BLACK PANTHER PARTY -

NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 2

FBI

Date: 7/24/69

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

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

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

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

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

[redacted]

Re Charlotte report of SA [redacted] dated [redacted] 5/23/69, and Bureau airtels dated 6/25/69, and 7/17/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies and San Francisco 2 copies of 12 letterhead memoranda, three of which concern BPP activities at Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, N. C. The other 9 contain information as furnished by [redacted], concerning BPP activities, along with corroborating information where available.

The T-symbols used in each LHM identify the same informant and are as follows:

[redacted] and information located in [redacted], Charlotte, N. C., by request, and information located in [redacted], protected by request, and information located in [redacted]. And information located in [redacted]

105-165706-8-54

2 - Bureau (105-165706 - Sub 8) (Encs. 96) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Encs. 24) (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

14 JUL 28 1969

THG:cbw
(6)

30 AUG 18 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADDITIONAL DISSEMINATION

4-750 (2-7-79)

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a _____ _____ (Priority)

CE 157-6171

The LHMs containing information from CE T-1, [redacted] CE T-6, [redacted] and [redacted] were classified Confidential, Group 1, in order to protect the identities of these extremely sensitive sources. The unauthorized disclosure of their identities would be detrimental to the best interest of the internal security of the United States.

Approved: _____ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information concerns the activities of individuals at Charlotte, North Carolina, who desire affiliation with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California:

On December 13, 1968, CE T-1 advised that an individual, known only as [redacted] had recently contacted the headquarters of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Oakland, California, and advised that he represented an organization known as the Afro-American Unity Organization, Charlotte, North Carolina, which desired to affiliate with the BPP. [redacted] was told that it would be necessary for him to forward the amount of $300 to the national headquarters in order that a representative of the national office of the BPP could travel to Charlotte, North Carolina, to indoctrinate the new members. [redacted] furnished his telephone number as [redacted] and his address as [redacted], Charlotte, North Carolina, and advised that he would attempt to obtain the necessary funds and recontact the national headquarters.

On December 30, 1968, CE T-2 advised that [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina.

On December 30, 1968, CE T-3 advised that [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina, had no record concerning the Afro-American Unity Organization at Charlotte, however, [redacted] advised that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON, also known as "The Fox", a Negro male, [redacted] at Charlotte, North Carolina, reportedly held a meeting on the Johnson C. Smith University campus, Charlotte, North Carolina,

54

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ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
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Classified by
Exempt from
Date

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

on December 2, 1968, where he was introduced as a member of the BPP movement.

On [redacted] reported that HAROLD AVENT, also known as NUNDING, has invited a group of Black Panther Party members from Charlotte, North Carolina, to attend a meeting at Greensboro, North Carolina, on [redacted] 1969.

On [redacted] reported that a meeting of Greensboro members of the BPP was held at [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by approximately [redacted] and two individuals from Charlotte appeared. These two individuals, JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS, actually arrived too late for the meeting but were greeted as brothers by NUNDING and the others.

On [redacted] advised that the Afro-American Unity Organization's finances are not known, however, no efforts have been made to gather finances other than the small amounts donated by the members.

On [redacted] 1969 [redacted] advised that during [redacted], 1969, [redacted] were held by members of the Afro-American Unity Organization at Charlotte. [redacted] have been scheduled until such time as they obtain their charter from the BPP, Oakland, California.

On February 21, 1969, [redacted] reported that HAROLD AVENT, reportedly a Field Marshal of the BPP from Greensboro, North Carolina, spoke at a Malcolm X Day Commemoration service at Johnson C. Smith University. During his speech, AVENT was critical of the portraits of white persons hanging on the walls of the auditorium. The people portrayed in these portraits were the founders of the institution, a predominantly Negro college, and AVENT stated the pictures of these white pigs should be taken out and burned.

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] reported that AVENT had been asked to appear at the University of North Carolina campus at Charlotte on Monday, March 3, 1969, in connection with a protest rally led by BEN CHAVIS. [redacted] to protest the ten demands being made against the university officials and to get recognition of a black student organization on the campus. The constitution and demands made on the university follow the ten point program for black student unions as set out in the Black Panther newspaper.

On [redacted] reported that at a meeting of the BPP at Greensboro, North Carolina, six individuals from Charlotte, including JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS and four others, attended. (4)

The "Charlotte Observer", a daily Charlotte, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1969, contained an article which stated in part that about forty (40) Negroes had gathered around the flag pole at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, shouting "Power to the People" and replaced the United States and North Carolina flags with a black flag. The newspaper article identified the chief spokesman for the group as BEN CHAVIS. The article also states that at approximately 2:00 P. M., on March 3, 1969, the black students began taping posters on the Administration Building windows, some of which were denunciations of North Carolina Governor ROBERT SCOTT, such as "Scott is oinking (pig) in the eyes of the people."

During [redacted] reported that BEN CHAVIS, Minister of Information for the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, has been observed [redacted]

On March 18, 1969, CE T-6, who has frequent contact with the leadership of the BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, advised that [redacted] contacted the national headquarters in order that he might purchase a quantity of posters and newspapers. According to CE T-6, [redacted] requested 200 copies of the "Black Panther" newspaper and 20 copies of two different posters be shipped to him at [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina. CE T-6 stated that [redacted] also gave his telephone number as [redacted]

[redacted] who was accompanied by another Negro male named [redacted] advised that he did not care to discuss anything with law officers inasmuch as he considered himself to be a Black Panther. When questioned as to his actual membership in the Black Panther Party [redacted] stated that he did not have anything official to prove his membership but that he was in fact a member of the Black Panther Party in his heart. He said that he believed in certain things which he refused to enumerate, but he stated that he was willing to die for these beliefs.

When further questioned concerning background information, [redacted] stated that all background information concerning him could be obtained through contacting EIDLEDGE CLEAVER.

In an effort to establish rapport, [redacted] was offered a cigarette, at which time he refused, stating that he was in training. It was noted that at the time of the contact, [redacted] was wearing a black beret, Army fatigue pants, and black military type jump boots. His hair was worn in a full bush.

On [redacted] 1969, information was received from [redacted] that on May 3, 1969, a group of approximately ten Negro males and females gathered at the intersection of Oaklawn Avenue and Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte, North Carolina, for approximately one and one-half hours where they gave the Black Panther salute with their fists in the air and shouted abuse at the policemen patrolling the area, such as "pig" and "honky", and for the policemen to leave the area. A number of individuals had shoulder weapons, such as rifles and shotguns, and machetes.

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that on [redacted] the same group of individuals who staged a demonstration at Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue, conducted firearms practice near the home of [redacted] Charlotte. This area

was located by a Special Agent of the FBI and numerous empty .22 caliber rifle casings and 12 gauge shotgun shell casings were present in the area.

It is noted that on May 6, 1969, a Special Agent of the FBI observed BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., and JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON, along wih a group of other persons, milling around the Administration Building at Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, North Carolina.

On [redacted], 1969, [redacted] reported that [redacted] had possibly purchased a number of firearms at local stores in Charlotte.

On [redacted] and [redacted] advised that JEROME JOHNSON had not been successful in establishing an affiliation with the BPP of California. [redacted] reported that this delay in obtaining a charter was due to a purge being conducted within the national BPP to get rid of informants and undesirable characters. [redacted] stated that the only officers are JEROME JOHNSON, who holds the position of Area Captain, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., who has been designated as the Minister of Information.

On May 13, 1969, [redacted] stated that there was no charter group of BPP in North Carolina as of that date, however, the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, expects to receive a charter in the near future.

