in Winston-Salem part of the time, however, was observed by Special Agents at New Haven, Conn., attending the trial of [REDACTED]

The group at Winston-Salem chartered a bus taking 29 people to the BPP rally at the Lincoln Memorial on 6/19/70.

[REDACTED]

JUNE HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff, was reportedly in Winston-Salem on 6/6/70, exact purpose unknown.

According to sources she was in all likelihood going to drum up attendance at the June 19 rally at Washington, D. C.

4

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Special Agent in Charge

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F B I

Date: 7/17/70

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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - FINANCES  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, and others, dated 6/17/70.

The following information set forth is concerning BPP activities in North Carolina and their financial situation. There is only one branch, which is located at Winston-Salem, N. C., and operates under the name Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Headquarters are at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

A. Sources of Income

There are no membership dues or assessments. Sources report that some contributions are made by individuals outside the BPP; however, their identities and the amounts have not been established. A portion of their income comes from the sale of newspapers. It is noted that [REDACTED] (SF T-22) reported on 6/10/70 that 2,000 papers were to be sent to Winston-Salem the following week and after that maybe 2,500 - 3,000 papers per week. [REDACTED] has reported that each member is required to sell 50 papers per week at 25 cents per paper and thereafter turn the money (\$12.50) back in to headquarters, with WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE being in charge of newspaper sales. On 6/4/70, a parcel [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)  
2 - Charlotte  
THG:rep

REC-39 105-165706-237

JUL 18 1970

(5)

51 JUL 30 1970  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

MRAD: [REDACTED] INT. SEC.

F B I

Date:

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Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

\_\_\_\_\_ containing pamphlets on the Ideology of the Black Panther party by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Part I. The number or amount for which they are to be sold has not been determined. During June there were no fund-raising activities as such or public events where collections were obtained, and there are no committees which have been formed to raise funds.

On 6/4/70, \_\_\_\_\_ reported that KATHY THOMAS, later identified as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS, was given \$600 expense money and left on 6/3/70 with \_\_\_\_\_ a Marine Corps deserter, for Winston-Salem, N. C. Method of travel was not given, however, did occur as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS did arrive in Winston-Salem, N. C., and \_\_\_\_\_ was arrested at Winston-Salem, N. C., by BuAgents.

In summary, the group's income for June would be approximately \$500 per week or \$2,000 from newspaper sales plus \$600 brought in by KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

\_\_\_\_\_ One-half of their newspaper income would have been remitted to BPP Headquarters, or \$1,000.  
\_\_\_\_\_

- 2 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] As this is a weekly expense, it would appear that approximately \$100 per month is spent on freight on the newspapers.

[REDACTED]

There are no salaries or known skimming by members; however, [REDACTED] full-time members of the BPP group at Winston-Salem are considered to be full-time workers and are supported by the group. They receive no salary as such but their clothes, food, and other expenses are paid by the Party.

In connection with travel to Washington, D. C., 6/19/70, for the Black Panther Party rally at the Lincoln Memorial, [REDACTED]

- 3 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

D. Operations

TERESA THOMAS is considered to be the Lieutenant of Finance having taken over from NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.; and they are believed to be the individuals responsible for the handling of funds and records, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] During June, no information was received as to the means or method of transfer of funds; and it is noted that, according to sources, expenditures at Winston-Salem, N. C., are by cash. According to sources, records are most likely kept at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C., but this cannot be positively ascertained.

E. MiscellaneousIncome

Newspaper sales (approximation)	\$2,000.00
From Newark, New Jersey	600.00
Total	\$2,600.00

Expenses

Transportation of Newspapers (approximation)	\$ 100.00
--	-----------

- 4 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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Expenses (Continued)

Shipment of Pamphlets \$ 10.25

Electricity 15.00

Cost of newspapers remitted to 1,000.00  
San Francisco

Total \$1,654.73

Not included in these tabulations is money spent for the upkeep of the members due to the fact that amounts are unknown. In addition, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA traveled from Winston-Salem, N. C., to New Haven, Connecticut, and returned to Winston-Salem, N. C. The method or cost of this are not known.

F. Action

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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[REDACTED]

Continued efforts will be made on SAC authority to interview minor figures and members of the group at Winston-Salem, N. C.