On [redacted] Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that the Afro-American Unity Organization under the leadership of JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON has planned a rally for Saturday afternoon, May 24, 1969, at the corner of Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue in Charlotte. [redacted] stated that the reason for the rally was unknown but [redacted] advises that JOHNSON hopes for a police confrontation at the time of the rally. JOHNSON and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., another member of the organization, are scheduled to speak at the rally.

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] advised that his information reflects that all members are requested to wear black berets, black shirts.

On May 24, 1969, [redacted], advised that the parking lot of the Pork and Rib Restaurant, Beatties Ford Road and Oaklawn Avenue in Charlotte, had been cleared of vehicles by 11:45 A. M., May 24, 1969, however, the rally, allegedly to be held from 12:00 Noon to 4:00 P. M., did not occur even though several young Negro males dressed in black berets and about 50 other Negro individuals milled about the parking lot until about 4:30 P. M.

[redacted] advised that one of the reasons the rally apparently failed was the fact that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON was not available to lend his leadership to the group.

[redacted]

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] advised that the Afro American Unity Organization, which is continuing to attempt to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, plans to hold a public rally in Freedom Park on June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. [redacted] stated the purpose of the rally will be to solicit funds from those in attendance to be used for attorney fees and defense of members of the organization who were recently arrested in connection with a raid on the group's headquarters in Charlotte. The source advised that BENJAMIN FAIRSTON, a member of the group, will be in charge of the program, will be assisted by SANDRA MCGRUDER, who is believed to be affiliated with the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC).

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On [redacted] advised that the rally was held at Freedom Park, Charlotte, North Carolina, on Sunday afternoon, June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. The rally started with 18 Negroes, four of them females, all dressed in Black Panther regalia and marching to the speaker's stand in column of twos. As these Negroes marched to the speaker's stand they counted cadence, shouted "Power to the People", periodically giving the Black Power salute.

[redacted] stated that BENJAMIN CHAVIS acted as MC during the rally and introduced the speakers. One speaker was VERONICA HAGANS, a member of the Afro American Unity Organization, who spoke for approximately four minutes on the theme of police brutality. JAMES COVINGTON was then introduced as an individual who had recently been released from Federal custody and could speak with authority on police brutality. Thereafter, JOHN LUNSFORD was introduced as representative of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and he also spoke concerning police brutality, and the support of the SDS for the Negro and any other minority race which was being victimized by the police and the capitalistic society in which the people in the United States are presently living.

Following JOHN LUNSFORD's speech GAIL LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the SDS and she spoke concerning women's liberation. WORTH KITSON was introduced as a member of the SDS and gave a speech demanding immediate withdrawal of all United States troops in Vietnam, abolishment of the Selective Service System, and support of the Black Brothers in Furtherance of the Workers Revolution.

It is noted that on June 6, 1969, in United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina at Charlotte, North Carolina, Civil Action Number 2490 was filed by GEORGE S. DALY, JR., attorney for the plaintiffs, which is a complaint and motion for temporary restraining order and preliminary injunction. Plaintiffs were listed as BEN CHAVIS and wife JACQUELINE CHAVIS, JAMES COVINGTON, JR., THOMAS COLEMAN, VERONICA HAGANS, Mrs. MENTZIE JOHNSON, CORDELL KENNEDY, MARY SMITH, ART LYNCH, JR., CORNELIUS WATSON and

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Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

HUGH G. CASEY, JR., next friend of TONY ALFRED, ANGELA COLEMAN, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, G. BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, MICHAEL LANEY, RUDOLPH NASH and ALVIN JOHNSON. Defendants were listed as J. C. GOODMAN, JR., Chief, Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, and other members of that department; L. A. KELLY, JR., Chief, and other members of the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Police Department; an Agent for the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation; a Special Agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, United States Treasury Department; and an Agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The complaint sets forth that the plaintiffs, with the exception of Mrs. CHAVIS, Mr. COLEMAN, and Mrs. JOHNSON, frequent the "Peoples House" at 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. "A Voluntary Congregation of Individuals Concerned with Improving the Lot of the Black Race , who are actively preparing themselves to apply for membership in the Black Panther Party. The rules, platform, and central committee of the Black Panther Party are set forth in the appendix as taken from 'The Black Panther', April 20, 1969, issues 21 and 22 (a publication of the Black Panther newspaper, 3109 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.)" The complaint alleges harassment by local, state and Federal law enforcement officials of the plaintiffs.

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., is continuing to act as head of the group in Charlotte, North Carolina, attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party in the absence of JOHNNY JOHNSON. [redacted]

The following is a list of persons reported as being members or potential members of the Afro American Unity Organization, Charlotte, North Carolina, which group is attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California:

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[redacted]

On May 21, 1969, [redacted] furnished a copy of the following poster being passed out in Charlotte, North Carolina:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rally !?

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: May 24, 1969

Time: 12-4

Place: Chicken and Ribs
corner of Beatties ford Rd. and
Oaklown.

Sponsor: Citizens of The Black
Community who are interested in
organizing a Black Panther
Party.

"Power to the People"

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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 GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction 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.

APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 2-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF); "THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT" (SP)

An article in the December, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" (SP) commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication with that issue recites the following:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was organized in 1938: SP, started in 1942 as the publication of SCHW, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), in the late 1940's when SCHW went out of existence. SCEF, originally the "educational wing" of SCHW, continued as an independent organization. For almost two decades, concern of SCHW and SCEF was with racial segregation and oppression of black people. In 1964, SCEF recognized that the legal back of segregation had been broken and economic and political gains were necessary if Southern life was to change. In the past few years, SCEF has also supported battles for academic freedom and the Southern movement for world peace.

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

The September, 1967, issue of SP refers to SCEF as a "community of organizers and writers" stating its work as centered in organizing the poor in Appalachia for political and economic power, helping white people in the Deep South find a common cause with black people, helping local groups organize action for peace and working for abolition of the "House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Masthead of SP in its April, 1968, issue states "The Southern Conference is dedicated to ending racism, poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy."

Listed in the Masthead are SCEF officers consisting of eight executive committee members, four executive staff members

headed by Carl and Anne Braden, five office staff members and fourteen field staff members and two "Eastern Representatives."

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

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the CP in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the CP has some indirect influence in SCEF.

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

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

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

The April, 1968, issue of SP states that the editorial and business offices of SCEF, publishers of SP, are at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky; office of publication, 150 Tenth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee; Eastern office, Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York, New York.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS

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

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

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS

A. Organizational Activities and Connections with Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, Berkeley, California

On January 13, 1969, [redacted] and furnished the following information:

HAROLD AVANT, also known as Nadine, has appeared on A & T State University Campus with ERIC PATRICK BROWN. [redacted] said AVANT is supposed to be a member of the Black Panther Party and had come from New York or New Jersey with ERIC BROWN upon BROWN's return to A & T State University after the Christmas vacation.

[redacted] had furnished [redacted] with a copy of a poster which had appeared on A & T State University bulletin boards urging support of ERIC BROWN in his opposition to having been suspended from A & T State University. [redacted] that he had been suspended because of his disruptive conduct and disorderly activity on the campus shortly before the Christmas holiday. BROWN had led a group of eight or ten other Negro students, and they had done considerable damage in the two dining halls at the school. They had broken up dishes, turned over tables, etc., and for this disorderly conduct, [redacted] BROWN of his suspension.

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GROUP 1
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ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

19

105-16106-8-54

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Upon his return to A & T State University after the Christmas holidays, BROWN had brought along HAROLD AVANT, and these posters had appeared on the bulletin boards. [redacted] BROWN was on the poster and then an appeal to the students to come to BROWN's aid in his fight against suspension.

[redacted] that a hearing had been held, and BROWN has been re-instated at A & T State University. BROWN had also asked for use of the auditorium in the Student Union Building for AVANT to speak to the student body. [redacted] said, however, that he understood AVANT had gone into one of the dormitories and talked with the students.