- 6 -

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORT MADE AT <b>CHARLOTTE</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>7/13/70</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/12/70 - 6/26/70</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)</b>		REPORT MADE BY SA <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>dh</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RM; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION</b>	

REFERENCE:Charlotte report of SA **[REDACTED]** 5/28/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect sources whose identification or compromise could affect the national defense of the United States adversely.

EXP. PROC.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED **RM/4** SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

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**105-165706-8-236****JUL 15 1970****REC-39****EX-115****REC-64**

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	<b>AGENCY: ACSI - SEC SEC</b>
Request Recd.	<b>DEPT ISD: FBI - DTU</b>
Date Fwd.	<b>DATE FORW: JUL 16 1970</b>
How Fwd.	<b>HOW FORW: RC</b>
By	<b>BY: N11/13</b>

**RACIAL INT. SECT.**  
**INT. SEC.**  
**IRS, STOU**

**20 JUL 20 1970** detached by  
 Klan Unit

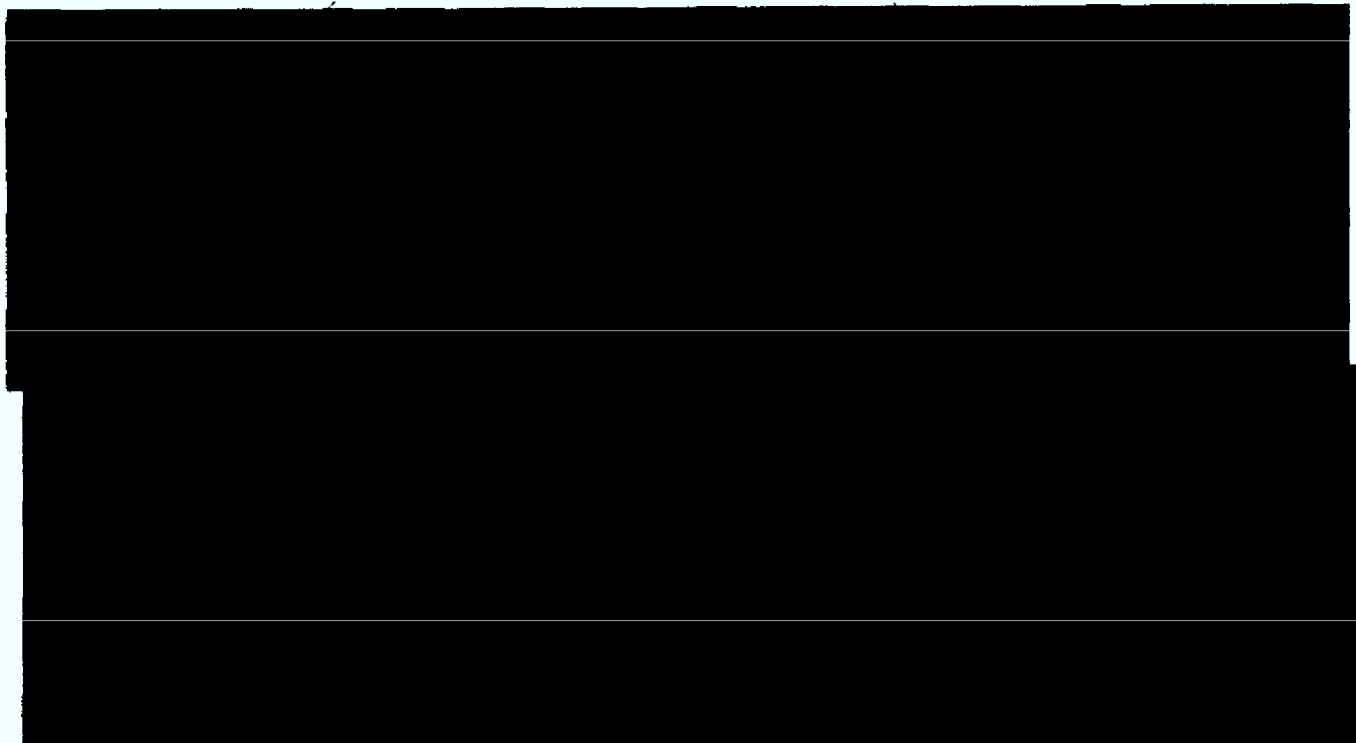
COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location



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LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. (SA



CE '57-6171

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

C\*  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Copy to:

## Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

## Office:

CHARLOTTE

## Date:

July 13, 1970

## Field Office File #:

157-6171

## Bureau File #:

105-165706 Sub 8

## Title:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

## Character:

RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITION  
CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

## Synopsis:

Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) recognized by BPP and was visited 6/11/70 by ROOSEVELT HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff of BPP. A KATHY THOMAS was reportedly sent to Winston-Salem, N. C., from Jersey City, N. J., and identified by [REDACTED] as KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS. The group continues to receive newspapers and to be in contact with other BPP groups.

- P -

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GROUP 1  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND  
DECLASSIFICATION

CP 157-6171

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57-6171

I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES  
AS EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY LEADERS

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The following article appeared in "The Black Panther," the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party, published at San Francisco, California, in its issue of July 4, 1970:

# ONE OF OUR MAIN PURPOSES IS TO UNIFY OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE NORTH WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SOUTH



The favorite historical tactic used by the exploiter against the exploited, the master against the slave has been, and continues to be the age-old tactic of divide and conquer. Throughout history, we can see that this has been done to bring about, and insure the enslavement of one group by another, one class by another, one nation by another. We can see that this was done to us in Africa. The slave traders played tribe against tribe, region against region and in so doing, brought about the situation he desired. The colonization of Africa, and the slaves to serve as cheap, no-cost labor for plantation owners in the Southern Region of America.

When we examine history, we see that during different struggles of people for their freedom, you have different occurrences of this tactic, of divide and conquer. We can see that in our situation, as Black people in racist Babylon the enemy has used class differences to divide us, and there-

fore, keeps us enslaved. House nigger against the field nigger, Joe college nigger against the street nigger (lumpen), light-skinned niggers against the dark-skinned niggers and finally the "so-called good niggers" (responsible leaders) against the "so-called bad niggers" (revolutionaries). They have always used lackies and bootlickers against the people, as a buffer zone between them and the angry masses that threaten their greedy existence. The form that this genocidal tactic of divide and conquer is taking at this time is to divide the Vanguard Party, the people's Party - the Black Panther Party away from the masses of Black people. This is the political form; geographically they are trying to keep our brothers and sisters in the North from uniting with our brothers and sisters in the South. They, the oppressors, are doing this, because they know if there is unity between the North and South this sham game will come to a deathly end. They are trying desperately to keep our brothers and sisters in the North herded together in the urban cities, in centralized, highly explosive areas, from coming together with our brothers and sisters, who are living in wretched conditions, in the rural areas, and small cities of the South.

In this final stage of revolutionary struggle, we find ourselves in a life or death situation. The pigs are planning to commit mass murder (genocide) against us. This situation that we face, that threatens our survival, that threatens our very existence, has to be met with a political plan of action, that smashes the enemy's tactic of divide and conquer - that unites the whole people, and brings an end to the existence of the enemy.

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We see that our people are no longer confined to a certain geographical area, (the South). We see that we are spread through the confines of racist America. We see that once we were confined to a certain area, exploited and oppressed in the foul clutches of slavery. We fought our way out of this lower form of slavery, we expanded and migrated to the North, believing the living lips of

the abolitionists that "a better life" awaited us. We moved North, but became entrenched in a different, higher form of slavery based not on land, but in the factories. This is called capitalism. So now we see that we are struggling in all parts of the country, in all sectors of the economy, on all fronts in this society. If we understand that, then we can understand that nothing is isolated, the struggle isn't just happening in the North, in the cities, in California, in the South, that the struggle isn't just happening in the courts, in the schools, in the factories, that the struggle doesn't just involve the Black Panther Party, and Black people, that the struggle is happening everywhere. Because the conditions and basis for a revolution exist everywhere in racist Babylon. We can see that it is necessary for the whole people to rise up against the oppressor, the enemy, and smash him into non-existence. We can see that we can never allow the enemy to force us to think in terms of the part, and place primary focus on the part, to localize the struggle, to regionalize it, to confine it to a certain area. We should always think and act in terms of the whole, the whole country, the whole people, the whole problem, the whole solution. We must do it this way, simply because this is the only way to get total and complete liberation for our people.