[redacted] further had been advised by [redacted] a Negro active in anti-poverty work in Greensboro, North Carolina, that AVANT is a member of the Black Panthers, and that [redacted] had seen AVANT hanging around the Carolina Peacemaker office, at 914½ Gorrell Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. [redacted] had told [redacted] that he was quite concerned about AVANT and his activities in the vicinity of A & T State University.

On January 15, 1969, [redacted] advised ERIC BROWN and AVANT have been seen by him wearing Black Panther buttons on their lapels and also he has seen two or three other students at A & T State University and a couple of girls from Bennett College who are wearing such buttons. [redacted] said AVANT is not living on campus but apparently is staying somewhere nearby and has been observed a number of occasions on the campus. He described AVANT as a Negro male, about 6 feet 1 inch tall, weighing 230 pounds, an estimated age of 26 to 27, with a large head and his head is completely covered by a big full Afro-bush type haircut and beard. He said AVANT's complexion is medium dark, and he understood that AVANT was either from New Jersey or New York; and the impression that [redacted] had was that perhaps he was some sort of organizer for the Black Panthers who would go into an area and stay for a short time and then move on. He stated he did not know where AVANT was staying in Greensboro, but he believed that ERIC BROWN has Room 104b in Scott Hall at A & T State University.

On January 23, 1969, [redacted] and [redacted] were arrested by Special Agents of the FBI at John F. Kennedy Airport, New York.

20

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

City, New York, for violation of Title 49, United States Code, Section 1472, Crime Aboard Aircraft - Carrying Concealed Weapons.

At the time of their arrest, [redacted] had in his possession an attache case which contained numerous notes and other materials. Also contained in a separate section of the attache case appeared a list of documents with a handwritten "Project #3" printed at the top of each document. Included, among other documents, was a "Fact Sheet on the Case of Bro. Eric Brown", which is set forth hereafter:

"This statement is being issued to give the students the fact involved in the case of Bro. Eric B. Brown.

"On Monday night December 9, 1968, following the speech of Bro. Calvin C. Matthews, President of S. G. A., announced that as of 7:00 A.M. Wednesday, December 11, 1968, a boycott of all classes would go into effect. The boycott was called to give students ample time to draw up a list of demands that would be given to the administration on Friday, December 13, 1968.

"On Thursday, December 12, 1968, between 4:00 P.M. and 4:30 P.M. a spontaneous disturbance erupted in Murphy Hall. During the disturbance trays of food were thrown on the floor and tables and chairs were over turned. After devastating Murphy Hall, the frustrated students then proceeded to Brown Hall around 4:45 P.M., whereupon they commenced to turn over trays tables and chairs there too.

"At the time of the first incident, it must be made quiet clear, that Bro. Eric P. Brown was in a conference with Bro. Willie Drake, Vice President of S. G. A. The conference lasted from around 3:50 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. Upon leaving Bro. Drake, Bro Brown heard the news of the disruptive actions taken by students in Murphy Hall. He immediately proceeded to Murphy Hall to witness, the incidents. With things having subsided at Murphy Hall, Bro. Brown headed for Brown Hall to eat dinner.

"While standing in line at Brown Hall, the emotional charged students from Murphy Hall came into Brown Hall and began to disrupt the eating facilities there.

21

CONFIDENTIAL

"At that point, Bro. Calvin C. Matthews entered Brown Hall and proceeded across the room and singled out one brother who had thrown his tray on the floor. He then threw a series of blows to the brother (unknown). Bro. Brown along with some other students immediately sought to restrain Bro. Matthews. Bro. Matthews was finally removed from the dining hall.

"That night about 7:00 P.M., a meeting was called to give a progress report on the boycott.

"Prior to the progress report, Bro. Brown, along with some other brothers, tried to talk to Brother Matthews to warn him that such incidents would cause student divisions. Unfortunately, Brother Matthews was emotionally up set at that time. The brothers could not come to an agreement.

"When Matthews addressed the student rally that evening, citing the cafeteria incident, he asked for all radicals to stand. After no one stood Brother Brown attempted to get the floor. He was pointed out as a 'radical' at that time.

"On Friday, Dec. 13th Bro. Brown received the following letter:

"'Dear Mr. Brown

"'You have been charged with a very serious infraction of regulations and standards of the University. Specifically, you are charged with defacing property of the University and disorderly conduct. Especially is your case a very serious one because of a deliberateness taken on your part to insight others to follow your actions. You have been summoned to this office for a hearing to face these charges and to receive judgement as the facts in the case dictate.

"'Very Sincerely yours

J. E. Marshall
Dean of Student Affairs'

"On the following Tuesday a so-called hearing took place. Although Bro. Brown had 155 witnesses to

"prove his innocence, two hand-picked students and kangaroo procedures found him guilty.

"THESE FACTS SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES!!!!!!!!!!"

On [redacted] advised that on [redacted] 1969, a meeting of the BPP was held [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina. The meeting was attended by [redacted] persons and the instructor was HAROLD AVANT, who identified himself as a Section Chief and teacher of the BPP. This was one of a group of weekly training sessions to be presented for new BPP members. ERIC BROWN was identified as the Captain for the Greensboro, North Carolina, area and ROBERT SPARO was designated as First Lieutenant. (U)

According to [redacted] the regular weekly meetings of the BPP in Greensboro continued with about the same number of persons present during [redacted] 1969. (U)

On April 21, 1969, CE T-6 reported that an individual identifying himself as [redacted], Greensboro, North Carolina, contacted the BPP National headquarters, Berkeley, California, and was advised by persons at the national headquarters that he has no authority at this time to organize a BPP chapter. [redacted] indicated that he and another BPP brother whom he did not name, had traveled to North Carolina from New York, specifically to organize the North Carolina chapter of the BPP. As of May 21, 1969, [redacted] were not aware of any charter being issued to the BPP in North Carolina.

On [redacted] advised [redacted] ERIC BROWN, who calls himself the Area Captain for the BPP, in North Carolina, he has determined that BROWN considers approximately 35 people in Greensboro to be members of the BPP.

B. Publications

[redacted] furnished a copy of the following leaflet which was handed out by HAROLD AVANT at a BPP meeting in Greensboro, North Carolina, on [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

NEVER, NEVER SURRENDER BROTHERS
POWER TO YOU

All Panthers in training (P.I.T.) are required to learn all Panther policy and program in a sixs week period, before moving on to the next stage. You must discipline yourselves to concertrate because revolution is not a party or a joke. There will be no revolution without a revolutionary party. The Black Panther Party is truly a revolutionary party. We must work very hard. Please feel free to ask about anything you don't understand and don't be afraid to challenge your instructor on any point.

****

You must memorize and understnad the TEN POINT PROGRAM.
You must memorize and understnad the POLITICAL DEFINITIONS.
You must memorize and understnad the 3 RULES OF DISCIPLINE & 8 POINTS OF ATTENTION.
You must obtain or liberate a copy of CHAIRMEN MAO TSE-TUNG QUOTATION (REDBOOK).
YOU must obtain or liberate a BERET.

****

During the sixs week training period you will be put through test and given special assignments to test your fiber. You will be expected to do some community work and help get together a community organizational chart. We must always have the respect of the community. A Panther must always carry him self like a gentlemen. We are the peoples heroes and the peoples liberation force. The first army that black people have ever had.

****

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE. POWER TO THE VANGUARD MOVEMENT

24

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

On April 12, 1969, CE T-9 advised that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. has opened a shop on East Market Street, Greensboro, where BPP members hang out. At this shop, BRYANT sells all sorts of literature, including the BPP newspaper and various publications and material of black culture.

On April 30, 1969, CE T-11 advised that the house of WESUI UMOJA, 1621 East Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina, is a market place for black cultural items.

On April 21, 1969, CE T-6 reported that an individual known only as Brother [redacted] believed to be operating a bookstore in Greensboro, North Carolina, had inquired of the national headquarters of BPP about shipments of the Black Panther newspaper.

C. Finances

[redacted]

On May 6, 1969, CE T-13 reported that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. calls his bookstore "WESUI UMOJA". This means "Black Power" in Swahili.

During [redacted] reported, concerning finances of the BPP at Greensboro, that the only fund-raising activity known at Greensboro was that of raising bond money for ERIC PATRICK BROWN, the Area Captain who was [redacted] on March 23, 1969.

On May 13, 1969, [redacted] advised that on May 8, 1969, a meeting was held at A and T State University campus, Greensboro, North Carolina, where the statement was made that the BPP in North Carolina has enough money for their charter, amount not given, but they needed more money for traveling expenses.

CONFIDENTIAL

25

D. Acquisition of Weapons and Other Paraphernalia

[redacted] a BPP meeting was held on [redacted] and HAROLD AVANT said that on January 31, 1969, a training session on guerilla tactics was held on the campus of A and T State University. AVANT also stated that their goal in Greensboro was to get all white merchants off East Market Street, starting with boycotts and if that does not force them to move, the BPP would do the "next best thing", which obviously meant tearing the place up or burning it down. (4)

On [redacted] advised that on [redacted] a BPP meeting was held [redacted] Greensboro. HAROLD AVANT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students and said the problem could have been eliminated a lot quicker if the black brothers and sisters had had ammunition to fight off the police officers. AVANT stated that the black man should have machine guns or any other guns to overcome the "pigs". AVANT said that he wanted to get his hands on some sort of sub-machine gun, at least .45 caliber. (4)

[redacted]

On [redacted] advised that ERIC BROWN and ROBERT EVANS, both BPP members, went to Belk's Department Store in Greensboro and wanted the manager to furnish donations of clothing from Belk's for the BPP members. Later the same day, four Negro males, two of whom were BROWN and EVANS, again approached the manager of Belk's and were refused (4)

After being refused, the four Negro males then asked the manager if he knew what had happened to Sid's Curb Market and were told that the manager did know about the fact that the curb market had been ransacked by a bunch of Negro males but he was not going to give them anything, even after being threatened.

[redacted] noted that the owner of Sid's Curb Market had identified ERIC BROWN as one of the militants who had come into his store on March 13, 1969, and ransacked it. BROWN was the individual who took some $400 from the cash register during this incident and has subsequently been convicted of common-law robbery; however, he has appealed the conviction.

On [redacted] advised that [redacted] has a .357 caliber Magnum revolver which he carries on some occasions. (4)

[redacted]

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] 1969, [redacted] indicated he had been out shooting with a shotgun but did not say where he had gotten the shotgun or ammunition.

[redacted]

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that ERIC BROWN had indicated a desire in obtaining some [redacted] (4)

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that [redacted] said that he is anxious to get hold of some guns but [redacted] not indicated whether he has been successful in doing so. (4)

[redacted] (4)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[redacted]

E. Activities

On February 6, 1969, [redacted] advised that during a sit-in conducted at A & T State University, Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 5, 1969, an individual claiming to be a BPP member upset the students involved in the sit-in and they ceased their activities a short time later. (4)

On February 6, 1969, [redacted] advised that the BPP speaker who addressed the A & T State students on February 5, 1969, during the sit-in was HAROLD AVANT, also known as Nunding. (4)

[redacted]

On February 16, 1969, [redacted] Durham, North Carolina, reported that three Negro males were observed getting out of a Volkswagen and going to the edge of a building on the Duke campus where it appeared they were piling leaves against the side of the building. On investigation, one of the Negroes ran but the other two were identified as [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, and the other as [redacted] born [redacted] of Greensboro. Both [redacted] and [redacted] refused to identify the third individual who had fled and since no violation could be proven, they were released. (4)

In connection with [redacted] he voluntarily appeared at the Greensboro, North Carolina, Resident Agency of the FBI on April 18, 1969, and stated that he understood the FBI had been conducting an investigation concerning him. [redacted] was very intelligent and expressed anger because of the alleged investigation. [redacted] denied being a member of the BPP; however, he expressed the opinion that this organization is doing a fine job in connection with the rights of the "black" people. (4)

[redacted] stated that the black people are in a war with the white race because of the injustices which white people

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

have perpetrated against the black people during the past several centuries. He stated that the Constitution of the United States is a "lie" because it does not provide for freedom of all people and that the Marxist-Leninist philosophy has, as expressed by the Chinese, the proper form of government.

[redacted] stated that he is from Brooklyn, New York, and that his home address [redacted] He refused to furnish any additional background information.

[redacted]

that approximately [redacted] individuals attended the Black Panther Party meeting at [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina. He said a number of other individuals came and went during the evening but about [redacted] were present when HAROLD AVANT conducted the training program. [redacted] also identified [redacted] as being in attendance and stated three individuals from Charlotte, North Carolina, had come up to the meeting. He identified one of those individuals as [redacted] and said [redacted] was accompanied by a Negro male and a Negro female, whose identities he had not learned.

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[redacted]

On February 22, 1969, [redacted] advised that on February 21, 1969, memorial ceremonies for MALCOLM X. were held at the Windsor Community Center, Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by students of A & T State University, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Bennett College, plus some high school students. CECIL ROUSON, a former body guard of MALCOLM X, gave a speech stating the reason MALCOLM X was assassinated was because he was making too much progress in getting the black men together. HAROLD AVANT also spoke and said that the police officers observing the ceremony were a bunch of pigs. AVANT urged all Negroes to get a "piece", meaning a gun, and to use it when necessary. [redacted] estimated there was 300 to 400 Negroes present, and BPP members included ERIC BROWN, HAROLD AVANT, ROBERT HEARNES, CECIL ROUSON, MICHAEL AIKENS, and NELSON JOHNSON. (4)

On February 22, 1969, [redacted] furnished the same information as [redacted] however, advised that also present was BPP member WALTER BRAME. (4)

On [redacted] reported that HAROLD AVANT had returned to New York and was to return to Greensboro at a later date. According to [redacted] AVANT did not return to Greensboro until [redacted], and during this period, no actual meetings were held. (4)

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that WALTER BRAME had stated BPP members are to urge the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission to be present at a meeting at Hayes Taylor YMCA, Greensboro. (4)

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] reported that the meeting was held at Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by the members of the BPP, with WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON, who are leaders in the BPP, running the meeting. None of the white members of the Redevelopment Commission showed up and one Negro member was in attendance for a short time. According to [redacted] BRAME is pushing for action concerning housing [illegible] by the Redevelopment Commission to show that he is taking [illegible] activity on the part of the Negroes in Greensboro.

CONFIDENTIAL

30

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

During March, 1969, [redacted] advised that in connection with a strike by dining hall employees at A & T State University which started March 12, 1969, racial violence erupted which included sniping at police officers. Included in this violence on March 13, 1969, was the looting of Sid's Curb Market, East Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. [redacted] stated that on March 25, 1969, [redacted] that date furnished him with the following leaflet showing the demands upon the administration of A & T State University: (4)

CONFIDENTIAL

NORTH CAROLINA A&T STATE UNIVERSITY
Greensboro

On Thursday night, March 13, 1969, the Greensboro police, without regard to humane standards of safety, carelessly and recklessly fired upon students at this university, wounding by gunshot three students and a visitor to our campus from the Greensboro community. The Greensboro police purposely sought out and illegally arrested students at our university and members of the black community while, at the same time, all cars containing blacks were stopped, machine guns pointed at the passengers, and illegally searched as cars containings whites were, in the same setting, re-routed, not stopped, and not searched. The Greensboro police did flagrantly intrude upon our campus, firing at students, and endangering the safety of all students at this university.

It is, therefore, that We, theundersigned, as students at this university, do strongly denounce the actions of the Greensboro police on the night stated herein, and very strongly demand that the administration at this university release a PUBLIC STATEMENT denouncing the actions of the Greensboro police and explain:

(a) the relationship which the administration has with the Greensboro police department;

(b) why members of the Greensboro police department were on the campus proper Tuesday, March 12, through Friday, March 14, 1969;

(c)

(c) whether or not the administration invited the Greensboro police upon our campus proper;

(d) whether or not the administration sanctioned the presence of the Greensboro police upon our campus proper;

(e) why the administration has thus far remained silent on the actions of the Greensboro police and the wounding of our fellow students and the brother from the Greensboro community by Greensboro police on the night stated herein.

THIS PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE ADMINISTRATION MUST BE RELEASED NO LATER THAN MONDAY MARCH 24, 1969 by 4:00 P.M.

SIGNED

CONFIDENTIAL

32

[redacted] said that it is not the intention of A & T State University to meet any of the demands made in the leaflet. He said that some 900 signatures had appeared on the original list of demands that was presented to the Administration.

According to [redacted] the only people ever reported injured during the shooting on March 13, 1969, were [redacted] a student at A & T State University and [redacted] a non-student. Neither of these individuals were seriously injured, [redacted] said.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] had advised him that although the deadline set for the Administration to make a public statement was March 24, 1969, by 4 P. M., that this had been extended until March 25, 1969, at 4 P. M., but the Administration still intends to make no public statement in connection with these demands.

On [redacted] reported that ERIC BROWN, BPP leader, and student at A & T State University, had stated that he, BROWN, was active in preparing the list of demands against the administration, urging them to condemn the police for having fired at A & T State University students.

On [redacted] advised that the Black Panthers in Greensboro were upset over the fact that [redacted] and two others had been arrested on the night of March 13, 1969, during a shooting incident at A & T State University.

[redacted], reported that [redacted] was arrested in an automobile along with two other individuals in possession of a pistol; however, the case was later dismissed due to an improperly drawn warrant.

[redacted] reported that [redacted] had been arrested by the Greensboro Police Department on charges of robbery in connection with the break-in at Sid's Cash Market. The BPP members are attempting to raise bond money for [redacted] advised that WALTER BRAME made the statement he was glad [redacted] was in jail and indicated that he is making an effort to take over all the BPP leadership.

On [redacted] advised that on April [illegible], 1969, ERIC BROWN, also known as Brother [illegible], led a political education class at A & T State University, Greensboro, [illegible] BROWN discussed the BPP program, the need for black education, and getting white stores out of black communities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

On [redacted] advised that a representative from Oakland, California, was in Greensboro, North Carolina, trying to get the BPP organized. [redacted] stated that when they get the BPP together, and not in various small groups as it is now, he was going to make Greensboro pay for what it did to him when he was arrested in connection with the robbery at Sid's Curb Market. [redacted] admitted that he robbed the man but stated he was mad for having been put in jail under high bond.

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] seems to think he can beat the case against him in Superior Court.

[redacted], advised later that [redacted] was tried on charges of breaking and entering, and common-law robbery, both felonies in North Carolina. He was found guilty, however, filed Notice of Appeal and as of May 22, 1969, was still confined in the Guilford County Jail in lieu of bond.

On [redacted] advised that a meeting of black militants was held in Greensboro, led by WALTER [illegible], a member of the BPP, urging everyone to support CLAUDE [illegible], another member of the BPP, who was refused permission by school officials to run for student body office.

CONFIDENTIAL

35

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

On [redacted] advised that at about 11:00 A. M., May 9, 1969, about 100 students at Dudley High School, all Negroes, walked out of the school. At about 12:30 P. M. on May 9, 1969, a minor accident between two automobiles occurred directly in front of Dudley High School. On the arrival of the first police car to investigate the accident, students poured from the high school and approximately 400 to 500 students surrounded the accident. [redacted] that it appeared that 75 to 100 people in the crowd were not students from the high school. Recognized in the crowd were NELSON MARMADUKE JOHNSON and ROBERT EVANS, both BPP leaders. NELSON JOHNSON talked with the students in the school gymnasium and due to the situation, school was dismissed.

According to [redacted] continued agitation has occurred at Dudley High School concerning the situation of CLADDE BARNES, BPP member. On May 21, 1969, demonstration at the school resulted in rocks being thrown through the school windows and the use of tear gas by the police to disperse the crowds. Sniper fire started on the evening of May 21, 1969, and the National Guard has been mobilized.

On May 29, 1969, [redacted] reported that on May 21, 1969, there were pickets on Lincoln Street in front of Dudley High School, Greensboro; and at the same time a group of some 5,100 students gathered in Nocho Park near Dudley High School. Recognized talking to the group were WALTER BRAME, ROBERT EVANS, and HAROLD DAVIS of the BPP, Greensboro. After the group listened to the speeches, they started heading back to Dudley High School with violence erupting thereafter and students throwing rocks and bottles at police and breaking out windows in one of the buildings.

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[redacted]

On [redacted], it was determined that [redacted] has been attending meetings of a legitimate group meeting in [redacted] BRAD (Last Name Unknown) has been determined to be BRAD/BELCHER.(4)

[redacted]

On [redacted] reported that there are three "Peoples Houses" in Greensboro, North Carolina. People's House Number 1 is 315 West Canal Street, the home of [redacted] Younger. People's House Number 2 is the residence of [redacted]

37

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

NIGHTOWER at 103 Durham Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. Peoples [illegible] 5 in 317 Leech Street, the home of ERIC BROWN.

On [redacted] reported that two A & T State University students were overheard talking at W. E. M. BRYANT's store; however, their identities were not known. They said that [redacted] was the man who directed the operation of the shooting at police on the night of May 22, 1969, at Scott Hall on A & T State University. These students claimed that [redacted] directed some of the students to sneak out onto the campus causing the police to be drawn down Luther Street to the dead end where the crossfire for the campus was directed against the police and they were injured. It is not known whether this is true but was the opinion expressed by these two students. It was also said that most of the guns were taken out of Scott Hall between 4:00 and 4:30 A. M. on May 23, 1969, prior to the time the National Guard swept the campus.

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

38

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CONFIDENTIAL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

[redacted]

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum are characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc.

CONFIDENTIAL

40

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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 GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction 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.

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

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

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

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

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

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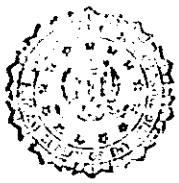
Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

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

On February 23, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

FD-376 (Rev. 11-29-61)



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Memorandum dated July 24, 1969, at Charlotte, North Carolina, captioned as above.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

The following information concerning the Black Panther Party has been furnished [redacted]

On [redacted] advised that the Afro American Unity Organization's finances are not known, however, no efforts have been made to gather finances other than the small amounts donated by the members.

On [redacted] advised that [redacted] approximately [redacted] were held by members of the Afro American Unity Organization at Charlotte. [redacted] have been scheduled until such time as they obtain their charter from the BPP, Oakland, California.

On [redacted] reported that HAROLD AVENT, reportedly a Field Marshal of the BPP from Greensboro, North Carolina, spoke at a Malcolm X Day Commemoration service at Johnson C. Smith University. During his speech, AVENT was critical of the portraits of white persons hanging on the walls of the auditorium. The people portrayed in these portraits were the founders of the institution, a predominantly Negro college, and AVENT stated the pictures of these white pigs should be taken out and burned.

On [redacted] reported that AVENT had been asked to appear at the University of North Carolina campus at Charlotte on Monday, March 3, 1969, in connection

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45

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with a protest rally led by BEN CHAVIS. [redacted] to protest the ten demands being made against the university officials and to get recognition of a black student organization on the campus. The constitution and demands made on the university follow the ten-point program for black student unions as set out in the Black Panther newspaper.

During [redacted] reported that BEN CHAVIS, Minister of Information for the group at Charlotte, North Carolina, has been observed [redacted].

On [redacted], and [redacted] advised that JEROME JOHNSON had not been successful in establishing an affiliation with the BPP of California. [redacted] reported that this delay in obtaining a charter was due to a purge being conducted within the national BPP to get rid of informants and undesirable characters. [redacted] stated that the only officers are JEROME JOHNSON, who holds the position of Area Captain, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., who has been designated as the Minister of Information.

[redacted] advised that the rally was held at Freedom Park, Charlotte, North Carolina, on Sunday afternoon, June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. The rally started with 18 Negroes, four of them females, all dressed in Black Panther regalia and marching to the speaker's stand in columns of twos. As these Negroes marched to the speaker's stand they counted cadence, shouted "Power to the People", periodically giving the Black Power salute.

[redacted] stated that BENJAMIN CHAVIS acted as MC during the rally and introduced the speakers. One speaker was VERONICA HAGANS, a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, who spoke for approximately four minutes on the theme of police brutality. JAMES COVINGTON was then introduced as an individual who had recently been released from Federal custody and could speak with authority on police brutality. Thereafter, JOHN LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and he also spoke concerning police brutality, and the support of the SDS for the Negro and any other minority race which was being victimized by the police

and the capitalistic society in which the people in the United States are presently living.

Following JOHN LUNSFORD's speech, GAIL LUNSFORD was introduced as a representative of the SDS and she spoke concerning women's liberation. WORTH KITSON was introduced as a member of the SDS and gave a speech demanding immediate withdrawal of all United States Troops in Vietnam, abolishment of the Selective Service System, and support of the Black Brpthers in Furtherance of the Workers Revolution.

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] advised that the Afro American Unity Organization, which is continuing to attempt to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, plans to hold a public rally in Freedom Park on June 22, 1969, beginning at approximately 3:00 P. M. [redacted] stated the purpose of the rally will be to solicit funds from those in attendance to be used for attorney fees and defense of members of the organization who were recently arrested in connection with a raid on the group's headquarters in Charlotte. The source advised that BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, a member of the group, will be in charge of the program, will be assisted by SANDRA McGRUDER, who is believed to be affiliated with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

On [redacted] 1969, [redacted] advised that BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, JR., is continuing to act as head of the group in Charlotte, North Carolina, attempting to affiliate with the Black Panther Party in the absence of JEROME JOHNSON.

[redacted]

The "Charlotte Observer", a daily Charlotte, North Carolina, newspaper, in its issue of March 4, 1969, contained an article which stated in part that ab out forty (40) Negroes had gathered around the flag pole at the University of North

Carolina at Charlotte, shouting "Power to the People" and replaced the United States and North Carolina flags with a black flag. The newspaper article identified the chief spokesman for the group as BEN CHAVIS. The article also states that at approximately 2:00 P. M., on March 3, 1969, the black students began taping posters on the Administration Building windows, some of which were denunciations of North Carolina Governor ROBERT SCOTT, such as "Scott is oinking (pig) in the eyes of the people."

During [redacted] have reported that HAROLD AVANT, also known as Handing, and Hadine, acted as a Black Panther Party organizer at Greensboro, North Carolina, and [redacted]

Attached are characterizations in the appendix to this memorandum of the Black Panther Party, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc., Students for a Democratic Society, and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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 GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction 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.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF); "THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT" (SP)

An article in the December, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" (SP) commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication with that issue recites the following:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was organized in 1938: SP, started in 1942 as the publication of SCHW, was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), in the late 1940's when SCHW went out of existence. SCEF, originally the "educational wing" of SCHW, continued as an independent organization. For almost two decades, concern of SCHW and SCEF was with racial segregation and oppression of black people. In 1964, SCEF recognized that the legal back of segregation had been broken and economic and political gains were necessary if Southern life was to change. In the past few years, SCEF has also supported battles for academic freedom and the Southern movement for world peace.

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

The September, 1967, issue of SP refers to SCEF as a "community of organizers and writers" stating its work is centered in organizing the poor in Appalachia for political and economic power, helping white people in the Deep South find a common cause with black people, helping local groups organize action for peace and working for abolition of the "House Un-American Activities Committee."

The Masthead of SP in its April, 1968, issue states "The Southern Conference is dedicated to ending racism, poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy."

Listed in the Masthead are SCEF officers consisting of eight executive committee members, four executive staff members

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF) SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source Two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P O Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

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

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

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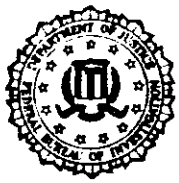

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

On April 3, 1969, [redacted] advised that the "Black Panther" newspaper was now being sold at the Varsity Grill, Statesville Avenue, Charlotte, North Carolina.

The following information from other sources, although not specifically concerning sale of "Black Panther" newspaper at Varsity Grill, Charlotte, North Carolina, corroborates the information as furnished by [redacted]

On March 18, 1969, CE T-6 who has frequent contact with the leadership of the Black Panther Party national headquarters in Berkeley, California, advised that [redacted] contacted the national headquarters of the Black Panther Party in order that he might purchase a quantity of posters and newspapers. According to CE T-6, [redacted] requested 200 copies of the "Black Panther" newspaper and 20 copies of two different posters to be shipped to him at 2316 Tate Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

On April 23, 1969, JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON was observed by a Special Agent of the FBI selling copies of the April 20, 1969, issue of the "Black Panther" newspaper on East Trade Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

During March and April, 1969, [redacted] has reported that JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON is the self-described area captain and the head of the Afro-American Unity Organization, which organization desires to affiliate with the Black Panther Party, Berkeley, California.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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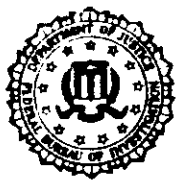

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____ _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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105-185706-8-54 enclosure page 57

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY

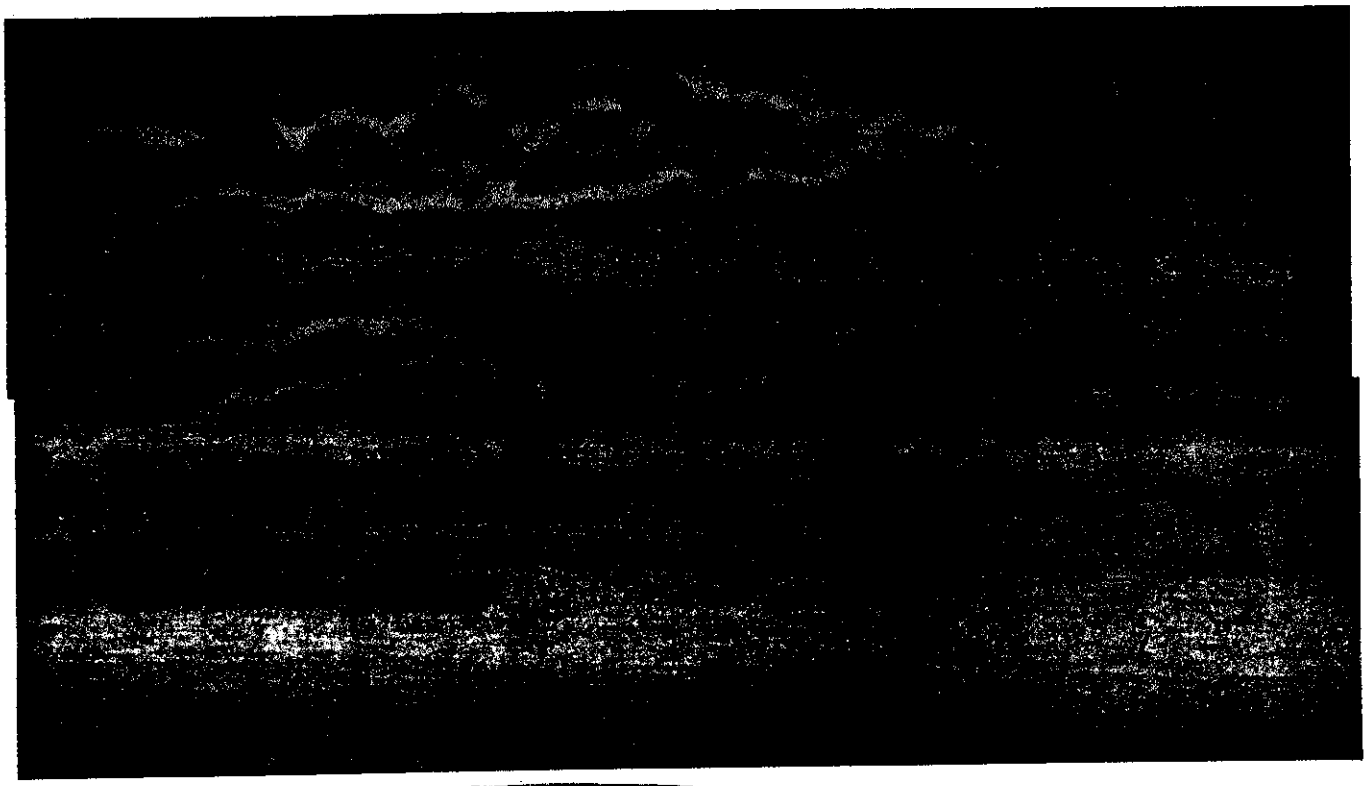
On [redacted] advised that ERIC BROWN and HAROLD AVENT came by the [redacted] It was determined that AVENT has two or three people who came in with him from up North to organize, however, their identities were not known. ERIC BROWN claims to be the Captain in the BPP from the State of North Carolina, and the general conversation indicated that all white merchants on the east side of Greensboro "have got to go." It was determined that the BPP group meets at NELSON JOHNSON's apartment on Camel Street. //

[redacted]

stated that HOWARD FULLER from Durham, North Carolina, was assisting financially with the BPP activities in Greensboro. NUNDING and JOHNSON also remarked that they were not satisfied with the results of what had happened on the A&T State University campus when the students took over the Administration Building. //

On [redacted] advised that NUNDING has invited a group of BPP members from Charlotte to the meeting on [redacted] NUNDING has stated that they

BLACK PANTHER PARTY



On [redacted] reported that a meeting of the BPP was held on [redacted] Greensboro, N. C. The instructor was HAROLD AVENT, also known as, NUNDING or NADINE. He identified himself as a Section Chief and Teacher of the BPP. This meeting was one of a group of weekly training sessions for new BPP members. There were [redacted] present at the meeting, and AVENT passed out the "Political Education Sheets" to each member, which they were told to learn and hold on to. AVENT also put other material on a blackboard and explained as he wrote it. The students were told to copy and save this information. AVENT made the statement that, once attending a meeting of the BPP, all were "brothers" or "sisters" from then on and there was no chance to get out. Those in attendance appeared to be young, either high school or college age and were dominated by AVENT.

ERIC BROWN was identified as Captain for the Greensboro, North Carolina, area, and ROBERT SPERO was designated as Field Lieutenant. The meeting lasted from 8:00 PM until 10:00 PM, and the other meetings are to be held each Monday night at the same place for several more training sessions. In addition, AVENT said that on January 31, 1969, they had a training session on guerrilla tactics on the campus at A&T State University.

AVENT told the group that their goal in the spring was to get all white merchants off East Market Street. The first to go will be the Thrifty Curb Market and Sid's Curb Market. They will start with boycotts in the early spring; and if that does not force them to move out, the BPP would do the next best thing, which obviously meant tear the place up or burn it down. AVENT set up a diagram of court procedure for trying a BPP member for some infraction. The court will consist of the area captain as the judge assisted by the field lieutenant and the section lieutenant.

[redacted] meeting of the BPP [redacted] was held [redacted] Greensboro. [redacted]. NUNDING insisted that NEWTON was unjustly shot and said that it was a typical example of justice that Negroes have put up with when they are dealing with white courts. NUNDING wanted those present to read the following books:

"Killer of the Dream," written by L. SMITH
"Black Rage," written by WILLIAM GREER and PRICE COBB

NUNDING also discussed the fact that Negroes are taken advantage of by white people when they get a decent job. NUNDING listed the executives of the BPP as follows:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense	HUEY P. NEWTON
Minister of Information	ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Prime Minister	STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Chairman	BOBBY SEALE

NUNDING said that the main offices of the BPP were located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California, mailing address Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California. The meeting was adjourned in the usual procedure which is to stand and give the pledge to the Black Panther Flag, and then sing the Black Panther Song. There were two individuals from Charlotte, North Carolina, at this meeting identified as JEROME JOHNSON and BEN CHAVIS. These two actually arrived too late but were greeted as Black Panther Brothers by NUNDING and the others.

During the evening, [redacted], however, NELSON JOHNSON sat in the kitchen with them but would not bring them into the Panther meeting. (41)

[redacted]

[redacted]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] Most of the discussion at this meeting concerned the trip ERIC BROWN and NUNDING had taken to the Duke University campus during the period of racial violence. NUNDING said that the Negroes had made progress by the revolt against the administration and had photographs showing white policemen spraying tear gas on the Negro students.

On [redacted]. RITA BYRD was identified as the Secretary of the BPP group in Greensboro, and the meeting was more or less a rehash of what had been discussed before by NUNDING.

On [redacted] reported that a meeting was held at the Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by members of the BPP with WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON, leaders in the BPP, running the meeting. None of the white members of the Redevelopment Commission showed up, and one Negro member was in attendance for a short time. According to [redacted] BRAME is pushing for action concerning housing problems by the Redevelopment Commission to show that he is taking some activity on the part of Negroes in Greensboro.

On [redacted] advised that the meeting of Black Militants was held in Greensboro led by WALTER BRAME, a member of the BPP, urging everyone to support CLAUDE BARNES, another member of the BPP who was refused permission by school officials to run for student body office.

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] a meeting was held at [redacted] Some of the Panthers recognized at the meeting were [redacted] Nothing was accomplished at the

meeting because NELSON JOHNSON kept interrupting and injecting militant talk which kept the students agitated although there were a number of responsible Negro citizens at the meeting.

[redacted] there were three new BPP organizers in Greensboro who have recently come to Greensboro from Connecticut. They are JOHN JOHNSON, also known as, KATARA, JOSE GONZALVEZ, and BRAD (Last Name Unknown). GONZALVEZ and BRAD are from Bridgeport, Connecticut. These three individuals are in Greensboro to try to reorganize the BPP and build it up to a really strong organization. They are extremely militant.

On May 22, 1969, [redacted] reported that on May 21, 1969, violence erupted at Dudley High School, Greensboro, which included rock throwing, and the police drove the students away from the building. NELSON JOHNSON was one of the BPP members present during this demonstration. The meeting was held in Holland Bowl on the A&T campus with JOHNSON and CALVIN MATTHEWS, the President of the A&T student body, the principal speakers. JOHNSON gave a very fiery speech encouraging all the young people to stick together for police, whom he referred to as "Pigs," had taken over the society and were holding them in bondage like slavery. He said that the "Pigs" were taking over the complete control of the Negro community by killing Negro leaders who were trying to fight for their people. JOHNSON urged all the Negroes to fight for their rights even if it meant death because something had to be done. CALVIN MATTHEWS then spoke and asked all the students who were willing to die to come to Scott Hall that night, May 22, 1969, with the weapons of their choice, and for the ones who were not willing to stand up for their rights, to stay at home and go into hiding because the only way that the situation could be resolved was to fight back. MATTHEWS asked everyone to come to Scott Hall by 8:00 PM and said that the ones who were interested in being there should be there before 8:00 PM because the curfew was going into effect at that time.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FBI/DOJ

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] BRAD (Last Name Unknown) has been determined to be BRADFORD BELCHER. JOHN JOHNSON, also known as, KATARA, from Connecticut, has gone back to New York. OSCAR WASHINGTON, who is originally from New York City and used the BPP name of RALLA, is now living on Dudley Street in Greensboro. He works at the College Drive-In for ROBERT HEARNES and also sells the Black Panther newspaper for W. E. M. BRYANT. WASHINGTON has been in Greensboro about six or seven weeks and came to Greensboro at the suggestion of ERIC BROWN.

[redacted]

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] a meeting of the BPP was held at [redacted] Greensboro, North Carolina, [redacted]. [redacted] reported there were approximately [redacted] persons in the group led by an individual known as NADINE. [redacted] later reported this individual to be HAROLD AVENT, also known as NUNDING, and NADINE.

On [redacted] reported that on [redacted] meeting of the BPP was held at [redacted] heard a part of the lecture being given by NUNDING, which was a repetition of facts of Chairman MAO TSE TUNG. There were about [redacted] persons present, a number of whom appeared to be high school children.

[redacted] wherein HAROLD AVENT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students.

[redacted] concerning the meeting held at Hayes Taylor YMCA sponsored by members of the BPP with WALTER BRAME and NELSON JOHNSON running the meeting.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[redacted] also reported that BRAD BELCHER was on the A&T campus on the night of May 22-23, 1969, wherein students were firing from the campus toward members of the Greensboro, North Carolina, Police Department, and the North Carolina National Guard.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL

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 GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction 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.

CONFIDENTIAL

11*

67

FD-23 (Rev. 11-29-61)

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character RACIAL MATTERS

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

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

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
July 24, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

[redacted]

On [redacted] advised that on [redacted] HAROLD AVANT stated that he had been to Livingstone College at Salisbury, North Carolina, the previous weekend and during the week of February 15, 1969, he was going to Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina, to organize.

On [redacted] advised that on [redacted] a BPP meeting was held [redacted] Greensboro. HAROLD AVANT discussed the recent takeover at Duke University by black students and said the problem could have been eliminated a lot quicker if the black brothers and sisters had had ammunition to fight off the police officers. AVANT stated that the black man should have machine guns or any other guns to overcome the "pigs". AVANT said that he wanted to get his hands on some sort of sub-machine gun, at least .45 caliber.

[redacted]

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68

100-16

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On [redacted] advised that on February 21, 1969, memorial ceremonies for MALCOLM X were held at the Windsor Community Center, Greensboro, North Carolina, attended by students of A & T State University, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Bennett College, plus some high school students. CECIL ROUSON, a former body guard of MALCOLM X, gave a speech stating the reason MALCOLM X was assassinated was because he was making too much progress in getting the black men together. HAROLD AVANT also spoke and said that the police officers observing the ceremony were a bunch of pigs. AVANT urged all Negroes to get a "piece", meaning a gun, and to use it when necessary. [redacted] estimated there were 300 to 400 Negroes present, and BPP members included ERIC BROWN, HAROLD AVANT, ROBERT HEARNES, CECIL ROUSON, MICHAEL AIKENS, and NELSON JOHNSON. (C)

[redacted] reported that HAROLD AVANT had returned to New York and was to return to Greensboro at a later date. According to [redacted] AVANT did not return to Greensboro [redacted] and during this period, no actual meetings were held.

According to [redacted] the regular weekly meetings of the BPP in Greensboro continued with about [redacted] persons present during [redacted]

[redacted] advised on [redacted] that HAROLD AVANT, also known as Nunding, visited New York during the week of February 24, 1969. NUNDING had been in Greensboro, North Carolina, and came back to New York to visit some of the Black Panther Party leaders there about the situation in Greensboro. (C)

[redacted]

[redacted] (C)

69

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

[redacted]

On [redacted] advised that [redacted] has a .357 caliber Magnum revolver which he carries on some occasions.

[redacted]

On April 12, 1969, CE T-9 advised that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. has opened a shop on East Market Street, Greensboro, where BPP members hang out. At this shop, BRYANT sells all sorts of literature, including the BPP newspaper and various publications and materials of black culture.

During [redacted] reported, concerning finances of the BPP at Greensboro, that the only fund-raising activity known at Greensboro was that of raising bond money for [redacted] the Area Captain who was arrested for common-law robbery in connection with the looting of a grocery store on March 13, 1969. (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] reported that ERIC BROWN had indicated a desire in obtaining some [redacted]

[redacted] reported that [redacted] has said that he is anxious to get hold of some guns but has not indicated whether he has been successful in doing so. (C)

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that a representative from Oakland, California, was in Greensboro, North Carolina, trying to get the BPP organized. [redacted] stated that when they get the BPP together, and not in various small groups as it is now, he was going to make Greensboro pay for what it did to him when he was arrested in connection with the robbery at Sid's Curb Market. [redacted] admitted that he robbed the man but stated he was mad for having been put in jail under high bond.

[redacted]

North Carolina, on May 3-4, 1969, to give one of the brothers support in connection with a Negro running in a local city election.

[redacted] advised that the Black Panthers in Greensboro were upset over the fact that NELSON JOHNSON and two others had been arrested on the night of March 13, 1969, during a shooting incident at A & T State University.

[redacted] reported that [redacted] had been arrested by the Greensboro Police Department on charges of robbery in connection with the break-in at Sid's Curb Market. The BPP members are attempting to raise bond money for [redacted] advised that WALTER BRAME made the statement he was glad [redacted] was in jail and indicated that he is making an effort to take over all the BPP leadership.

[redacted] advised that on that date JOSE GONZALVEZ and BRAD (Last Name Unknown), described as two individuals recently having come to Greensboro, North Carolina, from Connecticut and residing at [redacted]

[redacted] has been able to determine that two "big men" with the Black Panther Party from Oakland, California, and Connecticut were in town.

[redacted]

[redacted] The reason for riding through the area had been because [redacted] had said some nice home needed to be firebombed to keep the situation stirred up in Greensboro. (U)

[redacted] reported that on [redacted] a showdown was obviously building up between W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. and JOSE GONZALVEZ as to who was to be the leader of the BPP in Greensboro. [redacted]. GONZALVEZ was told that he was no longer considered a member of the BPP and was expelled for 100 days. JOSE GONZALVEZ apparently accepted this as he has made no effort to continue in any position of leadership in the BPP in Greensboro. (U)

[redacted] reported that W. E. M. BRYANT, JR. made the statement that CHICO NEBLETT, the BPP leader from the East Coast, was supposed to be in Greensboro during the week of June 6, 1969. (U)

[redacted]

Concerning the memorial services for Malcolm X on February 22, 1969, [redacted]

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Black Panther Party and Organization of Afro-American Unity, which characterization contains information concerning MALCOLM X LITTLE, also known as Malcolm X.

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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