As we begin the final stage of this revolutionary thrust, we see it having its beginning in the South, where the conditions and the people were the most backward. As this was happening, we can see the enemy trying shrewdly to confine the struggle to a certain area, to keep it from spreading to the rest of the oppressed masses, the majority, the whole people. We see them trying to tell us that the people are fighting conditions that are particular to their own town, their city, their region. We see them



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telling us that these conditions do not exist where we live. We see the enemy trying to stop the people from recognizing the conditions that exist among them in their area. They try to stop us from seeing the whole. The enemy bides his time, tries to check the revolution, the struggle, in an effort to brainwash and condition the people. So that when they do react, they will move in the manner in which the oppressor programmed them to move. The enemy defines the problem, the enemy passes out the information, creates opinion, says what is good, what is bad, what he will accept and what he will not tolerate. This has happened to us, while we watched; and when we did give assistance (CORE, Freedom Riders, Liberals, SNCC, we didn't come with new ideas, we did not come with revolutionary ideas. We went with the program and plan of action given to us by the enemy. The same program he was using to stymie the struggle, in an effort to push the movement along in a passive, and politically backward fashion. When the oppressor, accomplished that, he shamed out the whole integration, civil rights trick bag on the people.

Then there was a new development. We see Malcolm X, we see him speaking in the idiom of the people we see him saying that we cannot allow the enemy to define our struggle, to develop our programs, to run our struggle. We see the enemy again becoming worried, we see the enemy more and more using his lackey minister from the South and bringing them into the North, you see them pushing non-violence, civil rights

passivity. We see Malcolm defeating this attempt by the enemy to use his lackies, to stop a Black man, who could and would unite the whole people around truly revolutionary principles. The lackies could not silence Malcolm. The enemy had to silence Malcolm themselves, they placed guns in the hands of some bootlicking niggers and shot Malcolm down. Before Malcolm died, he predicted the rebellions that did occur in the urban areas of the country. He planted the seed of revolution in the hearts and minds of the people. He spoke of self-defense, instead of non-violence, self-determination, instead of dependency on the enemy and the gun as a basic tool of liberation. He also spoke of the need of a truly revolutionary organization that spoke and acted in the people's interest. At this point, emphasis of the struggle switched to the North, as Malcolm had predicted, nothing the enemy did could stop it. His old tactic was failing. Black people were now truly moving for their freedom. Niggers rebelled in the streets, they were met by cries of "he cool", they were met by "the war on poverty", a tactic they used to keep the concept of self-defense from spreading, again to the whole.

The civil rights movement expanded out of the South, into the North and failed - because they tried to organize the people around a program that wasn't drawn up by the people. They were pushing the enemy's program, and you can't organize the people around the enemy's program and expect to succeed. So

we can see that Malcolm planted the seed and the product of that seed is Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. We see the Party developing on the West coast, the last geographical area that Black people migrated to. We see the Party grow, expand and develop throughout the West, Midwest, throughout the East Coast. We see the pigs trying, in the beginning to confine the Party on the West Coast, but failing. They failed because the Party was based on true revolutionary principles. We see them failing to divide the people from the Party, we see them trying to lie, to confuse the people but we see them failing. We see the Party working in the cities, expanding its base, serving the people, setting examples for the people to follow, teaching self-defense to the people. If you make an analysis, you see the Party being successful in our attempts to spur the people to action, we see the pigs failing in their attempts to annihilate the Black Panther Party. So we find ourselves struggling as a Party, but recognizing that we are always concerned with the whole, we find ourselves at the crossroads, at the enemy's last attempt to divide and conquer, his attempt to keep us from broadening our struggle to encompass the South.

we must solve this problem. To solve this problem we have to analyze the situation. If we do, we see that if we do not move into the South to serve the people, to educate the people and do the things there that we did in the North, then we are not thinking and acting in terms of the whole people, the whole problem. We would then be allowing all of the bootlickers and lackies, and those who would seek to have the Party destroyed, to have an uncontested base to rap down their lies and phony programs on a large segment of our people. We have to understand that this could easily happen. In the final analysis, it would prove disastrous to our complete and total liberation. Regionalism during the struggle for our liberation could develop into an antagonistic contradiction among the people, and therefore lead to the defeat of our efforts to unite the people and make a socialist society.

Our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said "The Black Panther Party is the People's Party and we are primarily interested in freeing man". If we are after the complete and total liberation of our people, then we must go among them, wherever they are.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Doug Mirzada  
Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

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II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM OR  
POLICIES

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None.



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III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM

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On [redacted] [redacted] reported it was determined that [redacted] had just returned from a trip to [redacted]. The exact purpose of the trip was not known but [redacted] did say that the "cracker students" were helping the Black Panthers in the North. By "cracker students" [redacted] means white students. [redacted] had in his possession a Black Panther Party newspaper that he had obtained somewhere during his trip. [redacted] stated that there was some good information in this paper particularly about organizing self defense groups, but he said that such a self defense group would have to practice because you just cannot read a book and know how to do something, comparing it to driving an automobile in that you cannot learn to drive a car by reading. From the conversation, it did not appear [redacted] knew of any self defense groups in the Charlotte, North Carolina, area and was merely making this statement in connection with the article.

On [redacted] [redacted] was again commenting on the article in the paper which concerned the making of Molotov cocktails and this article also contained instructions for making homemade hand grenades by using an aerosol can.

According to [redacted] there is no known Panther group at Charlotte, North Carolina, and [redacted] is not known to be a member of the BPP. *ok*

The following article appeared in the "Black Panther," in its issue of July 4, 1970:



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## WINSTON SALEM LIBERATION SCHOOL

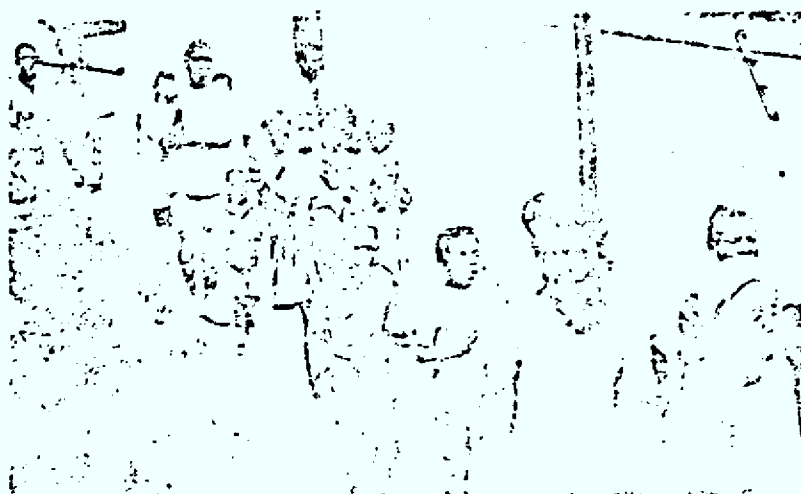
"We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society."

As members of the Black Liberation Army, we are the Vanguard Party of the masses. Therefore, we should help our people and protect them by any means necessary.

We realize that our people have been under oppression for over 400 years. Our people are hungry and without clothes, without decent housing and without knowledge of the nature of our struggle. When the people from the community come to us for help, this is good; we say right on, to that, because that is what we're here for, "to serve the people". We must remain humble servants of the people. As Huey says, "we are oxen, to be

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ridden by the people", and we are going to be ridden down the path of a people's revolution.

We say that our people and our youth in particular should be educated, to the nature of our struggle. So what do we do? We implement Liberation School from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. every day Monday through Friday; and political education classes for the community on Tuesday night from 7:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The lunch program is now functioning here in Winston-Salem. It started June 15, 1970, we had approximately 40 kids and they responded beautifully. The young warriors are learning and taking the concept of the "Big Family" (so-

cialism) as their own, and will spread these ideas in the community. We must continue to let this beautiful thing go on. We have to hold fast and educate the youth because the Youth Make the Revolution.

Most of us will not live to see the end of the revolution, but our one comforting thought is that the youth will do as we have done in the name of the Revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE YOUTH

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

David Bowman

Cynthia Criss

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On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED], a political meeting was held at the BPP headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the main speaker was LARRY LITTLE who talked to the group from the surrounding community concerning "oppression of the pig forces of the city." He spoke at length concerning a new constitution to be written by black people in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, this fall.

[REDACTED] reported on [REDACTED] that LARRY LITTLE, mentioned above, was a new captain of defense of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism.

N.C.

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OF 57-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PROGRAM

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CP 157-6171

On June 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] BPP National Circulation Manager, was in the New York area setting up more efficient distribution system and while there, had a number of leaflets printed, some of which were sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY